FRENCH IMPRESSIONISM AND GERMAN JEWS

The Making of
MODERNIST ART COLLECTORS AND ART COLLECTIONS
IN IMPERIAL GERMANY 1896-1914

VOLUME ONE
Text

VOLUME TWO
Illustrations and Appendices

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ABSTRACT

This interdisciplinary thesis is the first dedicated study of German Jewish patronage of French Impressionist and post-Impressionist art in Wilhelmine Germany. It investigates the disproportionately strong impact of German Jewish patronage from three perspectives. It examines the significance of Paul Cassirer’s modernist art dealership, the prominence of German Jewish art collectors and their modernist art collections and the presence of German Jewish sponsorship at the Nationalgalerie Berlin, the Pinakothek in Munich and the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main.

First it examines Impressionism as the 'painting of modern life' in its original French context, focussing on French Jewish dealer-patrons and collectors whose association with French modernist artists influenced not only its iconography, but also involved French Jews in modern art promotion and marketing. The French model serves as a basis for understanding the reception of such art amongst a liberal circle of Germans and German Jews. The study examines the Wilhelmine reaction to French modernism and shows how antagonism toward Jews and France was often linked and interpreted by conservatives as ‘alien elements’ in nationalist Germany, thus highlighting Impressionism as a threat of a new Weltanschauung.

This thesis suggests that although some German Jews acculturated to the dominant Wilhelmine culture, the championing of modernist art actually emphasized their Jewishness and their role as the ‘Other’ in German society, despite their patriotism. Yet, in the long run, German Jewish taste for the avant-garde had as much influence on German modernism as German taste had on Jews. The study hypothesizes that German Jews embraced French Impressionism as an 'iconography of inclusion' that coincided with their own experience of modern life and thus their patronage served as a component in the construction of their secular identities. The study concludes that strong German Jewish patronage changed the modern art market irrevocably and by doing so it was not only a turning point for the writing of modern art histories, but also for the reassessment of German Jewish cultural identities, thereby proving that the history of modernist European art patronage encompassed also a history of ideas.
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I owe a special thanks to Prof. Thomas Gaetghens at the Freie Universität Berlin, who not only gave me of his valuable time, but crucially allowed me access to folders of his University seminars on German and German-Jewish collectors of French Impressionism. Finally, also in Berlin, a long pursued meeting with Stefan Pucks confirmed the importance of my interdisciplinary study that has remained unexplored in any depth by German art and cultural historians. Much of Puck's scholarship on the theme of German-Jewish collectors has opened up the field to Jewish cultural historians; indeed, his research has proven crucial to this study.

In England and America, I am indebted to several members of the Cassirer family, our conversations resulting in the transcribed ‘Interviews’ attached in the Appendix.

In Los Angeles, I was graciously hosted by Renate Morrison, the grand-daughter of Paul Cassirer; in London I was welcomed at the home of the grand-daughter of Bruno Cassirer, Dorothea Kauffmann, and her husband Prof. Michael Kauffmann, the retired director of the Courtauld Institute of Art. Also in London, at the British Museum, I met Irene Sychrava, the grand-daughter of Ernst Cassirer, who not only gave me real insight into her extended family, but also put me in touch with other members of her family in Sweden. Whilst they all gave generously of their time and recaptured memories and family anecdotes, for me, these personal links to Wilhelmine Jews were true bridges to a past world come alive.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis serves to enrich and deepen our understanding of the ambivalent and often problematic role of German Jews in modern European culture by exploring one aspect of this interrelated relationship. It addresses the complex issues of national and ethnic identity in exploring the discourse of German-Jewish acculturation and secularisation by examining the extensive support of German Jewish art patrons for French Impressionist and post-Impressionist art and the possible meaning of such patronage. The study suggests that the Wilhelmine Jewish upper-middle class exhibited aspirations to European cosmopolitanism and supported French modernist art as the first western 'iconography of inclusion'.

The case of Paul Cassirer, the most important commercial avant-garde art dealer and ideological advocate of French Impressionism and post-Impressionism of his time, represents a crucial aspect of the German Jewish contribution to the definition and dissemination of European modernism.\(^1\) However, while previous studies have conceded Paul Cassirer's significance for European modernism, none have examined his or his clients' significance as German Jews. Thus, this thesis focuses not only on Paul Cassirer, but also devotes substantial attention to his Jewish clients in their leading role as German-Jewish patrons of French modernist art.\(^2\) A third important aspect of this study examines the extent of German Jewish sponsorship of French Impressionist and post-Impressionist art at the museums of Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt, a phenomenon that became possible through the unique alliance of two liberal museum directors. At the same time, the

\(^1\) See later section on terminology.
\(^2\) See terminology.
resulting data forms part of the analysis of how modernist art served as a building block in the construction of modern German Jewish secular identities.

These three aspects often overlapped: in some cases, Cassirer's clients who purchased art for their private collections also supported art in Germany's public museums, but not all public patrons were also private collectors. Dividing these often-overlapping circles into three separate areas of study helps to understand the paradox of German-Jewish support for French modernism at a time when, as most scholars have indicated, the primary goal of the Jewish was to assimilate into mainstream German culture. However, this thesis suggests that in a sense, their patronage represented on some level a continuation of the traditional roles of Court Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries. These individuals often facilitated the acquisition of art and luxury objects for the nobility by whom they were employed, and Jews eventually began to acquire these objects for their own personal collections. At times their descendants continued the pattern of private art collecting; indeed, the German Jewish middle class of 19th-century began participating as public patrons of cultural projects, particularly after their emancipation in 1871.

Many German Jews, including amongst them a number of collectors, sought acculturation into German society, and their taste in art reflected the choices of the majority German culture. However, a small but crucial group of German Jews became deeply committed to fostering French modernist art, a choice that placed their new social status as Germans at best at risk, or, at worst, it defined them as the Other. Indeed, during the Wilhelmine era, French modernist art was predominantly seen as 'un-German' and conservatives and anti-Semites identified it specifically with Jewish patronage.
This study reveals that instead of aiming only at acculturation into Wilhelmine society, the modernist activities of Paul Cassirer and his extended circle of patron-collectors actually served to emphasise their difference from mainstream society. This thesis will suggest that, paradoxically, French Impressionism appealed to German Jewish patrons as well as other liberals as an “iconography of inclusion”. The study will show that this art spoke with particular urgency not only to Paul Cassirer and his Jewish private and public clients, but also to wider, avant-garde cosmopolitan circles of liberal Wilhelmine museum public in Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt. The examination of the activities of Cassirer and his clients within a Wilhelmine context, contrasting with the reaction of the conservative German establishment, reveals how their experiences as German Jews and modernists were inextricably intertwined.

Traditionally it has been argued that there was nothing specifically 'Jewish' about the commitment of European Jews to cultural modernism in general and to art in particular. The ground-breaking and influential study by Carl Schorske denied the significance of the Jewish backgrounds of the creators of or the audience for European modernism.4 Other scholars, such as Peter Gay, acknowledge the Jewish backgrounds of many of the driving forces behind European modernism, but claims that their involvement was driven by their status as the Outsider in general, rather than specifically as Jews.5 Indeed, the present thesis suggests that the two were closely interlinked. Thus the conclusion of this study stands in stark contrast to other scholars, who argue that although Jewish contributions to German culture were interpreted by many to be the equivalent of a

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‘foreign invasion’, into the German nation, the Jewishness of these participants played virtually no role in their self-perception or activities. However, the thesis argues that this does not allow for their status of the Other, which was often equated with being Jewish and visa versa. In short, Jews were often considered the Other because anti-Semites forced them into this mould. Indeed, they were consciously aware of their Jewishness and Otherness and often chose to reinforce this position.

Both archival material and primary sources have provided a substantial basis for this study. Unfortunately, however, archival material relating to Paul Cassirer and his clients has been inaccessible and communal archives relating to Jewish individual collectors and patrons were mostly destroyed during World War II. Fortunately, there are reliable primary sources and secondary studies on modern art sponsored by Jewish patrons at the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, the Neue Pinakothek in Munich, and the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main.

Indeed, secondary source information has been significant for this study, and this thesis is profoundly indebted to previous scholarship on Paul Cassirer, who has been at the forefront of much critical interest over the past three decades. In addition, this work has

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6 The Cassirer Archives at the Collection of German, Austrian and Swiss Culture at the University of Stanford, California, yielded little information relevant for this study. The Cassirer business accounts and other relevant data are held in custody by Walter Feilchenfeldt in Zurich, but access has been denied, although Walter Feilchenfeldt has kindly provided a full list of Paul Cassirer clients.

benefited greatly from major art exhibitions on related themes, such as the exploration of the contributions of Jews to the aesthetics of European culture. The exhibitions ‘Berlin Metropolis: Jews and the New Culture 1890-1918’ and ‘The Emergence of Jewish Artists in Nineteenth-Century Europe’, both of which were organised by and held at the Jewish Museum in New York, provided important overviews of their topics.\(^8\) Previously, there had been other exhibitions that focused on individual artists, all of which illuminated the theme of Jewish artists, art and Jewish identities during the 19\(^{th}\) century. Examples include such exhibitions as those on Maurycy Gottlieb,\(^9\) Max Liebermann,\(^10\) Chaim Soutine\(^11\) and Daniel Moritz Oppenheim.\(^12\) Much crucial information on the presence and absence of European Jews as creators and patrons of visual art has been gleaned from studies by David Cohen,\(^13\) Catherine M. Soussloff,\(^14\) Kalman P. Bland,\(^15\) Margaret Olin,\(^16\) and, most recently, Ezra Mendelsohn.\(^17\)


\(^9\) Nehama Guralnik (ed), In the Flower of Youth: Maurycy Gottlieb 1856-1879. Exh. Cat., Tel Aviv Museum (Tel Aviv Museum, 1991)


\(^11\) Chaim Soutine (1893-1943), Exh. Cat., Jewish Museum New York (New York, 1998). It should be noted that with the support of the Jewish artist, Amadeo Modigliani, Soutine’s work became influential only from the 1920s.


\(^13\) Richard I. Cohen, Jewish Icons, Art and Society in Modern Europe (Berkeley/London 1998). Cohen's work is a welcome introduction to the question of Jewish involvement with visual aesthetic culture in the form of Jewish iconography, art created by Jewish artists dealing with Jewish themes.


The socio-economic context of the lives of German Jews which made their receptivity to modernity possible has received definitive treatment by Shulamit Volkov, Monika Richarz, Derek Penslar, Marion Kaplan and W. E. Mosse, all studies which have provided crucial background information for this thesis. The particular cultural catalyst provided by the secularisation and acculturation of European Jews generally has been explored by David Sorkin, George L. Mosse, Steven Beller and Michael Brenner, all of whom have been of incisive pertinence for this study.

More recent explorations of the commitment of German Jews to European culture and the arts provide important new insights, although they often do not examine a microcosm, which would yield a better understanding of a larger macrocosmic world. For example, Peter Paret acknowledges the importance of the Jewish contribution to modern art in his essay on German Jewish art patrons, though he does not go beyond mentioning Jewish participation as a subsidiary part of their involvement in modern art. Likewise, Olaf

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16 Margaret Olin, The Nation without Art. Examining Modern Discourse on Jewish Art (Lincoln /London, 2001). Olin illuminates the presented by looking at theorists, critics and artists who have sought to subvert or overcome this myth.

17 Ezra Mendelsohn, Painting a People. Maurycy Gottlieb and Jewish Art (Brandeis University Press, Hanover/ London, 2002). Mendelsohn addresses Gottlieb's oeuvre in relation to Polish and Jewish nationalism, Jewish integration and Jewish universality.

18 Michael A. Meyer and Michael Brenner (eds.), German-Jewish History in Modern Times, 1-4 vols (Columbia University Press, 1997 in conjunction with Leo Baeck Year Book Publications.)

19 Shulamith Volkov, Einführung pp. VII-XXIII, in Shulamith Volkov, Deutsche Juden und die Moderne (Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, 1994.)

20 Monika Richarz, "Demographic Developments", in German-Jewish History of Modern Times, 1871-1918, vol. 3 (New York, 1997). Here Richarz identifies the 'project of modernity' as a 'standard goal' of the Jewish, p. 7.


25 George L. Mosse, German Jews beyond Judaism (Bloomington, 1985).


Matthes' careful study of the art patron James Simon unfortunately pays little attention to Simon's Jewish origins.²⁸

However, deeper and more closely argued studies of the examination of the 'Jewishness' of individuals in their role as contributors to European culture have been undertaken by Edward Timms,²⁹ Charlotte Schoell-Glass,³⁰ Michael Steinberg,³¹ and Cella-Margaretha Girardet.³² A number of helpful, but sometimes ambivalent contributions have examined Jewish cultural patronage in the context of Wilhelmine citizenship.³³

Relatively recent scholarship on modern Jewish identities has proven relevant for this thesis as it is concerned with the construction of ethnicity, Otherness and difference in the making of modern European cultural identities. All these themes played a major role in determining the nature of Jewish art patronage in Wilhelmine Germany. For example, Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb's study deals with the ambiguous relationship in the modern period between Jewish identity and visual representation.³⁴ Nochlin and Garb


argue that the majority of representations of Jews in both texts and the visual arts served to disempower and silence Jews. However, my thesis goes beyond this conclusion and suggests that Jews were not only disempowered and silenced, but also alienated and repelled by anti-Semitic representations and thus searched for a more positive visual representation. Therefore, such anti-Semitism (and its many manifestations) pushed Jews into directions they may not have taken otherwise and therefore defined their Jewishness on some level. (Appendix Interview Renate Morrison).

This study proposes that the enthusiastic Jewish reaction to French modernist art and French culture could be interpreted as a wish fulfilment, which expressed a Jewish longing for an art of positive inclusion, rather than negative exclusion. In the vein of these and other works, this thesis focuses on the extent of the patronage by German Jewish private collectors and public donors of French modernist art in Wilhelmine Germany. Thus this study contends that art patronage – additionally or opposed to music or literature - is a signifier in the interpretation of the social and cultural histories of the Wilhelmine Jewish élite. It suggests that the embrace of cultural projects form part of the multi-layered identities of the Jewish minority group, just as national art highlights the values and identities of the Wilhelmine majority.

The Appendices present illustrations and data to verify the interpretations and arguments of the thesis. Firstly, it looks at modernist art centres in Wilhelmine Germany. (Appendix A 1) It proceeds by examining the art exhibitions held at the Kunstsalon Cassirer in relation to his client list during 1898-1914 (Appendix A 2 and Appendix A 3; moreover.
it presents the biographies of twenty two German-Jewish major art collectors and presents the systematic inventory of their art collections\textsuperscript{35} (Appendix A 4). Lastly, it lists the German-Jewish French contributions of modernist art to the permanent collections at three Wilhelmine museums (Appendix A 5). It also gives the transcripts of interviews conducted with various descendants of the significant families of German Jewish art patrons (Appendices B 1-4). However, the thesis incorporates all this data in Chapters II, III, IV and V.

Indeed, the data of the Appendices forms the base for the analysis of how German-Jewish cultural identities were created, disseminated and perpetuated both by Jews themselves and by the host societies in which they lived. Thus this study contends that a complex matrix linked the passions of a certain German Jewish elite for French Impressionist and post-Impressionist art to their desire to become full participants in the modern European experience. Hence my core hypothesis that French Impressionism was supported and perceived by German-Jewish patrons as the first western secular 'iconography of inclusion'.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35} The material available is limited and uneven.

NOTES on TERMINOLOGY. 37

Modernism, Modernist and Modern Art

Modernism cannot simply be equated with modern art: 'Rather, Modernism stands on the one hand for a cluster of notionally independent values associated with the practice of modern art and on the other, for a particular form of critical representation of the modern in art- a representation in which the pursuit of art's moral independence is taken to be decisive'. 38 According to Clement Greenberg, whose name is virtually synonymous with Modernist criticism, the development of modern art has been 'immanent to practice' and never a matter of theory. 39 Increasingly after the mid-1880's, the modern incorporated a contested value. 40

Thus - closely allied to this spirit of art-historical 'practice of modernism'- my dissertation focuses on the practice of marketing, collecting and patronising modern art. The questions addressed in this thesis are how modern art was marketed, sponsored bought and collected, privately and publicly in Wilhelmine Germany. Who were its supporters and who its enemies? Who sold, bought and sponsored, and why? The thesis does not aim to define modernist art, explore the manifold theories of modern art, nor examine the psychology of the above practices, all fields with substantial bodies of works already in existence. 41 My particular project aims to define what Modernism meant for a certain élite of German Jews during the Wilhelmine period. By examining this process

38 Ibid., p. 2.
39 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
40 Ibid., p. 13.
41 See footnotes on scholarship in various specialised fields.
(the 'empirical aesthetic experience')\textsuperscript{42} it establishes their cultural position in Wilhelmine metropolitan centres in general and in the histories of Western modernism in particular. It traces 'modernist art' as a barometer and it's almost 'mythic status as an index of freedom'at a time when modernist art was still on the margins of German establishment society.\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{Modernisation, Modernity.}

Convention distinguishes three related moments in the dynamic of the modern: modernisation, modernity and modernism. \textit{Modernisation} denotes those processes of industrialisation, scientific and technological advances which manifested themselves differently than it had hitherto. \textit{Modernisation} refers to the growing impact of the machine, to engineering developments and chemical industries. \textit{Modernity} refers to the social and cultural conditions of objective change: 'the character of life under changed circumstances.' \textit{Modernity} was a form of experience, an awareness of change and an adaption to change and its effects on a person; in other words, it was both a social and inner experience. \textit{Modernity} exists in a shifting, symbiotic relationship with \textit{Modernism}: the deliberate reflection upon and distillation of – in a word, the \textit{representation} of – that inchoate experience of the new.\textsuperscript{44}

The response to the modern condition was experienced through three distinguishable categories: one was a profound disillusionment and pessimism by the increasing lack of control of human life through the advance of machinery, loss of individualism and alienation, expressed by sociologist Max Weber as the 'iron cage' of modernity.\textsuperscript{45} The

\textsuperscript{42} Art in Theory, p. 5
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p. 6
\textsuperscript{44} Art in Theory, p. 128
\textsuperscript{45} See Max Weber (1864-1920) 'Asceticism and the Spirit of Capitalism' (1904-1905) reproduced in
second response was a liberating exhilaration of the vision of the modern, of new sensations, dynamism, flux and change. The third response was the search for the cause of the modern world, a response and reflection which became visible mainly after the First World War. After this traumatic event, Modernisation was seen as the product of social relations between people and things. Some have interpreted this development as capitalist modernisation and linked it to the examination of the new classes and cultures it produced. However, all three responses were part of the ideology of Modernisation: the acute and contradictory forms of the bourgeois response to bourgeois society. Within this context, this dissertation examines the response of the first enfranchised generation of the Wilhelmine Jewish haute-bourgeoisie, the circle of patrons that embraced in their unique way Modernisation, Modernity and Modernism.

Modern Art, French Impressionism.

'At the beginning of the 20th century, to think of modern art was to think of modern French art.' From Manet onwards, art took on the 'palpable self-consciousness about the social forms of modernity' and the 'practical means and conditions of representation'. Thus in the history of modern art, the Impressionist movement is established as the prototype for avant-gardism in modern art. The label impression had already circulated amongst artists referring to rapid notations of atmospheric effects. Monet's work,
Impression, Sunrise, shown at the 1874 first Independent Exhibition, added to this concept after which the critic Leroy satirically named their group the Impressionists. The terms of ‘French Impressionism’, La nouvelle peinture and ‘painting of modern life’ are used throughout this study interchangeably. Manet’s followers were identified as Gustave Caillebotte, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, Camille Pissarro, Marie Quiveron-Braquemond, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzales, Marie Cazin, Berthe Marie-Pauline Morisot and the sculptors Pierre Auguste Rodin and Aristide Maillol. Republican views on this nouvelle peinture were represented by writers Emile Zola, Théodore Duret and Edmond Duranty. Duranty had defined la nouvelle peinture as early as 1876 and pronounced it as the product of a particular social and historical circumstance, and the expression has been used as a synonym for Impressionist works thereafter.

Post-Impressionism

In contrast to the original Impressionists movement, Post-Impressionism had no contemporary sanction, its apparent homogeneity always raising difficulties as it encompassed such diverse artists as Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne, Paul Signac, Henri Matisse, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Pierre Bonnard, Edouard Vuillard, Alfred Sisley, Georges Seurat, Edmond Cross and the French painter-theorist

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50 For further details see Chapter I in section on French Impressionism as ‘New Painting’ in France.
51 Zola’s Impressionist criticism was first published in a Russian periodical, which was later reprinted in Le Figaro and Le Voltaire. He published L’Œuvre, a critical novel set in the Paris art world, the main characters reputedly modelled on Cézanne and Manet. Zola’s art criticism, journalism and political writings were all part of his human rights agenda. Duranty hailed Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir and Berthe Morisot as painters of “light and atmosphere” in Les Peintres Impressionists (1878).
52 See Chapter I and III, the latter with special attention to van Gogh’s art dealer Paul Cassirer and van Gogh collectors.
Maurice Denis. As far as this study is concerned, the works of all the above artists fall under the loose term of ‘modernist art’.

**Avant-garde**

This term stands for the activities of any group that is active in the innovation and application of new concepts and techniques in a given field, especially in the arts. It can be used in manifold ways, as for example in advanced thinking, in innovative trends, in the context of contemporaneity, even in a futuristic sense. In this thesis the term is used as the concept and practice of the novel, inventive, innovative, unprecedented and original.

**The notion of ‘the Other’**.

Increasingly, a substantial body of work in the field of Jewish Studies have addressed the concept of the *Other* (at times also termed *Outsider*) and this thesis builds on such scholarship. The appropriation of the term and concept of *Other* in this study uses the term in relation to German-Jewish patrons of modernism during the Wilhelmine period. However, art-historical modernism has always had its own *Others*, a concept that has seen a transformation during the 20th century to a politically more correct notion of pluralism in post-modern art, literature and judgment. Thus this thesis uses the term of *Other* in the context of Jewish, art-historical and cultural studies and comes to define German Jewish patrons as the double *Other* who stood in opposition to the accepted majority in a given place and time. It stands for alternatives to the generally accepted and officially prescribed in Wilhelmine establishment society and its culture.

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53 See Introduction, L.J. Silberstein and R. L.Cohn, eds. *The Other in Jewish Thought and History*, 1994) and J.Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, eds. *Jews and other Differences* (1997) and other references
54 *Art in Theory* (2003) p.6-7
CHAPTER I

FRENCH IMPRESSIONISM, *LA NOUVELLE PEINTURE*
AND THE FRENCH JEWISH BOURGEOISIE
**Introduction**

As a springboard for this study’s main investigation lies the Paris-based art-milieu of the 1880s and 1890s. Indeed, it is imperative to first assess French Impressionism in its French context as an essential background narrative to the reception of French Impressionism by Germans and German Jews in Wilhelmine Germany. Furthermore, it is the first analysis of the link between French Impressionists, their work and French Jewish patrons.

I will later argue that the French phenomenon - an alliance of modernist art and Jewish patron-supporters - was bound to have influenced German Jewish patrons in many ways when they were exposed to such art in the late 1890s. Indeed, this chapter suggests that this Parisian Jewish circle was on many levels a model for German Jewish patrons.

Furthermore, I want to show that Jews tended to be internationally minded over and above being citizens of their respective countries and emphasized that internationalism cannot be under-estimated for the project of modernist art. This chapter proceeds by assessing the impact of Impressionism in France, which is followed by an examination in its European international context. I aim to explore the connection between French Impressionists, their art and French Jewish patrons who supported such work. I will argue that the *nouvelle peinture* (to use the term coined in 1876 by the art critic Edmond Duranty) was indeed intended for a new *bourgeoisie*. Furthermore, it was executed in a new style and technique as well as in a new political and cultural environment.\(^5^5\)

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I wish to suggest that *la nouvelle peinture* became the first western iconography that also represented Jews, one of the small, but important minorities in France's Third Republic. This chapter shows that Jews were closely linked to the French cultural and intellectual avant-garde and that this participation may have strengthened their own vision of Impressionism as an 'iconography of inclusion'. Indeed, this quasi-partnership permitted them a space and voice that they had hitherto not owned.

For the evidence of the concept of Impressionism as the 'iconography of inclusion', this chapter explores the link between French Impressionists artists and Jews as their dealers and patron-collectors in the context of social and cultural transformations of late 19th century France. I shall show this fascinating juncture in history to be a fragile *de facto* alliance between Impressionist artists and French Jewish dealers, patrons and publishers. However, paradoxically, this chapter also illustrates that in this French art and cultural world, particularly during the Dreyfus affair, Jews continued to be perceived as Outsiders. Indeed, during the Dreyfus trial, Jews were often confronted with open anti-Semitism, even by the leading Impressionist artists Edgar Degas and August Renoir. Thus an implied contradiction emerges which shows that some Impressionist artists who aesthetically confronted conservatism and tried to escape from it, often to the point of shocking the establishment, were themselves guilty of succumbing to reactionary prejudices. To investigate the detailed reasons for this phenomenon go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I will show that recurring French anti-Semitism is likely to have served notice to their counterparts in Wilhelmine Germany. Thus recognising this phenomenon in France may help to understand similar developments in Imperial

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57 As to the French artists, apart from Camille Pisarro, there were no major Jewish figures amongst the Impressionist artists. Nor were Jews by any means the only dealers involved in promoting Impressionism.
Germany in the artistic sphere, which was particularly politicised in its interpretation of art.

Despite conservative and reactionary factions in France, this chapter discerns a nexus between French modernist artists and French Jewish patrons as viewed through the prisms of aesthetic considerations and ideological, political and socio-economic factors. Analyzing the French paradigm thus provides, in my view, a crucial understanding of similar and contrasting conditions in Germany. In short, I wish to build my core hypothesis on the interpretation of French modernist art on Meyer Shapiro’s thesis that Impressionism depended for its force on something more than painterly hedonism or a simple appetite for sunshine and colour. Being created in a new political context, ‘the art of Manet and his followers had a distinct ‘moral aspect’ visible above all in the way it dovetailed an account of visual truth with one of social freedom’.  

France and French Impressionism as ‘New Painting’

As a reaction to early 19th-century historicism, Baudelaire’s 1863 ground-breaking essay ‘The Painter of Modern Life’ defined the conceptual identity between modernity and the city and increasingly contemporary French artists heeded his call. In this essay, Baudelaire examined the work of Constantine Guys, offering an analysis of pictorial modernism, which was then taken up in literary circles by Mallarmé, Laforgue, Verlaine, Apollinaire and Valéry.

As the years progressed, ‘new painting’ addressed urban spaces and its new bourgeoisie, reflecting on the deeper economic and ideological structures of modernity.60 By the second half of the 19th-century, the newly named ‘Impressionists’ came to stand for a ‘new aesthetic idiom’ of contemporary themes drawn from everyday life; painted by a group of painters, working mostly outdoors in a ‘sketchy’ impressionist style ablaze with luminous colour.61

As the conservative Salon system was becoming outdated for the needs of these artists - as well as the need of the new bourgeoisie-, they searched for new ways to exhibit and market their work. Mainardi argued that the contradictory purpose of the Salon, acting both as a didactic institution as well as a market place, resulted in its eventual collapse.62

Moreover, the artists’ early search for independence from the traditional Salon system

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61 There is an argument whereby Impressionist art was to have captured the fleeting moment. See Richard (ed.) R. Brettell, Impressionism, Painting quickly in France 1860-1890, Exh Cat. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000).
was only partial, and their coherence was in reality far from harmonious, for they were
divided by differences in working methods, preference for display, political orientation
and the social circles they frequented. However, the early core of artists - all born within
the decade 1830s-40s – succeeded in exhibiting independently of the French Salon from
1874 onwards; the artists were Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Camille Pissarro (1830-1903),
Claude Monet (1840-1929), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841-1919) and Eduard Manet
(1832-1883), who was the exception because he refused to show his work at these
Independent Exhibitions and on several occasions continued to submit his work to the
Salon. 63 Gustave Caillebotte (1848-1894), younger than the others, joined their group
later. 64
Also belonging to the group were three women artists, Marie Quiveron-Braquemond
(1840-1916), Berthe Marie-Pauline Morisot (1841-1895) and Mary Cassatt (1844-1926),
who, as educated and independent women, occupied a ‘different space’ on the edge of the
core group. The overall differences within this circle became increasingly more
significant with time and the Impressionist group’s mythical cohesiveness ended with the
last Impressionist Independent Exhibition in 1884.
The original group later expanded to a circle of artists who became known as the post-
Impressionists 65: they included Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903),

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63 The original core of artists set up their first Independent exhibition in 1874 to be followed by a further
seven over the next ten years, the last one being held in 1884.
64 Caillebotte bequeathed his significant Impressionist collection to the French state, but it was rejected
over the course of several decades. The first thirty-eight paintings (out of sixty-seven) were accepted in
1896 at the Musée du Luxembourg. However, numerous violent protests were the response from political
and artistic circles. See Jane Turner (ed.), From Monet to Cézanne: Late 19th-century French Artists, Grove
65 Besides the standard works on Post-Impressionism, see also Beyond the Easel: Decorative Painting by
Alfred Sisley (1839-1899), Paul Signac (1863-1935), Henri Matisse (1869-1954), Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947), Edouard Vuillard (1868-1940), Georges Seurat (1859-91), and the French painter-theorist Maurice Denis (1870-1943). The Dutch artist Vincent van Gogh has traditionally been grouped with this French post-Impressionist circle, as he had lived and worked in France, where he died in 1890.66

Amongst the numerous French Impressionist scholars, John Rewald - who wrote one of the earliest significant histories of the Impressionist movement - argued that ‘the story of its conquest can be told in many ways’.67 Indeed, many scholars offered diverging interpretations but they all agree that French Impressionism coincided with the dawn of modernity and visual modernism. For example, Robert Herbert interpreted Impressionism as pictorial evidence of a new consumer society which produced new commodities and times for leisure, an interpretation which today seems tinged with certain nostalgia.68 T. J. Clark's Marxist study of French Impressionism was a more controversial thesis of a new capitalist society that destroyed previous hierarchies and values. Clark reasoned that the Impressionists had difficulty finding adequate modes of representation for the changing aspects of modern life, but suggests that Manet's art was the most expressive of the tensions of modernity.69 John House, who seeks an analysis of the production, exhibition and sale of art in late 19th-century France, believes it is necessary to question these ‘modern’ traditions and the bases and interests they served.70

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66 See Chapter III and the section on Paul Cassirer and Van Gogh.
69 Philip Nord, _Impressionists and Politics_. p.3.
argues that class and nationality, culture and ideology, gender and sexuality, all played critical roles and were played out in the varied œuvres that created the ‘new painting’.  

Philip Nord argues that true modernism implies opposition to the existing social order, citing Gustave Courbet and Camille Pissarro as anarchist reactionaries whose politics spilled over into resolute anti-capitalism. Nord focuses on the political tensions of conservative and liberal options of France’s Third Republic, painting out that in the early years of the Third Republic, Impressionist painters and politicians both knew each other and, to a lesser extent, admired each other. However, by the fin-de-siècle almost every Impressionist artist had developed a personal crisis brought about by political and cultural transformation. Their paintings were strongly influenced by the new political environment such as seen in different interpretations by Monet and Manet. Claude Monet produced Rue de Saint-Denis. Fête de Juin 1878, 1878-9 (Lucien Lindon, Private Collection, Paris) (Plate 1) and Rue Montorgeuil, Paris, 1787 (Musée d’Orsay) (Plate 2) both of which are joyous and buzzing, whereas Edouard Manet’s Rue Mosnier, Paris, 1878, 1878 (J. Paul Getty Museum) (Plate 3) also shows a street with flags, but deserted and melancholic, with a man on one leg and crutches, hobbling in the left hand corner of the painting. Nord also points out that their changing work was assessed by various republican writers such as Philippe Burty, (1838-1890) Edmond Durany, (1833-1890)

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72 Gustave Courbet was the first avant-garde artist who showed unrelenting political and artistic opposition to the Royal establishment. His paintings became associated with the revolutions of 1848. Courbet influenced Impressionist artists by suggesting that they should paint everyday people engaged in everyday activities. After 1870, Courbet became deeply involved with the Paris Commune, for which he was later arrested and imprisoned. See James H. Rubin, Impressionism (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), p. 429. Camille Pissarro was born to Jewish parents in St. Thomas in the Danish (now US) Virgin Islands. He was known to be an anarchist who tended to idealise in his art the peasantry rather than industrial, bourgeois society, yet his works show acceptance of industrialisation as subject matter for art. The concept of political rebellion is problematic in the case of Manet, since he continued to exhibit at the traditional Salons as he refused to show at the Independent Exhibitions. These examples suggest that all artists had complex motivations that needed accommodating in a changing world.
Theodore Duret (1838-1927) and Emile Zola (1840-1902). These writers often ‘couched their praise in an idiom charged with political formulas and catch phrases’ during a political period when the monarchy and the republic vied for the political future of France. Furthermore, the artists’ interests in politicians was reflected in portraits such as in Edgar Degas’ *Henri Rouart, 1875* (Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, USA) (Plate 4) in Édouard Manet’s *Georges Clemenceau, 1879-80* (Kimberwell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, USA) (Plates 5) and his *Henri Rochefort, 1881* (Hamburg Kunsthalle Hamburg) (Plate 6). Indeed, recent scholars have increasingly argued that Impressionist artists were more politically conscious than has been acknowledged previously, and that Impressionism was more politically significant than recent popular Exhibitions wished to project. Whatever the individual artist’s political leanings, “new painting” did aim to appeal to the patrons of the rising *bourgeoisie*, as its iconography was unencumbered by classical text, whether sacred or profane. Some traditionalists went so far as to claim that ‘the political class of the Third Republic was a cabal of Protestants, Freemasons and Jews’. Undoubtedly this is exaggerated, yet it emphasizes France’s new society which included religious and ethnic minorities. Indeed, Impressionist iconography depicts the modernity of Haussmann’s newly built avenues and bridges, trains and railway stations, inner city scenes and new suburbs, all sites inhabited by traditionalists and modernists, as well as socialists, feminists, Jews and intellectuals, their identities affected by and affecting modernist changes.

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73 Nord, p. 6.
75 Nord, p. 7.
76 Ibid. pp. 7-8.
A New French System of 'Dealer-Critic-Patron'.

Hand in hand with these changes came cultural transformations that brought about the fundamental reconstruction of the French art market. This new market witnessed the development of novel methods of exhibiting and selling contemporary art by new types of art dealers, such as George Petit, Ambroise Vollard and the Jewish brothers Gaston and Jos Bernheim, and later their fellow Jews Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and Daniel Wildenstein. However, it was the Catholic Paul Durand-Ruel who, despite his dyed-in-the-wool royalist convictions, emerged as the major representative of the French Impressionists and post-Impressionists.

Indeed, before the early 1980s art historians had primarily concerned themselves with the analysis of art works, whereas after this date they began to expand the discourse to the economic and political aspects of modernist art. For example, Nicholas Green has argued that entrepreneurial and capitalist speculation in the visual arts, its production and its marketing, and its publicity and its consumption, were consciously part of an urban

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79 Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922).
81 Seminal benchmarks for the institutional approaches were studies H. White and C. White, Canvas and Careers; Albert Boime, 'Entrepreneurial Patronage', T. J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life; and Robert Jensen, Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siécle Europe (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), as well as the feminist interpretations of Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock of the 1990s.
metropolitan culture already by the mid-19th century. Indeed, this chapter and the following will show that Jews, as frequent leaders in the entrepreneurial capitalist system, were well placed in the marketing, publishing and consumption of modernist art.

**Modernist Art Dealer.**

Malcolm Gee’s study noted that French Impressionism signaled the ascendancy of a new patronage system that was distinct from the older Salon system or aristocratic patronage. Gee built on Green’s analysis, suggesting that art and modernism were marketed as a consumer product, but allows equally that Impressionism was the dawn of a new *Weltanschauung* and a new *Zeitgeist*. Furthermore, Gee traced a link between the ‘triumph of the dealer’ and the ‘triumph of the independent painting’, resulting in a celebration of individualism, innovation, subjectivism and perspectivism. Gee identified Paul Durand-Ruel as the most important of the ‘ideological’ art dealers. He suggests that Durand-Ruel believed not only in *l’art pour l’art*, but also appreciated the underlying ideologies of the Impressionist movement. Thereafter, most modernist dealers in France and Germany would consider Durand-Ruel as their role model in this and many other respects.

Modernist dealership consisted of numerous innovations, such as small group and solo exhibitions at commercial gallery spaces that in many ways reproduced the atmosphere of

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82 Nicholas Green, ‘Dealing in Temperaments’ (1987) argues that ‘texts are never free-floating [...] since they are always underpinned by professional allegiances and institutional structures’ (p. 75). He suggests that in France, contemporary ‘professional art history’ was linked to ‘bourgeois republican ideology’ of the 1870s and 1880s and therefore must be analysed in this context. Also see N. Green, ‘Circuits of Production, Circuits of Consumption: The Case of Mid-Nineteenth Century French Art Dealing’, *Art Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1 (1989): pp. 29-34.

83 By that I mean both the purchase of art works as well as patronising exhibitions.


85 Although Gee’s study covers 1910-1930 and looks at dealers, collectors and critics during a different period, his findings are still relevant for my study.
an elegantly furnished private home.86 This aspect emphasised the appeal of the small size of ‘new art’, which could easily be accommodated in the contemporary home of the new bourgeoisie. Furthermore, such exhibitions tended to forge closer relationships between artist, dealer and client. Ironically, however, this development highlighted the dependence of the independent artist on the dealer and his new methods. From the 1870s onwards, Durand-Ruel’s official and unofficial contracts with the artists assured him his leading role as the keenest representative of the Impressionists.87 Indeed, by the 1890s the changing art scene would actively demand that new art dealers adopt new marketing methods. The significance of these methods was fully recognised by the artists as they began to paint their dealer’s portraits, such as Paul Cézanne depicting Ambroise Vollard, 1899, (Musée de la Ville de Paris) (Plate 7), Auguste Renoir, Paul Durand-Ruel, 1910 (Private Collection, Paris) (Plate 8) and Pierre Bonnard, the Frères Bernheim, 1920 (Musée d’Orsay) (Plate 9).88

86 Durand-Ruel built the artist’s reputation and sold their works. He maintained that presenting the client with individual works achieved greater results and better prices. White and White, p. 125. Also see Green, ‘Circuits of Production’, p. 31. Green’s arguments were based on T. J. Clark’s Marxist analysis, which opened the art historical debate within an economic and financial context, hitherto untouched.

87 There are pleading letters to Durand-Ruel by Manet, Monet, Pissarro and others illustrating their wavering between demanding regular support, recognition and praise, which often meant the difference between financial hardship or some security. White and White, p. 127.

88 In 1885 Georges Petit arranged a Monet Exhibition; in 1886 a show for Monet and Renoir; and in 1887 a show for Monet, Renoir, Sisley and Pissarro. In 1887 Durand-Ruel exhibited in New York most of the Impressionist artists and in 1888 he showed Sisley, Renoir and Pissarro in Paris. The same year, the Paris dealers Boussod & Valadon – who employed Theo van Gogh – exhibited works by Monet; in 1889 Georges Petit showed Rodin and Monet and Durand-Ruel showed graphic works by Pissarro and Berthe Morisot, repeating a graphic exhibition in 1890. In 1889 Boussod & Valadon gave Pissarro a solo show. In 1891, Durand-Ruel showed in New York works by Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro and in 1892 gave Monet, Pissarro and Renoir solo shows in Paris. See White and White, pp. 144-45.

In this new relationship, Durand-Ruel worked out a pioneering financial arrangement that had been unavailable during the Salon system in which he paid a regular stipend to the artists under contract, official or unofficially, which helped many Impressionists achieve a measure of financial security. Dealers also presented artists' work within the artistic context of a 'school', whilst also organising their publicity campaigns for which laudatory reviews came to be substituted for earlier prizes such as Salon medals. Even negative reviews proved crucial in drawing the attention of the public. In addition, the art dealer emerged as a pro-active agent for both artist and client, and in the process built loyalty amongst patrons for the artist's overall career and oeuvre and sold more works. These changes empowered Durand-Ruel to become an impresario for art and artists to show their work internationally in Germany and the United States.

The new financial arrangement with the artists was part of the process whereby artists saw themselves as the nouvelle bourgeoisie and hoped that their art would appeal to the clientele of this expanding middle class. The artists' self-imposed social and economic pressures originated in their belief that producing art was a professional activity that came with a middle-class life-style that demanded a steady income, which was provided by the modernist dealer's stipend paid in advance of delivered work. Furthermore,

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89 In Germany, the modernist art market was led primarily by Paul Cassirer until 1914, his role often serving as a model for consecutive dealers such as the younger Alfred Flechtheim. (Düsseldorf, 1987) See Hans Peter Thur, Der Kunsthandlter. Wandlungen eines Berufes. (Hirmer Verlag, München, 1994) (I am indebted to Shulamith Behr for this reference).
90 Manet came from the upper-middle class; Degas was the son of a baker. Nochlin, The Politics of Vision, (New York: Harper & Row, 1989) p. 159. Bazille, Sisley and Cézanne were middle-class, whereas Monet and Pissarro were lower-middle-class and Renoir came from a working-class background. Pissarro, born to French Jewish merchant parents in the West Indies, settled in France in 1884 and had six children, 'Pissarro's Jewishness and Frenchness dictated values of family stability and protection,' White and White, p.134.
61 Being middle-class meant decent housing, a servant and the ability to entertain guests. It also implied decent clothing and sufficient food as well as travel and annual holidays, White and White p. 130.
Philip Nord, Impressionists and Politics. Art and Democracy in the Nineteenth Century (London, Routledge, 2000), p. 3. For further elucidation of art as a vehicle for the interpretation of politics, see John
French middle-class artists mixed in French Jewish avant-garde circles, the Jewish middle class being more conspicuous since the days of their legal enfranchisement after the Great French Revolution of 1789.  
Despite the artists’ middle-class status, Impressionism and the new marketing methods met with official resistance in most European countries. Indeed, archival data shows that from the thousands of paintings that passed through Durand-Ruel’s inventory, less than one hundred were actually placed in museums before Durand-Ruel’s early death in 1922. However, Wilhelmine Germany emerged – unexpectedly - the most successful country in the acquisition of Impressionist art in its museums; (Chapter V) furthermore, on a private level, there was a surprisingly enthusiastic reception of French modernism amongst German Jewish private collector-clientèle, not least because of the patronage of the Jewish art dealer Paul Cassirer. (See Chapters III and IV).

Modernist Writer-Critics

From the 1870s onwards, the Salon system with its jury panels was replaced by the ‘writer-critic’, who became a crucial figure in judging and assessing new art in an innovatory climate and thus developed into an arbiter of what should be bought and why. Two contrasting schools emerged: on the one hand, conservative reviewers perceived modernist art as politically subversive and radical. They saw it as a challenge to traditional subjects and hierarchies of representation, as the new painting often displayed

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94 Also see Appendices.
uncertainties in the physicality of the relationship of the objects or subjects depicted. On the other hand, modernist republican critics encouraged the break with the past and wanted to emphasize the present. These writers were Jules Castagnary, Zacharie Astruc and Philippe Burty, men who wrote for the Republican newspapers *Le Siècle, Le Rappel, Le Peuple souverain* and *République française* respectively, and who took up the cause of the modernist and controversial artists.95 Jules Castagnary, a true republican and one of the ‘prophets of Impressionism’, insisted on the relativity of beauty and recommended the interpretation of the visual world outside a preordained system. Ironically, he argued for the liberation of the Impressionists from any school, any political affiliation and subject matter, encouraging artists to represent their personal experience of modern life. Such purist support for *l'art pour l'art* was astonishing in a man like Castagnary, who was less of an art critic than a politician, and who, as a friend of Gambetta, ended his days as a Councillor in the Third Republic.96

One of the most political of all art critics was Théophile Thoré, a devoted democratic socialist who, after the June 1848 insurrections, took refuge in Belgium. There he published Salon criticism in the *Indépendence belge* only to return to France under the pseudonym of William Bürger after the amnesty of 1859. Thoré came to stand for the rejection of the ‘decadence of classical painting’. In his writings of the 1850s and 1860s,

95 Castagnary advocated the end of religious and mythological art and the dawn of ‘new painting’, pleading for a separation of Church and state (see Nord, p. 50), Zacharie Astruc supported the new school early and drew attention to Manet, writing in *L'Etendard* as early as June 1868. Burty worked at *Le Rappel* and pasted republican bookplates in his books; his political stance was clearly expressed in a letter, stating that he was “devoted under the Empire to the Republic and under the Republic to liberty.” Nord, p. 24. For writings by Théophile Thoré and Jules Antoine Castagnary, see Linda Nochlin, *Realism and Tradition in Art 1848-1900* (H.W. Janson (ed.) *Sources & Documents in the History of Art Series, H.W. Janson (Ed)* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

he ceaselessly demanded art that dealt with contemporary subjects in a contemporary manner. 97

Later republican views were represented by writers Emile Zola, Theodore Duret and Edmond Durany. Durany had defined *la nouvelle peinture* in 1876 as the product of a particular social and historical circumstance, and the expression has been used as a synonym for Impressionist works thereafter. 98 By the late 1870s, despite many critics being sceptical of the movement as a whole, most favored certain individual artists and singled them out for praise. Thus each writer-critic emphasized different priorities. Indeed, art historians since the 1980s have increasingly drawn attention to the individual artist’s interpretation of his chosen themes, rather than focusing on the originality of style and technique. 99 Art historians have begun to examine the ‘metropolitan debate about city, suburb and country’, demanding an analysis of contemporary beliefs, opinions and discussions around the painted subjects. They have become increasingly aware that these artists were concerned about these issues as much as the novelty of their technique, the changing circumstances of their working environment, and the new methods of exhibiting *la nouvelle peinture*. 100 Indeed, this was crucially recognised in the aftermath of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and the suppression of the Commune in 1871, as the repressive

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97 N ochlin, Realism and Tradition (1966) p. 11.
98 Zola’s Impressionist criticism was first published in a Russian periodical, which was later reprinted in *Le Figaro* and *Le Voltaire*. He published *L’Œuvre*, a critical novel set in the Paris art world, the main characters reputedly modelled on Cézanne and Manet. Zola’s art criticism, journalism and political writings were all part of his human rights agenda. Duranty hailed Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Renoir and Berthe Morisot as painters of “light and atmosphere” in *Les Peintres Impressionists* (1878).
99 For the divergent interpretations, see John Rewald’s study which was followed by socio-economic cultural interpretations of Herbert’s *Impressionism: Art, Leisure and Parisian Society* (1988) and T. J. Clark’s *The Paintings of Modern Life* (1999) and various monographs on Monet, Manet and Pissarro by John House.
're-established' art establishment demanded a revival of traditional painting. However, the new Republican government headed by Jules Grevy loosened political and social controls, and after 1879 the representation of contemporary life was encouraged. However, the new Republican government headed by Jules Grevy loosened political and social controls, and after 1879 the representation of contemporary life was encouraged.101 Increasingly, Republicans acceded to political office towards the end of the century and began to extend to Impressionism a reserved but growing patronage.102 Thus, modernist art critics also achieved a different platform of credibility. This was again highlighted by the fact that Impressionist artists had begun to paint critic-writers such as Manet's painting Zacharie Astruc in 1863, (Kunsthalle Bremen) (Plate 10) Emile Zola in 1888/9 (Musée de Louvre) (Plate 11) and Theodore Duret in 1868 (Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris) (Plate 12), and Degas portraying Edmond Duranty in 1879 (Glasgow, the Burrell Collection) (Plate 13) which could be expanded with many further examples. Modernist Amateur-Collectors.103 What the critics achieved with their theoretical writings and supportive reviews, the first and second waves of French 'amateur-collectors' achieved with their purchasing power, sympathy and ideological support. Indeed, with a new and closer relationship between artist, dealer, critic and patron, artists began to portray their new supporters on a regular basis. For example, there is Manet's painting of the celebrated opera singer-actor, Jean-Baptiste Faure as Hamlet, 1877 (Folkwang Museum, Essen) (Plate 14) and Renoir's painting of the custom official's wife Madame Chocquet, 1875, (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Stuttgart, Germany) (Plate 15) and her husband, Victor Chocquet, 1876, (Oskar Reinhardt Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland) (Plate 16). Increasingly, the new bourgeoisie

101 House, p. 4.
102 Nord, p. 9.
103 In the Oxford English Dictionary, a patron is 'one who countenances, supporters or protects; one who stands to another or others in relations analogous to those of a father.' See White and White, p. 150.
commissioned works. For example, Charpentier commissioned Renoir to paint his family; Charpentier was a committed modernist patron, who had established in 1879 *La Vie Moderne*, an art journal and a gallery of the same name, its ideology emphasising 'modern' life and a 'modern' vision.\(^{104}\) Renoir was to portray his wife and daughters, *Madame Charpentier et ses enfants*, 1878 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Plate 17), a work which was highly praised. However, Renoir also painted more modest patrons, such as the ex-pastry cook turned hotelier-restauranteur, Eugene Murer, *Portrait of Eugene Murer*, 1887 (Enid A. Haupt Collection) (Plate 18). Paul Cézanne also painted *Victor Chocquet in an Armchair*, 1877 (Lord Rothschild Collection, London) (Plate 19).

Other important collectors were the financier and department store owner Ernest Hoschede, the margarine manufacturer and industrialist Auguste Pellerin, and the historian Etienne Moreau-Nalaton. Minor collectors – restricted by their finances if not by their enthusiasm – included the art supply shop owner Père Tanguy, who sat for Vincent van Gogh, see *Père Tanguy*, 1887, (Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Denmark) (Plate 20). Tanguy became a minor collector by exchanging canvases, paints and other materials for artists' paintings. There was also the doctor who had treated van Gogh in his last years and who had become one of van Gogh’s dedicated supporters, sitting for his celebrated portrait *Dr. Gachet*, 1890 (Ryoei Saito Collection and Musée d’Orsay) (Plate 21).\(^{105}\) Indeed, all artists and most patrons were ‘self-made men’ of the expanding middle classes. Thus, Impressionist iconography represented the more inclusive experience of their private and public lives, whether real or idealised. Their

\(^{104}\) Charpentier published Zola, Maupassant, Goncourt and Daudet. The political leaning of Charpentier was radical and corresponded to his avant-garde artistic leanings. He supported the republican Gambetta, Clemenceau and Geoffrey who met regularly at his salon. His gallery gave Renoir his first solo show and he also published Edmond Renoir’s article on his brother, Auguste.
oeuvre showed images of the grand and petit bourgeoisie enjoying themselves at the theatre, at concerts and at the opera and dance performances; it showed them in street cafes, private and public gardens, on rivers and boats, at racetracks in Paris and the suburbs, in the country and at the seaside.\textsuperscript{106} It short, the artists' lives were not dissimilar from the lives of the dealer-critic-patron circle. These patrons helped to build the artists’ self-esteem and reputation at a time when the general press and public still dismissed most of these painters as ‘subversive’ or as ‘lunatics’.\textsuperscript{107} Moreover, this circle provided more widely and generously for larger numbers of artists than the Academic arrangements had ever done previously.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{105}The most supportive of all patrons was fellow artist Gustave Caillebotte, whose large collection bequest to the French nation was rejected on several occasions.\textsuperscript{106} Robert L. Herbert, \textit{Impressionism}.\textsuperscript{107} White and White, p.150.\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p.151.
The Internationalism of French Impressionism.

The following assessment of the reception and marketing of Impressionism outside France - mainly of Paul Durand-Ruel - is relevant for several reasons. By examining the slow growth of international Impressionist exhibitions and sales, there is evidence that by 1898, when the Cassirer art gallery opened in Berlin, there was a track record of Impressionism being shown and bought across various cities in Europe and the USA. Moreover, I shall argue that the internationalism of such art held an attraction for German Jewish collectors, since their personal and professional connections were international and their outlook cosmopolitan, attitudes that ran parallel to their patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor.

Paul Durand-Ruel understood that marketing art works in the context of the new school required the support of independent art reviews.109 Thus in 1870 he founded the Revue Internationale de l'Art et de la Curiosité, a journal that reviewed art collections and their auction sales, drawing attention to the significance of the collector-patron.110 He recognised that there was a circulatory development in progress: gallery sales and art publications built the artist's reputation; at the same time, these sales reflected the amateurs' taste, the latter being influenced and shaped by critical writings on art.111 Art journals and art criticism were thus used for publicity in the new art market. This was a development that was adapted to Berlin by Paul and Bruno Cassirer. Indeed, when they

109 Jean-Marie-Fortune Durand-Ruel died on June 15, 1865; he left his son Paul a stationery shop, which he developed into a modernist art dealership. Paul Durand-Ruel helped the banker Charles Edwards to build an art collection, which the dealer subsequently offered for sale at auction (Hotel Drouot, 13-27 February 1870). This sale was advertised in the Chronique des Arts, the art news supplement to the Gazette des Beaux-Arts. It drew attention to the sale of a complete collection and placed it in the context of a ‘school’, which was a modernist concept.
111 The journal folded in 1871. See White & White, p. 125.
split their original Kunstsalon Cassirer venture in 1901, Paul retained the art gallery and Bruno opened a publishing house that promoted international modernism in art and literature, with a particular focus of modernist art in his journal *Kunst und Künstler*.

Paul Durand-Ruel was a pioneer on many levels, and I suggest that some of his new ideas were brought about by his year in London during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870; here he met Monet and Pissarro, who were also taking refuge across the channel during the war. Indeed, it might have been here that he decided to market the art of Pissarro, Monet and their contemporaries outside France and exhibit their work not only in England and Scotland, but also in Germany and the United States. In fact, after the early 1870s, Durand-Ruel remained no longer a conventional art merchant who waited for clients to come to him, but emerged in a sense as an impresario who offered art on and to an international market. By the early 1870s, he had bought premises in London’s New Bond Street, where he held two French Impressionist exhibitions, trading under the name *Société des Artistes Français*. During the 1880s he held several more exhibitions, by which time the French dealer Bussod & Valladon had also established a London branch.\footnote{\textsuperscript{112} It is feasible that both the dealers were strengthened in their enterprise by the first English language history of French Impressionism by Mrs. C.H. Stranahan, published in 1889.} Durand-Ruel’s London and Glasgow exhibitions continued until 1914, although exhibitions must not be mistaken for actual sales.\footnote{\textsuperscript{113} Durand-Ruel’s large 1905 exhibition of 315 Impressionists works at the London Grafton Galleries proved a break through. He showed fifty-nine works by Renoir, fifty-five works by Monet, forty-nine by Pissarro, thirty-seven by Sisley, and thirty-five by Degas. The Roger Fry-organised exhibition at the Grafton Galleries (1910) showed nineteen works by Manet, thirteen by Morisot, and ten by Cézanne: it was thus a predominantly post-Impressionist exhibition. See Madeleine Korn, Collecting Modern Foreign Art in Britain before the Second World War (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Reading, January, 2001). Korn brings}
organise Impressionist exhibitions in Scandinavia, such shows took place in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo and where the Oslo Kunstdtillingen acquired its first Impressionist work in 1890, Monet's *Rainy Weather* (1886). In 1896 the Nationalmusuem in Stockholm accepted a gift by the Swedish painter, Andreas Zorn, who donated Manet’s *Young Boy Peeling a Pear* (1868). Although Zurich dealers Chaine & Simonson held the first Impressionist exhibition in 1897, it was not until 1912 that Durand-Ruel achieved regular sales to Swiss clients, which continued throughout World War I due to the country’s neutrality. With the influence of the Zurich gallery Bollag and art consultant Charles Montag, the Swiss became significant Impressionist collectors. From the late 19th century onward, Russia’s two leading modernist collectors were the St. Petersburg patron Sergei Shchukin (1854-1936) and the Muscovite brothers, Mikhail and Ivan Morozov (1871-1921) who were both clients of Durand-Ruel. Durand-Ruel's breakthrough in the USA came with a major exhibition in New York of 1885-86, entitled *300 Works in Oil and Pastels by the Impressionists of Paris*, where he showed works by Degas, Pissarro, Monet, Renoir, Sisley and Seurat. Thereafter, Durand-Ruel showed regularly in New York, St. Louis and Pittsburgh. It is not surprising that “new painting” found the most enthusiastic resonance in the “New World” which was unencumbered by traditions and stood for modernity and modernism in all walks of life.

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115 See John Rewald’s chronology for years 1885-86 in *The History of Impressionism*.
116 For the reception of one particular artist in the USA, see John O’ Brian, *Ruthless Hedonism: The American Reception of Matisse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). As to the reception of French modernism in American museums, there appears to be no equivalent to the exhibition catalogue, *Impressionism: Paintings Collected by European Museums* (1999)
However, French modernist art was still only supported and bought by a small circle of eccentric avant-garde patrons before the turn of the century, although thereafter most European countries and the United States were exhibiting and buying French modernist art. Indeed, within this context it seems less surprising to find that German Jews in Wilhelmine Germany became modernist art patrons; indeed, they created a strong art market in private purchases and and public sponsorship, a market that they helped to create and that became the strongest in Europe before 1914 (See Chapters III, IV and V).

**French Impressionist Artists and French Jews.**

This section looks at French Impressionism and French Jews in order to focus on the curious attraction that German Jews displayed for French Impressionism in Wilhelmine Germany. In order to understand this surprising phenomenon, it is relevant to examine the extent of the Jewish participation in the Paris art world after 1871. Indeed, as Linda Nochlin and other scholars have repeatedly observed, it would have been ‘difficult to participate in the vanguard art world of the later 19th century without coming into contact with Jews in one way or another’.  

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117 Interestingly, Dianna Sachko Macleod’s chapter on Victorian culture and middle class identity in Manchester and Birmingham identified the northerner as “independent, practical, rough, calculating and enterprising”, and the southerner as “genteel, graceful, romantic, idealistic and benevolent.” Are any of these characteristics attributable to Jewish patrons? I suggest that hypothetically, the characteristic northern stereotypes have in the past been applied to a new Jewish middle-class identity and therefore might be relevant here. Dianna Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 88.

French Jews as Entrepreneurial Art Collectors.

Isaac and Emile Péreire.

Albert Boime evaluated the French art market in the 19th and 20th centuries and drew the following conclusions:119 (1) The collecting of art was an urgent need for most entrepreneur-patrons; (2) entrepreneurs who amassed important collections were business leaders in their respective areas and helped set contemporary taste; (3) entrepreneurs who hired artists to design their industrial products were likewise innovative; in cases where this practice was joined to art collecting, thus some entrepreneurs revolutionised their industries; and (4) the relationship of an entrepreneur’s political and economic ideals to the profile of his art patronage is highly varied.

Boime cites the zealous eclecticism of the Faubourg Saint-Honoré mansion of the Jewish brothers Isaac and Emile Péreire, railway magnates and founders of the bank Crédit Mobilier. Boime points to their independent taste and their ‘individual temperaments’ that responded to a changing, dynamic world.120 But their over crowded mansion was at times interpreted as vulgar and pretentious. One mid-19th-century Péreire biographer referred to the Hotel Péreire as a palais d’un prince whilst he suggested that the Péreires could be forgiven their ‘Jewishness’ because of their high level of taste.121 This was presumably a reference to works by Boucher, Fragonard, Greuze, Lancret and Pater, and Spanish works by Velazquez, Murillo, Cano, Riera, Zurbaran, El Greco and Goya.122 It may also have referred to Dutch artists Ruysdale, Cuyp, Hobbema, Ter Borch, de Hooch, Dou and Adrien Van de Velde, some works particularly praised by the critic-

120 Boime, p. 139.
121 Boime cites the Péreire biographer, (p. 143 ) M.Casti le, Les frères Pereires, p.41 (Paris, 1861)
cum-politician Thore-Burger. Indeed, their extensive art collection encompassed all the major French artists, such as Delacroix, Ingres, Rousseau, Diaz, Meissonier, Decamps, Chassériau, Tissot, Gérôme, Scheffer and Delaroche. The latter was a close family friend who painted the portrait of Emile Péreire. The brothers had already patronized contemporary artists as early as 1857, when they commissioned Bouguereau for wall decorations and they also began to collect the early works by the Impressionists.

According to Boime, the Péreire brothers displayed a ‘need for Faustian universality rather than partisan exclusiveness’. Their ‘inclusive outlook and patronage’ marked them as a ‘the new brand of entrepreneur-patron’. However, Boime also argues that most 19th century collectors were ‘motivated both by jealous regard for their collections, and by a super patriotism based variously on guilt feelings, a sense of cultural inferiority, and ethnic self-consciousness’. Jewish and Protestant collectors in particular collected art out of a ‘self-conscious need for respectability and elegance along the lines of the landed aristocracy’.

122 Art bought in England in 1850s. For a rich literature on the brothers Péreires, see M. Castille’s biography V. Fond, Panthéon des illustrations française au xixe siècle (Paris, 1869), vol. 1, cited by Boime, pp. 142, 145 and 192.
124 Emile Péreire contributed to the painter’s posthumous retrospective at École des Beaux-Arts in 1857; see Boime, p. 145.
125 Ibid., p. 139 and p.145.
126 Ibid., p. 146.
127 Ibid., p. 139.
128 Ibid., p. 147. Earlier entrepreneurial collectors of 17th century Dutch and 18th century French paintings were generations of Rothschilds, but it would be wrong to assume that this reflected conservative attitudes. Indeed, the Rothschilds were significant patrons of individual artists, museums and government art schools. Their private collections included art, furniture, tapestries, manuscripts, enamels, ivories, porcelains, bronzes, glass, jewels, and gold and silver objects of all periods. Various members of the Rothschild family employed five generations of art historians and cataloguers. However, none became known as modernist patrons. It was only in the 1920s that the French Baron, Robert de Rothschild took an interest in Renoir. His son, Baron Elie, extended his interests to the avant-garde. See Boime, pp. 141, 150.
Isaac de Camondo and Other Patrons.

Besides the Jewish Péreire brothers, Isaac de Camondo, a Sephardi Jew whose family originated in Constantinople, was another Paris banker and major modernist art collector. He made the extraordinary bequest to the French nation and the Louvre accepted between 1908 and 1911 his donation of furniture and objets d'art, as well as 135 paintings and drawings and 450 Japanese prints. Camondo’s celebrated modernist collection included works by Camille Pissarro, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Édouard Manet, Alfred Sisley, Vincent van Gogh, Henri Toulouse-Lautrec and Paul Cézanne. Until this bequest, the Louvre had usually accepted only works by artists who had been deceased for at least ten years; however, an exception was made in Camondo’s case. Thus, this Louvre acceptance set the seal of approval on modernist art, and Camondo’s private collection became one of the major assets of a traditional French state museum. His bequest proved to be a watershed in the history of incorporating Impressionism in public museums, as well as legitimising private collectors’ support of modernist art. Indeed, Camondo was a leading entrepreneur-mécène, who displayed not only his belief in the new school but also manifested his pride in belonging to the cultural avant-garde and through his bequest wanted to influence the taste of the nation. Indeed, French Jews were active in print communities and the civil service and army, (not withstanding the polarisation caused by the Dreyfus Affair) which stood in contrast to their status in Wilhelmine Germany. Here Jews occupied a very different public role, as Roger Brubaker has pointed out: the German definition of the ‘Volk’ constitutes a community of descent, based on jus sanguinis, rather than the French policy of naturalisation, which...
is a mixture of both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*. Thus German Jews fundamentally occupied a very different position and their acceptance into the German nation continued to be problematic (See Chapters II, III and IV).

Indeed, the French Jewish Rothschilds, the Camondos, Péreires, Foulds and Cahen d’Anvers had a significant social presence in the social circle of Geneviève Straus’s fashionable Paris salon. Their social circle included Jews like Alfred Reitlinger, a supporter of the *Consistoire Israélite*, Carel Dreyfus, a conservationist at the Louvre, Ernest Reyer, the music critic for *Le Journal des débats* and Charles Ephrussi, the founder of the *Gazette des beaux-arts*. This circle also included Charles Haas and the artists Renoir and Degas, who ceased to mix with these Jewish circles as the Dreyfus affair unfolded, as will be shown below.

**Impressionist Artists and French Jewish Circles**

Although there were a relatively significant number of Paris Jews who had been patrons of early 19th-century cultural project as shown earlier, now more French Jews became commissioning patrons. They became dealers, publishers and collectors; they

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130 See William Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1992) (I am indebted to Shulamith Behr for this reference). To support this thesis, also see individual biographies of German Jewish patrons in chapters IV and V.


132 They were immortalised by Marcel Proust in *La Recherche du Temps Perdu*. See also Marcel Proust, *Correspondance avec Madame Straus* (Paris: Editions 10/18, 1994). Geneviève Straus was the daughter of Jacques Halévy (François Fromental), who became known for the opera *La Juive*. Geneviève Straus was first married to George Bizet, the French composer and pupil of Halevy; after Bizet’s death she married Emile Straus, a lawyer, representing Rothschild’s interests. Jacques Halévy was the uncle of Ludovic Halévy, whose relationship with Edgar Degas is explored later this chapter.

133 After the French Revolution, Napoleon established the *Consistoire Israélite* which became the central organ of the Jewish communities in France.

134 The Ephrussi family originated from Odessa, in southern Russia; Charles Ephrussi was a cousin of Carl Bernstein who became the first Berlin Impressionist collector through his influence; see Chapter IV.

135 Charles Haas was the model for Proust’s Swann; Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision*, p. 149.
were salon hosts to artists, musicians and intellectuals and slowly established their presence, despite their minority status. In short, they unequivocally announced their presence in the modernist cultural life of the capital. A new climate also changed perspectives, regarding the Jew as a subject for modernist art, which to a greater or lesser extent mirrored the perception of Jews in avant-garde circles. It is crucial to mark this interest of Impressionist artists in French Jews.

Indeed, this situation was novel; previously, Jews had appeared in biblical scenes or in oriental context; during the 19th century, Jews were painted by Jewish artists in a Jewish setting, mainly addressed to a Jewish clientele. In contrast to these Jewish interpretations, western art often depicted Jews as unsympathetic, in anti-Semitic contexts or as stereotypical caricatures. Now, with the dawn of Impressionism, French Jews began to make an appearance in the ‘paintings of modern life’. This was a milestone in the cultural history of European Jewry, one that marks their entrance into the iconography of secular European art - however contested the early years of French Impressionism were within the canon of western art.

136 See Pierre Assouline, Le dernier des Camondo pp. 19-64.
137 See Richard I. Cohen, Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe (Berkeley, 1998)
**French Impressionist Artists, French Jews and the Dreyfus Trials.**

The following section will examine how the attitudes and appearances of French Jews in French Impressionist iconography were complicated by the Dreyfus trials, which lasted over some ten years and split French society and polarised the artistic avant-garde. Whereas Degas, Cézanne, Renoir were anti-Dreyfusards, Manet, Monet, Signac and Mary Cassatt were pro-Dreyfusard, and Emile Zola emerged as the most illustrious voice for the defence of the Jewish army captain.

**Hilaire Germain Degas (1834 -1917)**

Before the Dreyfus affair, Jews appeared regularly in Degas’ works, such as in *Rabbi Astruc and General Mellinet*, 1871 (Mairie de Gerardmer, Ville de Gerardmer, Vosges, France) (Plate 22). The painting was commissioned by the two sitters whilst they were working together in the ambulance service during the siege of Paris of 1870. Astruc was the chief rabbi of Belgium and assistant to the rabbi of Paris, whilst Mellinet was a staunch republican, anti-clerical and a freemason. The portrait was to ‘recall their fraternal effort’. Degas also painted his Jewish artist friend *Henri Michel-Lévy*, 1878 (Foundation Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, Portugal) (Plate 23) and in the same year, he also painted *À la Bourse*, 1879 (Musée d’Orsay, Paris) (Plate 24), a work that has been interpreted as a signifier of the Jew’s status in the financial world of Paris. Before the rise of anti-Semitism, Degas had mixed socially with Ludovic Halévy and Ernest May, a

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139 Nochlin, *Politics of Vision*, p.150. Degas reveals the camaraderie between the two men, but also emphasises the contrasts of age, type and character.
Jewish banker and art patron, the other figure in the painting of *A La Bourse*. However, Linda Nochlin interprets *A La Bourse* as an anti-Semitic image very much in keeping with contemporary stereotypes.\textsuperscript{141} Nochlin does not find May’s Semitic features offensive, but rather disapproves of the ‘confidential touching’ of the main figures. Moreover, she interprets the two figures of the odd couple in the far left background as having the allure of a Jewish financial conspiracy of passing on ‘insider’ information. Nochlin interprets this as a vignette of modern commerce. Indeed, the role of Jews in the rising capitalist system was a theme that was difficult to avoid in France during the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{142} (An economic development accompanied by serious and conflicting controversies in Germany, see Chapters II, III).

Degas repeatedly drew or painted his close boyhood friend and “fellow habitué of the coulisses of the Opera”, Ludovic Halevy (1834-1908).\textsuperscript{143} Indeed, the two men collaborated on the series of the *Famille Cardinal* with Degas contributing the illustrations such as *Ludovic Halevy meeting Mme Cardinal backstage 1877*, (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Stuttgart, Germany) (Plate 25).\textsuperscript{144} Degas also painted *Ludovic
Halevy and Albert Boulanger-Cavé, 1879 (Musée d’Orsay, Paris) (Plate 26), the image showing two members of Degas’ close circle chatting on the wings of the Opera stage. In fact, it had been Halevy who had introduced Degas to the exclusive world of opera. However, the close relationship between Degas and Halevy changed as a result of the Dreyfus Affair. Although Halevy’s Jewish origins seemed to have had no significance previously, in December 1897, after the trial, Degas broke off his long friendship with Halevy. Their friendship ended because of Degas' open anti-Semitic stance and Halevy’s belief in the innocence of the accused. Halevy, despite his Catholic conversion and his marriage to a Protestant wife, nonetheless considered himself to be ‘irrevocably, a Jew’. Degas became rabid anti-Semite and anti-Dreyfusard, who only paid his last respects to his friend at Ludovic’s death in 1908. Considering Degas’ strength of feeling about Jews after the Dreyfus Affair, it seems surprising that he had not manifested any overt hostility nor displayed any coherent ideology of anti-Semitism previously. Indeed, many members of the Halevy family surface in Degas’ œuvre, such as the father and son appearing in the unconventional and strange pastel of Six friends in Dieppe, 1885, (Museum Art Rhode Island, Providence, USA) (Plate 27). Degas also executed a sketch for a painting of Charles Ephrussi, the Jewish publisher of the avant-garde journal Gazette de Beaux Arts, although the painting never materialized. Indeed, before the Dreyfus era, Degas had often painted salonnière

“A House is not a Home”, pp. 53-60.
Nochlin, Politics of Vision, p. 151. Halevy wrote in a letter to the editor of the Archives Israélites in 1883, “You are perfectly right to think and say that the moral link between myself and the Jewish Community has not been broken. I felt myself to be and will always feel myself to be of the Jewish race. And it is certainly not the present circumstances, not these odious persecutions [the current pogroms in Russia and Hungary] that will weaken such a feeling in my soul. On the contrary, it will only strengthen it.”
Nochlin, p. 163.
Ibid., p. 151.
Nochlin, Politics of Vision, p. 150.
portraits, including a sketch of Madame Hayem, the wife of Charles Hayem, (a republican supporter of Gambetta) in the company of the poet Barbey d’Aurevilly and Madame Hayem’s father, Adolphe Franck, the distinguished Cabbalah scholar. Both Hayem and Franck were active in the Jewish community: Franck was a member of the Central Consistoire and Hayem and Franck were early members of the Jewish self-help, educational and philanthropic Alliance Israélite Universelle. Hayem was also an art collector with a particular liking for Gustave Moreau, who was Degas’ former teacher. In summary, Degas' anti-Semitism coloured his relationship to Jewish artists and patrons on many levels, but - with some exceptions, as discussed above - the content of his art was untouched by his anti-Semitism. Indeed, it must be noted that his art did not lose its attraction for Jewish collectors-clients (See Chapters III, IV and V).

Degas anti-Semitism also affected his relationship with Camille Pissarro. The Jewish Thadée Natanson, founder-publisher of the revolutionary journal La Revue Blanche and defender of the literary and artistic avant-garde recalled how the artist’s voice trembled with emotion whenever he pronounced the name of Pissarro, with whom he had also fallen out over the Dreyfus Affair, despite their closeness in the early 1870s. Degas remained unforgiving and did not attend Pissarro’s funeral in 1903, pleading illness in a letter to Pissarro’s son.

149 Nord, pp. 57-58.
150 According to Nord, p. 104, Renoir, with Julie Manet’s approval, dismissed Gustave Moreau’s works as “Jew art.”
152 Nochlin, Politics of Vision, p. 163.
153 Ibid.
Auguste Renoir (1841-1919)  

More complex was the case of Renoir’s relationship to Jews and particularly to Pissarro. Renoir fell out with the whole Pissarro family after the first Dreyfus trial in 1897, denouncing ‘the Jewish race’ as a ‘tenacious tribe of cosmopolitans and draft dodgers’.  

According to Julie Manet, herself an anti-Dreyfusard, Renoir had told her that Jews ‘come to France to make money, but the moment a fight is on, they hide behind the first tree’. However, he then contradicted himself by going on to say ‘There are so many in the army because the Jews like to parade around in fancy uniforms. Every country chases them out, there is a reason for that, and we must not allow them to occupy such a position in France’.  

Again, loyalties to the nation state were questioned even among artists who once had been close. Thus, even in France, Jews could be seen as outsiders in a country where they had been legally enfranchised a century previously and where they now enjoyed a ‘presence and a voice’.  

However, despite some misgivings about Jews, Renoir retained his friendship with Thadée Natanson, who commissioned him to paint his Polish pianist wife and Salon hostess, Misia Sert. Indeed, Renoir accepted portrait commissions from other Jewish patrons, such as the double portrait of the sisters Alice and Elisabeth Cahen d’Anvers and the single portrait of the third sister Irene, the children of the Jewish banker Louis Raphael and Louise Cahen d’Anvers. He also painted the girl’s pianist uncle, Albert

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154 For a new interpretation of Renoir (as a man, not as an artist) see Robert L. Herbert Nature’s Workshop: Renoir’s Writing on the Decorative Arts (Yale University Press, 2000). Herbert argues - despite Renoir’s sexist and anti-Semitic biases - for a more sensitive interpretation of the man.

155 Nord, p. 104.

156 Ibid.

Henri Cahen d’Anvers. After the portraits of *Irine Cahen d’Anvers*, 1880 (Foundation/Collection Bührle, Zurich) (Plate 28), and *Alice and Elisabeth Cahen d’Anvers*, 1881 (Museo de Arte de Sao Paulo) (Plate 29), Renoir distanced himself from the Anvers, as he dismissed the family as ‘a stingy lot’.\(^{158}\)

On the other hand, he accepted several more commissions from the Bernheim family during the first decade of the 20th century, such as the portrait of *Madame Gaston Bernheim*, 1901 (Musée d’Orsay, Paris) (Plate 30) the portrait of *Madame Josse Bernheim-Jeune and son Henry*, 1910 (Musée d’Orsay) (Plate 31) and *Monsieur et Madame Bernheim de Villers*, 1910 (Musée d’Orsay, Paris) (Plate 32).

Indeed, Jean Renoir, August Renoir’s son, wrote in his father’s biography that his father ‘liked them [the Bernheims] for their fundamental honesty - they were the first to inform him of the high prices ... his pictures had bought - for their courtesy and, quiet sincerely [admired them] for the grand style in which they lived’.\(^{159}\) Jean Renoir also recalled his father’s admiration for the Bernheim’s magnificent chateau, their charming townhouse, their dozen motorcars, their handsome children and beautiful wives whose skin ‘took the light’.\(^{160}\) Indeed, the Bernheim brothers promoted his work consistently, culminating with a Renoir retrospective in 1913.\(^{161}\) (Renoir was also represented by Durand-Ruel and Ambroise Vollard.)

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\(^{158}\) Nord, p. 60.


\(^{160}\) Ibid, p. 445 Jean Renoir also remembers how the Bernheims were sincerely distressed when they saw that Renoir’s arthritic condition was growing worse by 1912 and how they found him a Viennese doctor who was promising to help. Ibid, p. 445

\(^{161}\) Octave Mirbeau, another early champion of Impressionists, both as a writer and collector, particularly Monet and van Gogh, wrote the introduction to the Exhibition catalogue. See Nicholas Wadley (ed.) *Renoir A Retrospective*, 1987, as cited in Anne Distel, *Renoir, A Sensuous Vision* (New Horizon, Thames & Hudson, London 1995).
The artist also had close contact with the Jewish art publisher and heir to a banking family Charles Ephrussi, who was a keen patron of "new painting" and a private collector of Renoir's works and other Impressionists. Ephrussi often helped to attract attention for their works abroad through his personal family connections in Berlin and Vienna, such as influencing his cousin Carl Bernstein in Berlin in the early purchase of French Impressionist art in 1882. (Chapter IV). Ephrussi himself made an appearance as the top-hatted figure seen from the rear in the background of Renoir's *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, 1881 (Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C. USA) (Plate 33).

**Edouard Manet (1832 - 1883)**

In 1862, Manet had painted the *Old Musician*; (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) (Plate 34) this enigmatic group has continually been interpreted by art historians as a paradigm of modernism. However, little has been made of the fact that the central figure of the musician was based on a Jewish model and that the half figure at the edge of the canvas was the ‘Jew’ who was cropped into a half presence. Could Manet have meant it to be an allegory for Jews and modernity in mid-19th century France? 162

In 1886, Manet had painted one of his oldest friends, the Jewish poet and critic Zacharie Astruc, a writer who had supported Manet since 1863. Manet had many Jewish acquaintances such as the artist and neighbour Alphonse Hirsch, whose daughter he used as the child model for his painting *Gare St. Lazare* in 1873 (National Gallery of Art,

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Washington, D.C.) (Plate 35). Manet was frequently visited in his studio by Charles Ephrussi, who was often accompanied by his cousin, the banker Marcel Bernstein.

Indeed, Manet painted Bernstein’s son Henri dressed in a sailor suit, in Portrait of Henri Bernstein, enfant, 1881 (Private Collection) (Plate 36). As for the Dreyfus Affair, Manet did not break off his relationship with his Jewish patrons and friends.

**Claude Monet** (1840-1926)

There is no source regarding Monet’s direct relationship with French Jews as dealers or collectors. However, it was well known that Monet was a pro-Dreyfusard. During the Dreyfus Affair, he was working in Giverny but wrote to Zola in Paris on three occasions supporting his case for the acquittal of Dreyfus. Furthermore, he signed the ‘Manifesto of the Intellectuals’ – as did Signac and Pissarro’s son Lucien – which circulated amongst the universitaires and publicists shortly after the appearance of Zola’s J’accuse. Monet’s views were exemplified when he gave Le Bock to Georges Clemenceau as a mark of gratitude for ‘the fine campaign (you have waged) on behalf of right and truth’. In fact, Monet was very much part of the circle that rallied to the Dreyfusard case, ‘heteroclite crew they were: anarchist literateurs, republican politicians and not least of all veterans of the 'new paintings, artists, critics and dealers all in it together’.

163 The woman in the painting was Victorine Meurent, who had posed ten years earlier as Olympia, a favorite model of the artist, see also Bernard Denvir, The Chronicle of Impressionism (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p. 153.


165 Nord, p. 103


165 Nord, p. 103
Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947)

Bonnard was a protégé of the Jewish Natanson brothers, in particular Thadée, who was the publisher of La Revue Blanche. The journal was identified in a police report as the most important source of literary anarchism, as its text was provocatively anti-patriotic, anti-clerical and, in one touching episode, pro-Jewish. La Revue Blanche was a monthly founded in 1889 that aimed to bring together contemporary talent. Indeed, over the following decade the journal would include works by the artists Bonnard, Vuillard, Vallotton, Denis, Redon, Toulouse-Lautrec, Manet, Monet, Corot, Pissarro, Renoir and Sisley. The literary figures in the Natanson circle were equally impressive, and included such modernists as Proust, Gide, Valery, Verhaeren, Peguy, Jarry, Claudel, Apollinaire, Mallarmé, and music critic and composer Debussy.

Thadée Natanson and his glamorous Polish-born wife, Misia, held a weekly salon, entertaining writers and artists, many of whom painted them both; Misia in particular attracted attention as a red-haired muse and great beauty. Indeed, Bonnard's and Vuillard's life was centered on the Natanson for some ten years. Bonnard's Portrait Thadée Natanson 1897 (Private Collection) (Plate 37) is a quiet homage to their friendship. Bonnard often produced work for La Revue Blanche, such as the poster in 1894 (Plate 38) as well as painting Misia on several occasions, such as in Misia at Breakfast, 1896 (Private Collection) (Plate 39). (See also Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Portrait Misia Natanson at the piano, 1897, oil (Plate 40).

Bonnard was also drawn into the social circle of the Bernheim brothers, Gaston and Jos and their wives Suzanne and Mathilde, capturing them in the canvas Opera loge, 1908, oil, (Plate 41) against a crimson red background, Gaston in the foreground virtually
decapitated\textsuperscript{167} Many years later, he also commemorated their relationship in \textit{Portrait Bernheim-Jeune frères}, ca. 1920 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) (Plate 9).

**Edouard Vuillard** (1868-1940)

Another example of the close relationship between French modernist artists and Jews is the case of Eduard Vuillard's link with Joseph Hessel and Thadée Natanson. Hessel - employed by his cousins in their art gallery - and the Bernheim brothers became staunch patrons and supporters of Vuillard, their friendship lasting until Vuillard's death in 1940.\textsuperscript{168} Moreover, Vuillard had often painted members of the Hessel family, such as \textit{Madame Lucie Hessel avec chapeau vert}, 1905 (Private Collection) (Plate 42). On another occasion Madame Hessel appeared in a painting entitled \textit{Intérieur avec femme}, 1905 (Neue Pinakothek, Munich) (Plate 43), which shows her in the corner of a room. He also painted Misia in \textit{Misia and Cipa Godebski}, ca. 1897 (Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe) (Plate 44). The support of Vuillard by this Jewish circle was crucial to his life and work.

**Camille (Jacob-Abraham) Pissarro** (1830-1903)

As for Camille Pissarro, he fulfilled a special role as he was the only Jewish artist amongst the Impressionists. He was born into a family of Portuguese Sephardi descent who had immigrated from the Danish Virgin Islands to Bordeaux in 1855. Camille

\textsuperscript{166} Timothy Hyman, \textit{Bonnard} (Thames and Hudson, London 1998), p. 28 and p. 80.\textsuperscript{167} Timothy Hyman, p. 74\textsuperscript{168} Vuillard was fleeing from German troops in 1940 on the way to the Hesses' home in La Baule when he died; see 'Die Sammlung Tschudis', in Hugo von Tschudi und der Kampf p. 228. See also Guy Cogeval, \textit{Vuillard, Master of the Intimate Interior} (Thames and Hudson, London 2002) Alyse Gaultier, \textit{The Little Book of Vuillard} (Falmmarion, Paris 2002) and \textit{Vuillard Exh.Cat.} (Montreal Museum of Fine Art, National Gallery of Art, Washington 2003)
Pissarro became known as an exceptionally generous and generally unprejudiced man with no particular religious ties; politically, he was known as an anti-capitalist, socialist-anarchist.

Pissarro and Degas had collaborated in the organization of the 1st Independent Exhibition in 1874, and Degas asserted—this was before the Dreyfus trials—that Pissarro was 'without doubt the greatest artist of the period'. Pissarro had the distinction of being the only artist who participated in all eight Independent Exhibitions. He was often referred to as the 'father of the movement', not least because he kept the group together until 1886. His bearded appearance and manner prompted contemporaries to compare him with biblical figures. George Moore, for example, called him 'Abraham', Matisse called him 'Moses', and Cézanne and Thadée Natanson later even referred to him as 'God the Father'. As Natanson wrote in 1948: "Nothing of novelty or excellence appeared that Pissarro had not been among the first, if not the very first, to discern and to defend".

Despite his well known political views, Pissarro focused primarily on Impressionist landscapes and cityscapes; indeed, political themes rarely entered his work. The sole exception to this rule was his series of twenty-eight pen-and-ink drawings entitled Les turpitudes sociales, 1889, representing 'the exploiters and the exploited' and thus addressing the anti-capitalist themes that were currently highlighted by anti-Semitic agitators like Drumont and his followers. However, Pissarro's satirical series was intended as an

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169 Nochlin, p 149.
171 Eduard Drumont published in 1886 La France Juive. In such literature the Jew was depicted as having a "well-known hooked nose, the blinking eyes, clenched teeth, projecting ears, fingernails that are square instead of round and almond shaped, an excessively long torso, flat feet, round knees, extraordinarily turned-out toes and the soft, velvety hand of a hypocrite and a traitor." See Nochlin, p. 165. Indeed, anti-
educational book for his nieces, Esther and Alice Isaacson. None the less, some of the images were interpreted as anti-Semitic stereotypes, such as the figures in the individual images of *Capital* and *The Temple of the Golden Calf*, 1889, (Collection Daniel Skira, Geneva) (Plate 45); the series being reminiscent of caricatures by Charles Daumier and Charles Keene.

In a letter, Pissarro admitted that he considered the figures of capitalism, the Bischoffheims, the Oppenheims, the Rothschilds and the Foulds 'vulgar and ugly'.172 This proved that his own Jewishness did not immunise him against the anti-capitalist critique, which in his day was often linked to Jews. However, Pissarro's anti-capitalist stance did not automatically make him an anti-Semite, proving that Jews - like everyone else - held varying beliefs. On the other hand, Pissarro's Jewishness did give Renoir and Degas a reason to shun him, particularly during and after the Dreyfus Affair.

As one would expect, Pissarro himself was a Dreyfusard, possibly because of his ideals of truth and justice rather than out of solidarity with Dreyfus as a Jew. One might deduce that his stance therefore only proved his moral rather than his ethnic-religious priorities. Indeed, he wrote to Zola to congratulate him for his support, praising his 'great courage and nobility of your character', and expressing his hope that the democratic ideals of the new Republic would 'allow justice to prevail'.173 However, the Jew in Pissarro was much disturbed by the passions and recriminations unleashed by the Paris riots against Jews at the time of the Affair.174 He had no doubts as to what was at stake. According to Philip Nord, Pissarro described the pro-Dreyfusards as 'free men' against whom an alliance of capitalists were often both left wing and anti-Semitic. This placed would-be left-wing or progressive Jews in a quandary.

172 Nochlin, p. 144.
173 Nord, p. 102.
'generals and sprinklers of holy water' were plotting a coup. Indeed, Pissarro believed that they held the balance; and he hoped that the "healthy portion of the population" could grasp the danger to the Republic and come around to the side of Dreyfus and justice.\(^{175}\) Pissarro's political views became more radical in the years before his death in 1903.\(^{176}\) But this significant change did not, however, infuse his late work, and two younger critics, Octave Mirbeau and Gustave Geffroy, saw the artist as someone whose work revealed 'universal truth'.\(^{177}\)

**Conclusion**

This chapter has argued that French Impressionist artists - 'painters of modern life' - produced and displayed their work in a new political and cultural milieu. Furthermore, they were influenced in their painterly themes by political figures, supporting writer-critics and patron-collectors and served by modernist art dealers, all changes in line with the demands of the newly emerging Republican bourgeoisie. Thus ongoing political, social and cultural changes demanded a *nouvelle peinture* that brought changes in subject matter, as well as in style and technique.

Moreover, the chapter has shown the European and international reception of French Impressionism and has brought evidence for the close link between French Impressionist artists and French Jews within a Parisian avant-garde milieu. It has offered examples of French Jewish patrons, dealers and publishers and has highlighted the most outstanding French Jewish patron-collector as Isaac de Camondo, whose

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\(^{174}\) ibid.

\(^{175}\) Ibid.

\(^{176}\) Pissarro contributed a series of lithographs to the anarchist journal *Temps nouveaux.*

\(^{177}\) Turner, (ed.) 'From Monet to Cézanne', p. 332.
modernist bequest to the French nation (accepted by the Louvre 1908-1911) marked the turning point in the legitimisation of the art of Manet and his followers. The chapter has also shown how the Dreyfus Affair influenced the relationships between some French Impressionists and French Jews, although these changes did not prevent Jewish art dealers from continuing to exhibit anti-Dreyfusard artists such as Degas and Renoir.

By bringing evidence of the considerable Jewish participation in Parisian Impressionist art world, the chapter argues that the above developments offered new opportunities for Jews in the context of modernist life and art. Several factors were new, such as Jews now appearing in Impressionist iconography as ordinary individuals such as dealer-patrons rather than appearing predominantly in anti-Semitic caricatures.

Indeed, this personal and working relationship between Impressionists and Jews was clearly reflected in the artist’s *oeuvre*. In short, French visual modernism promoted politics and a set of aesthetics with which modernist Jews could identify. Indeed, French Impressionism broadcast a vision of modern life that could not but appeal to an art conscious, Jewish, progressive and modernising minority.

This chapter has shown that some of the Whites’ conclusions of the French 19th-century art market are not tenable, as they have argued that the new system of ‘dealer-critic-patron’ neither influenced the artist’s work in ‘content or form nor changed the public’s taste’. 178 This chapter has shown otherwise; admittedly, it could be argued that the political images or those images that incorporate Jewish subjects do not necessarily represent the most outstanding example of art-historical significance of the

178 Besides the examples shown above, the Protestant Paul Beraud commissioned Renoir’s *The Children’s Afternoon at Wargemont* (1884). In addition, Degas, as a nationalist and supporter of the army, painted his friend in a *Portrait of Henri Rouart* (1875) and *Hélène Rouart in her father’s study*, 1886. Manet painted
Impressionists' overall artistic *oeuvre*. However, the iconography displayed in these works contains political, cultural and moral messages which are crucial signifiers in the context of the social implications for art-historical analysis. This chapter suggests that Jews were part of the *nouvelle bourgeoisie* of Republican France and thus took their place in the creation of *la nouvelle peinture*; at the same time, despite or because their presence amongst the artistic avant-garde and in intellectual circles, they continued to be perceived by some as Outsiders.

Notwithstanding this seemingly political and cultural paradox, this chapter has shown that French Jews had become pro-active in the modernist 'politics of vision'. This inclusive presence was a new departure for the experience of European Jewish visual aesthetics in France – and later in Germany - and thus should form part of the alternative narratives of modernist European art histories still in the writing.

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Cf. sketchily *George Moore at the Nouvelle-Athenes* (1879) and the *Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé* (1876), and Maurice Denis painted *Hommage a Cézanne* (1900) and *A Visit to Cézanne at Aix* (1906).
CHAPTER II

CONSERVATIVE ART, MODERNISM

AND WILHELMINE GERMANY
Introduction

After having looked at the avant-garde world of Paris around 1900, it is essential to address the politicised culture of Wilhelmine Germany around 1896. This chapter examines the opposing forces between modernism and resistance to modernism that were exemplified by the residual power of the Emperor and his close circle. It also charts the emergence of significant German artists, critics and patron-collectors who paved the way for the marginal but fertile encounter with modernism. The examination of liberal forces in the art world is crucial in order to illustrate that German Jewish patrons were not the only ones who welcomed French and German modernist art. Indeed, by following the transformation of visual imagery and art-political interpretations of the artist Anton von Werner, who was conservative, Adolph von Menzel, who made tentative steps towards modernism, and Max Liebermann, who emerged as one of the leading German modernists, it is possible to trace the political, social and artistic context in which French Impressionism made its arrival. Furthermore, by examining the modernist writings by German art historians and writers, Franz Reber, Richard Muther and Julius Meier-Graefe, it is possible to follow some of the liberal discourse in favour of modernism and its link - when applicable - to Jewish patrons. This section also includes Harry Graf Kessler as he was one of the most influential figures in the emergence of Wilhelmine artistic liberalism. Finally, it examines the anti-modernist discourse that emerged in reaction to French modernist art as well as its anti-Semitic links which made the enthusiastic reception of French modernism amongst Jews such a vulnerable space. It is only against this backdrop that the reception of French Impressionism by German Jewish patrons can be fully evaluated.
The Journey to the Promised Land and the Holy Places will help me to protect this tree [die deutsche Reichseiche] and to search out and destroy [auszurotten] the beast that seeks to gnaw at its roots. Kaiser Wilhelm II, 3 February 1899

Wilhelm II and German Art:

Anton von Werner, Adolph von Menzel and Max Liebermann

When Wilhelm II was crowned King of Prussia and German Emperor in 1871 - an act which he believed to be divinely decreed - he expected his authority to be uncontested. Indeed, he displayed the same attitude throughout his autocratic reign. In cultural matters, the Emperor stipulated that public and private architecture should express the majesty of the newly united German Kaiserreich and advocated the eternally valid model of beauty in art, rejecting the representation of everyday reality. Thus, the Emperor’s personal idealistic aesthetics and conservative political agenda constrained Wilhelmine culture and art. In fact, the Kaiser displayed a liking for classical and romanticised art such as uncomplicated landscapes, idealised nudes and historical paintings, a taste he apparently shared with the majority of his people. During his reign, historicism, an obsession with large-scale historical and mythological subjects against which German

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179 These were words of Kaiser Wilhelm II after his return from Palestine in a speech of 3 February 1899. Printed in Johannes Penzler (ed.), Die Reden Kaiser Wilhelm II. in den Jahren 1896-1900 (Leipzig 1904), pp.144 ff. as cited by John C. G. Rohl, The Kaiser and his Court, Wilhelm II and the German Government of Germany (Cambridge, 1994). Hereafter Rohl, Kaiser. Rohl's chapter on the ‘Kaiser and German anti-Semitism’ addresses the novel notion that the Kaiser was an anti-Semite, which Rohl interprets as not only ‘novel but also as historically highly controversial, politically inopportune and emotionally disturbing,’ p. 191.

180 This chapter does not seek to explore the social history of the German middle-class, but aims to expose the political influences and its effect on the art world. For an extensive exploration on the German Grossbürgertum, see David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (eds.) The German Bourgeoisie. Routledge, London and New York, 1991/93. (I am indebted to Shulamith Behr for this reference).


182 Wilhelm’s favourite artists were Hermann Knackfuss, Max Koner and Hermann Prell. See Berghahn, Imperial, pp.135-136.

183 However, not all his people shared his penchant for pompous devotional representation.
and French modernist art was reacting, was still the favourite project of Wilhelmine art establishment. (See sections on Anton von Werner and Adolph von Menzel).

However, the growing criticism of political and social conditions in literature and theatre became apparent in works such as Gerhart Hauptmann’s drama Die Weber, (1892) which was forcibly closed down by the authorities. In the arts, it manifested itself in Käthe Kollwitz’ series of the same political incidence; this series was also suppressed, despite Max Liebermann’s recommendations that it deserved a medal. It was in such works that the battle between modernism and conservatism first became manifest. Given the emperor’s taste, and the draconian way, in which he tended to foist his taste on the nation, dissent in literature, drama and the visual art was inevitable.

The traditional imperial oak tree, Reichseiche, was an image that recurred repeatedly as a symbol for all that was good and truly German, but this was only one voice in Imperial Germany, albeit the voice of the Kaiser. Indeed, Peter Gay has argued that, ‘there were really two Germanys: the Germany of the military swagger, abject submission to authority, aggressive foreign adventure and obsessive preoccupation with form, and the Germany of lyrical poetry, humanist philosophy and pacific cosmopolitanism’. More critical is Malachi Haim Hacohen’s interpretation that German ‘cosmopolitanism’ or cosmopolitan culture was always marginal and utopian and tottered for decades on the brink of disaster, finally succumbing to ethno-nationalism, whereas the assimilated

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184 The term ‘history painting/ historicism’ applies not only to actual historical events, but also appropriate subjects from legends and literature, Oxford Dictionary of Art, (ed.) Ian Chilvers, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004


186 See also Theodor Fontane’s writings on the Prussian aristocracy and the middle classes; whilst Fontane was critical of the fading old world, he was also ill at ease with the new. He passed judgement on the materialistic values of the middle classes as well as the traditional values of the high aristocracy, thus displaying ambivalence towards all strata of society. See L’Aldutera and other novels.
Jewish intelligentsia continued to persevere with the utopian dream because it had nowhere else to turn. 188 (For arguments to sustain the notion on a ‘utopian dream’, see Chapter II and the section on the interpretation of van Gogh’s art; see also Chapters III, IV and V). Indeed, since the establishment of the Reich in 1871, the universal ideas of the Enlightenment and the liberalism of the mid-19th-century revolutions ceded considerable ground to nationalistic fervour. The German propertied Grossbürgertum wanted to avoid change and upheaval and concentrated on economic development and stability, although it was marked by internal divisions. However, in the realm of cultural and social identity, in the broadest sense, the Besitz-und Bildungsbürgertum was probably most united: ‘A general respect for literary, artistic and musical culture – for the idea of it, at any rate – was a common denominator, although it was probably stronger in the educated than in the propertied class.’ At the same time, the suspicion of the avant-garde was universal.189 David Blackbourn has interestingly pointed out that religious divisions confirmed the exception to this rule. The Protestant majority and the Catholic middle class displayed significant differences, such as the Catholic minority forming their own musical and literary societies, reading different authors, holding different historical interpretations and even travelling to different destinations.190 Differences affected virtually every sphere of life, including education and the arts, as will be demonstrated throughout the study. Indeed, the institution of a voluntary association or Verein had grown rapidly during the 19th-century which gave the growing middle class an opportunity and framework to organise and control everything from culture to

philanthropy, influencing the development of regional and sometimes national projects (See Chapters IV and V). Dolores Augustine has demonstrated that the wealthy middle-class began to shape their own milieu - no longer aping the aristocracy as it had done previously (she differentiates between Patricians and Parvenues) - and thus they began their search for their own identities. Indeed, this chapter traces the changing cultural and artistic ideologies behind the leading Wilhelmine artists that brought about a climate where modernism could be transplanted, all be it with considerable opposition.

Anton von Werner (1843-1915)

Arguably the best example of approved Wilhelmine art was that of the leading court artist Anton von Werner. Werner had studied at the Königliche akademische Hochschule für die bildende Künste (KAHK) and was appointed its director in 1875, a powerful position he would hold for over three decades. He was also closely linked to the Allgemeine Deutsche Kunstgenossenschaft (ADK), and he regularly reported to the Kaiser on both of these highly influential art institutions. While at the helm of the KAHK, Werner built a network of patrons among the Prussian aristocracy, military and bureaucratic élite, as well as among artists, scientists, industrialists and businessmen. These patrons included the Jewish newspaper magnate and publisher Rudolf Mosse. Werner’s relationship to

190 Ibid., p. 9-10
192 Although major decisions were made by Civil Cabinet officials the existing marginal notations in the institution’s minutes and reports reflect the Emperor’s views. See Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany (Cambridge MA, 1980), p.24; hereafter Paret, Berlin Secession. See also Rudolf von Valentini, Kaiser und Kabinettschef (Oldenburg, 1931), pp. 49, 55. On Werner’s activities while director, see Anton von Werner, Erlebnisse und Eindrücke, 1870-1890 (Berlin, 1913), pp.108-110, 411-412, 466-467; also see Paret, p.14.
193 Mosse commissioned Anton von Werner to create a dining room fresco which was to depict Mosse’s family in a classic historic setting. Peter Paret,“Modernism and the ‘Alien Element’ in German Art”, in
Mosse may have contributed to his strong resistance to anti-Semitism at the KAHK. However, he did conduct aggressive, if not malicious, campaigns against foreign modernism, and was opposed to German and particularly French Impressionism. That said, he never vilified Jewish patrons of modernist art.

Werner’s own fashionable paintings were decidedly patriotic. One of the best known examples is *Im Etappenquartier vor Paris*, 1894, (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 1) which depicts a German lancer playing at the piano and two soldiers singing a Robert Schumann song in the drawing room at the French *Château de Brunoy*. The French housekeeper and her daughter look on bewildered and the house boy is made to light the fire in the grate. The German public did not perceive this image to be reprehensible, but found it rather amusing the way the German soldiers stand arrogantly in their muddy boots in the chateau’s beautiful drawing room. Indeed, such images fed into the propaganda campaign used against the French and in the service of Imperial nationalism.

It has been argued that the Franco-Prussian war and its aftermath resulted in Germany turning away from Western values. In truth, official conservative anti-French attitudes...
filtered into the art and cultural discourse, actively obstructing a positive reception of French modernist art. Conservative strategies aimed at building a national identity and thus the aristocracy continued to commission nationalistic-historical paintings. However, the working classes continued their liking for inexpensive graphic reproductions of historical events, and the affluent developed a taste for portraiture and commissioned works to their liking.

Furthermore, patriotic idealism also underlay Germany's 1904 participation in the St. Louis World Fair in the USA. The nation's contribution has been described as a 'typical example of the contradictory nature of economic and cultural imperialism in practice'. This was clearly evidenced by the fact that the German World Fair pavilion was a reproduction of a Charlottenburg Palace Hall, thus projecting the Emperor's power even abroad. Furthermore, attempts by liberals to include German Secession artists were unsuccessful, which indicated that Wilhelm II's administration was determined to suppress liberal currents, at home and abroad.

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spiritual and cultural origins. He concluded that Germany was "ridiculously over-governed." From "Special Path or Main Roads? Making a German History" (British Academy Lecture Series, London, 22 May 2002).

Thomas Nipperday, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert", in Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie (Göttingen, 1976), p.142. See Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 26. By 1895 the image Im Ettappenquartier was issued as a popular reproduction and it was also available as a tapestry to be embroidered, both of which achieved high sales, see Forster-Hahn, etc., Spirit, p.140.

Paret, The Berlin Secession, p. 135


The establishment of the Berlin Secession will be treated in greater detail later this chapter and again in chapters III, IV and IV.
Adolph von Menzel (1815-1905)

Given the intense anti-modernist Wilhelmine climate, modernism arrived quietly with the first timid steps of artist Adolph von Menzel, who bridged the contrasting worlds of the conservative establishment and the changing political and artistic agenda of the small but growing liberal Grossbürgertum. Menzel’s significant œuvre, fully recognised only relatively late in his long life, ran parallel to the historic, political and social upheavals of his era. Early in his career, Menzel depicted historical events from the eighteenth century, which included a sketch of König Friedrichs II Tafelrunde in Sanssouci, 1848, and the oil painting Flötenkonzert Friedrichs des Grossen in Sanssouci, 1850-52. The magnitude of hostility against the French was reflected in the critics’ attack on the latter painting as it represented the king’s association with free thinkers such as the French philosopher Voltaire and like-minded friends. Indeed, after the abortive 1848 revolution, Menzel interrupted the course of his work and turned for the first time to contemporary political events. One instance is Die Aufbahnung der Märzgefallenen, 1848, a canvas that depicted the crowds commemorating three hundred revolutionaries who died in the uprising.

This image and its theme hinted that Menzel ‘may have harboured more liberal

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203 The Tafelrunde, 1848, sketch, oil on paper, and Flötenkonzert, 1850-52, oil, (both Nationalgalerie Berlin) were originally intended as part of ‘his cycle of great historical paintings’, Wesenberg and Förtsch, Nationalgalerie p. 277.


sentiments than the Emperor might have approved', and as the work was not completed, it was often interpreted as 'an artistic experiment, a political reflection and a metaphor for the aborted revolution and its political impasse'. Thereafter, Menzel was increasingly commissioned by the bourgeoisie for works such as the Abreise König Wilhelm’s zur Armee am 31. Juli 1870, 1871, and Das Ballsouper, 1878. After the 1870s Menzel’s work reflected a further shift in the political and economic climate. He increasingly chose contemporary themes, most notably the rapid industrialisation of the Gründerzeit; indeed, Menzel’s first painting after the foundation of the Reich was the Eisenwalzwerk (Moderne Cyclopen), 1872-75 (Berlin Nationalgalerie, Berlin) (Plate 2). Although Menzel chose the industrial theme independently, he executed the painting under the continuous patronage of the Jewish banker, Adolph von Liebermann. Liebermann had become interested in Menzel’s work and supported him by regular subsidies as part payment for the painting. The banker and businessman’s patronage of this painting marks a German Jew’s early interest in the process of industrialisation and its visual representation. Eisenwalzwerk was far removed from previously favoured romantic representations of royalty, aristocracy, historic battles or images of religious fervour. Indeed, in order to capture the scene of an iron foundry realistically, Menzel chose the Königshütte in Upper Silesia as his setting and spent considerable time on location. This

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206 Ibid p. 129.  
207 The Abreise, 1871 (Nationalgalerie Berlin) was commissioned by the German banker Magnus Herrmann, who appears in the painting along with his family. The painting was preceded by the Emperor’s amnesty für politische Verbrechen und Vergehen. See, Wesenberg and Försch, Nationalgalerie, pp. 295-296, and Forster-Hahn, Spirit of a Nation, pp. 130-131. This work portrayed the people’s reaction to the event, rather than showing an idealistic interpretation of the Imperial couple at the centre of the crowd. Moreover, the city’s was seen thronging below a number of Red Cross flags, suggesting a sceptical, if not to say critical, reference to the potentially wounded and dead among the war victims. The Ballsouper, 1878, oil (Nationalgalerie Berlin) was commissioned by the Berlin banker Adolph Thiem in 1876. See Spirit of a Nation, p. 137.  
208 Adolph von Liebermann was an uncle of the artist Max Liebermann.
The site was noted both for its highly advanced technology and the acute social tension to which it gave rise. Shortly after the work's completion in 1875, Adolph von Liebermann, who had been badly affected by the financial crisis of the Gründerkrach in 1873, was forced to auction a large part of his art collection in 1876. Apparently, the Eisenwalzwerk was sold in October 1875 - prior to the auction - to the soon-to-open Nationalgalerie Berlin. Max Jordan, then director of the newly founded gallery, renamed the painting Modern Cyclops in the hope that by linking the painting to Greek mythology he would soften the realist image of an industrial scene. The very process of industrialisation was still considered a threat to the existing political, economic and social order. The painting was indeed the most 'modern' work displayed at the opening of the Nationalgalerie in March 1876. It is worth noting that the work's Jewish patron, Adolph von Liebermann, was one of the few who had accepted and appreciated Menzel's modernist observation of a changing society, thus further emphasising the audacity of support for a modernist work by a Jewish patron in the early-to-mid 1870s.
Max Liebermann (1847-1935)

The final break with establishment art came in the 1890s under the leadership of Max Liebermann. Besides developing into Germany’s most important but controversial artist, he led the breakaway Berlin Secession as its President, (1898-1911) whilst also being the President of the Deutscher Künstlerbund, thus holding roles that opposed ‘the conservative policies of the Emperor, who identified himself publicly with a pronounced neo-classical tendency in German art’. Liebermann was also President of the Preussische Akademie der Künste (1920-32) until the National Socialist regime forced his resignation.

As a Wilhelmine painter and private art collector, Liebermann was often in the firing line: he played a critical role in the development of Wilhelmine modernism whilst also being the link between this world and small German Jewish élite, which supported progress and change. His high public profile exposed him and this circle to anti-Semitism, which became increasingly linked to anti-modernism. In short, Max Liebermann’s life and work underlines the extent to which identifying with modernism only enhanced the perception of Jews as Outsiders in Wilhelmine society.

In contrast to Werner and Menzel, Max Liebermann was part of a generation of Jewish intellectual liberals who were proud to be a-political. Liebermann saw himself as a true and loyal Prussian who believed in the rule of law. He ate, drank, slept and took walks with the regularity of a town clock. He continued to assume that – in the words of the Constitution – every citizen was equal before the law, even though he often experienced

the opposite.\textsuperscript{216} Despite these Prussian characteristics, Liebermann’s outsider status was based on numerous factors. He was an artist who became commercially successful outside the mainstream art world, thereby attracting envy that was magnified by his family’s inheritance, which secured him a private income and thus financial independence.\textsuperscript{217} He eventually became the leader of German Impressionism, continuing to be a strong supporter of the French avant-garde, despite conservative opposition. He was independent-minded, yet he also had an emotional need to conform; he was loyal to his Jewish roots, whilst also wanting to be accepted and honoured by Imperial society.\textsuperscript{218}

According to Irit Rogoff, Max Liebermann was the paradigm for the German Jew’s ‘divided heritage’.\textsuperscript{219} Liebermann’s identity was indeed deeply divided. As a Wilhelmine Jewish citizen he adapted to German culture, as an artist he wanted artistic and aesthetic independence, and as a liberal bourgeois, he claimed the right of personal freedom to support the German and French avant-garde without repercussions.\textsuperscript{220}

As to his artistic œuvre, Liebermann chose to work within the context of mainstream western modernist iconography, his early artistic output being influenced by European realism, such as the works by Courbet and Manet.

\textsuperscript{218} According to Liebermann’s Jewish friend, the art historian and curator Max Friedländer, Max Liebermann was very sensitive regarding his Jewishness. He was proud, fastidious and suspicious, particularly in his youth, and suffered greatly under personal anti-Semitic attacks, avoiding confrontations wherever possible. By contrast, for the exploration of Jewish identity in 19\textsuperscript{th}-century art, see exh.cat. Georg Heuberger and Anton Merk (eds.), \textit{Moritz Daniel Oppenheim. Die Entdeckung des jüdischen Selbstbewusstseins in der Kunst} (Frankfurt am Main, 1999).
\textsuperscript{219} Irit Rogoff, “The anxious artist, ideological mobilisations of the self in German Modernism”, in Rogoff, \textit{Divided Heritage}, pp. 116-147.
\textsuperscript{220} See G. Tobias Natter and Julius H. Schoeps (eds.), \textit{Max Liebermann und die französischen Impressionisten} (Köln, 1997), Part II chapter 5.
During Liebermann’s years in Munich, he submitted in 1879 two paintings of ‘working life’ to the international art exhibition at the Munich Königliche Glaspalast. Both paintings, Gänserupferinnen, 1871-72, and Arbeiter im Rubenfeld, 1876, were ridiculed because of their representation of poverty executed in sombre colours.\footnote{Gänserupferinnen, Nationalgalerie, (acquired 1894), Arbeiter im Rubenfeld, Landesgalerie Hannover (acquired 1926)} None the less, they found a buyer in the Jewish railway entrepreneur, Henry Bethel Strousberg, whose taste, like Adolphe von Liebermann’s, went against the grain of accepted art criticism.\footnote{Henry Bethel Strousberg (1823-1884) alias Bartel Heinrich or Baruch Hirsch. Strousberg was invited to construct a railway network in Romania in 1866, a project which was sabotaged during the Franco-Prussian War. See Kurt Grünwald, “Europe’s Railways and Jewish Enterprise”, in Leo Baeck Institute Year Book 1967 (London, 1967), pp. 163-209. Max Liebermann’s father Louis purchased the Gänserupferinnen later and bequeathed it to Nationalgalerie Berlin in 1894. See Sigrid Achenbach, “Max Liebermann als Zeichner”, in Angelika Wesenberg (ed.), Max Liebermann Jahrhundertwende (Berlin, 1997), p. 102.}

These two canvases earned for Liebermann the title of Apostel des Hässlichen.\footnote{A hostile critic wrote “the most repulsive ugliness reigns in naked loathsome ness, is executed with virtuosity, but technique cannot make up for the complete lack of aesthetic values, which are not even represented by a slight touch of humour”, Erich Hanke, Max Liebermann (Berlin, 1914), p.55, cited by Paret, Berlin Secession, pp.43-44. See also Angelika Wesenberg, “Max Liebermann, der Kaiser, die Nationalgalerie”, in Angelika Wesenberg and Ruth Langenberg (eds.), Im Streit um die Moderne, Max Liebermann, Der Kaiser, Die Nationalgalerie, exh.cat. (Berlin, 2001), pp.21-24. Hereafter Wesenberg and Langenberg, Im Streit. See also Stefan Pucks, “Max Lieberman - Vom »Apostel der Häßlichkeit« zum Kaiser”, in Im Streit, pp.21-24.}

Some thirteen years earlier, Courbet had also been accused of being an ‘Apostle of Ugliness’ when he had exhibited in Munich in 1869, so Liebermann was declared, both by his admirers and critics, as Courbet’s heir. Furthermore, within the establishment and conservative artistic circles, such realistic representations of working-class life and conditions of poverty were regarded as products of socialism and a threat to the established status quo in Bavaria as well as Prussia.

Indeed, far greater insults and controversies were attached to Liebermann’s third submission to the Munich Glaspalast exhibition, which caused an outright public scandal. The painting Christus im Tempel depicted the child Jesus with unkempt hair,
bare feet and a dirty white gown, gesticulating with both hands, surrounded by elders in a 19th-century European synagogue. Indeed, the controversy surrounding Liebermann’s *Christus* painting was comparable to Manet’s experience more than a decade earlier, when he received criticism for his Paris Salon entry of 1864 *Dead Christ with Angel*. The latter painting also showed an unsentimental representation of Christ, in this case the handling of Jesus’ lifeless body.  

However, in Munich, the uproar caused by Liebermann’s painting underlines his outsider status by indicating how hostile the public was to an interpretation of a Christian theme by a Jewish artist. The furious response also demonstrated how little it took for the Wilhelmine establishment to identify Christian images as subversive if not interpreted in the traditional and respectful manner. The original image *Christus im Tempel*, 1878 (sketch, Kupferstichkabinett Berlin) (Plate 3) was modified under Bavarian pressure and was retitled *Der zwölfjährige Jesus im Temple (unter den Schriftgelehrten)*, 1879 (Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg) (Plate 4), emphasising the historical Jesus before his recognition as Christ. However, thanks to Richard Muther, one of the original preparatory drawings was reproduced in his book *Geschichte der Malerei des XIX Jahrhunderts* (1879), and thus the original image has been preserved. 

224 Manet’s painting was executed in the aftermath of the theological debate regarding Jesus’ divinity by the philologist Ernst Renan in 1862. Manet’s canvas was renamed by an art critic in the *La Vie Parisienne* as the ‘The Poor Miner pulled out of the Coal Mine’. Interestingly, Adolph Menzel had also painted in 1851 a young Christ surrounded by elders, *Christus als Knabe unter den Schriftgelehrten*, having gone to Prague’s Jewish quarters to study Jewish physiognomy. See Wesenberg and Forschl, *Nationalgalerie*, p. 282.  
The criticism of the Liebermann work - the attack made on religious and socio-historic grounds - gives further insight into the typical Wilhelmine perception of German Jewish characteristics in the second half of the 19th century. The child Jesus of the original painting was reprimanded for being the ugliest, most impertinent Jewish boy imaginable. He was perceived to be gesticulating with intense ‘Oriental’ hand motions. In the late 1870s, Mediterranean and oriental features as well as hand movements were still associated with Jews, and were part of the anti-Semitic arsenal of the political and art establishment.227 The painting in general was regarded as too realistic and not sufficiently reverential or spiritual. Moreover, Liebermann’s Jesus ‘lacked a halo’.

The revised image of 1879 shows a sanitised version of Jesus, a child with blond shoulder-length hair, wearing a clean white gown and sandals, but still gesticulating. Nonetheless, Bavarian Catholic critics attacked the image as ‘perverse and sacrilegious’, concluding that it was ‘blasphemous’ and a ‘stench in the nostrils of decent people’. The Protestant Prussian court preacher Adolph Stoecker joined the attack and later claimed that this image had sparked his life-long Judenhetze.228 The Bavarian chapter of the Kunstgenossenschaften – who were responsible for the Exhibition’s finances – threatened in turn to withdraw support. Despite this, the work was only moved to a less prominent position rather than being removed entirely from the exhibition.

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227 Jewish children were supposed to speak properly and avoid raising their voices; gesticulating and drawing attention to oneself in public were ascribed to Jews by non-Jews and to unassimilated Jews by the more assimilated. Throughout the 19th century, the importance of respectable, correct behaviour was inculcated in manifold oral and written ways such as journals and dedicated publications; see Ritchie Robertson, The ‘Jewish Question’ in German Literature, p. 258; also Sander Gilman, The Jew’s Body (New York/London, 1991), pp. 203-204.

228 See Chana C. Schütz, “‘Weil ich ein eingefleischter Jude bin...’ Zur Rezeption des jüdischen im Werk von Max Liebermann”, in Simon, Was vom Leben übrig bleibt..., pp. 69. Schütz cites a 1911 letter from Liebermann to Alfred Lichtwark in which he recalled that Jews did not buy his work for some fifteen years after this episode. However, this may be an exaggeration, but it certainly delayed his career among Jewish patrons who eventually became his most loyal followers.
The art historian and curator of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, Max Friedländer, a friend of Liebermann, compared him to Moses and thus covertly conferred on him an iconoclastic identity: *Liebermann galt fürs erste als ein rücksichtsloser Zerbrecher ästhetischer und religiöser Tafeln.* According to Friedländer, Liebermann was very sensitive regarding his Jewishness. Friedländer characterised him as proud, fastidious and suspicious and wrote that he suffered greatly from personal anti-Semitic attacks. After the scandal involving the Jesus painting Liebermann avoided confrontations throughout his life and vowed never to paint biblical themes again.

His later work of *Samson and Delila* (1902) was a noteworthy exception, but I wish to suggest that Max Liebermann transferred his interest in Jews and Jewish themes to his numerous studies that he carried out in the Jewish quarters of Amsterdam. Indeed, Liebermann increasingly addressed contemporary life, the theme progressively advocated by current French artists. Like his French colleagues, he came to believe increasingly that visual interpretation of modern life was the responsibility of the modern artist.

Moreover, as a member of the new Wilhelmine bourgeoisie and as a Wilhelmine artist, he was simultaneously also anxious to avoid politics. Thus Liebermann learnt to avoid Christian themes as well as political ones, the latter being covertly addressed by French Impressionism. (See Chapter I) This illustrates again the different political climate and artistic context and again highlights the contrasts between France and Germany.

As a patron-collector, Max Liebermann started to collect French Impressionism in the 1890s, which influenced both the form and content of his own work. Increasingly he turned to a lighter ‘plein-air’ palette and chose subjects and interpretations of and for the

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230 See chapter I in regard to ‘French Impressionism as the painting of modern life.’
haute-bourgeoisie. It was the outdoor images of beach and riding scenes, country houses and rural landscapes that earned him a reputation as one of the leading German Impressionists. However, after 1900 and aged over 50, Liebermann increasingly accepted portrait commissions from the German *Gross und Bildungsbürgertum*. This circle included politicians, writers and celebrities, resulting in portraits of *Theodor Fontane*, 1896 (Kunsthalle Bremen, Bremen) (Plate 5), *Richard Strauss*, 1918 (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 6), *Paul von Hindenburg*, 1912 (Staatliche Museum Schwerin, Schwerin) (Plate 7) and *Gerhart Hauptmann*, 1912 (Hamburger Kunsthalle) (Plate 8), all of which were executed in relatively minimalist style and thus stood in stark contrast with previous idealised and romantic portraits of royalty and aristocracy.

In due course, Liebermann also became a popular portraitist to fellow Jews gaining commissions such as *Emil Warburg*, 1923 (Stadtmuseum Berlin) (Plate 9) and *Albert Einstein*, 1925 (private collection) (Plate 10).

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231 See chapter IV and Appendix A 4.
Max Liebermann, Modernism and the ‘Berlin Secession’.

However much Liebermann may have tried to avoid politics and religious confrontation, his commitment to modernist art would place him at the centre of controversy, thus making his activities political in numerous and complex ways. Indeed, his association with the Berlin Secession was explicitly an act of defiance against the establishment and implicitly an act of solidarity with modernism. On a pragmatic level, Liebermann sought support from his Jewish circle for the Secession’s building fund, thus implicating Jewish patrons in his modernist commitment.

The Berlin Secession’s practical and ideological roots go back to 1892, when Anton von Werner ordered the closure of the exhibition of the pioneering artist Edvard Munch, which had been organized by the artists’ guild the Verein Berliner Künstler. In response, Walter Leistikow and eight other artists decided to break away and form a new organization. They invited Liebermann to participate in the formation of what became known as the ‘Group of the Eleven’ (also called the XI) with Liebermann to be their “secret leader.” The group, dedicated to showing and promoting art independently of the Verein system, accomplished little at the time; however it did prepare the ground for the future.

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234 See also Steven Beller’s paper *Le Gout Juif*; here Beller suggests that the conservative right dismissed Secession modernist art as *le gout juif*. Until recently, scholars have interpreted this as either anti-Semitic or even philo-Semitic myth-making. They built their defence on the fact that neither were the majority of artists Jewish (or even of Jewish descent) and much of their support came from state or public institutions; nor were Jewish patrons proud of their Jewishness, if anything they wanted to shed such an identity. However, recent research has shown that many artists were indeed patronised by Jewish individuals and that there was a pronounced Jewish patronage for much that was modern. Indeed, a link is now being explored by young scholars who profess such a perspective. See Steven Beller *Le Gout Juif*: Does it make sense to talk about a Jewish influence on the modern art movement in Vienna?” Paper presented at symposium “Wiener Sammler der Jahrhundertwende und ihr Schicksal” (Vienna, Oberes Belvedere, 1 December 2000) and Lisa Silvermann, The Transformation of Jewish Identity in Vienna; 1918-1938 (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University 2004/5, New Haven, USA)

235 Thereafter it was dubbed the *Munch Affaire*. See Peter Paret, “Modernism and the ‘Alien Element’ in German Art,” in Bilski, Metropolis, p. 34.
In 1898, soon after Liebermann was finally awarded a gold medal and the title of Professor by the Königliche Kunst Akademie, the jury of the Berlin Salon insultingly rejected one of Walter Leistikow’s submissions, *Grünewaldsee*, 1895 (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 10). He responded by proposing a new independent organization. Liebermann accepted this challenge and in the summer of 1898 the Berlin Secession was born. Liebermann was elected President and Leistikow was appointed first Secretary. In March 1899, Paul and Bruno Cassirer were invited to take charge of the Secession’s commercial affairs and hanging policies, with rights on the executive board. The link between the Berlin Secession, Liebermann and the Cassirers’ own commercial gallery and publishing operations would invite, in due course, huge criticism as will be shown in Chapter III.

The Secession association acquired premises on Kantstrasse 12 and Liebermann helped to arrange advantageous loans from German Jewish patron-supporters Walter Rathenau, Richard Israels and the bankers Julius Stern and Carl Fürstenberg. After seven weeks of renovating the building, the first Secession Exhibition opened 19 May 1899. Surprisingly, the Secessionist avant-garde character was not manifested in the nature of the art displayed, but rather in the small size of the exhibition and the introduction of catalogues. Moreover, in the opening speech it was announced that quality rather than nationality would determine future works to be exhibited. The Secession was also decidedly commercial; it intended to market art works for sale. Critics, however, focused on the art itself, which they dubbed *Schmutz-und Schlamasselkunst*. The establishment

236 Peter Paret, *Berlin Secession*, p.72
237 Ibid., p. 68.
238 The architect was Grisebach and Dinklage in Berlin and the interior designer was Henry van de Velde. Some furniture was loaned by the art gallery Keller & Reiner (Berlin), and the rugs by N. Ehrenhausen
proved hostile toward the new organization and the Kaiser's disapproval was well publicized.\textsuperscript{239} Indeed, it was noted that several Jewish figures had played leading roles in the formation of the Secession: besides Max Liebermann and the Cassirers, there had been, indirectly, Jewish patrons Walter Rathenau, Richard Israels, Julius Stern and Carl Fürstenberg. Furthermore, Richard Israel's decision to purchase the controversial \textit{Grünewaldsee}, and then donate it to the Nationalgalerie Berlin, could be read as a political gesture representing modernist defiance. It was specifically noted that his donation came from a member of the Jewish bourgeoisie.

\textsuperscript{239} Wolfgang J. Mommsen, \textit{Die Herausforderung der bürgerlichen Kultur durch die künstlerische Avantgarde. Zum Verhältnis von Kultur und Politik im Wilhelmischen Deutschland} (München, 1994), p.18. There were exceptions, such as the Berlin major who made one of the welcoming speeches at the Secession opening, which was a black-tie affair of some significance; Reichskanzler Prince Hohelohe also visited the new Kantstrasse Secession building. See Paret, \textit{Berlin Secession}, p. 82.
‘Prophets of the Modern’:

**Franz von Reber, Richard Muther, Julius Meier-Graefe, Harry Graf Kessler**

Was the establishment of the Secession a culmination of all that had gone on before? Indeed, changing ideas and new interpretations of art had already been propagated in Wilhelmine Germany by several figures who had emerged as the country’s most important interpreters and spokesmen for modernism. They are crucial for an understanding of the reception of French Impressionism, for they played a critical role in defining the meaning of French Impressionism for Germany and beyond. In addition to their writing and their scholarly activities, they were also intimately involved in the liberal German and German Jewish circles that patronised modernist art. Their particular understanding and narrative of modernity was grounded in Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism, universalism and liberalism; they saw themselves as internationalists and Francophiles. For this reason they were indeed considered outsiders by the Wilhelmine establishment. To paraphrase Robert Jensen, in many respects, these Germans were ‘prophets of the modern’ and luminal, yet marginal figures in German society, whether because of their international backgrounds, their cosmopolitanism, modernism, or possibly in two cases, the closet homosexuality of Julius Meier-Graefe and Harry Graf Kessler.
Franz von Reber (1834-1919)

One of German writers who advocated modernist art and French Impressionism as early as 1884 was Franz von Reber.\(^{240}\) He specifically identified French Impressionism with French modernity, something he deeply admired and longed to see reproduced at some level within German art and culture. Influenced by the French writer, Émile Zola, he regarded modern art as emancipation from all traditional authority and previous perceptions of beauty. Reber saw these aims reflected in the political and social developments of the French Republic, where ‘alles zum Sieg der Demokratie drängt,’ and where artists searched for a new sense of freedom that was still unavailable in conservative Wilhelmine Germany. In his writings, Reber divided new art into ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ trends,\(^{241}\) the latter was represented by the French realist, Gustave Courbet.\(^{242}\) Reber believed that Courbet propagated reality the way it was as opposed to idealized representation. Reber further believed that ‘subjective’ trends represented a personal truth of impressions and perceptions.\(^{243}\) In short, French individuality and the stress on the contemporary appealed to Reber and precipitated his rejection of German formal, academic and idealist art.\(^{244}\) Once again, French cultural and artistic ideologies were a potent influence in liberal Wilhelmine circles.\(^{245}\)


\(^{242}\) “I hold the artists of one century basically incapable of reproducing the aspect of past or a future century” wrote Courbet, the leading Realist. See L.Nochlin, Realism (London, 1990), pp. 103-206.

\(^{243}\) Reber, 1884, pp.46-47 as cited by Paul, Hugo, p. 39-40. Also see Baudelaire, Selected Writings, pp. 390-436

\(^{244}\) In contrast to ‘impressionistic’ art: Claude Monet’s Impression: Sunrise (1872-3) was reviewed by the critic Louis Leroy in Le Charivari (25 April 1874) and thereafter Monet and his fellow artists of the first independent exhibition were referred to as the Impressionists.
Richard Muther (1860-1909)

Arguably even more important for the promotion of French Impressionism in Germany was the art writer, Richard Muther, a professor of art history at the University of Breslau, whose *Geschichte der Malerei im 19 Jahrhundert* and *Ein Jahrhundert französischer Malerei* achieved some popularity. The latter volume in particular focused on the French Naturalists, Realists, Impressionists and Symbolists.²⁴⁶ In this work Muther aimed to ‘explain the psychology of each period, its dominant style and interpret art works as human documents’.²⁴⁷ Muther established himself as one of the leading theoreticians of French Impressionist and post-Impressionist art. It was in this capacity that he was invited to lecture at the Berlin Cassirer Kunstsalon on 19 March 1903, directly after his visit of the major French Impressionist exhibition hosted by the Vienna Secession.²⁴⁸ Muther was one of the rare German art historians who supported French modernism, whilst also acknowledging the significance of 19th century German painting.²⁴⁹ Muther was concerned with the development of painting in an overall, inclusive European context. Despite this European perspective and his interpretation of the artist as a *Träger des modernen Geistes*, Muther stressed the national, racial differences in the artist’s ‘individuality and temperament’.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ The Dreyfus Affair in France was followed eagerly by all European Jewry, its relevance for this thesis has been addressed briefly in Chapter 1.
²⁴⁶ Richard Muther, *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX Jahrhundert*, vol. I and II (Munich, 1893, 1894); vol. III (Berlin 1901).
²⁴⁷ *Geschichte der Malerei*, English translation, 2 vol. (London & New York, 1907). This view was repeated by Emil Waldmann in 1920.
²⁴⁸ On the Kunstsalon lecture, see Barbara Paul, pp. 162-163; see also full programme of *Cassirer Kunstsalon* events in Appendix A) 2. The Vienna Exhibition was held between 17 January and 1 March 1903; see exh.cat. *Entwicklung des Impressionismus in Malerei und Plastik. XVI Astellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs Sezession* (Wien 1902/03).
Indeed, Muther was significantly taken by the cultural criticism of Friedrich Nietzsche and his cult of the individual. While Nietzsche emphasised the concept of the Übermensch, Muther chose to adapt Nietzsche’s Geistesaristokratismus to his own interpretation of Symbolist art, which he believed represented the full range of sacred and profane emotions experienced by the privileged Geistesaristokratie. Muther interpreted Impressionism as the art of the momentary and transient and believed that it was the art of modernist urbanity, its changing streets and expanding suburbs. Muther’s writings suggested that Naturalists and Realists focused on the everyday life of the peasants and working classes, whilst Symbolists represented the longings and dreams of the upper classes. Since the Symbolists set no boundaries on the artist’s individuality, imagination or technique, Muther welcomed Symbolist art as the ultimate freedom from academic art and its underlying theories and ideologies.2 5 1

Indeed, there was a Wilhelmine shift from Staat und Gesellschaft to a cult of Staat und Persönlichkeit which was reflected in the change from large canvases of military battles and historical themes to smaller canvases representing everyday people and everyday life. Thus, theoretically at least, this transition should have facilitated the reception of Impressionist art in general and French Impressionist art in particular.2 5 2

2 5 1 Paul, p.58.
2 5 2 Paul, p.58
Julius Meier-Graefe (1867-1935)

By far the greatest impact on the theoretical reception, propagation and dissemination of French Impressionism in the German-speaking world was made by Julius Meier-Graefe, who combined his talents as writer and critic, as entrepreneur and art gallerist-dealer with his activities as a free lance curator. Amongst his most significant achievements were his studies on modern art. He moved in liberal circles between Paris, Berlin and Vienna, thus being a significant personal link between the three cultural centres, facilitating a cross-fertilisation of ideas and exhibition programmes. Meier-Graefe bridged liberal Germans with modernist French artists, art dealers and collectors and socialised with modernist German Jewish patrons and dealers. Like the Jewish circles he frequented, he was a Francophile, cosmopolitan and liberal. In other words, Meier-Graefe was considered as much an outsider as some German Jews, so much so that everyone assumed he was Jewish.

Born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Meier-Graefe was educated in France, Germany and Switzerland. In 1895 he moved to Paris where he became closely involved with the Art Nouveau movement, and when he returned to Berlin in 1904, here too he became closely allied to the avant-garde.

Meier-Graefe’s most important scholarly work was *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst* (2 vols.), subtitled *Vergleichende Betrachtung der bildenden Künste als Beitrag zu einer neuen Ästhetik*, which were first published in 1904.  

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254 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1904). This work was published with a volume of illustrations, still unusual at the time. The 1904 version included references to *Jugendstil* and the decorative arts. Today, the most popular edition is from 1920, which included various
This ground-breaking publication attempted to link modernist fine art with the decorative arts of the *Art Nouveau* movement, both interpreted as social and material factors in the development of culture. This pioneering work helped decide the terms of reference in which the historical development of modern art was conceived by subsequent writers.\textsuperscript{255}

It presented French Impressionism as the expression of a new *Weltanschauung* that stood for cultural internationalism, free expression and liberalism. He saw Impressionism as art that was ‘de-nationalised,’ meaning that rather than being French, it was quite simply ‘modern.’ Meier-Graefe also interpreted contemporary art as a significant shift in modern culture toward the individual and subjective. He believed that a link between decorative and fine art could be forged by reconciling a growing alienation between art and life, between the individual and society. In this belief he was in all likelihood influenced by the philosophies of Saint-Simon, who encouraged French entrepreneurial patrons to support industrial art and design.\textsuperscript{256} Meier-Graefe believed that growing industrialisation

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\textsuperscript{256} Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint Simon assembled a philosophical system that would regenerate his generation, stressing that modern science would change industry and that machines would eliminate human drudgery. He had many followers among the French commercial and banking world such as the Jewish patron-collectors, Emile and Isaac Péreire, the industrialists Michel Chevalier, Prosper Enfantin, and Paulin Talabot, who were all entrepreneurs in the establishment of banks which served projects such as railways, public utilities and mining and metallurgical ventures in France and Europe. See Boime, “Entrepreneurial Patronage”, p. 175.
and secularisation had released the contemporary artist from religious and social constraints, and therefore allowed him to work with greater freedom.\textsuperscript{257}

As to fine art, Meier-Graefe saw Impressionism as a historical and painterly development, which had started with Delacroix, and now culminated in a linear narrative that included fine art and \textit{Art Nouveau} objects.\textsuperscript{258} He argued that French Impressionists followed their personal perspectives by interpreting their understanding of light and colour. In the process, he continued, they had re-evaluated the individual's perceptions of the world, and thus created a whole new individualistic and subjective \textit{Weltanschauung}, which sought out contemporary themes, whilst applying new techniques.\textsuperscript{259}

Meier-Graefe's ideas underwent many changes and his writings subsequently expanded to five volumes. In his \textit{Praktische Ästhetik}, he criticizes Germans for their propensity for 'thinking about art' (\textit{Kunst zu denken}) instead of 'looking at art' (\textit{Kunst zu betrachten}). In short, Meier-Graefe rejected the German intellectual approach, and instead began to favour a more immediate sensuous and visual appreciation of art. This he saw as part of a contemporary, non-religious universal European development in a non-threatening a-political context.

Meier-Graefe focused on the socially conscious concept of harmonising art and life, and paid particular attention to architectural features and daily utilitarian objects. Such a stance represented a break-through concept in \textit{fin-de-siècle} Wilhelmine Germany, a

\begin{footnotes}
\item[257] Meier-Graefe, \textit{Beiträge zu einer modernen Ästhetik} (1899/1900).
\item[258] Meier-Graefe, 1902, book Nr 1, p. 1ff. See his lecture at the Kunstsalon Cassirer on Delacroix and Jugendstil, Appendix A 3) and 4).
\item[259] Meier-Graefe, 1900, pp. 83-84. Renoir started his career with porcelain decoration before he shifted to the fine arts, emphasising throughout his career the need for a close relationship between art and industry. In 1883, Gauguin became involved in tapestry weaving, executing several tapestry designs as did Matisse, Dufy and Picasso, the latter becoming also famous as a potter. Many other artists were retained by industrialists in the manufacture of wallpaper, porcelain and china, bronze objects and stained glass, ceramic and furniture design. See Boime, p. 174-181.
\end{footnotes}
project that was particularly advocated by the Munich Vereinigte Werkstätte für Kunst im Handwerk, which by 1907 could boast branches in Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin.

Indeed, 1907 also saw the establishment of the Werkbund, a society dedicated to reform of design in trade and industry and which in the 16 years of its existence came to be firmly associated with later government initiatives.  

However, I wish to argue that Meier-Graefe's writings and philosophies on French art - alongside those by Reber and Muther - seemed to have fallen on particularly fertile ground amongst a small group of German Jewish supporters of modernism.  

Eventually, Meier-Graefe revised his philosophies two years before his death in 1935 and these interpretations came to be a political statement as well as an assessment of the state of art in Germany. Referring to the 1905 polemic of the artist Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901) and his supporters, described in greater detail below, Meier-Graefe wrote in 1933:

"It was not the worthlessness of Böcklin and his circle that was worrying – we had a surplus of bad paintings – but the manner and fervour of the admiration they aroused… His admirers saw in Böcklin not the destroyer of aesthetic principles, not the dramatic producer of a barbarian phantasmasagoria, but the creator of German symbols. That was the bacillus. It poisoned the intellectuals of the nation… all in the name of more or less conscious nationalism… This led to the isolation of German art, parallel to political developments… In reality these intellectuals only said what the Imperialism of the regime dictated in a different vocabulary." 

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260 I am indebted to Shulamith Behr for drawing my attention to these significant developments.

261 Like many modernists, Meier-Graefe was in danger by the National Socialist regime and thus he moved to Paris in 1930; thereafter the National Socialists made Meier-Graefe a 'Zielscheibe' for their attack of modernist art. After 1934 he was banned from publishing in Germany. Meier-Graefe died on 5 June 1935 in Vevey, Switzerland. At his death, the Völkischer Beobachter resuscitated the Meier-Graefe-Böcklin polemic and renewed the attack on Meier-Graefe's defense of French modernism: furthermore, it reminded its readership of Meier-Graefe's shameful friendship with Jews such as art dealer Paul Cassirer, artist Max Liebermann and (half-Jewish) Hans von Marées, as well as many others. See Henry Schumann (ed.), Julius Meier-Graefe. Kunst-Schreiberei, Essays und Kunstkritik (Leipzig and Weimar, 1987).

262 Meier-Graefe, "Was wird aus Kunst?" in 'Neue Rundschau', 44, no. 7 (1933), pp. 11-12, as cited by Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 173. As to the 'isolation of German art, parallel to political developments', see earlier interpretations by Peter Pulzer at the beginning of this chapter.
This analysis of aesthetics and art as national symbols in the service of politics was not an entirely new approach, but it proved prophetic as German art continued to develop in conflict with cosmopolitan, modernist and European art. True to his prophecy, within years of Meier-Graefe’s death in 1935, much of French and European modernist art was declared ‘degenerate’.263

In summary, Robert Jensen, who called Meier-Graefe the ‘prophet of the modern’, has suggested that Meier-Graefe’s art historical writings on French Impressionism and post-Impressionism gave it its stamp of approval and was instrumental in creating a European art market. To Jensen, Meier-Graefe proved that ‘critical reception of modernist art centred not on one, but two poles: Paris and Berlin’.264 However, it was not his writings alone that made Meier-Graefe so important. Rather, it was his network of personal and professional connections that linked him to nearly every important studio, Salon and gallery in France and Germany. He facilitated contacts between buyers and sellers, dealers and collectors, critics and promoters; he was a ‘net worker’ par excellence. He was ubiquitous and involved in all things modern. For example, in 1894 he had joined the newly founded PAN Genossenschaft in order to explore the contemporary relevance of Jugendstil, and he became closely associated with its journal, PAN.265 However, under pressure from the journal’s more conservative editorial board, Meier-Graefe was forced

263 See two exhibitions on this theme, Stephanie Barron (ed.), ‘Entartete Kunst’ Das Schicksal der Avantgarde im Nazi-Deutschland (München, 1992) and Stephanie Barron (ed.), Exil: Flucht und Emigration europäischer Künstler 1933-1945 (München, 1997)
265 PAN 1895-1900. PAN was-founded by Otto Julius Bierbaum, Richard Dehmel and Eberhard von Bodenhausen. For a detailed history of PAN, see Karl Salzmann, “PAN, Geschichte einer Zeitschrift”, in Imprimatur, Year 10, 1950/51, pp. 163-185; and in Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, Year 1, 1958, pp. 212-225.
to resign within a year.\textsuperscript{266} He subsequently moved to Paris, where he became involved with Siegfried Bing's leading gallery of \textit{Art Nouveau}.\textsuperscript{267} By 1899, Meier-Graefe opened his own Paris gallery, \textit{La Maison Moderne} (designed by the Belgian avant-garde designer, Henri van de Velde) where he exhibited and sold French Impressionist, post-Impressionist and Nabis art and sculptures, as well as contemporary decorative and applied arts.\textsuperscript{268} Later, when he returned to Germany, he became a major promoter of much he had seen and experienced in Paris and began publishing and lecturing on themes of modernist art. For example, he spoke frequently at the Cassirer Soirées, held at the Victoriastrasse premises of the Cassirer Kunstsalon, which had become a platform for avant-garde literature and art.\textsuperscript{269} There, in 1913, he lectured on a theme first addressed by Siegfried Bing 16 years earlier in Paris, entitled \textit{Wohin treiben wir?} He also gave lectures on Delacroix and the topic, \textit{Kunst oder Kunstgewerbe}?\textsuperscript{270}

\textsuperscript{266} One of the major contentions was his submission of an avant-garde lithograph by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. This situation was aggravated by controversies surrounding national and international editorial policies, although the exact reasons are not entirely verified. See Moffett, \textit{Meier Graefe as Art Critic}, p. 157.

\textsuperscript{267} Despite his French modernist activities, Meier-Graefe continued to contribute to German publications such as Maximilian Harden's \textit{Die Zukunft} and to Hans Rosenhagen's \textit{Das Atelier}, an art and design journal. In 1897, Meier-Graefe established \textit{Dekorative Kunst}, an applied arts journal, which was modelled on the English periodical \textit{Studio} and the French publication of \textit{L'Art decoratif}. The latter represented internationalism surrounding the circle around Bing, who not only wrote on modern art, but also commissioned works and exhibited modernist artists and architectural works and \textit{Art Nouveau} designed objects. For the relationship between Siegfried Bing, van de Velde and Meier-Graefe, see Nancy Troy, \textit{Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France} (New Haven, 1991).

\textsuperscript{268} The sculptors were August Rodin, (1840-1917) Constantin Meunier (1831-1905) and George Minne (1866-1914). See also Moffett, \textit{Meier Graefe as Art Critic}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{269} For a full programme of cultural events, see Appendix A.2. The other speakers were Richard Muther, Alfred Mombert, Herwarth Walden, Konrad Ansorge and Elsa Gregory and Rilke spoke on Rodin.
Harry Graf Kessler (1868-1937)

Harry Graf Kessler was another highly influential figure in the German avant-garde world of art and culture. His reputation was based, not only on the fact that he was an intellectual, a liberal and the art director-curator at the newly established modernist museum in Weimar, but also because he built the most significant neo-Impressionist private collection in Germany before 1914. Like Meier-Graefe, he was personally involved in modernist, liberal and Jewish circles. Besides being an important friend of and influence on Paul Cassirer, he brought large numbers of influential people together, enabling an extraordinary degree of artistic and cultural cross-pollination. He was also the quintessential cosmopolitan and internationalist, not to mention a homosexual and an intimate friend of Walter Rathenau, making him an ‘insider’ in a group of extraordinary outsiders.

Harry Graf Kessler, diarist, art collector and patron, museum curator and occasional diplomat, was probably the most glamorous and enigmatic of all the German modernists. Like most avant-garde patrons — Gentile and Jewish — Kessler had extensive European connections. He was the son of a German-Swiss banker, Adolf Wilhelm Kessler and an Irish aristocratic mother, Alice Harriet Blosse-Lynch, who kept a fashionable Salon in Paris. Born in Paris in 1868, Harry Kessler spent his early childhood in France and

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272 Based on the Marbacher Archive, Hans-Ulrich Simon published in 1978 the correspondence between Eberhard von Bodenhause and Harry Graf Kessler 1894-1918 (Marbach am Neckar, 1978). Harry Graf Kessler became the biographer of his friend Walther Rathenau, a work still considered one of the most relevant assessments of Rathenau, the man and politician. Kessler’s edited works were published in 3 vols. Gesichter und Zeiten. (Memoirs) Künstler und Nationen. (Essay and Speeches) and Harry Kessler, Walter Rathenau, sein Leben und sein Werk (S. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main)
summers in Germany. He was later educated at St. George, a boarding school in Ascot, and a gymnasium in Hamburg, finally completing his legal studies in Bonn and Leipzig. At home in France, England and Germany and trilingual, he was inevitably influenced by three major European cultures. Kessler’s rumoured closet homosexuality also distanced him from the Prussian military, aristocracy and diplomatic corps (which he made several attempts to join) all institutions from which German Jews were also excluded, thus it seemed only natural to join those circles where he would, on the contrary, be welcomed.

Kessler’s father was a committed republican who was nonetheless ennobled in 1879 and appointed to the Prussian nobility in 1881. This inherited nobility often added further contradictory dimensions to the younger Kessler’s own trans-national, multi-layered identities. His substantial inheritance at his father’s death in 1895 permitted Kessler a life, which put him in the league of the privileged few. In fact, it was this financial independence that allowed him to accept the honorary position of museum director of the Weimar Grossherzogliches Kunstmuseum in 1903. Furthermore, his privileged position enabled him to become a significant art collector and a freelance writer, contributing to several art journals, magazines and catalogues. Like other modernists, Kessler was a keen traveller, during a period when travelling was seen as a remedy for a tired and worn

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275 Kessler did not write art-historical treatises like Franz von Reber or Richard Muther. It is noteworthy that several avant-garde leaders such as Max Liebermann, Julius Meier-Graefe in his early days, Paul and Bruno Cassirer as well as Graf Kessler, had independent incomes which allowed them to pursue activities outside financial constrains, allowing them to act independently, at least for part of their lives.
In 1892-93 Kessler undertook the mandatory Kavalierstour to the USA, East Asia, India and Egypt before beginning his military service in the Imperial army. During the First World War, Kessler lived in Switzerland, where when he was allegedly in the pay of the German Foreign Office, but after the collapse of the Empire in 1918, he became a republican and a pacifist and was insultingly nicknamed by royalists as the ‘Red Count’. He also became a staunch supporter of the League of Nations, which he believed reflected his cosmopolitan values.

Kessler's early contact with the avant-garde took the form of collaboration in 1895 with Julius Meier-Graefe in the newly founded Genossenschaft PAN. He joined the PAN board, and contributed articles on art and literature. At that time, Kessler was also part of Berlin’s High Society; once he remarked on the isolation and loneliness of Walter Rathenau with an astute observation, as revealing about his friend as it was about himself, even if their personal circumstances and origins were very different:

Rathenau wirkte in diesem Kreis durch seine jüdische Herkunft, die Unabhängigkeit seiner Meinungen, die entscheidende Stellung, die er bei der AEG einnahm, und sein enormes Vermögen isoliert gegenüber den offiziellen Persönlichkeiten, die grosstenteils zwar brillante, aber gebrechliche Stützen der allgemeingültigen Tradition waren.

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278 He was a founding member of the Democratic Party, and hoped to enter the Reichstag, but his candidacy came to nothing. He drafted and published a constitution for the League and, as president of the German Peace Society, he lectured widely in favour of his doomed plan.
280 Diary entry, 17 March 1900, at a van de Velde lecture at the Cornelia Richter Berlin Salon.
After the war, Kessler kept a revealing diary of the years 1918-1937, a text that now stands as notable political and cultural document of the Weimar Republic. It offers insight into certain Berlin circles where modernist and unconventional figures considered themselves and were considered “outsiders.” The diaries were published in English in 1971 as The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan, Count Harry Kessler 1918-1937. The title makes clear his identity as a ‘cosmopolitan,’ a derogatory term in his lifetime that was often used in reference to Jews, socialists and anti-monarchists. Indeed, Kessler’s diaries speak of the strains of modernity and of the solidarity he found in the ‘refuge’ of literature and art and in the company of like-minded friends such as German Jews, artists and intellectuals. In the words of Amos Elon,

Kessler’s real home was in the arts and the world of ideas. In this he resembled other outsiders and loners, secular German Jews, artists and intellectuals to whom he was attached throughout his life. To Kessler - as to German Jews - being a good European and a good German were not contradictory; he considered being a modern man to mean to be heimatlos, vielfach und gemischt - rootless, complex and multi-ethnic:

...Wir Heimatlosen, wir sind der Rasse und Abkunft nach zu vielfach und gemischt, als moderner Mensch und folglich wenig versucht, an jener verlogen Rassen-Selbstwunderung und Unzucht theilzunehmen, welche sich heute in Deutschland als Zeichen deutscher Gesinnung zur Schau trägt und die bei dem Volke des ‘historischen Sinns’ zweifach falsch und unanständig anmuthet.

282  For example, van de Velde was considered ‘mad’ by many traditionalists, but he had some tangible influences on art dealers, collectors and modernist patrons of which many were influential figures in Berlin ‘High Society’. “Trotz der Achtungserfolge auf Kunstgewerbelaustellungen werden von de Veldes Theorien von den reichsdeutschen Polytechnikern als ‘verrückte Visionen’ abgetan. Man spottet über die vegetabilischen Zierkurven als ‘blecherne Wasserpflanzen’ und selbst der Kaiser fürchtet, wie er sagt, seekrank zu werden.”
Harry Graf Kessler, Modernist Art and Weimar

Kessler’s inherited wealth enabled him to assemble a significant private neo-Impressionist collection between the late 1890s and 1914. He was most probably influenced by Hugo von Tschudi’s first purchases of French art works for the Berlin Nationalgalerie in 1896, as soon thereafter Kessler visited Paris in December 1897. Kessler’s private collection included works by George Seurat, Paul Signac, Maximillian Luce, Henri Edmond Cross, Hippolyte Petit Jean and Theo Rysselberghe, Pierre Bonnard, Maurice Denis, Eduard Vuillard, August Renoir, Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh. He also owned sculptures by Auguste Rodin and Aristid Maillol, and commissioned from the latter several works. Kessler came to assemble the largest collection of Maillol sculpture in Germany, owning at least seven pieces of sculpture and relevant preparatory drawings.

As any passionate and ‘true collector’, Kessler not only bought but also sold art. Three and half years after buying van Gogh’s Portrait Dr. Gachet, Kessler placed it again on the art market with Paris dealer Eugène Druet, having originally bought it through Paul Cassirer. He bought art regularly from Cassirer, and the two men eventually became

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285 The works included Seurat’s Le chaland, Samois (1901), Maximillian Luce, Le Quai Saint Michel (1899), Henri Edmond Cross’s La Page ombragée, (1902) and Pardigon, Côte provençale, effet du soir. (1907). He owned Theo van Russelberghe’s Les courses à Longchamps, Nu à la chemise/chaise (bought in 1905) and La glace de la chambre verte (bought in 1907). Russelberghe appears in diary entries for 24 March 1898, 6 December 1902, and 14 May 1903, as cited by Bismarck, pp. 48-49 and p.59. Kessler’s Denis collection included Le forêt aux jacinthes (1900), Mise au tombeau (1903) and a significant section of the frieze, L’Amour et la vie d’une femme (1895) originally commissioned by Siegfried Bing, the leading Paris Japanophile and supporter of Art Nouveau. Kessler also owned Renoir’s La marchande de Pommes, (1890) Cézanne’s Nature morte, (1873-77) Le viaduct à l’Estaque, (1882-85) Paysage en Provence, (1882-85) La plaine d’Auvers, (1890) and Les Peiroulets: le rovin (1889). Kessler owned Paul Gauguin’s major masterpiece Manao tupapao (1892), and he was the first and last private German collector of Van Gogh’s Portrait of Dr. Gachet (1890). For more on the owners of this painting, see Cynthia Saltzman, Portrait of Dr. Gachet, The Story of a Van Gogh Masterpiece. Money, Politics, Collectors, Greed and Loss (London, 1998). Kessler owned a Rodin bust of Helene von Nostiz (1902-1907) and a bust of Balzac (ca. 1897).
lifelong friends. Kessler’s other art contacts were the Parisian dealers Paul Durand-Ruel, Ambroise Vollard, the brothers Bernheim-Jeune and the writer-critic Félix Fénéon. The latter, a Symbolist supporter of neo-Impressionism, was considered by some contemporaries as one of the most astute critics of the period; Fénéon was probably strongly influential in the formation of Kessler’s collection.

On 24 March 1903, Kessler took up his post as director at the Grossherzogliche Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Weimar, the museum was a state-sponsored institution and thus did not cover the director’s salary. However, Kessler had accepted the position as it offered him a modernist platform of some authority, his position comparable to and possibly modelled on Tschudi’s role at the Nationalgalerie Berlin. Indeed, there were similarities between these two positions inasmuch as both institutions were to experience continuous conservative opposition. Both men were ultimately forced to resign because of their avant-garde, Francophile, liberal and controversial exhibition programmes.

However, Harry Kessler - and Henry van de Velde, (1863-1957) turned the small capital of the Duchy of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, a town of 30,000, into a centre of modernist culture for a brief period of some three years. It was the second Rodin exhibition at the

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286 As to the definition of a “true collector”, see Emil Waldmann in chapter III, section on Wilhelmine Voices.
287 As a close friend, Kessler gave the main eulogy at Paul Cassirer’s funeral; see chapter III.
288 Félix Fénéon (1861-1944) was a Symbolist writer and interpreter of neo-Impressionist aims and achievements; and he was a co-founder of the influential art journal Revue Independent (1884). Particularly supportive of Signac, Pisarro and Seurat, Fénéon also contributed to the symbolist La Vogue and to the Belgian avant-garde journal L’Art moderne. See H.W. Jason and Linda Nochlin (eds.), Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, 1874-1904: Sources and Documents (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 107-110.
290 See chapter IV.
291 Klaus-Jürgen Senbach, Henry van de Velde (London, 1989). Van de Velde, a self-taught man, was before 1914 one of the most important figures in the design world of architecture and interiors, in furniture, paintings, ceramics and typography, even clothing.
museum, mounted in January 1906, which caused an indecency scandal in Weimar and resulted in a call for Kessler’s resignation.292

During his three years in Weimar, Kessler organised some thirty exhibitions, which represented a major curatorial achievement. They included spectacular retrospectives of contemporary artists Lovis Corinth, Emil Nolde, Wassily Kandinsky and the leading French Impressionist and post-Impressionist artists. Indeed, the demand for his resignation highlights the continuing conservatism of provincial Weimar, which ultimately triumphed over Kessler’s avant-garde vision.293

Kessler’s Weimar home on Cranachstrasse resembled a museum rather than a private home. Documentary photographs show a modernist interior, Art Nouveau furniture and Jugendstil objects. Indeed, Kessler had transformed his entire living environment - rather than restricting himself to a modernist fine-art collection – which represented a significant component of the new Weltanschauung.294 From October 1903, Kessler’s Weimar home acted as an avant-garde Salon and the interior reflected – according to van de Velde – ‘the spirit of aesthetic perfection’.295 Here Kessler displayed the most significant neo-Impressionist private art collections in Germany, in a home where he enjoyed a steady stream of friends and like-minded contemporaries, many of whom were at the cutting edge of European modernism. They included an eclectic mix of European intellectuals, such as the Austro-Swiss Nationalgalerie director Hugo von Tschudi, the German art museum directors Gustav Pauli, Alfred Lichtwark, the artist and Berlin

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292 The indecency scandal was caused by fourteen drawings. Before Kessler left his Weimar post, his last exhibition showed works by German artists as well as French artists Courbet, Monet, Raffaelli, Renoir and Sisley. See Ott, Kessler, p. 141.


294 See chapters III, IV and V.
Secession president Max Liebermann, the public figures Eberhard von Bodenhausen and Walter Rathenau, the Scandinavian artist Edvard Munch, the former Viennese now Berlin theatre producer-director Max Reinhardt, the British designer Edward Gordon Craig, and the Belgian design pioneer Henry van de Velde. This circle of anti-establishment figures included liberal Germans and German Jews, some of whom considered themselves ‘rootless and homeless’, but by Nietzsche’s definition ‘good Europeans’.

After Kessler’s resignation in Weimar, he moved to Berlin and engaged in a balancing act, re-establishing his contacts with avant-garde and intellectual circles in the art, theatre and cultural world, while simultaneously frequenting court society.296

In Berlin, Kessler deepened his friendship with Paul Cassirer, who had developed into the leading art dealer of European artistic modernism and significant theatre patron, after he had met Tilla Durieux, who was becoming one of the most sought-after actresses of her day.297 Kessler’s renewed modernist circle included Wilhelm von Bode, Lujo Brentano, Adolf Furtwängler, Adolph Hildebrand, Engelbert Humperdinck, Werner Sombart, Richard Strauss, Max Beckmann, Wassily Kandinsky and the writer Stefan George. Kessler’s friendship with the Austrian poet and philosopher, Hugo von Hofmannsthal – a critic of decadent fin-de-siècle Viennese society – seemed based on many shared characteristics, not least their self-perception as ‘outsiders’ and critics of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empire.298 During this period, Kessler spent considerable time with

295 Fühl, p. 294.
296 See Amos Elon, The Red Count, p. 18.
297 Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux married in 1910.
298 Their friendship resulted in collaboration on the libretto for Rosenkavalier, the comic opera set to music by Richard Strauss, which brought financial security for Strauss’ large family. (Premiered in 1911) This collaboration also resulted in a ballet choreographed by Sergey Diaghilev, Josephslegende, to public and critical acclaim, which was premiered at the Paris Grand Opera in May 1914.
Walter Rathenau, the two men becoming close, possibly intimate friends.\textsuperscript{299} Rumours circulated that their friendship was based not only on their shared interests and bachelor status, but also on their closet-homosexuality, a taboo that slackened only during the Weimar period.\textsuperscript{300}

Kessler’s own interpretation of modernist art was linked to both classicist principles of individuality and universality, whilst he sought validity for modern art by trying to bridge the past with the present. As an atheist, Kessler had explored metaphysical concepts in an article entitled \textit{Kunst und Religion} in the journal PAN in February 1899.\textsuperscript{301} Indeed, like many contemporary art writers, Kessler was attempting a definition of modern art and its meaning for the individual in modern society. He emphasised the universality of modern art that reached beyond geographic boundaries and narrow nationalism, and united people of different cultures and languages. Kessler’s friend, the novelist Anette Kolb described him in the obituary she wrote for him as a truly great European as he ‘sometimes appeared German, sometimes English, sometimes French, so European was his character. In truth, the arts were his home….for he reacted to everything artistic with a storm-like swiftness’.

\textsuperscript{299} They met at a van de Velde lecture at the salon of Cornelia Richter in March 1900. The guests included Hugo von Tschudi, Frau und Herr Curt Herrmann, Baron and Baronin Bodenhausen, Frau Herzogin von Ratibor, Baron und Baronin Varnbuler, the Württemburgischer envoy to the Court in Berlin, Baron and Baronin Heyking, formerly the German envoy to China and now to Mexico and Walther Rathenau and many others. See Ott, \textit{Kessler als Weltmann}, pp.78-79. Kessler was to publish Walter Rathenau’s authoritative biography some six years after the latter’s assassination as Foreign Minster in 1922, see earlier remarks.

\textsuperscript{300} The status of homosexuals at the time was marked by the Eulenberg trial, which exposed the homosexuality of a close friend of Wilhelm II. Homosexuality added another component to Rathenau’s and Kessler’s self-perceived identities as ‘outsiders,’ the latter concept often mentioned in both their own writings. Radically intolerant of all ‘outsiders’, National Socialist policies targeted homosexuals for forced labour, persecution and death in concentration camps in a programme not dissimilar to that devised for Jews.

During the rise of Hitler, Kessler first took refuge in Mallorca and eventually died in Lyon on 30 Nov 1937; however, he was buried at the family vault at the Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris. During his life he had become a political and ideological refugee, like Meir-Graefe and many Jewish colleagues and friends.  

**Modernism and German Liberalism**

The liberal circle’s relationship with France and cosmopolitanism exposed them to attack in an increasingly nationalistic and xenophobic Wilhelmine Germany. On many levels, many individuals were ‘outsiders’ in some way or another, but all of them embraced Enlightenment vision of modernity that the rest of Germany flirted with, but, for all intents and purposes, had decided to abandon.

So far, this chapter has set the context for the evaluation of values and philosophies that were shared by German progressives and German Jews. However, modernist sections of the German Jewish élite who shared such liberal values and found in modernist sub-culture a pathway for assimilating into European culture, themselves constituted a marginal world. Thus, German Jews who embraced modernism thereby only exacerbated the perception of their exclusion from German society. (See Chapters II, IV, V). Worse still, resistance in Germany to various forms of modernism, particularly any strands that smacked of foreign or French association, almost invariably crossed the thin line between anti-modernism and xenophobia to anti-Semitism.

Contributors included Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, Julius Meier-Graefe, Detlev von Liliencron and Robert Walser; see Facsimile edition Insel, 1899-1902 (Frankfurt am Main, 1981).

302 See (Ed.) Ott Harry, Graf Kessler, p. 507.

303 David Sorkin, The Transformation of German Jewry 1780-1840 (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987) Sorkin’s definition of a German Jewish ‘sub-culture’ remains central to and is re-interpreted by this thesis, forming the basis of much of the new analysis of this dissertation.
For some conservative critics, attacking Jews was a way of attacking modernism. For others, attacking modernism was a way to attack Jews. Either way, the Jewish association with modernist art such as French Impressionism meant that the polemics over modernism in Germany intersected with the polemics over Jews. Whether pro or con, most considered French Impressionism closely linked to Jews - some went as far as to calling it ‘Jew’s art’. On the other hand, associating with modernism and Impressionism became a source of pride and group solidarity for Jews and their fellow travellers, as well as a menace for their opponents.

Wilhelmine Germany, Art, French Impressionism and the Jewish Question

The assessment of the complex political and ideological controversies in the Wilhelmine political and public sphere would go beyond the brief of this thesis, in which I have chosen to focus on the link between French Impressionism and German Jews. Suffice to note here that Germans and German Jews of the affluent, liberal and educated middle classes shared many realms of cultural and social identities. Indeed, the growth of the Wilhelmine upper-middle class paradoxically underlined their political impotency in the face of the Imperial nation state. As to the ‘issues’ surrounding German-Jewish marginality, commentators interpreted it as a useful indicator of the cultural crisis of

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304 For a succinct essay on the Jewish Question as a touchstone of progress, see Alan Levenson, ‘Philosemitic Discourse in Imperial Germany’, pp. 26-53 in Jewish Social Studies, History, Culture, Society, vol. 2. Nr. 3 Spring/Summer 1996

intellectuals between 1910 and 1920.\textsuperscript{306} Added to this, the situation of the so called ‘Jewish Question’ then leads to the consideration and implication of Jews as ‘double outsiders’ within the discourse of citizenship. (See earlier remarks in Chapter I on the difference between French and German citizenship). However, the specific anti-Semitic content of German resistance to artistic modernism is a critical aspect of the reception of French Impressionism.\textsuperscript{307} Besides defining much of the anti-modernist discourse, it touched all the major figures in the German Jewish art scene personally. The particular link between anti-modernism and anti-Semitism dates back to the foundation of the Reich in 1871; the link between the arts and anti-Semitism can be traced back to the influential 1890 tract by August Julius Langbehn, called \textit{Rembrandt als Erzieher}, which was reprinted in numerous editions throughout the 1890s.\textsuperscript{308} Here Langbehn denounced the degeneracy associated with modern urban life and called for a spiritual revival of Germany through a revival of true German art. Ironically, the best example Langbehn could cite was the work by the Dutch Rembrandt.\textsuperscript{309} Langbehn’s vitriolic thesis also singled out Jews as being anathema to the German spirit. The thirty-seventh edition, published in 1891, attacked them as ‘modern and plebeian’ and ‘poison for us all [and]


\textsuperscript{307} However, there are close connections to the general opposition to Jews and modernism; the resistance against the emancipation of German Jews in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century was manifested in the Hep!Hep! Riots and the book burning of 17 October 1817 during the anniversary celebration of the victory over Napoleon at the battle of Leipzig. On this occasion, fierce speeches were given against ‘foreigners, cosmopolitans and ‘Jews’ amongst others. ‘Woe to the Jews who hold on to their Jewishness while mocking and reviling our national character, our Germanness.’ In G.Steiger, ‘Aufbruch, Urburschenschaft und Wartburgfest’, (Leipzig, 1867) pp.111-12 as cited by Amos Elon, \textit{The Pity of it all. A Portrait of Jews in Germany 1743-1933} (Allen Lane, London, 2003) p. 119

\textsuperscript{308} Julius Langbehn (1851-1907) wrote his prophetic tract in 1890 and published it anonymously. None of his later works had the same impact; see Peter Pulzer, \textit{The Rise}, p. 233 and p. 237.

\textsuperscript{309} Peter Paret, \textit{Berlin Secession}, p. 178; and Pulzer, \textit{The Rise}, pp. 234-235.
will have to be treated as such'. Langbehn wrote that Jews were ‘democratically inclined, they have an affinity with the mob; everywhere they sympathise with decay’. ³¹⁰

Max Nordau, a Hungarian-born Jew, added fuel to the debate over modernity in his publication *Entartung*. He condemned the entire educated middle class and the cultural élite for copying Parisian culture and art, which he declared superficial and ‘degenerate’. ³¹¹ After these writers, the concept of modernist art as ‘degenerate art’ became part of the German imagination.³¹²

The anti-Jewish discourse continued with the anti-Semitic writer Ferdinand Avenarius who published an essay in *Kunstwart* in 1901, in which he attacked foreign art and praised the spirituality of Germanic art as represented by Arnold Böcklin:

> Whatever Böcklin touched became spiritual. Art in this sense, northern, Germanic art, is all that he created. No matter how many ideas he took from the south, even ideas concerning subject matter, he took them as a conqueror that seeks to expand Germany’s possessions. If our art is to endure the fight with foreign powers, with foreigners both inside and outside our borders, it will nowhere find a weapon stronger than in Böcklin’s immortal work.³¹³

This was a clear rallying call for a fight against foreigners inside Germany; and in this context, the word ‘foreigners’ referred to Jews like Paul and Bruno Cassirer, Max Liebermann and others in their modernist circle. Avenarius’ article amounted to a polemic between the Swiss artist, Arnold Böcklin, and his advocate, the art historian, ³¹⁰ Langbehn, p. 292, as cited by Pulzer, 236. Langbehn found its greatest resonance in the extraordinary neo-Romantic outburst that was the German youth movement, *Die Wandervögel*, where German youth, the most urbanized in Europe, sought to rediscover an idealised rural life. ³¹¹ Ironically, the Jewish Max Nordau later became a fervent Zionist. An English edition of *Entartung* was published in 1895. ³¹² See the exhibition and catalogue, (ed.) Stephanie Barron, "Entartete Kunst", Das Schicksal der Avantgarde im Nazi-Deutschland (München, 1992). ³¹³ Böcklin painted sentimental landscapes, seascapes with titans and naiads in garish colours, with smooth, glossy finishes on enormous canvases. He achieved fame and great popularity before his death in 1901. According to Paret, no other artist’s work was reproduced as frequently as that of Böcklin and his
Henry Thode on the one side and Julius Meier-Graefe and Max Liebermann on the other. Once again, art was interpreted not only as an aesthetic and ethical object, but also as a tool in the service of political and national goals. This public debate erupted three years after the opening of Cassirer Kunstsalon, and two and half years after the foundation of the Berlin Secession. This was so, despite the fact that the first Exhibition jury of the Berlin Secession - consisting of the Cassirers, Liebermann and other German artists - had chosen ten works by Böcklin, as well as naming him as one of their first honorary members.314

The following year in 1902, the Fifth Secession Exhibition catalogue, the introduction possibly written by Paul Cassirer, reasserted the Secession’s intentions to support avant-garde art regardless of its origin or nationality. The response from the German art establishment came in the form of a letter by the sculptor Reinhold Begas, the man who had been commissioned by Wilhelm II to execute the Hohenzollem marble statues of the Siegesallee, which had opened in 1901. Begas’ letter violently attacked the alleged infiltration of French art and demanded a Serum against the Seuche der Secession.315 He was, it should be noted, angered not only by French art included in the Secession exhibitions, but also by the display of the Japanese artists Utamaro, Harunobu and Hokusai, whose works were on loan to the Secession from the leading Paris Art Nouveau dealer-patron, Siegfried Bing.

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314 See 1st Secession Catalogue; it must be noted, however, that Böcklin could not have been included for propagandistic purposes as no one could have foreseen future developments. Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 172.

Indeed, conservatism won the day, even abroad: the next year, 1903, after a debate on the issue in the German parliament, the Wilhelmine establishment succeeded in excluding Secession artists and modernist works from the German pavilion at the St. Louis World Fair in the USA. Carl Justi, an art historian, attacked the modernists in a public Streitschrift aimed at the Nationalgalerie director, Hugo von Tschudi and his French modernist curatorial program, which was to a large extent financed by Jews. (See Chapter V). Finally, the arch-conservative Catholic journal Kreuzzeitung targeted the Jüdische Geist, and linked it repeatedly and closely to modernism. Its polemic refers to 'the suggestive powers of Jews' and accused the Cassirers and Liebermann, and by extension the Secession, of 'complete control of the art market'. The journal further alleged that those it accused aimed to derive commercial and financial benefit in their ‘cashier hands’, a reference to the name Cassirer.316

It is characteristic and significant that the transmitters of this type of art and its first critical heralds are - I do not want to say Jews, but rather and this is the essential point - representatives of the specific Jewish spirit residing in the West End of Berlin. That many Germans join and follow them is not surprising. The zeal and activity of these people has suggestive powers. And it brings concrete advantages. They have turned the Jew-infested Berlin West End into an art market of the first magnitude and they have learned how to take complete control of this market. The Cassirer gallery, which might as well be called ‘Liebermann Gallery’, is nothing but a miniature version of the Secession, whose affairs rest in clever ‘cashier’ hands.317

316 Entry for Cassirer: Kassirer is the Yiddish-German for “cashier” and was the title of the collector of taxes in the Jewish community. Benzion C. Kagnoff, A Dictionary of Jewish Names and their History, (London, 1978) p.141.
In 1904, Julius Meier-Graefe stepped up the polemic by attacking Böcklin as well as German idealism in his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst* (1904). Meier-Graefe’s attack on Arnold Böcklin became known as *Der Fall Böcklin* (1905) and represented an explosive assault on Germanic romantic and nationalistic art. Meier-Graefe’s arguments were placed in a wider European context rather than giving a nationalistic German view and it drew attention to the ‘ethical and political implications’ of Böcklin’s art.

In defence of Böcklin’s art, his supporters such as Hans Thoma and art writer Will Pastor reinforced Böcklin as the ideal German model. Pastor argued as long as Frenchmen and Orientals [Jews] were arbiters of taste in Germany, Germans were powerless in their own country; the implication was that Cassirer, Liebermann and their circle - whether at commercial galleries or at the Berlin Secession – were misguided in their aesthetic judgement as Jews and foreigners and as such they did not represent the German spirit:

> As long as the aesthetic judgement in this country is dictated by Frenchmen and even Orientals, it isn’t surprising for Böcklin to be repeatedly depicted as a kind of barbarian.

The artist Hans Thoma bolstered this view by declaring that French modernist art was not only a passing fashion, but that it was also an insult to Germany and German art:

> We are not prepared to have Berlin pass off reheated cabbage as the laws of art, nor are we prepared to have German ways and the German spirit insulted by the proclamation of a fad that is already old-fashioned in Paris and against which we can put up better things.

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318 Meier-Graefe had already been writing on French artists which eventually included monographs on Camille Corot, Eugene Delacroix, Paul Cézanne, Vincent van Gogh, Auguste Renoir, Eduard Degas, Max Liebermann and Hans von Marées.


The Heidelberg professor of Renaissance Art, Henry Thode, believed that the cause 'Orientals' represented was not only pernicious on ethnic but also on aesthetic grounds, which were inseparable.\textsuperscript{322} Thode announced a series of eight public lectures specifically in response to Meier-Graefe's arguments, in the summer of 1905.\textsuperscript{323} Thode opened his first lecture by announcing that he would have ignored Meier-Graefe's writings if they did:

...not merely express the opinions of one man but the doctrine of a great party, steadily increasing in power, which is headquartered in Berlin and since I regard this doctrine as extremely dangerous. [Meier-Graefe's views] were the results which I had long expected, of a concept of art advocated by the fanatic admirers and lovers of French Impressionism, who had gone so far as to call Manet a genius... These lectures are also a protest against that one-sided view of art, proclaimed by foreigners, which Berlin in particular is trying to foist on Germany.\textsuperscript{324}

Indeed, Thode singled out a particular group of men whom he identified and re-confirmed as 'alien' and foreign; he declared their doctrines as 'dangerous' and their wish to change German taste as misguided by economic interests:

A relatively small, well-organised group, composed [first] of artists more intimately connected with the art dealer than was ever the case in the great ages of art; [second] of art dealers who made a place for themselves as agents of the new alongside the traditional art associations and the great exhibition organisations; [third] of art historians and critics, writers who champion modern art out of conviction whose honesty we do not question, but frequently with fanatical delusion that the newest is the best; and [finally] of scribblers, pursuing economic interests.

Thode had unwittingly identified the essential transformation of a modernist world and a modernist art market. (See Chapters III, IV, V) As illustrated in chapter I, modernist art dealers with their new methods of small exhibitions had indeed replaced the Salon

\textsuperscript{322} Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 175
\textsuperscript{323} Henry Thode was Richard Wagner's son-in-law.
\textsuperscript{324} Paret, Berlin Secession, pp. 174-75.
tradition and their massive exhibitions of thousands of art works. Indeed, modernist art
geners, whether journalists, art historians, museum directors or art critics - and the new
system of 'dealer-patron-critic' had replaced the Salon and the jury committees of the
Salon. Moreover, this had replaced the old system in France, and Cassirer and their
modernist circle were instrumental in a similar attempt to replace the traditional system in
Wilhelmine Germany. Thode's observation was correct. However, his implications and
the conclusions were misguided, xenophobic and anti-Semitic. He made an assault on the
Secession milieu and the alleged power-hungry circle, attacking what he perceived to be
their delusions and economic ambitions. Thus Thode's attack was not only an attack on
the aesthetics of French art, but also constituted a political and social, an intellectual and
critical attack on modernity and modernism as 'activated and executed by Jews,
foreigners and scribblers' who were now branded as a danger and threat to the German
nation.

A further curious aspect of the polemic was the fact that everyone falsely assumed that
Julius Meier-Graefe was Jewish. At one point he felt compelled to declare publicly:

Incidentally, Liebermann's remarks might have given the impression that I am Jew or of Jewish
descent. I am glad on this occasion to declare that this is not the case, not because I should not be
delighted to share Liebermann's ethnic origins, but because I should like to exclude at least this
confusing personal element from the discussion.325

However, Meier-Graefe was not believed. The artist Hans Thoma wrote to the art
historian Henry Thode that 'Meier-Graefe, who says he is not a Jew, is even more

325 See Paret, p. 180, as cited in Frankfurter Zeitung, 25/26 July 1905.
shameless than Liebermann’.

Indeed, in an article published a few years later Meier-Graefe’s writings were referred to as *Französln und Judeln*.

Such myths, moreover, die hard; even more recent historians such as Robert Jensen and Larry Silver repeat the mistake of believing that Meier-Graefe was Jewish. Their error may be due to Henry Thode’s lecture on Meier-Graefe’s Jewishness, although it is feasible that Thode might have referred to Meier-Graefe’s spirit rather than his ethnicity. However, as the reference of *Französln und Judeln* clearly proves once again, French culture was closely linked to Jews. As we have seen repeatedly, Meier-Graefe was consistently identified as a Jew since he was linked to modernism, to the Berlin Secession, to French modernist art and its numerous Jewish patrons. Moreover, Thode accused Secession president Max Liebermann and Secession secretary Paul Cassirer of supporting French Impressionism mainly for financial gain, an argument often used in anti-Semitic polemics.

Max Liebermann in particular was the target for intense anti-Semitic attacks such as anti-Semitic caricatures, which appeared regularly in the satirical press. Liebermann’s particular position remained controversial for many years, despite Wilhelm von Bode coming to his defence in 1906: Bode recommended a Liebermann Exhibition at

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327 At Meier-Graefe’s death in 1935, the *Völkische Beobachter* vilified him; see Moffett, pp. 59, 127, also cited by Paret, p. 180. See footnote 264 earlier this chapter.
329 See Jensen, pp. 235-63; Paret, *Berlin Secession*, pp. 170-82; Larry Silver, p. 133.
331 Suffice to mention one example, such as a caricature in *Jugend*, Nr. 6, 1903 showing Liebermann as a big, greedy and vulgar *Bierkeller* Secessionist publican with strong Jewish features, such as exaggerated nose and lips.
the Akademie, in honour of the artist’s sixtieth birthday, but the proposal was rejected by the Kaiser.\textsuperscript{332} Bode responded by writing an article in Kunst und Künstler, where he praised Max Liebermann as a truly German painter and refuted allegations that he was an ‘alien’ and international artist.\textsuperscript{333} Liebermann was, Bode wrote:

\begin{quote}
...deutschesten Maler unter den lebenden Künstlern, mehr als er selbst weiss und zugeben will.
Sehr mit Unrecht hat man ihn als fremden, als internationalen Künstler ablehnen wollen.\textsuperscript{334}
\end{quote}

Bode’s essay only added fuel to the nationalist debate unleashed by the right-wing press, which was then venting ‘fury of the Teutonic spirit amongst all true Germanic people and anti-Semites’.\textsuperscript{335} However, as an expression of support for a fellow Jew, the Jewish art patron and philanthropist Eduard Simon donated on the occasion of Liebermann’s birthday two works by the artist to the Berlin Nationalgalerie. The two paintings, Die Dünen in Nordwijk and Die Judengasse in Amsterdam, ironically touched arguably on a sensitive subject - a scene in a foreign country and Jews in a foreign and exclusively Jewish setting. On a more neutral level, on the same occasion Robert von Mendelssohn and Margarete Oppenheim donated to the Nationalgalerie Berlin Liebermann’s Die Gartenbank.\textsuperscript{336}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[332]{Liebermann was more appreciated in French and Italian European art circles, illustrated by the invitation to submit a self-portrait to the Florence Ufizzi Gallery in 1902.}
\footnotetext[333]{Bruno Cassirer established in 1902/3 Kunst und Künstler, the journal becoming the leading literary, art and cultural magazine. See next chapters.}
\footnotetext[334]{“Wilhelm von Bode: Max Liebermann zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag”, in Kunst und Künstler, Year 5, 1907, p. 382.}
\footnotetext[335]{“Furo teutonicus bei allen Hypergermanen und Antisemiten”, in Wilhelm von Bode, Mein Leben (Berlin, 1930), p. 344, cited by Wesenberg in Wesenberg, Im Streit, p. 26.}
\end{footnotes}
Carl Vinnen: *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* (1911) (also *Vinnen Manifesto*)

Indeed, the narrative of the Wilhelmine Jewish experience would be incomplete without the examination of the Carl Vinnen publication of 1911, a manifesto entitled *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler*, which was a culmination of ongoing anti-modernist and anti-Semitic discourse. By 1911, anti-Semitic and xenophobic tendencies were no longer just the domain of the conservative establishment and its artistic societies. A *Protest* pamphlet was instigated by Carl Vinnen, who had once been a Secession member though now a Worpswede art colony landscape artist. The protest was sparked off by the purchase of Vincent van Gogh’s *Poppy Field*, (1890), the latest painting acquired by the progressive Bremen Kunsthalle director Gustav Pauli. Vinnen’s protest was described as ‘a bitter, inflammatory manifesto accusing art dealers of conspiring to foist overpriced French art on an unwitting German public’. The *Protest* was signed by some hundred and forty critics, as well as twenty museum directors and artists. It openly attacked French Impressionism and particularly the art dealer Paul Cassirer.

Among the many wildly hypothetical accusations was the insistence that Cassirer and his peers were engaged in commercial speculation. ‘Speculation has taken hold’, Vinnen wrote, ‘German and French art dealers work hand in glove, and under the guise of supporting art, flood Germany with great masses of French pictures’. Vinnen claimed that these pictures were inferior, that they were ‘leftovers’ and ‘old studio remnants’.

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337 Worpswede is near Bremen.
338 Salzman, pp. 141-144.
339 Surprisingly, Kathe Kollwitz and Wilhelm Trübner, both Secession members, also signed, although they later expressed their regret in doing so. As to the actual numbers of signatories, different sources give different figures.
340 Other modernist art dealers had specialised less on French Impressionist and Neo-Impressionist works, but they too represented French artists: Herwarth Walden in Berlin, Alfred Flechtheim in Düsseldorf and Paul Thannhauser in Munich. All four of these men originated from German Jewish backgrounds and all had close business contacts with Paris art dealers.
which were sold and bought at inflated prices. Furthermore, Vinnen was troubled by the threat to German national identity by French art. He argued that 'speculation' on foreign art artificially raised its value and thus inflated its validity. 'Speculation led to overestimation of alien ways, which do not suit our native tendencies....and when alien influences seek not only to improve us but to bring about fundamental changes' Vinnen wrote, 'our national characteristics are gravely threatened'. Again, art was used as a political tool in the building of national character and identity. It also claimed that as such foreign art was marketed speculatively and too expensively, German artists were denied the reassurance of their own identity and thus were made to imitate foreign, French art, which was imposed by an international conspiracy.

A great, powerfully upward-striving culture and people like ours cannot forever tolerate spiritual usurpation by an alien force. And since this domination is being imposed on us by a large, well-financed international organisation, a serious warning is in order: let us not continue on this path; let us recognise that we are in danger of losing nothing less than our own individuality and our tradition of solid achievements.

In summary, the manifesto proffered stereotypical perceptions of Jews closely involved with high finance, speculation, capitalism and the stock market. Indeed, this xenophobic diatribe included anti-Semitic references such as 'well-financed international organisation', and coincided with and played into the growing nationalistic, anti-French and anti-Semitic climate. The signatories represented a cross section of the German art

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342 As a comparable concept, see this thesis' later argument for German Jews using art as a component for building their secular cultural identities.
343 Carl Vinnen, Protest, p.16, also Paret, Berlin Secession, p.185.
344 Derek J. Penslar, Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe (Berkeley, 2001). Penslar investigates Jewish perceptions of their economic difference and the effect it had on modern Jewish identity.
345 Surprisingly, the manifesto signatories also included nine active current members and sixteen corresponding members of the Berlin Secession. (Corresponding members usually lived abroad). It also
world, all united by the irrational fear of the 'alien' and the presence of the Other. One, for example, expressed a sense of disgust and powerlessness in the face of 'sinister and rapidly expanding circles of aesthetes and stock exchange jobbers.' 346 Another wrote:

As you say, naïve creativity is being replaced by the intellectualising reflections of the art critic, a trade that soon will be claimed by any halfway talented person. Our able writers are in the hands of the Berlin-Paris speculators! And oppose our own best talents! A sad spectacle for anyone with eyes to see. 347

The Vinnen Manifesto and its aftermath would put a significant strain on Paul Cassirer, forcing him to defend himself not just against anti-modernist and anti-Semitic critics, but also making him highly controversial within the avant-garde world and adding to conflicts within the Secession movement. (See Chapter III)

Semi-Kürschner oder Literarisches Lexicon (1913) 348

After the Vinnen Protest, anti-Semitism and criticism of artistic modernism reached new height with the publication of Philipp Stauff's quasi-encyclopaedia, entitled Semi-Kürschner oder Literarisches Lexicon. It represented a climax of most arguments that had been made against Jews in the art world over the previous decades.

It was issued as a volume of the Kürschner Lexicon, a dictionary published regularly by Joseph Kürschner since 1878. The introduction of the word Semi in Semi-Kürschner

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346 Paret, p. 187.
347 Ibid.
denotes the ‘Semitic’ element. Indeed, the cover features a swastika, and the text itself focuses on the ‘infiltration of the Jewish race’. The encyclopaedia included an addendum on *Judaographisches; Das Fremdentum in Deutschlands bildender Kunst oder Paul Cassirer, Max Liebermann, usw.* It was to serve as a reference guide to German Jews, with a special section on Jews in the press, literature, theatre and the art world. Stauff planned future volumes with sections on mixed marriages, the economic status of Jews, race, the women’s movement and Social Democratic policies. Stauff’s publication was intended for Germans as well as foreign supporters, provided that they signed a declaration that they were not of Jewish descent and that they would not ‘sell or present this book to anyone’. Stauff restricted its access to subscription only and it was placed in libraries and readings rooms throughout Germany. The book was later published by the U-Bodung Verlag, which was owned by Ullrich Fleischhauer, who later became a distributor of the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, as well as the publisher of the anti-Semitic periodical, *Weltdienst*.

After 1913, Philipp Stauff and his international publishing board worked on the intended extensive five-volume set, the *Sigilla Veri*. By 1929 only four volumes were published; the fourth volume is extremely rare and breaks off in the middle with the entry on Walter Rathenau. The *Semi-Kürschner Lexikon, Sigilla Veri* was based on excerpts from press and other writings since 1813.

Stauff also planned to establish an A.T.U. (*Alliance Teutonique Universelle*) in response to the ‘powerful’ French-Jewish A.I.U. (*Alliance Israélite Universelle*).

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349 Thus this illustrates that the swastika was already used as an anti-Semitic and nationalist symbol before WWI.
350 This highly vitriolic publication often acted as a source for the National Socialists, thus proving the significance of earlier ‘underground’ anti-Semitic publications, which were later used as ideological...
Conclusion

This chapter has examined the perception of French modernism in Wilhelmine Germany by looking at conservative and liberal circles. It has considered the traditional themes of Wilhelmine artists Anton von Werner and Adolph von Menzel and traced the changes brought about by major liberal figures of Max Liebermann and Paul and Bruno Cassirer and those associated with the Berlin Secession, its artists and supporters, who in many respects were made to stand for the ‘other’. The chapter has explored the writings and influences of the leading progressive writers-activists Franz von Reber, Richard Muther, Harry Graf Kessler and the wrongly presumed Jew, Julius Meier-Graefe, whose art interpretations and writings proved a watershed for modernism.\textsuperscript{351} Assessing the progressive art world, the chapter has concluded that all liberal figures were influenced by France and its changing culture. It has also concluded that avant-garde circles and modernist discourse stood in opposition to the traditional art world, which considered it a threat to its national identity and national art. The struggle between the old and the new, the national and international was fought in the public arena, as illustrated by the public and fierce polemic regarding the art of Arnold Böcklin. Furthermore, the chapter showed that the strenuous attacks from much of the conservative art world was targeted not only at German liberals and German Jews, but highlighted those Germans who allegedly had fallen under Jewish influence, such as Julius Meier-Graefe and his Francophile circle.\textsuperscript{352}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{351} Many liberal figures and groups were inspired by Hugo von Tschudi, who was perceived as the quintessential modernist museum director and thus came to represent in time a model for other progressive museum directors in Frankfurt am Main, Bremen, Hamburg, Mannheim and Weimar. See Appendix A1 and Chapter V.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{352} See Appendix A1.}
Continuing conservative xenophobic attacks culminated in the publication of the *Vinnen Protest* (1911) and the *Semi-Kürschner* (1913 and continued until 1929), publications that focused on German Jews such as Max Liebermann and the Cassirer circle. These publications clearly proved how anti-modernism and anti-Semitism were closely interlinked, even if they were considered ‘underground literature’ before the rise of the National Socialists. (However, once the regime was established, such material surfaced ‘above ground’, in other words, it became mainstream ‘literature’).

I will argue in chapters III, IV, V, that the German Jews who bought and sold, collected and donated French Impressionism in Wilhelmine Germany were reinforced in their modernist patronage by the support of the German circles whom they frequented, and whose values they shared, as the present chapter has shown. But by making this choice, they were perceived as ‘outsiders’ in mainstream Protestant Wilhelmine society, where Catholics and Jews were seen as and perceived themselves as a ‘different’ group apart.

Yet, these Germans and German Jewish circles were determined to stand by the challenge of modernism. Liberal, progressive Germans believed that ‘cosmopolitanism’ was a European aim worth pursuing; as to German Jewish circles, paradoxically, they too believed this at a time - when on many levels - much of educated and sophisticated Wilhelmine Jewry aimed to ‘assimilate and acculturate’ to majority society.

As to one of the thesis’ main hypothesis, it suggests that ‘inter-nationally’ minded Germans and German Jews may have seen in French modernist art –Impressionism- the western iconography of the enlightened, liberal, cosmopolitan and progressive bourgeoisie with which they could and wanted to identify. Indeed, within the context of
such an analysis, French Impressionism was not only an artistic but also a political
stance.

CHAPTER III

MODERNISM AND PAUL CASSIRER,
A WILHELMINE JEW AND ART DEALER
**Introduction**

At the centre of the French reception in Wilhelmine Germany stands Paul Cassirer, the first and most significant modernist art dealer before 1914, who was also a revolutionary trailblazer for many Wilhelmine cultural benchmarks. However, the chapter is not exclusively monographic, but intertextual by taking on board issues of social, cultural and ethnic identity.\(^{353}\) It will argue that Cassirer’s patronage of artistic modernism within the discourse of German Jewish acculturation and secularization, links upper-middle class Jewry’s aspirations to cosmopolitanism and to a new ‘iconography of inclusion’, particularly when embracing French Impressionism.

Paul Cassirer co-founded Berlin’s most important modernist art gallery in 1898 and held simultaneously significant posts at the Berlin Secession from 1898/99 onwards and thus influencing Hugo von Tschudi at the Berlin Nationalgalerie and other progressive museum heads across Germany. Paul Cassirer also established the PAN Presse, a publishing house of major significance for the development of the German book trade.\(^{354}\)

Thus, Paul Cassirer was, on one hand, a representative of the progressive values and agendas of the Wilhelmine cultural world, and on the other, a key member of the liberal German Jewish élite. He inhabited both worlds and embodied the profound bond between them. By examining his life and career, this chapter addresses his status in Wilhelmine society and also observes the ‘construction-in-progress’ of his modern and secular identities within the increasingly assimilating circle of the German Jewish haute-bourgeoisie. The focus on his professional activities highlight the fact that before 1914, French Impressionism was - in practical terms – supported predominantly by Wilhelmine

\(^{353}\) As pointed out by Shulamith Behr.
Jews, many of them Paul Cassirer's gallery clients. As evidence for these claims, this chapter proceeds in several steps. First, it examines Paul Cassirer's life in the context of Wilhelmine Jewry. Second, it explores his role as a modernist art dealer and examines his Kunstsalon Cassirer exhibition programme. Third, it records the art and literary events held at the Cassirer gallery premises, thus highlighting its avant-garde reputation. And finally, the chapter examines Cassirer's foundation of the PAN Gesellschaft and the bimonthly art-critical journal PAN. As a fifth step, the chapter examines Cassirer's influential role in the successful promotion of Vincent van Gogh and the impact of van Gogh collectors on the art market, the majority of them being Cassirer's clients. It also summarises Cassirer's European-wide clients, illustrating that Cassirer was an international advocate of French Impressionism and thus acted as a *Kulturträger* and *Kulturkritiker* of a French legacy. Finally, the chapter examines Cassirer's response to the Vinnen Manifesto, a document that campaigned against the 'infiltration of foreign art' into Germany. Here Cassirer offers his perceptions of French Impressionism, of modern art and his interpretation of the role of a modernist art dealer in general and his own in particular. On some level, the Vinnen document with its anti-Semitic content, highlights Cassirer's Jewishness and thus contributes to our understanding of his experiences as a Wilhelmine Jew. Thus, this chapter offers a complex profile of Paul Cassirer: how he profoundly shaped German modernism, crucially influenced the Impressionist and post-Impressionist art market in Germany and how he was instrumental in influencing German Jewish modernist art collectors and their art collections. I suggest that this development is a crucial building block in the construction of German Jewish independent and secular humanist identities before World War I.

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\(^{4}\) See Eva Caspers, *Paul Cassirer und die Pan-Presse*. 129
Paul Cassirer, Modernism and other Jews

Bevor Paul Cassirer seine wichtigen Ausstellungen machte und die Berliner Secession eine führende Stellung einnahm, bevor er eine neue Auffassung des Künstlerberufes durchsetzte, bevor er neben Galerieleitem wie Lichtwark und Tschudi, neben Kunstschriftstellern wie Meier-Graefe und Heilbut wirkte, gab es in Deutschland überhaupt kein lebendiges Verhältnis zur Kunst und keinen verlässlichen Sinn für das Echte. Karl Scheffler, 1926

Peter Paret has argued that it was the historical context rather than something specifically Jewish that attracted Wilhelmine Jews to modernism. It was ‘not ethnic characteristics, however measured’, he wrote, ‘but rather historical conditions and individual convictions that determined the role that Jews played in bringing modernism to Germany’. However, Paret’s argument fails to explain why under ‘identical historical conditions and individual convictions’ such a relatively large group of German Jews became collectors of French modernism compared to non-Jewish Germans or other economically successful minorities in Wilhelmine Berlin, such as the French Huguenots. Although time and place were of crucial significance, Jews experienced both differently compared to other people. They had particular dilemmas calling for particular choices based on particular influences and values. Thus, although Sigmund Freud would not have been the same thinker and writer had he not lived in Vienna, he, as a Jew, had a very different experience of fin-de-siècle Vienna than Austrian Catholics. Nor would Franz Kafka, the Jew in Prague, be the same man and writer had he been a Gentile. The same should be said of Paul

355 Karl Scheffler, Obituary for Paul Cassirer, Kunst und Künstler XXIV (1925/26), pp. 175-77.
356 Peter Paret, “Modernism and the ‘Alien Element’ in German Art”, in Berlin Metropolis p. 56.
357 For Freud and Vienna, see Edward Timms, Freud’s Imagined Audience: Dream Text and Cultural Context’, in Psychoanalysis and History, 3 (1) 2001. Also see Karl Kraus, ‘He is a Jew after all’ one of the few texts in which Kraus directly confronts his Jewish identity and how this affected his satirical writing, see. Leo A.Lensing, p. 313 in Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture, 1096-1996, eds. Sander L.Gilman and Jack Zipes (Yale University Press, 1997) For an analysis of the Austrian Jewish experience, see Steven Beller, Vienna and the Jews 1867-1939 (1989).
358 The literature on Kafka’s Jewish identity is vast, suffice it here to mention Martin Buber, ‘Kafka and Judaism’, pp. 157-162 in Kafka, A Collection of Critical Essays; ed. Ronald Gray (Prentice Hall,
Cassirer and those Jews who chose to shape Berlin’s avant-garde art scene. As Thomas Mann observed about Max Liebermann, he was not so much a Berlin citizen or a Jew, but specifically a Berlin Jew. On the occasion of the painter’s eightieth birthday Mann declared that ‘in Liebermann, I admire Berlin’. Berlin represented to Mann, ‘energy, intelligence, tautness, absence of sentimentality and romantic excess, a lack of exaggerated respect of the past, faith in modernism as the promise of the future, cosmopolitanism in place of boozy Teutonic bombast’. Liebermann possessed all of these Berlin qualities, not only because he was Jewish but also because he displayed them in a distinct way. Liebermann’s ‘Jewishness’, Mann argued, ‘sublimated, refined, and Europeanized’ these Berlin qualities, making him and his fellow Berlin Jews both quintessentially of Berlin, yet also somehow different.\footnote{Cited in “Theodor Fontane and Max Liebermann. A Prussian Comparison,” in Peter Paret, German Encounters with Modernism 1840-1945 (Cambridge, UK, 2001), pp. 45-6.}

Paul Cassirer similarly fits Mann’s description, for like Liebermann and by extension Freud and Kafka, he was shaped and identified by his personal, ethnic and religious origins and by the reactions he generated in those who surrounded him. He experienced his environment from the unique perspective of a Wilhelmine Berlin Jew. However, if we accept Jewishness as a key to understanding Cassirer, we are still left to wonder what it was about French Impressionism and other forms of artistic modernism that appealed so strongly to him and his Jewish peers.

Between the unification of Germany in 1871 and the outbreak of the First World War, the country experienced immense changes by an industrialization that was perceived as...
unsettling and revolutionary, although compared to Britain and France, Germany experienced industrialization relatively late. In contrast to many Germans, many of whom were troubled by these upheavals, many Jews welcomed the new and extended opportunities. German Jews profited by economic and geographical mobility across cities and countries, where they had extensive professional and private networks. Indeed, the granting of emancipation and the prosperity of the Gründerjahre resulted in a rapid expansion of the Jewish middle and upper classes, as Jews rapidly urbanised, expanded their commercial enterprises, flocked to the universities and entered into medicine and law in disproportionately large numbers; at the top was an elite of Jewish bankers, businessmen and industrial entrepreneurs. Economic and social changes were accompanied by the hope that constant transformation and economic and cultural Verbesserung would lead to full acceptance by and into German society. The idea had been propagated since the 18th-century German Aufklärung and had become a key component of ideological concepts that were adopted by most of the educated and ambitious Jewish bourgeoisie. Stefan Zweig observed astutely in his Memoirs:

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361 For statistics on Jews and education, see Monika Richarz, “Occupational Distribution and Social Structure”, in Ed. Michael A. Meyer, Integration in Dispute 1871-1918, in 'German-Jewish History in Modern Times', a four volume series (Columbia University Press, New York, 1996), pp. 54-60. Hereafter Integration in Dispute. Two of the Cassirer brothers went into the family cable manufacturing firm, one became a doctor and the youngest Paul entered the free profession of writer/art dealer/publisher. University education was mainly for males, although Jewish women were educated to a higher level than the average Prussian middle class woman, who was allowed to matriculate for the first time only in 1908. See Marion A. Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany (Oxford, 1991), pp. 137-152.

362 Bankers formed an important part of the German Jewish elite whose international connections made their enterprises possible and successful. Whether they financed Napoleon or were bankers to Metternich in Austria, to Louis Phillipe in France, to Prince Albert and Disraeli in Britain or to Wilhelm II and Bismarck in Imperial Germany, they were perceived by all of these clients as Jewish, regardless of whether they had converted or not.

363 For a discussion of Enlightenment ideology and German-Jewish identity, see David Sorkin, The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780-1840 (New York, 1987).
Darum ist es auch immer im Judentum der Drang nach dem Reichtum in zwei, höchstens drei Generationen innerhalb einer Familie erschöpft, und gerade die mächtigsten Dynastien finden ihre Söhne unwillig, die Banken, die Fabriken, die ausgebauten und warmen Gesellschaften ihrer Väter zu übernehmen. Es ist kein Zufall, dass ein Lord Rothschild Ornithologe, ein Warburg ein Kunsthistoriker, ein Cassirer Philosoph, ein Sasson Dichter wurde....

Although some sections of the Wilhelmine Jewish bourgeoisie continued to adhere to Jewish traditional rituals and values, other sections strove for the enlightened aspects of emancipation and secular adaptation, and integration into the more liberal aspects of Wilhelmine society. However, almost all sections stressed their patriotism to Imperial Germany during times of peace and war. Admittedly, some German Jews adhered to German nationalism after the mid-19th-century revolutions, but they also increasingly learned to identify with liberalism and liberal politics. Although much of the post-1871 German Jewish bourgeoisie was staunchly liberal and many German Jews were supporters of liberal parties, many were also fiercely loyal to *Kaiser and Adel*. Moreover, German Jews had looked to the French Revolution and France as the best representative of liberal values of *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*, however ambiguous.

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364 Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern, Errinnerungen eines Europäers*, p.27 (Frankfurt am Main, 1998).
365 There were many examples in the extended Cassirer families: Isidor Cassirer was involved with local councils, which afforded access to decision-making roles within the Prussian local bureaucracy. Such positions were comparable to the growing Vereine in the art and cultural world; Max Cassirer was on boards of numerous organisations relating to the timber and paper trade and other business and industrial associations. In September 1911 he was honoured with *Rote Adlkerorden 4 Klasse*; he was a member of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Gesellschaft and was awarded in April 1917 the *Verdienstkreuz* for his contributions to the war effort. In October 1918, Wilhelm II awarded the title *Kammerzienrat*; he was an honorary *Stadtrat* in Charlottenburg from 1896-1919. In February 1920 he was awarded the Prussian *Eisernes Kreuz Klasse II* and the title of Charlottenburg *Ehrenbürger*, see Bruhl, p. 32-34.
366 For German Jewish participation in World War I, see Peter Pulzer ‘First World War’, *Integration in Dispute*, p. 360-384. See also Michael Brenner. The German Army orders census of Jewish soldiers and Jews defend German culture’ *Yale Companion to German Culture*, pp. 343-347.
368 See quote on page 12.
the concepts, these slogans had retained their relevance to Jewish aspirations, particularly for the educated élite.369

Hence post-1871 Wilhelmine Jewry carried multi-layered identities. First, they tended to retain specifically Jewish loyalties to their history and tradition, although these identities had become surprisingly diversified during the 19th century.370 Second, German Jews also aspired to become part of the dominant German culture, and specifically its bourgeois culture. Third, in light of their newly won enfranchisement, German Jews cultivated patriotism, loyalty to the Emperor and the new nation-state expressed in their desire to be exemplary and grateful citizens.371 And last, the German Jewish bourgeoisie, particularly the economic and cultural élite, continued to align themselves with French and Western universal values. One aspect of these manifold phenomena was the desire on the part of élite to help shape the German metropolis into a new Weltstadt with a new Weltanschauung second only to Paris. Moreover, German Jews were oriented towards seizing new opportunities that would improve their present lives. In the words of Meier-Graefe:

Der Jude fühlt sich in einer ungeordneten neuen Welt [und] in einer stürzenden alten Welt in seinem Element. Die Improvisation in Leben, Denken, Schaffen ist sein natürlicher, von der Geschichte seines Volkes aufgezwungener Zustand. Nimm das, was Du vor Dir hast. Mach es allein. Du weisst, was Du wert bist. Auf das andere ist kein Verlass. Er ist ein glänzender Organisator seiner selbst, sieht immer nur die Welt von der Stelle, wo er steht...372

369 Ludwig Börne (1786-1837) became the leading 19th-century Jewish human rights activist, writing extensively and pleading for German Jewish equality. Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) was the leading polemicist for personal and political as well as theoretical and critical themes of liberty, both for Germans and German Jews.

370 German Jews saw the foundation of the Reform movement which was accompanied by the foundation of the Wissenschaft des Judentums.

371 See biographies of Jewish collectors (chapters IV) and Jewish sponsors (chapter IV).

For Meier-Graefe, an embrace of the contemporary was essential to the Jews’ existential survival, the present usually being better than past historical experiences. Meier-Graefe also stressed that the visual representation of the contemporary was the prerequisite for all modernist projects, thus making the link between the Jewish condition and contemporanité and the Jewish reception of visual modernism. Other German commentators also stressed the significance of the contemporary for new art. For example, the Hamburg Kunsthalle director, Alfred Lichtwark, wrote in a letter in 1906 that French Impressionists ‘hate reverie and mysticism’ and ‘enjoy only what is real in the picture’. Berlins Nationalgalerie director, Hugo von Tschudi, likewise wrote in 1911 that as an advocate of French Impressionism, he was specifically interested in ‘material that was tied to the present by living threads’. The contemporary art historian Cynthia Salzmann has noted that it was the urban classes who had the leisure, the hunger for the new, and the prosperity to afford modernist art:

Impressionism’s insistent focus on contemporary life – in particular, on the haunts of the new urban classes and the picturesque suburbs where they spend their leisure – well suited the taste of the bourgeoisie now at the economic helm of German society. It was among these German collectors with a confident hunger for modernism that van Gogh found his most receptive audience in the first decade of the century.

As we have seen, German supporters of French Impressionism like Julius Meier-Graefe and Harry Graf Kessler saw French Impressionism as a particularly French model of modernity, which they ultimately wanted to see as a European model. It was, for one

374 Ibid. p. 53.
thing, 'the painting of modern life', the art of the rising bourgeoisie, meaning that it represented bourgeois life and expressed bourgeois values. These included individualism, subjectivism and in its realist forms, the positivism associated with liberalism and liberal politics. Hence la *nouvelle peinture* showed everything from sober portraits of working-class life to the leisure activities of the middle-classes; it depicted the changes in the city, such as wide avenues and enlarged parks and the building of new train stations, developments that introduced greater freedom and mobility to bourgeois lives.

Paul Cassirer and a small group of German Jews, disproportionately urbanised, shared Meier-Graefe and Kessler’s vision of French Impressionism. Furthermore, they also hoped for recognition within the bourgeoisie and hoped for a position of influence within it. Thus, if theoretically at least, French Impressionism was to have suited 'the taste of the bourgeoisie now at the helm of German society', as Cynthia Saltzman has suggested, it was all the more attractive for the Jewish élites within the German Bürgertum.³⁷⁶

**Paul Cassirer, a Wilhelmine Jew.³⁷⁷**

Paul Cassirer was a leader, not just of a certain circle of the German Jewish haute-bourgeoisie but also in the making of their cultural and aesthetic sensibilities. Despite this art and cultural pioneering role, which was exceptional, Cassirer was in many respects typical of the Wilhelmine Jewish circle and its outlook. The large Cassirer family was in fact a classic example of the post-1871 processes of social and geographical mobility, such as educational advancement and urbanisation. Typically, Jewish circles and the Cassirers – as a prime example - had a high rate of endogamy, as well as often running

³⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 100.
³⁷⁷ See *German Jewish History of Modern Times*, Vol. 3 (1997)
business ventures jointly with other family members. There was often a strong emphasis on university education, a period of apprenticeship or study abroad, which was often combined with learning foreign languages, all developments which were applicable to most Cassirers. All these factors facilitated an empathy with cultures more liberal and less conservative than the Prussian model. This empathy encouraged openness towards other people and Jews benefited personally and professionally from their domestic and international private, business and financial connections with other countries and other Jews. Moreover, German Jews were still excluded from the diplomatic service or the Foreign Office, so their own networking could be seen as a valuable substitute for such a gap in the professional hierarchies, which again only emphasised their marginality within the discourse of German citizenship.

Paul Cassirer was born on 21 February 1871 in Görlitz, Lower Silesia, as the third child of Louis Cassirer, an engineer, and his wife Emilie, née Schiffer. Paul’s two older brothers were Richard and Hugo, and his younger siblings were Alfred and Else. The family moved from Breslau to Berlin sometime between 1883 and 1886, where his father and his uncle, Julius Cassirer, established the cable manufacturing company

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378 Historically, endogamy had been the rule amongst Jewish communities for centuries; it preserved group cohesiveness, uncontested Jewish identity and acted as fortification and as a barrier, although until modern times, because of both internal and external barriers, Jews had no choice in the matter. For example, Paul Cassirer and Bruno Cassirer were still accepting of traditional customs, as they did not reject the proposed marriages or rebel against family pressures or customs. The year that Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux married (1910) inter-marriage had reached the level of 13.2% in Prussia and would reach its all time high in the years 1916-1920, when it stood at 20.8%. For statistics on mixed or inter-marriage, which was forbidden by German law until 1875, see Monika Richarz, 'Demographic Developments', in Integration in Dispute pp. 7-23.

379 He was born either in Görlitz or Breslau; his precise birthplace is disputed.

380 Their respective biographies and art collections are addressed in chapter III and Appendix A 4
Dr. Cassirer & Co. AG Kabelwerke Berlin. Hugo and Alfred later joined the pioneering family concern. The company became a highly successful industrial enterprise, which exported to European countries and the Far East. The career choices of the second generation of the Cassirer family exemplified a trend common to economically successful Central European Jews. Having achieved a level of financial security, they hoped to acquire a less commercial position within mainstream society by embracing German Bildung. This was perceived as a strategy for assimilation and acculturation that originated with the Enlightenment notion that emancipation and equality would be the outcome of embracing German humanist education. Louis's eldest son Richard became a neurologist, and his younger sister Else, an editor, married her cousin Bruno Cassirer. Paul Cassirer, like several of his male cousins, was university educated. He enrolled to study law in 1892 at Berlin's Friedrich-Wilhelm-Humboldt Universität, where he experienced the difficulties and restrictions of Jewish student life at a German university. In 1893, Paul moved to Munich where he started to contribute to
various art and cultural publications; in 1896 he became a writer and a freelance editor for the newly founded satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*, a magazine modelled on the Parisian *Gil Blas*, another example that avant-garde trends were based on French models, as will be argued throughout this thesis. Thus Paul Cassirer found a niche in the free profession of journalism, one of the options open to Jews.

Paul Cassirer published his first novel, *Josef Geiger*, under the pseudonym Paul Cahrs. His book explores the youthful search for identities, whilst being highly critical of Munich’s student and officer circles. Cassirer used the pseudonym Cahrs only once more for a short *Simplicissimus* article; these occasions seem to be the only times when he changed his real name, perhaps as an experiment to hide his Jewish identity, or simply to follow a literary tradition. However, Paul Cassirer never adopted a pseudonym again, thus inviting the assumption that he did not want to hide his Jewish roots. Indeed, it would have been difficult to do so, as the Cassirer extended family enjoyed a high profile in public life.

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385 He also wrote a four-act drama *Fritz Reiner der Maler, Studie nach dem Leben*, (Dresden/Leipzig 1894), as well as *Nachstück* published in *Blätter für die Kunst*, Year 2, vol.3 (August 1894), p. 95. *Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf* was published in *Simplicissimus*, Year 1, Nr. 21 (22.8.1896), p. 2, under the pseudonym of Paul Cahrs. The satirical magazine *Simplicissimus* (founded in Munich 1896 by Albert Langen) was modelled on the Paris *Gil Blas illustre*. *Simplicissimus*, which had a large advertisement section, satirised the Wilhelmine monarchy, aristocracy, the authoritarian class structure, the military, student corps, police and judicial system, church and clergy, parliament and political parties and imperial foreign policies at home and abroad. *Simplicissimus* did not exclude Jews and had Jewish contributors such as the leading caricaturist Thomas Theodor Heine, an artist whose work was later consistently exhibited at the Kunstsalon Cassirer. Nonetheless, the journal was often strongly anti-Semitic in tone. Other *Simplicissimus* contributors included the artists Olav Gulbransson and Ludwig Thoma, and the writer Frank Wedekind, who was later published by Bruno Cassirer.

386 *Josef Geiger* was published by Albert Langen, Leipzig, 1895

387 Many German Jews, even if they did not convert, adopted a more Germanic name, particularly in the press, theatre and the arts, as many examples throughout this study have shown.

388 For the biographies of the extended Cassirer clan, see Brühl, *Die Cassirers*. 
After Munich, Paul Cassirer spent time in Brussels and Paris, and in the process he learnt to speak French fluently. On his return to Berlin in 1896, he agreed to his family’s proposed match to marry Lucie Oberwart, a young, independent woman from a respectable Jewish home. The couple settled in the West Berlin suburb of Charlottenburg in close proximity to other Jews, an area known as the élitist ‘Tiergarten Ghetto’. The director-producer Lotte Eisener, a cousin of Lucie Oberwart, recounts in her memoirs that theirs was an a-political, self-satisfied, snobbish, exclusive and wealthy Jewish circle that was fiercely loyal to Kaiser und Adel that looked down on those in ‘trade and commerce’:

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\text{Politisch ungebrochen, als Anhänger von Adel und Kaisertum, lebten unsere Freunde und Verwandten, die alle einen Stand angehörten, in Selbstzufriedenheit dahin. Wir waren die aus dem Tiergartenviertel und die verkehrten nicht mit denen vom Kurfürstendamm...den Neuereichs, die sich diese protzigen klassizistischen Bauten in der Jahrhundertwende hingestellt hatten und mit ihren Reichtum angaben..... Es wäre unerhört und unstandesgemäß gewesen, mit so Großhändlern wie etwa den Lubitsch, die aus diesem Milieu stammten, Verbindung aufzunehmen.}
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However, running parallel to such an interpretation, one also has to note that liberalism, cosmopolitanism, and internationalism in the public milieu-as experienced and represented by Paul Cassirer and his avant-garde circle- served the cause of early modernism and were generally seen as characteristics attributed to Jewish identities.

389 Paul Cassirer lived briefly in Brussels, a European avant-garde centre that had already established its Secession group “Les Vingt.” (Its members were van de Velde, Rodin, Constantin Meunier, Felicien Rops, Theo van Rysselberge and James Ensor.) Cassirer and Lucie divorced in 1901. They had two children: a daughter, Suzanne Aimee (Suse) and Hans Peter, who committed suicide in 1919. Suzanne married the Jewish humanist Dr. Hans Paret; they had two children, Peter Hans Paret (the historian cited in this study) and a daughter, now Renate Morrison. Suzanne divorced Paret and married the renowned Viennese psychoanalyst Siegfried Bernfeld in 1934. After her move to Vienna, Suzanne arranged for her late father’s art collection to be removed from Germany, the proceeds of which were used for their immigration to the USA. Again this is an example of how art became a tool that facilitated the emigration of a Jewish family. See Interview with Renate Morrison, Appendix B 3.

390 See Pierre Assouline, Le Dernier des Camondo (Paris, 1999), pp. 20-64, with particular reference to chapter on the Paris area of Parc Monceau, where Jews had settled.

391 Lotte Eisener, Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland, Memoirs. (Munich, 1988), p. 41. See also references to internationalism and liberalism earlier this chapter.
Paul Cassirer, a Modernist Art Dealer and Publisher.392

Whereas circumstances in Wilhelmine Germany had not proven very conducive to a career for an independent-minded young Jew such as Paul Cassirer, his experience abroad, particularly his contact with the avant-garde art world proved a turning point. In October 1898, with financial backing from the family, Paul and his cousin Bruno Cassirer decided to establish a pioneering art venture, the *Verlagsbuchhandlung und Galerie Bruno und Paul Cassirer*. The cousins were now not only brothers-in-law but also business partners, like their fathers were, as they had also jointly founded the pioneering cable enterprise. Moreover, Paul and Bruno shared memories of their childhood and student years and now had similar interests in art and culture. Thus the tightly knit, almost incestuous Cassirer clan was bound over several generations by marriage, business and financial connections and cultural interests; its cohesiveness was reaffirmed by living and socialising in exclusive Jewish circles. At the same time, they tapped into their international connections, using networks of Jewish families and business contacts, in their case art dealers and collectors – Jewish and Gentile – to strengthen their various enterprises. By all these measures, the Cassirers were typical of the Berlin Jewish haute-bourgeoisie.393

Only later did Paul Cassirer break openly with familial and social norms when he and Lucie Oberwart divorced around 1901, at time when divorce still carried some social stigma. Paul Cassirer subsequently married the Viennese-born actress of French Huguenot descent, Tilla Durieux, who became one of the leading stars of the avant-garde.

392 For some relevant contextualisation of Paul Cassirer as a contemporary art dealer, see Thurn, p. 124-128. For a full Paul Cassirer exhibition programme, which also includes the cultural events on the Victoriastrasse premises, see Appendix A) 2.
theatre producer Max Reinhardt. Moreover, although Cassirer met Durieux in 1903 (at a social event arranged by Julius Meier-Graefe) and shortly thereafter began living together, they did not marry until 1910. Cohabiting before marriage was a flagrant transgression of Wilhelmine moral and sexual mores. Many contemporaries, including Max Liebermann, disapproved of their arrangement to the degree that Liebermann refused to greet Durieux when he saw her on the street alone. Support of modernism in art did not always go hand in hand with liberated social or sexual attitudes, particularly in reference to an actress.

Paul and Bruno Cassirer established their art gallery and publishing venture in November 1898, at Victoriastrasse 35, on the southern edge of the Tiergarten suburb of West Berlin. Setting up the Cassirer Galerie and reading room, designed in the still controversial Art Nouveau style by Henry van de Velde, constituted a historic moment in modernist culture of fin-de-siècle Berlin. The gallery opened in three small rooms with movable, natural grey linen covered walls ‘representing an austere intellectual space, intended to appeal to collectors with decidedly progressive taste’. The gallery had an Art Nouveau fire screen, table and chairs and ceiling lamps in the reading room, and to

393 Jewish demographers agreed that marriages between Jewish relatives were more common than between non Jews, see p. 115 in the chapter, “For Love or Money: Jewish Marriage Strategies” in Marion Kaplan, Jewish Middle Class, pp. 85–116.


395 Möhrmann, Tilla Durieux, p. 82.

396 Other Berlin galleries were Galerie Fritz Gurlitt, Galerie Eduard Schulte (founded in 1886; it first showed works from the artists of the Vereinigung der XXI) and Galerie Keller & Reiner (founded in 1897, showing contemporary artists), L. Lepke, Kunsthandlung, and Rudolph Lepke Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Carl Schmitz and Hermann Pächter in association with the Verlag R. Wagner. For an excellent chapter on ‘the struggle for modern art’ and Kunstsalon und Galleristen in Berlin’s Fin-de-Siècle to 1914, see Thurn, p. 115-138.
emphasise the exclusivity of the new establishment, gallery clients were required to make an appointment. The ambience was of a total modernist environment, not just a place to sell art. Indeed, it was an original pioneering venture as this interior was not emulating French models such as Paul Durand-Ruel’s Parisian more conservative gallery space. 398 Besides their early relationship with Paul Durand-Ruel, the Cassirers were also in regular contact with other Paris dealer such as Ambroise Vollard and brothers Gaston and Josse Bernheim of the firm of Bernheim-Jeune, all of whom would in due course become supplying agent-dealers providing French modernist art to the Cassirer enterprise. However, it was Paul Durand-Ruel, who should be thought of in many ways as the real role model and Paul Cassirer his German counterpart. 399 It is compelling to point out that personally, Paul Durand-Ruel was a monarchist and an arch-catholic, who had originally wanted to become a professional soldier or missionary. 400 However, when taking over his father’s business, he was above all, artistically pragmatic and fully appreciative of the gap in the modernist market. He understood that artists, who were alienated from the Salon system, needed an agent who would represent them and their new work. Man muß versuchen, die Neue Welt gleichzeitig mit der Alten zu revolutionieren. 401 However, Durand-Ruel became a modernist commercial dealer who not only loved and marketed modernist art, but also promoted a specific ideological agenda. Indeed, he was the first ‘art-impressario’ who took his artists to the New World

397 Saltzman, Portrait, p. 96.
398 No archival document has actually established a formal relationship between the Cassirers and Durand-Ruel; without such proof of official or legal evidence, one must conclude that only an informal contract existed between the two parties.
399 Ibid.
400 Hans Peter Thurn, Der Kunsthandler, p.104-105
401 As cited by Frances Weitzenhoffer, The Havemeyers, Impressionism comes to America, New York, 1986 p. 38 as cited by Thurn, p. 105i
in 1886, when he first exhibited over 300 Impressionist works in New York and first realized the importance of art collectors outside Paris and France:

Ein echter Kunsthandler muß gleichzeitig auch ein aufgeklärter Kunstliebhaber sein, der, wenn nötig, bereit is, sein unmittelbares geschäftliches Interesse seiner Überzeugung zu opfern und lieber gegen Spekulanten kämpft, als daß er sich an ihre Machenschaften beteiligt.402

On a pragmatic level, from the earliest days of his venture, Cassirer adopted some of Durand-Ruel’s model of exhibitions and thus transplanted Parisian marketing methods as well as aesthetic taste to Berlin in a highly innovative space.403 Indeed, by 1914, Paul Cassirer’s reputation had also been ‘tainted’ as an ‘ideological dealer’ and because of it, he experienced attacks repeatedly, as will be shown later.

However, Cassirer experienced the marketing of modernist art in different ‘historical and personal circumstances to Durand-Ruel’.404 First, he experienced Wilhelmine resistance to all modernism, particularly French modernist art, in his dual role as a private, commercial agent and leading member of the Berlin Secession. Furthermore, he encountered racist, anti-Semitic attacks on him as a Jew in his perceived designated role as capitalist and modernist. Paul Cassirer’s modernist activities were interpreted by the cultural establishment as un-German, inappropriate and financially driven. Furthermore, he and French modernist art were seen as a threat to the state and the power of Anton von Werner as Akademiepresident and head of the Berliner Kunstverein, who represented the Stimme des Herren, the Kaiser.405

403 For a reproduction of the Durand-Ruel space towards the end of the 19th century, see Thurn, p.107.
404 See Paret, in Berlin Metropolis, p. 56.
405 Furthermore, the Kaiser ordered the art historian at the Berlin University Heinrich Wölfflin: “Machen Sie mir bitte, ordentlich Front gegen die moderne Richtung.” See Wolfgang Freiherr von Löhneysen, “Paul Cassirer - Beschreibung eines Phänomens”, in Imprimatur, New Series, 7 (1972), p. 154.
Indeed, the Cassirer enterprise was marked from its inception as a modernist venture as
well as displaying an ideological commitment to l'art pour l'art, since the commercial
rewards of German and French modernist art were often jeopardized by negative critical
reception. Cassirer was a pioneer dealer of both modernist German and foreign art as well
as other innovations, such as the publication of exhibition catalogues. Furthermore, he
pioneered the separate exhibitions for graphic works and introduced sales of entire
private collections. Thus the Kunstsalon Cassirer became from its earliest days an
avant-garde platform for modernist marketing methods and hanging policies, the gallery
premises often serving as an intellectual debating forum.

Critical appraisal of the Cassirer enterprise was soon forthcoming. In January 1898, a few
months after the gallery’s opening, Kunsthalle Hamburg director Alfred Lichtwark
commented:

Die Besitzer sind reich...zugleich haben sie einen vornehmen Kunstverlag angefangen. Hier
scheinen mir für Berlin die Bedingungen des Gedeihens gegeben. Ihre Aufmachung ist raffiniert
einfach. 408

It is interesting to observe the reference to the Cassirer's family wealth; was this
reassuring information as to the venture’s financial security, or was such prosperity seen
as dubious, as much of the contemporary anti-Semitic press was insinuating? Or was
wealth an important requirement to make this new venture a success? 409 Indeed,

406 Art exhibition catalogues were still rare; a scholarly study on the subject is still outstanding.
Contemporary art and cultural publications were often shortlived, such as PAN, (1895) Deutsche Kunst und
Dekoration, (1897) and Dekorative Kunst (1898).
407 For changes in art dealership, see Hans Peter Thurn, Der Kunsthandler: Wandlungen eines Berufes,
(Hirmer Verlag, München, 1994.)
408 Alfred Lichtwark: Briefe an die Kommission zur Verwaltung der Kunsthalle Hamburg. Gustav Pauli
409 See earlier remarks on Gee’s study relating to economic status of supporters of modernism.
economic status was a necessary and significant component for a Cassirer client as the art market was in due course beginning to attract rising prices, not least through Paul Cassirer’s successful promotion.

One of the leading art journals of the time, Kunst für Alle, reviewed the new gallery with partly admiring, partly critical comments expressed in terms of *edel, vornehm...etwas exotisch ...dass man nicht immer darin wohnen möchte...aber für den Zweck tadelloser.***

The Berlin Börsen Courier commented on its avant-garde intimacy as well as its isolated and isolating atmosphere: *in keinem Berliner Kunstsalon herrscht eine so intime und isolierte Stimmung. Alles fördert zur Beschaulichkeit auf... Hier fühlt man sich, als ob man in einem Atelier zu Gast wäre.*

The gallery’s hanging policy explored themes within a historical context and drew attention to the psychological dimensions of modernism, encouraging visitors to interpret individual artist’s works in the context of a wider artistic movement. However, the gallery did not hang single avant-garde paintings among accepted art which was easy to sell, but rather hung them individually in their own separate context. Thus, the Cassirer gallery was recognised as a ‘new, exotic, intimate yet isolated space’, which was different in its ambience to other, existing venues; it presented modern art taste in a comprehensive Art Nouveau setting. It pioneered the method of exhibiting works within the context of an artistic School, an idea taken from Durand-Ruel and other French dealers.

The Berlin leadership of the Cassirer gallery was never seriously threatened by rival galleries or by the new generation of dealers such as Karl Haberstock. This dealer began

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410 Kunst für Alle, 14, 1898/99, p.98.
411 Berliner Börsen Courier, 9. Dec. 1898 see Hoffmeister, Kunsthändler, p. 35.
412 See writings by Meier-Graefe in Chapter I.
to attract a wealthy, right wing and anti-Semitic clientele for his trade in 19th-century German genre and landscape paintings and Old Masters, as favoured by the Kaiser.\(^{413}\)

Moreover, Haberstock increasingly propagated and exploited the perception – in line with the official press – that the Wilhelmine art market was dominated by Jews.\(^{414}\)

Paul Cassirer’s gallery shaped the Wilhelmine modernist art market, and in the process he turned it into the nexus of a network for German avant-garde artists and writers, with a particular preference for August Gaul and Ernst Barlach, who also became personal friends. Cassirer’s gallery also became known as the pioneer in the representation of French Impressionism in Wilhelmine Germany. The gallery’s exhibition programme, as well as the numerous events that made use of the gallery space, reinforced both Casirer’s modernism and his understanding of a new Weltanschauung: in short, it stood for his mission of modernism, both French and German.

\(^{413}\) Karl Halberstock came from a humble Bavarian family; he was apprenticed and worked for the Jewish banking brothers Guttman in Augsburg (1896) and the Cassel brothers (1899). Halberstock opened his first “picture shop” in Berlin in 1907, moving in 1912 to “stately quarters” in Bellevuestrasse. Early in his life he declared openly his contempt for people who had the benefit of an education, which had been denied to him. However, after his marriage to the sophisticated Magdalene in 1919, he made up for his lost education by learning English and French. He became one of the leading art dealers with international connections in the capital during the Third Reich. Much of Halberstock’s professional and anti-Semitic career led to his collaboration with the Nazis. This theme is examined in some detail by Jonathan Petropoulos, whose study also draws attention to the concealment of the Halberstock’s Nazi past in a recent catalogue (1991) published on the occasion of the exhibition of the Halberstock art collection shown at the Augsburg Städtische Kunstsammlung. See Jonathan Petropoulos, The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany (London, 2000), pp. 74-100. For the disposal of art during the Nazi period also see Lynn Nicholas, Rape of Europa, The Fate of Europe’s Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War (New York, 1994) and Elisabeth Simpson (ed.), The Spoils of War (New York, 1997).

\(^{414}\) Halberstock claimed that he had good relations with individual Jews, such as the art historian Max Friedländer; which was not surprising as Friedländer was for many years the curator and head of the prints collection at the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin and therefore a valued client. Later he had dealings with the Berlin art dealer, Arthur Goldschmidt, Friedrich Seligmann, George Wildenstein and the Duveen brothers in Paris.
Cassirer Kunstsalon Programme. (1898-1914)\textsuperscript{415}

The gallery’s ambitious exhibition programme averaged up to ten exhibitions per annum. It consisted of group and solo exhibitions, including the regular pioneering winter show of ‘Black and White Works on Paper’ and an annual Summer Exhibition.

The opening exhibition - November 1898- consisted of a small show of works by the German, Max Liebermann, by the Frenchman, Edgar Degas, and by a Belgian, Constantin Meunier. Following exhibitions introduced various international artists whom Paul Cassirer had encountered during his visits to Brussels, Paris and Munich: Felicien Rops, Jean François Rafaelli and James Paterson and artists of the Dutch School. During 1898, the gallery also showed German Hans Thoma and the Frenchmen Monet and Manet \textsuperscript{416} and in April 1899 it exhibited German and French caricatures published in satirical journals.

The second year, 1899-1900, brought the first group exhibition of leading French Impressionist artists, Manet, Monet, Degas and Sisley and also Puvis de Chavannes.

Manet’s masterpiece \textit{Déjeuner sur l’herbe} was greatly admired, despite the ‘shocking’ nude women in the company of fully clothed men. However, most reviews focused on the ‘wonder of sophisticated technique’ rather than its content: \textit{nur zur Hälfte modern, zur Hälfte voller Tradition ... ein wahres Wunder an überlegener Technik.}\textsuperscript{417} The same show exhibited the German artists Max Slevogt and Arnold Böcklin, their work contrasting with the French modernists in execution and interpretation. Like most genre paintings of the period, Slevogt’s version of the nude was still veiled in the biblical image of \textit{Danae}.

\textsuperscript{415} See Appendix A 2 which cites every exhibition for 1898-1914, with details on each art work exhibited. It also makes references as to whether there were any catalogues, and, if so, who the author was, if known.

\textsuperscript{416} See polemic involving Thoma, see chapter II and later this chapter.

\textsuperscript{417} \textit{Berliner Börsen Courrier}, 22.10. 1899 see Hoffmeister. \textit{Kunsthändler}, p. 48.
whereas Degas depicted modern women, even if in a less controversial manner than Manet’s *Déjeuner sur l’herbe*. However, Degas’ images were already declared the ‘favourite amongst a sophisticated modernist clientele’, *Liebling des vornehmen Kunstmarktes*.\(^{418}\) (The depiction of modern women was a controversial subject not encouraged by Wilhelm or his court artists, interpreted as a further negative influence on the authoritative environment of the Wilhelmine *Grossbürgertum*.)

The following exhibition (December 1899 to January 1900) presented exclusively German artists; this, however, was followed by a comprehensive exhibition of the British School.\(^{419}\) There was subsequently a display of works by neo-Impressionists Sisley and Rodin, which was followed by the School of Fontainebleau and Realist and Impressionist art. It is interesting to note that the number of German artists usually outweighed foreign art as the Exhibitions between October 1900 and January 1901 illustrate.\(^{420}\)

The Kunstsalon programme was composed of both German and foreign art, a policy that could be interpreted in two ways. Either Cassirer regarded the art as equal, or he felt the need to balance the two to defend himself against accusations of giving preference to foreign art. For example, Cassirer organised a pioneering exhibition in November 1900 for thirteen works by Cézanne – showing the artist for the time in Germany – whilst simultaneously showing works by the Scottish D. Y. Cameron, the Frenchman George d’Espagnat and several German artists. Cézanne’s work was reviewed with the words,

\(^{418}\) Ibid.

\(^{419}\) The exhibition included forty works by Constable, the first major showing of his work in Berlin. See the donation by the Parisian dealer Sedelmeyer of a Constable Landscape to the Berlin Nationalgalerie in 1896: details in chapter V and also Appendix A 5.

\(^{420}\) See Appendix A 5.
in eine geschlossene moderne Welt treten wir bei Cassirer, indicating that by 1900 modernism and the Cassirer Galerie had become virtually synonymous.\textsuperscript{421}

Indeed, the Cassirer art programme represented a balancing act between German and foreign, particularly French art. The German artists who were consistently shown at the Kunstsalon Cassirer were Max Liebermann, Hans Thoma, Max Slevogt, Lovis Corinth, Wilhelm Trübner, Kurt Hermann, Leopold von Kalckreuth, Fritz von Uhde, Ludwig von Hofmann, Robert Breyer, Walter Leistikow, August Gaul, Ulrich Hubner, Franz von Lenbach, Adolph von Menzel, Paul Baum, Georg Kolbe, Joseph Oppenheimer, Jacob Nussbaum, Max Pechstein and many others. The French artists shown were Delacroix, Millet, Corot, Courbet, Rousseau, Fantin-Latour, Daubigny, Daumier, Boudin, as well as modernists such as Manet, Pissarro, Monet, Degas, Renoir, Sisley, Signac, Toulouse-Lautrec, Cézanne, Denis, Bonnard and Vuillard and of course, Vincent van Gogh.\textsuperscript{422}

From 1903 onwards, Paul Cassirer began to exhibit entire collections that came up for sale, such as the Sammlung Eduard Ludwig Behrens, the Collection C. Somoff (St. Petersburg) and the Collections Cheramy and Maurice Masson (Paris) and the Collection Dikran Kelekian, which held Egyptian and Islamic art and Oriental and Persian miniatures.\textsuperscript{423} The pattern of a varied exhibition programme continued, as for example, the gallery exhibiting the extensive Sammlung Reber, comprising French realist and

\textsuperscript{421} Berliner Börsen Courrier 11. November 1900, see Hoffmeister, Kunsthändler, p.58.

\textsuperscript{422} Cézanne Bathers was shown at the Cassirer Kunstsalon in November 1909. ( Note Kirchner’s Bathers at Moritzburg (1909) was apparently modelled on Cezanne’s work )In January 1903 Cassirer organised a Munch graphics exhibition at his Hamburg Gallery; in May 1903 he held an exhibition at the New Arts Club, London, in Dresden he held an exhibition at the ‘Europäischer Hof’ showing Monet, Sisley, Degas, Manet and Max Liebermann; see Kunst und Künstler, 1902/03, p. 459.

\textsuperscript{423} The exhibition of western and non-western art in the same space was a significant mark in the history of art dealership. For an early public gallery that exhibited western and non-western art, see the privately established museum by Karl Ernst Osthaus in Hagen-Essen in Westphalia. Appendix A) l
modernist art, for which Paul Cassirer wrote the introduction to the exhibition catalogue (January 1913).

Here Cassirer declared himself an ‘ideological dealer ‘in the mould of Durand-Ruel. Moreover, he assessed the role of the modernist private collector and suggested that his responsibilities resembled those of a museum director-curator, whose duty it was to show art for the public scrutiny of professional art critics and the lay public. Cassirer believed that these modernist private art collectors performed a public and cultural service and praised private patronage as a new democratic act. Thus Cassirer emphasised the public function of the democratic aspects of exhibiting and collecting contemporary art. In particular, he emphasised the openness of modernist art collecting and recommended and praised public access to private collections:


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424 See remarks on the private collection of Eduard Arnold in chapter IV.
425 These aspects were incorporated in the analysis of the modernist art market by White and White, Robert Jensen and Malcom Gee, see chapter I.
In March 1914, the Kunstsalon held a Camille Pissarro retrospective exhibition with close to fifty works. It is significant that the Pissarro show was an opportunity on the part of those involved with the exhibition to highlight the artist’s Jewishness.

Specifically, Julius Elias wrote an Introduction to the exhibition catalogue and referred to Pissarro’s Jewish ethnicity. Elias emphasised Pissarro’s ‘serenity’ in contrast to the stereotypical representation of Jews as ‘restless’.

Pissarro, ein Jude, wandelte herrlich wie der Erzvater Abraham. Er war voller Güte, Mitleid und Weisheit und hatte wahrhaft eine Künstlerseele... Er war der Entdecker der Landschaft von innersten Paris..... des ‘fourmillant’, das Wimmelnde, die zitternde Massenbewegung, der wellenfahre bebende Pulsschlag des Menschentreibens ist das Merkmal dieser Arbeiten.

Elias also pointed out Pissarro’s political allegiances, but stressed that the artist withheld them from his artistic representations. He remembered the one exception of Pissarro’s series of Les Turpitudes sociales (1889-1890) with drawings such as Capital and The Temple of the Golden Calf, which Pissarro had apparently compiled in response to reading the journal La Révolte. Elias interpreted this series as something Pissarro had to work through and then move on; indeed, once completed, the drawings were locked up in his desk.

Es ist die scharfste Anklageschrift die ich von einem Künstler kenne. Er mußte fertig werden mit den Ideen, dann aber verschloss er die Blätter im Pult.

Perhaps deliberately, the Kunstsalon exhibited simultaneously with Camille Pissarro a number of German artists: Benno Berneis, Hans Michaelson and August Gaul, a particular protégé of Cassirer. Could Cassirer have wanted to show that a French
Impressionist and Jew like Camille Pissarro could happily share a platform with German artists?430

The following month, a group exhibition showed 119 works including Heinrich Nauen, Klaus Richter, Magnus Zeller, Willi Geiger and Erna Frank. In the next two months, April and May 1914, the gallery showed works by Karl Hofer, Adolf Struebe, Mortiz Melzer, Ferdinand Hodler and Augusta von Zitzewitz.

A major van Gogh exhibition followed thereafter, an event in which Paul Cassirer demonstrated his interest not just in selling art, but in publicising the artist’s entire œuvre. The show consisted of 151 works by van Gogh, of which 59 were not for sale but on loan by their owners. The illustrated catalogue carried on its cover one of van Gogh’s numerous self-portraits, and Paul Cassirer wrote the preface.431 The show was the tenth van Gogh exhibition he had organised, and it travelled subsequently to the Kölnischer Kunstverein, where Paul Cassirer was artistic director since 1913. Finally, the last exhibition held before the outbreak of the First World War was the annual Summer Exhibition 1914, which showed works by, among others, Liebermann, Leistikow, Corinth, Slevogt, Hübner and Cézanne, Monet, Pissarro and Sisley, Cassirer trying to achieve a balancing act between German and French modernists.

Cassirer’s pioneering spirit impacted on other German and Jewish modernist art dealers, particularly the younger Alfred Flechtheim.432 Cassirer persuaded Flechtheim to leave

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430 See chapter IV and Eduard Arnold’s hanging policies for his private collections.
432 See Peter Springer,' Alfred Flechtheim: Ein Kunsthändler neuen Typus', pp. 79-92 in Junge, Avantgarde und Publikum. (Köl,1992) Cassirer and Flechtheim collaborated on numerous occasions with other Jewish dealers such as Justin Thannhauser in Munich, Ludwig Schames and Jacob and son Julius Goldschmidt in Frankfurt am Main, the latter with branches in Berlin, Paris and New York.
his family’s prosperous grain business and set up his own art dealership and publishing venture in 1913.\textsuperscript{433} Through Cassirer’s modernist influence and Flechtheim’s contact with the Paris dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Flechtheim became the major German representative for the new French avant-garde of Picasso, Braque, Léger, Matisse, Vlaminck and Dérain.\textsuperscript{434} Thus Cassirer and Flechtheim each took on a different generation of French artists, yet both Jewish dealers were representative of the avant-garde in their own time. Both dealers set themselves the task of persuading a new generation of the validity of ‘new art’ and ‘new taste’. Consequently, they both suffered the precariousness and vulnerability that came with being an Überzeugungstäter, as Stephan von Wiese has pointed out:\textsuperscript{435}

\begin{quote}
Der Kunsthandler ist in seiner besten Verkörperung somit auch ein Überzeugungstäter, der sich über die jeweiligen Vorurteile der Zeit erhebt und damit auch über den gesellschaftlichen Verdacht, eben nur für Waren, nicht aber für geistige und künstlerische Qualitäten zu fechten.\textsuperscript{436} ....Seine Persönlichkeit ist immer noch eine fremde. Man pflegt in erster Linie in ihm den Händler zu sehen, und der Handel mit Kunstdingen als Ware verletzen das Gefühl für das Ideale.”\textsuperscript{437}
\end{quote}

Art and Literary Events at the Cassirer Kunstsalon.\textsuperscript{438}

Besides exhibiting modernist art, the Cassirer Kunstsalon hosted a series of cultural events from 1899 onwards, predominantly sponsored by outside cultural associations, such as Verein für Kunst und Literatur, the Pan-Gesellschaft, Neue Club and Aktion. These enhanced the reputation of the gallery as an avant-garde forum and furthered Cassirer's modernist reputation. The speakers, readers and lecturers featured in the events included most of the celebrities of the avant-garde: the historian Richard Muther spoke on Impressionist art in 1903; Julius Meier-Graefe gave several of his celebrated lectures: \textit{Wohin treiben wir?} (4 January 1913), on the art of Delacroix (25 November 1913) and on \textit{Kunst oder Kunstgewerbe} (14 January 1914).

In November 1905, Paul Ernst read his poetry. In 1906, the Verein für Kunst sponsored a series of events that featured Freiherr von Opplen-Bronowski reading from \textit{Der Wandervögel} and a Maurice Maeterlinck reading on January 12. On 19 January 1906, Alfred Mombart read from his writings and recited songs by Konrad Anserge, Elsa Gregory and Herwarth Walden. On 17 February, the theatre and literary-cultural critic Alfred Kerr spoke on the occasion of the 50\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the death of Heinrich Heine. On 9 March, Rainer Maria Rilke spoke on Rodin,\textsuperscript{439} and on 26 March, Maria Holgers spoke on Italian poetry with special references to Dante. On April 6 and October 11, 1906, Heinrich Mann read from his own works; on 18 October Georg Brandes spoke on Voltaire and Friedrich II, and on 25 October, Gertrud Barrison read poetry by Altenberg.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{438} See Appendix A) 2 for full details of sponsors, events and dates. \textsuperscript{439} Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1929) the German poet had worked for nine months as Rodin's secretary in Meudon during 1905-06; he had previously published a short monograph on the artist. Rilke later also}
an event that was repeated on 1 November 1906 and December 5, 1907. On November 8, Jacob Wassermann read from his works and on November 12, 1906, Georg Simmel spoke on Zum Problem des Portraits.\textsuperscript{440}

Between 1907-1914, the Verein für Kunst und Literatur continued to organise further events, among them readings by Gerdt von Basseswitz, Paul Scheerbart, Oskar Schmitz, Else Lasker-Schüler, Herwarth Walden and Paul Leppin, Hermann Barr, Heinrich Mann, Réné Schickele, Georg Simmel and many others. Mann, Lasker-Schüler and Walden gave several repeat performances. Hermann Muthesius lectured on Kunstgewerbe und Architektur; Bianca Segantini spoke Über meinem Vater; Lia Rosen lectured on Herder, Goethe and Jacobson. Stefan Zweif lectured on Honoré de Balsac, Franz Blei on Die moralische Illusion, Karl Larsen on Kriege und Menschen, René Schickele read from his own works; Karl Kraus read twice from Die Fackel (13 and 16 January 1910)\textsuperscript{441} and the Viennese architect Alfred Loos gave two lectures, one on Das sogenannte angewandte Kunstgewerbe and Ornament und Verbrechen.\textsuperscript{442} The Pan Gesellschaft organised an event with Dr. Paul Schmidt on Teufelgestalt in der Faustsaga and the Neue Club organised a Georg Heym reading on Ophelia, Das Fieberspiel, Die Dämonen der Städte and Robbespierre as well as Heym reading from his own unpublished poetry.\textsuperscript{443}

\textsuperscript{440} Georg Simmel was a cultural critic and sociologist who wrote on the dehumanising power of modern city life and its effect on the nervous system, see earlier remarks in section on Terminology.

\textsuperscript{441} Karl Kraus (1874-1936) was an author and playwright, but became best known for the journal Die Fackel which he published virtually single-handed from 1899-1936, the time of the Anschluss. See Art in Theory (2003) p.171.

\textsuperscript{442} Most, if not all events until the present were held under the auspices of the Verein für Kunst und Literatur.

\textsuperscript{443} For precise dates on each event, see Appendix A) 2 where they are chronologically inserted in the Cassirer Exhibition Programme.
Other Modernist Activities

Paul Cassirer and his cousin Bruno were also involved in a variety of other significant events surrounding the modernist art scene in Berlin. Within months of opening the art gallery, the Cassirers were invited by the nascent Berlin Secession and its president, Max Liebermann, to become joint secretary-administrators of the new organisation which was to open its doors in May 1899. Furthermore, when the Cassirer cousins dissolved their formal business association in August 1901, probably for personal reasons, Paul Cassirer retained the art gallery and expanded with an extensive new programme. In his own right, Bruno Cassirer established an independent literary and art-publishing house, Verlag Bruno Cassirer, which launched the art journal Kunst und Künstler. This journal became the leading avant-garde magazine of visual and literary modernism. Indeed, the Cassirer cousins became lifelong competitors – their relationship dogged by personal and professional animosity – but both their enterprises were ventures dedicated to the pursuit of a new market, new ideas and the promotion of ‘new taste’, although they did not want to promote new art to the detriment of the old. For example, Bruno Cassirer’s publishing house issued Max Friedländer’s ten-volume history of painting of the Netherlands. However, many of their projects were experimental enterprises and interdependent, both of them being commercial and ideological ventures. Kunst und Künstler provided the intellectual and theoretical underpinning for the reception of avant-garde art shown at modernist spaces such as the Nationalgalerie, Berlin Secession and the Cassirer

444 Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession, p. 76. See earlier remarks in references to Jewish benefactors to the Secession building.
445 For the partnership separation, see speculations and announcement in Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, as cited in Imprimatur New Series, 7 (1917), p.110.
446 The firm also published the journal Das Theater (1903). The publishing house focused on art books and foreign literature, see Harry Nutt, Bruno Cassirer, in 'Preussische Köpfe'. (ed.) Otto Ohlf (Berlin, 1989), p. 27.
Kunstsalon. For example, *Kunst und Künstler* dedicated an entire issue to the Vienna Secession Exhibition of 1903. Pioneeringly, it published a German translation of excerpts from the correspondence between Vincent van Gogh and his brother Theo. Thus the newly established Berlin Secession, the Kunstsalon Cassirer and Verlag Bruno Cassirer all aimed at linking German contemporary art and literature with progressive currents abroad. Indeed it was the same circle of the Berlin intelligentsia that attended avant-garde theatre productions, visited avant-garde art exhibitions, attended the Cassirer Kunstverein events and read modernist literature and publications, including *Kunst und Künstler*, a circle that became known as the driving force of Berlin’s progressive art and culture. It was the liberal German and German Jewish individualistic cultural élite that lead the city’s cultural avant-garde, whether in literature, music, theatre, cabaret, revue or the visual arts and films. Indeed, the cultural events on Kunstsalon Cassirer premises must be interpreted in the context of a wider cultural framework. Paul Cassirer and his second wife, the prominent stage actress Tilla Durieux, acted as a crucial focus for Berlin theatre circles surrounding the pioneering producer-director, Max Reinhardt, who was often identified with the current *Zeitgeist*. On one hand, Max Reinhardt advocated modernist realist

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447 For other centres see Preface and Appendix A1.
448 See later remarks as to the entire publication of the van Gogh correspondence by Paul Cassirer in 1914.
449 Kennert, *Paul Cassirer*, p. 35.
450 Recently scholars have highlighted the significant Jewish participation in silent films and their founding presence in the modernist film industry of Hollywood.
451 Max Reinhardt, (1873-1943) alias Max Goldmann from Vienna. Reinhardt resigned from Otto Brahm’s Deutsches Theater in January 1901 and opened the private club cabaret, Schall und Rauch, inspired by the *cabarets artistiques* of 1880s Paris. The Schall und Rauch audience consisted primarily of a Jewish club membership and was very popular. However, once the nightclub went public by the end of the year, its success came to an end, since Jewish caricatures and satires seemed to have been acceptable to a very specific Jewish audience only and were considered as offensive to a more general German and Jewish audience. Reinhardt’s Kleines Theater and Neues Theater made its reputation by producing avant-garde
drama, on the other, he also called for an escape from complex and problematic daily reality and declared that the new world should aim at 'lighter colours and a better life'.

....aus der grauen Alltagsmiserie über sich selbst hinausführen... Ich fühle es, wie es die Menschen satt haben, im Theater immer wieder das eigene Elend zu finden und wie sie sich nach helleren Farben und einem höheren Leben sehen.452

PAN Gesellschaft and PAN Presse453

With this audience in mind, Paul Cassirer founded the PAN publishing house in November 1909. It turned out to be a problematic venture and he sold it to the Hammer Verlag in March/April 1912.454 However, the PAN Presse – with nineteen major publications – exerted a cultural influence far beyond its size. During the three years under Paul Cassirer's ownership, it served as an organ of the critical avant-garde. Among other topics, the bi-monthly PAN journal published an article by the important French contemporary art critic, Arsène Alexander, which assessed the ideas and achievements of Durand-Ruel on the occasion of the art dealer's 80th birthday.455 It is relevant here because of Alexander's interpretation of the dealer whose role he saw as an explorer, a critic and a man of passion. Cassirer must have been aware that these words were also applicable to him. Alexander declared that the dealer must be an idealist and enthusiast as interpretations of controversial dramatists Gerhardt Hauptmann, Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg. The other significant theatre producer was the Hungarian-born Ludwig Barney (1842-1924) who ran the Meininger Truppe and established in 1888 the Berliner Theater. See Emily D. Bilski (ed.), Berlin Metropolis: Jews and the New Culture 1890-1918, pp. 213-218, exh. cat. (Berkeley and New York, 1999) and Vera Grodzinski, “Berlin Metropolis, Jews and the New Culture 1890-1918. An Exhibition Review”, in Jewish Quarterly, Nr.176, Winter (1999/2000), pp. 17-22.


453 This was not to be confused with the original Bruno and Paul Cassirer Verlagswesen, 1898-1901, the Paul Cassirer Verlag 1908-1933 or the Bruno Cassirer Verlag 1901-1939.

454 Between January-October 1911 Cassirer became involved in another journal, Jung Ungarn, which aimed at becoming a “Monatschrift für ungarische politische, geistige und wirtschaftliche Kultur”. At the same time it rejected all aspects of nationalism. In March 1912 Cassirer bought the art journal Kunstsalon from the art dealers Amsler & Ruthardt. See Kennert, Paul Cassirer, p. 79-80.
well as successful in making money; in short, he was ‘a significant organ in the system of beauty factories, which modern society produces and represents’: ein System von Schönheitsfabriken, wie sie die moderne Gesellschaft zeugt und charakterisiert. The dealer must fight for the recognition of ‘his’ artists and secure their success which was tied to his own financial survival. Alexander argued that the profession of the art dealer was one of the hardest and most thankless in the world. He quoted Durand-Ruel - whose fight for Impressionism lasted some twenty years – who had always retained a certain melancholia despite his eventual success. Apparently, Durand-Ruel had considered himself a bad dealer because he loved what he bought and sold, but did not always succeed in selling what he had bought.\footnote{456} In short, Alexander argued that an art dealer was a man who influenced and created the aesthetic taste of his era, but his lot was not easy:

Der ist ein Mann, der durch seine Entschlossenheit, seine Zähigkeit, sein richtiges Gefühl für schöne Dinge auf den Geschmack seiner Epoche einen Einfluß hat, der parallel einhergeht neben der Wirkung der uneigennützigen und weitsichtigsten Kritik. Ein Mann der vom strengen Standpunkt kommerzieller Aesthetik als ein schlechter Kaufmann angesehen wird bis zu dem Augenblick, wo der so lange zweifelhafte Sieg aus ihm einen der bedeutesten Kaufleute seiner Zeit macht.

Besides writing about art and art dealers-patron-collectors, PAN was also an organ for contemporary and controversial issues. It did not shy away from addressing the ‘Jewish Question’, which was very much a part of the contemporary Wilhelmine discourse. On one occasion, PAN examined the debate with these words:


\footnote{456} Like Durand-Ruel, Paul Cassirer not only advocated the art of the French Impressionists but wanted to revive the reputation of Goya and El Greco and even Rembrandt, because he believed in their work and their relevance for the present.
Another controversial debate around 1911 surrounded Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux in the *cause célèbre* of the *Jagow Affaire*, which originated during the run of Carl Sternheim's drama *Die Hose*, which was threatened with censorship and closure. Tilla Durieux was supposed to chaperone President Trautgott von Jagow of the Berlin police to the main rehearsal and divert his attention during the play's more incriminating passages. She must have succeeded since Jagow gave his consent for the play. The same evening Durieux received a letter from Jagow requesting a visit to the actress's home the following Sunday. Paul Cassirer saw the letter and felt obliged to defend his honour as her husband and thus demanded a duel, a *Satisfakation*. An apology came swiftly, Jagow claiming not to have known that Durieux was married. However, one of the PAN editors, the acerbic theatre critic Alfred Kerr, decided to reveal the story in public, wishing to ridicule the hated police chief. Kerr wanted to highlight the hypocrisy of the man who had censored PAN's German-language serialisation of Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* in January 1911, which he had declared to be *unzüchtig*. The court case regarding *Madame Bovary* had attracted the attention of the local and foreign intelligentsia. However, now Jagow had privately disregarded the moral values that he

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457 'Juden (Apotthegmata)', signed only as "R." PAN 2, (1912)
458 Though difficult to believe, apparently Jagow was unaware that Durieux was married to Paul Cassirer.
459 Paul Cassirer had instructed the lawyer Dr. Fritz Grünsch; see Durieux, *Meine ersten Jahre*, p. 154.
preached publicly, and Kerr wanted it to be publicised in the pages of the PAN.\(^{460}\) Not all of his colleagues supported Kerr’s decision to debate the affair in the journal. For example, Karl Kraus and Maximillian Harden considered Kerr’s handling of the affair as inappropriate. Paul Cassirer almost resigned from the board over the disagreement, as he too felt it unfitting to have what he considered a personal matter discussed in public or in the pages of PAN.\(^{461}\) The dust surrounding the grotesque Jagow affair eventually settled. However, the scandal, such as it was, caused Jagow to be posted to Breslau, thus losing his powerful position in the metropolis. The affair would be of no historical consequence were it not for the events that followed: it was alleged that in retaliation Trautgott von Jagow denounced Durieux and Cassirer when they were in exile during the latter years of the First World War. This act of revenge from ‘establishment’ quarters seemed incommensurate with the triviality of the original affair.\(^{462}\) However, it can be interpreted as a revenge in keeping with rising anti-Semitism. As such, it is indicative of Paul Cassirer’s experience before and during the war when he was repeatedly singled out for attack. This wartime denunciation played a significant role in a series of misadventures that drove Paul Cassirer to several stays in numerous psychiatric hospitals, before he eventually went into exile in Switzerland until the end of the war. In Switzerland, paradoxically, Cassirer was accused of being a spy and in the payroll of the German Foreign Office.\(^{463}\) These series of events exemplify the experiences of a Wilhelmine Jew before and after the First World War.

\(^{460}\) See various interpretations of the affair by Durieux, ibid., and Paret, *Berlin Secession*, pp. 224-5.


\(^{462}\) Jagow participated in the Kapp-Putsch of 1921 and chose the Jewish Fritz Grünspach as his defence lawyer. See Durieux, *Meine ersten Jahre*, pp. 153-161.

\(^{463}\) In Switzerland, Cassirer organised an art exhibition in conjunction with Graf Kessler, who was the German diplomatic representative.
Paul Cassirer, Germany and the Art of Vincent van Gogh

One measure of Paul Cassirer’s impact on the modernist art world is his dedicated promotion of the art of van Gogh, who had died in 1890. Once Cassirer ‘discovered’ van Gogh, he came to transform the name of the virtually unknown artist for ever. Cassirer consistently exhibited his works both at the Berlin Secession and at his private Kunstsalon as well as sending his art on touring exhibition across Germany; he also encouraged critical appreciation of his paintings and thus helped to build his reputation as one of the most significant artist’s of his generation. By the summer of 1914, some 210 works by van Gogh were owned by German patron-collectors, although not all acquisitions went through Cassirer’s gallery. Paul Cassirer’s 1904 German publication of the correspondence between Vincent and his brother Theo further extended the artist’s impact. Bruno Cassirer’s art journal Kunst und Künstler carried the serialisation of the correspondence during 1904-1905. Meier-Graefe’s 1922 van Gogh monograph

464 The following data on van Gogh works exhibited and sold is based on Walter Feilchenfeldt’s Van Gogh and Paul Cassirer. It is based on the sales ledgers of the Kunstsalon Cassirer held in trust by Walter Feilchenfeldt of Zurich, the firm that relocated the Kunstsalon dealership to Switzerland. For the still most insightful biography of Van Gogh, see Julius Meier-Grafe, Vincent, A Life of Vincent van Gogh. Transl. Holroyd-Reece (London, John Lehman, 1922). Holroyd-Reece praised Julius Meier-Grafe not only as an art critic but also as an outstanding writer of fine and forceful prose.

465 Vincent van Gogh left his estate to his brother Theo, who died a year after Vincent. Johanna van Gogh-Bonger-Cohen, Theo’s young widow was left with some 400 oil paintings and 1300 drawings. Johanna was tireless in the promotion of Vincent’s oeuvre, building a close relationship with Paul Cassirer. The two van Gogh brothers left an extensive correspondence of hundreds of letters, which were first published by Paul Cassirer in German translation, see later this chapter. See new 2 vol. edition Vincent van Gogh. Briefe an seinen Bruder Theo. (E.A. Seemann Verlag, Leipzig, 1997)

466 See the breakdown later in this chapter.

467 One version of the Van Gogh letters were edited by Margrethe Mauthner in Berlin in 1906, also see Carol Zemel, The Formation of a Legend: van Gogh Criticism, 1890-1920. (Ann Arbor, UMI Press, 1980), p. 228. I am indebted to Griselda Pollock for drawing my attention to Zemel’s scholarship.

re-interpreted his art to a growing German-language public, a publication which followed his numerous articles on various Impressionists, including van Gogh.\textsuperscript{469}

As to the general reception of van Gogh’s work after his death, it is compelling to compare the reactions of varied ethnic groups, which appropriated van Gogh in diverse ways. In 1890, ‘very few Dutch critics - they had seen his works only in France - dismissed van Gogh outright; virtually all acknowledged the paintings powerful impact’.\textsuperscript{470} According to van Gogh scholar Carol Zemel, by 1893, van Gogh was acclaimed by Holland’s leading critics and by 1900 these Dutch voices had established the legendary terms of his image.\textsuperscript{471} Vincent van Gogh was now seen in Holland as a unique and dedicated figure, compelled to express a profound vision and emotional sensibility. To this was added the idea of his social estrangement and heroic struggle that carried his image into a myth, ‘whose cultural importance superceded the boundaries of painting or style. His work was ‘....fulfilling a projection of deeply rooted cultural needs and ideals’.\textsuperscript{472}

By 1900 – not that van Gogh’s works were often shown in France - certain French critics saw his art as a visionary affirmation of nature and man;\textsuperscript{473} others saw his vision fired by private fantasy and personal torment;\textsuperscript{474} for others still, the artist was a genius who risked his sanity and his life,\textsuperscript{475} whilst others saw him as a betrayed idealist, a victim of modern

\textsuperscript{470} Carol Zemel, \textit{Van Gogh Criticism}, p.21
\textsuperscript{471} Ibid., p. 32
\textsuperscript{472} Ibid., pp.57-58
\textsuperscript{473} Critics Fontainas, Mirbeau, Leblonds , Ibid., p. 102
\textsuperscript{474} Fontaines, Mirbeau, Leblonds , Ibid., p. 102
\textsuperscript{475} van Bever, Ibid., p.102
alienation and cultural decadence. Most considered van Gogh’s struggle a cultural mission and viewed his life as an artistic parable. According to Zemel, van Gogh’s images of isolation, dedication and struggle revealed as much about the culture that developed them as they do about the artist they describe. By the turn of the century — when Cassirer first showed van Gogh in Germany — ‘the artist’s reputation, the emotionality of his paintings, his individualistic approach, his spiritual concerns and social separation’ – had been articulated in French and Dutch critical literature.

In the case of Germany, in spite of or because of all the above, on the whole, van Gogh’s art still provoked considerable outcry and dissent amongst the public and and critics, as the following section will show. Indeed, Zemel argues that although several German artists of the younger generation were influenced by van Gogh’s works, they pretended to be uninterested in non-German artists and styles. But it is also true that by 1907, Franz Marc travelled to Paris to bring his ‘hovering and troubled soul to rest in front of the wonderous works of van Gogh’. However, it was only after 1910 that van Gogh’s paintings had significantly impressed the circle of Die Brücke and Blaue Reiter — e.g. after a decade of consistent showing by the Kunstsalon Cassirer and the Berlin Secession — that one could detect some influence on these German artists. In due course, earlier chauvinist mistrust of van Gogh’s work was effectively reversed (by some nationalistic groups) when the Dutch artist was claimed as the heir to the North European Rembrandt and thus was elevated as the forerunner to German modernism, despite much

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476 Bernard, Ibid., p. 103
477 Ibid., p. 104
478 See Zemel’s Conclusion (van Gogh Criticism)
479 Ibid., p. 105
480 Ibid., p. 108
481 Zemel citing, p. 109 Selz, German Expressionist Painting, p.200
of his work appearing ‘foreign’ and ‘emotional’. However, Zemel claims that, ‘during 1900-1910 van Gogh’s art and his reputation flourished along with theirs’ (German Expressionists), is a notion that is difficult to defend after the close examination of the following data.

Indeed, Paul Cassirer’s consistent patronage of van Gogh involved him in the xenophobic 1911 Vinnen Protest, yet another example of how modernism, in this case Cassirer’s efforts on behalf of the Dutch painter, provoked opposition in general and anti-Semitic reaction in particular, as will be seen later in this chapter.

Cassirer’s continued marketing of van Gogh’s work had set him on a pioneering path of aesthetic modernism in his own right within a continuing hostile climate, whilst elevating his van Gogh patron-clients to a leadership position within the European visual avant-garde. Cassirer’s promotion of van Gogh also clearly identifies him as an original pioneer rather than simply being the German ‘agent’ for Paul Durand-Ruel, as was often claimed in polemics such as the Vinnen Manifesto. Indeed, the Parisian dealer did not accept van Gogh in his gallery programme.

Cassirer’s ‘discovery’ of van Gogh’s work can be traced back to the artist’s retrospective Exhibition at the Paris dealers Bernheim-Jeune in March 1901. It is important to mention that not one work sold during this exhibition. However, Cassirer must have been sufficiently impressed to negotiate three paintings on consignment for the Berlin Secession exhibition which opened on 8 May 1901. Furthermore, Cassirer arranged the loan of two further works from private collectors Harry Graf Kessler’s The Plain of

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482 See also Zemel’s Conclusion, in Zemel, van Gogh Criticism.
484 Five paintings were listed in the catalogue.
Anvers and Émile Schuffenecker’s *The Self-Portrait with Bandaged Ear*, neither of which were for sale; those that were for sale did not find a buyer.\(^{485}\)

As to visitors to this May exhibition, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, the Austrian poet and writer, reported from Berlin - in an imaginary correspondence- on his realistic and passionate encounter with van Gogh’s work.\(^{486}\) He stumbled into this exhibition and came to feel that the encounter was his fate, his *Schicksal*. Hofmannsthal claimed not to have been to art galleries for some twenty years and therefore it is interesting to note that his eye was untrained and his perception of these works was totally unprejudiced and visually unsophisticated. In other words, van Gogh’s work commanded an immediate impact, both on the eye as well as on the emotions, thus a trained eye was not a prerequisite for the appreciation of van Gogh’s works. Hofmannsthal reported: \(^{487}\)

> Es waren etwa sechzig Bilder, mittelgrosse und kleine. Einige wenige Porträts, sonst meistens Landschaften: ganz wenige nur, auf denen die Figuren das Wichtigere gewesen waren: meist waren es Bäume, Felder, Ravins, Felsen, Äcker, Dächer, Stücke von Gärten..... Etwas sehr Helles, fast wie Plakate.... Jedenfalls ganz anders wie die Bilder in den Galerien. Diese da schienen mir in den ersten Augenblicken grell und unruhig, ganz roh, ganz sonderbar, ich musste mich erst zurechtfinden, um überhaupt die ersten als Bild, als Einheit zusehen – dann aber, dann sah ich, dann sah ich sie alle so, jedes einzelne, und alle zusammen, und die Natur in ihnen, und die menschliche Seelenkraft, die die Natur geformt hatte, und Baum und Strauch und Acker und Abhang, die da gemalt waren, und noch das andre, das, was hinter dem gemalten war, das Eigentliche, das unbeschreiblich Schicksalhafte – das alles sah ich so, dass ich das Gefühl meiner selbst as diese Bilder verlor, und mächtig wieder zurückbekam, und wieder verlor!

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\(^{485}\) Feilchenfeldt, Van Gogh and Cassirer p.107 and p.144. See also Feilchenfeldt,” His Collectors and Dealers”, p. 43

\(^{486}\) Hugo von Hofmannsthal, ‘Die Briefe eines Zurückgekehrten’, 26 May 1901, in Sämtliche Werke XXXI. Erfundene Gespräche und Briefe. pp. 165-174. ed. Ellen Ritter, S.Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1991. Letters IV and V were reprinted on 5 February 1907 in *Kunst und Künstler* under the title *Das Erlebnis des Sehens*. The text was also published in 1911 in the Fischer-Almanach. From then onwards, the title was changed to *Die Farben*. Hofmannsthal included this letter in his Collected Works of 1924. See explanatory notes for ‘Briefe eines Zurückgekehrten’, p.417. (I am indebted for this reference to Edward Timms).
In this letter, although he was a poet and writer, Hofmannsthal writes about the difficulty of expressing in words the unique impact of van Gogh's painting; he speaks of the paintings’ ‘luminosity’, of something ‘sudden’, something ‘enormous’ ‘undescribable’ or ‘incomprehensible’, of a secret between fate, these paintings and his very own being.

Hofmannsthal tried to explain the great passion that van Gogh’s images and colours unleashed in him; how he discovered a new world that spoke visually to his inner being, touching his own spirituality:

The figures of the van Gogh exhibited do not tally, but Hofmannsthal may have been referring to the
spüren, die Seele dessen, der das gemacht hatte, der mit dieser Vision sich selbst antwortete auf
dem Starrkampf der fürchterlichsten Zweifel, konnte fühlen, konnte wissen, konnte durchblicken,
konnte geniessen Abgründe und Gipfel, Aussen und Innen, eins und alles in zehntausendsten Teil
der Zeit, als ich die Worte hinschreibe, und war wie doppelt, was Herr über mein Leben zugleich,
Herr über meine Kräfte, meinen Verstand, fühlte die Zeit vergehen……Ich merkte nun, dass eine
grosse Last von mir agehoben ist.
Es schwebt mir um diese Dinge etwas mir selbst Unerklärliches, etwas wie Liebe – kann es Liebe
gehen zum Gestaltlosen, zum Wesenlosen? ……Ich merkte nun, dass eine grosse Last von mir
abgehoben ist.
Ich werde vermutlich eines davon kaufen (van Gogh) aber es nicht an mich nehmen, sondern dem
Kunsthändler (Paul Cassirer) zur Bewahrung übergeben. 488

It is compelling to wonder why Hofmannsthal wanted to buy a van Gogh painting but did
not want to live with it? Did he consider it too emotionally charged or too controversial?
His profoundly moving words may go some way towards explaining the magic the work
of van Gogh may have unleashed in Paul Cassirer and his clients. It is a unique and
valuable text since no other patron-collector has expressed the attraction for van Gogh
from the perspective of an amateur-mécène, expressing the views of an untrained eye
rather than the professional critique of art writers and art historians. 489
Within an analytical and conceptual framework, Carol Zemel’s study, ‘Van Gogh’s
Progress. Utopia, Modernity and Late-Nineteenth-Century Art’ has tried to use the Dutch
artist as a lens to a wider culture. 490 She has addressed van Gogh’s oeuvre in the context

general exhibition.
488 Briefe eines Zurückgekehrten, p. 170-171
489 The poet and writer Georg Heym, who was a leading member of the Neue Klub which met at the
Cassirer Kunstsalon, wrote several poems influenced by van Gogh’s work, in particular a sonnet,
Die Gefangenen, 1, which was apparently based on van Gogh’s painting La Ronde des prisoniers. See
490 Carol Zemel, Van Gogh’s Progress: Utopia, Modernity and Late-Nineteenth-Century Art, University of
California Press, Berkeley and London, 1997. There is a vast literature on utopias, but Zemel bibliography
on the subject is very comprehensive. Zemel, p. xxi, see also Orten and Pollock who saw in van Gogh’s
work attempts to respond to changing sensibilities and to realise a pictorial equivalent for a world in
constant flux, a totality which demanded the transformation of the role of colour, the movement
and meaning of line and the conventions for the depiction of space,’ Orten and Pollock, Avant-gardes and
Partisans Reviewed (1996) p.80
of the artist’ utopian vision, imbued with idealistic meaning and purpose within the context of modernity. Zemel’s title refers to John Bunyan’s allegorical tale, Pilgrims Progress and in so doing, she suggests that the unremitting idealism that infused the artist’s work and practice. Zemel’s choice of title also refers to a Walter Benjamin passage when he describes an image by Paul Klee of the angel of history, Benjamin noting that the angel faces the past and the record of human tragedy. But ‘a storm…blowing from paradise catches his wings and hurtes the angel forward’ into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. ‘That storm’, Benjamin writes, ‘is what we call progress.’ The implication being that no progress comes without its price, its storm and upheaval. Indeed, Zemel explores van Gogh’s fantasies, the utopian project of a middle-class Protestant Dutchman, as signs of the ‘utopian impulse that is critical of many aspects of modernity and programmatically committed to improvement, progress and change’. Thus Zemel identifies this ‘utopia’ as ‘no-place,’ but which holds promise and impossibilities’, not least the panorama of ideal settings for a diverse republican citizenry. Zemel focuses on the process and complex materials of van Gogh’s art, which she believes is a site of cultural vulnerability and significance within late 19th-century modernism. Zemel investigates several projects to exemplify van Gogh’s utopian impulse, calling them all ‘shifting fragments

491 This text was one of van Gogh’s favourite for further details on this theme, see Debora Silverman, ‘Pilgrim’s progress and Vincent van Gogh’s Metier’, pp. 95-113 in van Gogh in England: Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, ed. Martin Bailey, London 1992.
493 Zemel, p. 3
494 Ibid. p.3
495 Zemel, p. 7
496 The six projects are divided by artisanal and agricultural production, urban cultural economics and marketing, gender and professional identities.
in a kaleidoscope, including van Gogh’s portraits and self-portraits, not least because of the psychological strain of painting the self as the ‘other’. Thus Zemel concludes that all van Gogh’s projects stand for sites of cultural crisis not only for the artist, but also for his generation.

Building on Zemel’s analysis, I wish to suggest that it is possible that the quest for utopia, pregnant with futuristic possibilities, may have coincided - unconsciously - with hopes and fantasies of Jewish patrons, when confronted with van Gogh’s art. All the biographical and socio-historical data, both of Paul Cassirer and his client-patrons, bring evidence of desires, aspirations and frustrations in their urges for and to progress.

Indeed, after May 1901, Paul Cassirer – see also above Hofmannsthall’s encounter with van Gogh as schicksalshaft - was totally committed to van Gogh, despite the fact that no works sold at the May Secession Exhibition. Seven months later, in December 1901, he arranged a Kunstsalon Cassirer exhibition of nineteen paintings. This show included Wheatfield behind St. Paul’s Hospital with a Reaper, which was the only work to sell. After some lengthy negotiation, it went in April 1902 to Karl Osthaus, the founder-director of the Folkwang Museum in Essen-Hagen. (A year later Osthaus bought another van Gogh, Portrait of Armand Roulin, from the dealer Vollard in Paris.) Thus

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497 Zemel, p. 9
498 Zemel argues that van Gogh’s project in Auvers was executed within the context of utopian ruralism which produced images suited to the new middle classes of Third Republic France – les nouvelles couches sociales - as for example the portrait of physician-patron Paul Gachet. Zemel, p. 11
499 Zemel, p. 12
500 All owned by Johanna Bonger-van Gogh, see Feilchenfeldt, Van Gogh and Paul Cassirer, pp. 14-15 and Saltzman, Portrait, p. 96.
501 The Wheatfield sold for 1500 Mark, see Saltzman, Portrait, p. 96. This painting is also referred to as Small Landscape Berlin, see Feilchenfeldt, Van Gogh and Cassirer, pp. 14-15 and p.46. Osthaus also bought Renoir’s Lise - La Femme à l’Ombrelle at the Secession Exhibition that year. For further information on the museum, see Appendix A 1.
the transaction between Osthaus and Cassirer was the first van Gogh sale in Germany, the work being accepted into an independent, progressive and publicly accessible institution that was privately founded and privately run and funded. From this date on, Cassirer showed van Gogh regularly at the Berlin Secession and his Kunstsalon and arranged van Gogh touring exhibitions across the country.

Despite van Gogh's exposure in thirteen German cities and towns, the exhibitions' and sales' analyses show that this exposure did not result in a positive response amongst the German public. This is somewhat surprising since van Gogh was increasingly interpreted as a follower of Rembrandt, an artist greatly revered in Germany for centuries. However, it was only the avant-garde circles of art dealers, artists and museum directors and private patrons from the major urban centres who responded to van Gogh's works, and Jewish private patrons were disproportionately prominent among them. Exhibiting and publicising van Gogh to a German public across the Reich was insufficient to attract a following for the controversial artist. Indeed, in the early years of exposure in Germany, van Gogh's work produced mockery and derision amongst the majority of the German art public. However, Paul Cassirer's commitment to attracting attention for van Gogh went one step further when he signed a contract in June 1909 with van Gogh-Bonger for the exclusive rights to publish in German translation the correspondence between Vincent van Gogh and his brother Theo.

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502 Meier-Graefe had bought a van Gogh work as early as 1893, the place of acquisition and agent-dealer are unknown.
503 The Folkwang Museum showed eleven paintings and three drawings by van Gogh in September 1905. This was a month in which the gallery sold seven works outside the exhibition.
By 1910 Cassirer was achieving rising prices by successfully placing his work among a small but committed clientèle, thus establishing van Gogh's market value and artistic presence:


In less than a decade, Paul Cassirer had established van Gogh as an internationally renowned artist through extensive promotion and successful sales to German and some European clients, regardless of the uncomprehending and, at times, disparaging German and French art reviews or the indifference by most buyer-collectors, even in Paris. This illustrates that neither Paul Cassirer nor his clients were adapting to any existing or approved culture. In other words, they did not model themselves only on Paris trends, but ventured into new territory, given the opportunity; indeed, they were pioneering new taste in contemporary art. This behaviour clearly illustrates that Cassirer and his avant-garde circle neither cared about acceptance by the art establishment nor were they always following French trends. They made their own choices, trusted their own taste and in the process broke new ground. This shows without doubt that Cassirer and his patron-collectors and supporting critics were defying German and even French trends but instead

505 The connection between Rembrandt and Van Gogh has produced a body of Wilhelmine writings; however, an extensive analysis of its legitimacy is outside the remit of this study.
supported van Gogh, an artist who was on the whole derided by most Europeans.\textsuperscript{507} It could be argued that such modernist advocacy was seen as ‘a challenge, a proving ground, a hurdle separating the boys from the men and men from the women’.\textsuperscript{508} It was a challenge in more ways than one, since the outcome was unsure, as the ‘real value’ of modernist art was far from established, a point worth making as it is has often been suggested that these patrons chose modernist art, including van Gogh, as ‘financial investments’\textsuperscript{509} (See Chapter IV). But, for Cassirer and his clients, advocating and collecting art had become a creative act whereby art was a tool in the construction of their modernist cultural identities. In the process they took risks rather than worried about investments and profits. Indeed, their interest in the Dutch artist impacted further afield: Feilchenfeldt notes that ‘the commercial success in Germany of van Gogh’s work in 1905 and 1906 had consequences in France’.\textsuperscript{510} None the less, the huge Paris exhibition of van Gogh’s work in 1908, \textit{Cent tableaux de Vincent van Gogh} (6 January - 1 February), mounted at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery, was on the whole, a financial failure. Only two works sold, a small version of \textit{Cypresses} and \textit{Pieta after Delacroix}, both purchased by the same collector, Gustave Fayet.\textsuperscript{511} However, in France, it was the dealer Bernheim-Jeune who was able to place van Gogh works most successfully; probably in no small

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{507} See comprehensive concluding chapter by Zemel, \textit{Van Gogh Criticism}.
\item\textsuperscript{508} Leora Auslander, \textit{Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France} (Berkeley 1996), p. 296.
\item\textsuperscript{509} Even if it turned out to be such, but in an unpredictable way, since the sale or donation of art came to allow some Jews – as well as Germans- to finance their freedom to escape from the Nazi regime; in a number of cases the sale of art was used to purchase visas and journeys into exile, see von Hirsch’s exchange of art for exit visas to Switzerland for his family, see chapter IV. Also see Paul Cassirer’s daughter’s acquisition of visas to the USA financed by the sale of some art works from her father’s collection; see also Paul Cassirer’s mother-in-law’s sale of a Renoir painting to finance a new life in London; for details of these last two examples, see Appendix B) 3
\item\textsuperscript{510} Feilchenfeldt, His Collectors and Dealers, p. 43-44.
\item\textsuperscript{511} Feilchenfeldt, His Collectors and Dealers, p. 44.
\end{itemize}
measure because they employed Félix Fénéon as their manager, who secured several German clients such as Bernhard Koehler and Walter Alfred von Heymel.\textsuperscript{512}

\textbf{Paul Cassirer and Vincent van Gogh Collectors.}\textsuperscript{513}

In total, there were approximately sixty-four private collectors of van Gogh, although this figure is somewhat fluid, since some collectors were also dealers or museum directors. It was at times difficult to establish whether they owned works privately or had acquired them for their institution and held them only whilst finances could be found for their acquisition.\textsuperscript{514} If one considers an art collector to be someone who owned four works or more, the figure is reduced from sixty-four to eleven, of whom eight or nine were German Jews. Thus Jews represented a relatively large proportion of all collectors, particularly in relation to the percentage of Germany’s population that was Jewish.

What was new about this development was the fact that the success in Germany was now influencing the Paris art market, rather than the other way round.\textsuperscript{515}

By 1914, Paul Cassirer, both in his capacity as an art dealer and as a private collector, owned 110.\textsuperscript{516}(Berlin) Hugo von Tschudi owned fourteen works privately.\textsuperscript{517} (Berlin and

\textsuperscript{512} During 1909-1910, the exception to these dealers was the Paris Galerie Druet, which organised an exhibition of fifty-two works, sixteen of which were not for sale, as part of the bankruptcy sale of the Prince de Wagram. Two of the works were sold to Albert Barnes, the only American to buy Van Gogh paintings before World War I, \textit{The Postman Joseph Roulin} and \textit{The Smoker}. In 1910-11, the Grafton Gallery in London included twenty-two works by van Gogh in the Exhibition, \textit{Manet and the Post-Impressionists}. The show included Cézanne, Gauguin, Manet, Matisse and Picasso, although the works by van Gogh had no impact on the British public. The Dutch response to van Gogh at this stage proved to be more successful. For further information on activities in Holland, see Feilchenfeldt, "Vincent van Gogh - His Dealers and Collectors" p. 45. Exh.cat. \textit{Van Gogh and the Modern Movement}, (Museum Folkwang Essen, 1990).

\textsuperscript{513} Julius Meier-Graefe’s \textit{Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst} (Stuttgart, 1904), pp. 119-120, gives a list of Van Gogh collectors up to 1903/4. See Feilchenfeldt, \textit{Vincent van Gogh and Paul Cassirer}, pp. 155-157, and also Feilchenfeldt," His Dealers and Collectors", p.43. For Swiss patron-collectors, see Feilchenfeldt," Dealers and Collectors", p. 44

\textsuperscript{514} See Chapter V on sponsors to public German institutions.

\textsuperscript{515} One of the major collectors of French Impressionism and works by van Gogh was Alexandre, Prince de Wagram, a fanatical collector who bought several hundred Impressionist works from 1905-1908. See Feilchenfeldt, Dealers and Collectors, p. 44. Cassirer Kunstsalon client list, Appendix A 3, supplied to the author by Walter Feilchenfeldt personally
Munich) Ernst Osthaus' privately funded Folkwang Museum in Essen held four paintings and three drawings. Cassirer's wife Tilla Durieux (Berlin) and Carl Sternheim (Munich) each owned ten works and Alfred Flechtheim (Düsseldorf) owned nine works. Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Berlin) owned seven works, Franz von Mendelssohn owned six, and his brother, Robert von Mendelssohn owned two works; thus the Mendelssohn family owned fifteen works in total. (Berlin) Eduard and Margarete Mauthner518 (Berlin) and Walter Alfred von Heymel (Bremen) owned six works each; Hermann Freudenberg (Berlin) and G. F. Reber (Barmen) owned four works each. Two works each were owned by Fritz Oppenheim (Berlin), Hugo Nathan (Frankfurt), Julius Stern (Berlin), Hugo Cassirer (Berlin), Harry Graf Kessler (Weimar and Berlin), Paul Robinow (Hamburg), Gustav Schiefler (Hamburg), Bernhard Koehler (Berlin), Oskar Schmitz (Dresden), C. Harries von Siemens (Kiel) and Curt Herrmann (Berlin). The rest of the private German collectors owned one work each, including Jawlensky (Munich) and Julius Meier-Graefe (Berlin and Paris). Thus the total of van Gogh paintings in Germany before World War I, were some 210 works.

A colourful illustration of the attraction of a van Gogh work particularly to Jews can be found in the provenance of the famous Portrait of Dr. Gachet, which has been traced in a study by art historian Cynthia Saltzman.519 The story begins with Paris dealer Ambroise Vollard, who first showed works by van Gogh in 1895, five years after the artist’s death.

516 The following figures for ownership go up to 1914. See Feilchenfeldt, Vincent van Gogh and Paul Cassirer, pp. 155-157.
517 Chapter IV will show that at times Tschudi was obliged to keep works that he had intended for the Berlin and Munich galleries in his private possession as no sponsor could be found. For details of these works, see Appendix A) 5.
518 Margarete Mauthner edited the German publication of the Van Gogh correspondence.
in 1890.\textsuperscript{520} Apparently, Vollard's efforts 'bolstered the works of the late Dutch artists with commercial legitimacy', and by the mid-1890s Vollard counted among his clients American collectors Louisine Havemeyer and Gertrude Stein. Vollard sold van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* on 30 April 1897 \textsuperscript{521} to a young Jewish woman artist from Copenhagen, Alice Ruben.\textsuperscript{522} Subsequently, Ruben sold it to her friend, another Danish Jewish painter-designer from Copenhagen, Mogens Ballin.\textsuperscript{523} Both owner-artists originated from similar affluent Jewish middle-class backgrounds and mixed in Danish avant-garde circles. Alice Ruben was multilingual and in many respects 'something of a social rebel', as was Ballin, who had rebelled against his Jewish roots and was baptised as a Catholic in Italy in 1891.

The Bernheim-Jeune brothers had encouraged the French critic and Julien Leclerq to organise an exhibition in 1901 (15-31 March) at their gallery in order to raise Vincent van Gogh's profile.\textsuperscript{524} Indeed, Leclerq wrote the foreword for the seventeen page

\textsuperscript{520} Vollard exhibited *Van Gogh* in June 1895 and in November 1896.

\textsuperscript{521} Saltzman, *Portrait*, p. 80. Vollard's books only record the down payment of 200 francs, probably going towards the payment of 300 francs. Ibid, p. 81.

\textsuperscript{522} Alice Ruben (1866-1939) was an artist, avant-garde art collector and member of Copenhagen's Free Exhibition group. Ruben had most likely first seen a van Gogh work at Copenhagen exhibition (1893) of Gauguin and Van Gogh, during which three Van Gogh canvases were sold, one to Alice's sister Ella. Alice and Ella Ruben were daughters of Ida Coppel and Bernard Ruben, an entrepreneur textile merchant, who had turned the family's cotton mill into one of Denmark's largest textile firms. Alice was educated at home, and spoke French, German, English and Scandinavian languages. It is interesting to note that Alice and Ella were the second generation of avant-garde collectors thus acquiring art with inherited wealth. Saltzman, *Portrait*, pp. 81-84.

\textsuperscript{523} Mogens Ballin (1871-1914) was the only son of the orthodox Jewish Henrik Ballin and Ida Levy. Mogens' father was a leading leather goods manufacturer, and his mother came from a wealthy family of brewers. Ballin became an artist and art collector, whose independent wealth allowed him to acquire avant-garde art. Saltzman, *Portrait*, p.89.

\textsuperscript{524} In France, by this time, there was already a dedicated circle of collectors of Van Gogh's works, such as the painter Emile Schuffenecker and his brother Amédée, a wine merchant, who owned thirty works. These two brothers and the art critic Julien Leclerq had bought several works from the artist's estate held by Johanna Bonger-van Gogh. Another major patron was Van Gogh's doctor in Auvers, Dr. Paul Gachet, who owned twenty-six works. Other patrons were Comte Antoine de la Rochejoucauld, Maurice Fabre, the art critic Octave Mirbeau and artist-colleagues August Rodin and Camille Pissarro. The art dealer-patrons were Ambroise Vollard, Theodor Duret and the Jewish Bernheim brothers, who owned eight works and Jos Hessel, their cousin, who also owned eight works. Feilchenfeldt, "Dealers and Collectors", pp. 42-43.
catalogue, which cited not only the title of each work but also its lender, the catalogue proving a milestone in the history of the reception of van Gogh.\textsuperscript{525} Seventy-one works were shown, but the show was not a commercial success. None the less, it was this exhibition that inspired Paul Cassirer to introduce van Gogh to Germany, both at Berlin Secession exhibitions as well as at his gallery. Indeed, when Ballin did consider selling the work sometime before 1904, neither Ambroise Vollard, Paul Durand-Ruel nor the Bernheim-Jeune brothers would accept it, even on consignment, although privately Durand-Ruel and the Bernheim brothers collected van Gogh works.\textsuperscript{526} Eventually Ballin placed the work on consignment with Paul Cassirer, who had by now exhibited van Gogh on several occasions. Indeed, on 9 July 1904, Cassirer sold this painting to Harry Graf Kessler, who already owned other van Gogh works.\textsuperscript{527}

Kessler was at this point the director of the Grossherzogliches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Weimar. However, he bought the portrait for his private collection, where it remained until 1908. Surprisingly, when Kessler decided to sell this work, he placed it with Paris dealer Eugene Druet, who offered it to Georg Swarzenski, the director at the Frankfurt Städelische Kunstinstitut.\textsuperscript{528} Swarzenski, as head of a municipal institution, did not want to burden the finances of the museum, so he persuaded the prosperous Frankfurt Protestant citizen, Victor Mössinger, to buy it for the Institute.\textsuperscript{529} Mössinger purchased the portrait on 20 February 1911 for 20,000 Mark, almost double

\textsuperscript{525} Ibid., p. 42.
\textsuperscript{526} Ibid., p. 42.
\textsuperscript{527} Kessler also bought works directly from Paris sources.
\textsuperscript{528} Swarzenski came from the educated Frankfurt Jewish and thus was part of Frankfurt's liberal upper middle class. In 1891 he published a doctoral thesis on Regensburg illuminated manuscripts under the medievalist, Adolph Goldschmidt, thus establishing his credentials as a scholar. Saltzman, Portrait, p. 139. For detailed discussion of the Frankfurt institution, see Chapter V.
\textsuperscript{529} Victor Mössinger became Swarzenski's father-in-law.
the figure that Druet had paid, and donated it to the Städel Institute, where it remained until spring 1933.530

The turning point for the marketability of van Gogh's work had come in 1905. The major figures responsible for this development were Julius Meier-Graef who wrote and published on van Gogh (in various publications, including art journals) and Paul Cassirer who exhibited the work of van Gogh regularly in Berlin and on touring exhibition, achieving increasing sales. As to exposure of van Gogh to a Wilhelmine museum-going public, it was Hugo von Tschudi who had tried to introduce the artist's work to the Berlin Nationalgalerie, albeit accompanied by much criticism. (As other progressive museum directors had tried to do) Cassirer's promotion of van Gogh came to a head in the summer of 1914, when his gallery showed the most comprehensive van Gogh exhibition outside Holland.531 Many works were owned by Johanna Bonger-van Gogh and therefore were only on loan, proving Cassirer's cultural mission and generosity of spirit. Similarly, there were to be no sales of works loaned from German private collectors, since Paul Cassirer was evidently more concerned to establish the artist within the canon of western modernist art, rather than aiming at purely commercial profitability.

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530 Saltzman, Portrait, p. 129. Swarzenski was alarmed by Hitler's election in January 1933 and removed the Portrait from the second floor gallery, locking the canvas in a storeroom under the museum's roof.

531 See Appendix A 2.
Paul Cassirer’s German and Foreign Clients

Paul Cassirer was a trendsetter, not only in Germany but also abroad. He influenced or even persuaded avant-garde German and German Jewish enthusiasts what to buy and how to appreciate what they were buying. In part he exercised his influence by means of his Kunstsalon and the multiple cultural events hosted there. But who were his clients? Paul Cassirer’s client list included 130 individuals and public institutions. Fifty of them, roughly one third, were Jews.

In Germany, Paul Cassirer’s public clients were all the major progressive and liberal public institutions, such as the Berlin Nationalgalerie, under the direction of Hugo von Tschudi, the Kunsthalle Bremen (Gustav Pauli), the Hamburg Kunsthalle (Alfred Lichtwark), the Hagen Folkwang Museum (Karl Osthaus), the Frankfurter Städelische Kunstinstitut (Georg Swarzenski) and the Köln Kunstverein. Cassirer also sold to art dealers such as the Commeter Gallery, the Fritz Gurlitt Galerie (Berlin), Brakl & Thannhauser (Munich), the Alfred Flechtheim Galerie (Düsseldorf), the Goldschmidt Galerie and the Held Galerie (Frankfurt am Main), and the Ludwigs-Galerie. (Hamburg)

His foreign clients were located in numerous European countries: the dealer H. O. Miethke Galerie and private collectors Carl and Greta Moll and Hugo von Hofmannsthal in Vienna; in Paris, the dealers Bernheim-Jeune, Eugene Duret and Paul Durand-Ruel; and in Budapest, the Budapest National Museum and the Hungarian Jewish private collectors, Franz von Hatvany and Marcell von Némes, who also lived part of the year in Munich. In London he sold to Samuel Courtauld; in Sweden, to the National Museum in Stockholm; and in Russia, to the Moscow collector-patron, Serge Shchukin.

532 See Appendix A 3.
533 See chapter III and Appendix A 4.
Like Durand-Ruel’s ventures outside France, Paul Cassirer had also succeeded in attracting a Central and Eastern European exclusive clientele. Although he established other branches in Germany and abroad, none was as successful as his original Berlin venture. This proved once again – if further proof were needed – that the sale of modernist art was based on many converging factors that facilitated the acceptance of French modernism, such as a prosperous urban and avant-garde bourgeoisie, a relatively positive press; as well as state or municipal public institutions such as the Nationalgalerie Berlin and Frankfurt’s Städelische Kunstinstitut who were willing to take such art on board and a devoted local clientele, many developments that most towns outside the major metropolis centres did not offer.  

The Vinnen Manifesto (1911)

Paul Cassirer’s marketing of French Impressionism, and his particular role in buying, selling and promoting van Gogh, became the focus of serious criticism, much of which was patently anti-modernist and anti-Semitic in nature, as has been mentioned earlier. For example, the lawyer Thomas Alt wrote a pamphlet decrying the threat to German art posed by Impressionism in *Die Herabwertung der deutschen Kunst durch die Parteigänger des Impressionismus.*

The strong resistance to modernism from the conservative art world culminated in the Carl Vinnen protest which was ostensibly sparked by the acquisition in 1910 of van Gogh’s *Poppy Field* (1890) by Bremen Kunsthalle director, Gustave Pauli. The manifesto

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534 Cassirer established branches in Dresden, Hamburg and Amsterdam, and planned to show in New York.  
entitled *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler* bore the signatures of 140 critics, some twenty museum directors, and many artists. The document attacked the infiltration of French art and the growth of a particular kind of modernist art market in Germany (See Chapter II). Moreover, it targeted Paul Cassirer and other like-minded supporters, accusing them of engaging in a form of commercial speculation that endangered German art and Imperial values. In addition to demonstrating virulent xenophobia, the manifesto used anti-Semitic rhetoric to make the case, implying that the German art market was in the hands of an international, commercial conspiracy run by ‘foreigners’, i.e. Jews.

In response to the Manifesto, Paul Cassirer and seventy-five artists, museum directors, dealers, collectors and writers defended their stand on modern art in a pamphlet entitled *Im Kampf um die Kunst; Die Antwort auf dem Protest deutscher Künstler.* Most of the responses refuted Vinnen’s argument that French modernism was dominating the market and that German collectors were paying exorbitant prices for it. For example, Gustav Pauli, as director of the Bremen Kunsthalle, openly declared that he had paid around 35,000 Mark for van Gogh’s *Poppies.* He also let it be known that in the previous eleven years he had only purchased thirteen modern French artworks, as opposed to eighty-four contemporary German works. The other defendant was Georg Swarzenski, director of the Frankfurt Städelische Kunstinstitut, who wrote in the columns of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* that he wanted it known that van Gogh’s *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* had been donated to the Städel and that no public or municipal funds had been used for the purchase. Alfred

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Empire from 1896 to 1918,” in exh.cat. *Impressionism. Paintings Collected by European Museums,* (New York, 1999), pp. 55-64.

536 The pamphlet was published by Walter Heymel, founder of the Insel Verlag and a collector of modern art.
Flechtheim, at this point only a private collector and not yet an art dealer, wrote in

_Antwort auf dem Protest:_


Others came to the defence of Cassirer, such as Secession artist Max Slevogt, ‘People fear the material success and spiritual influence of French painting’, he wrote, but ‘they fear even more its living champions... it is they who are the true targets’. Slevogt observed that people were particularly aggrieved with the Secession and Paul Cassirer’s Kunstsalon, as these two institutions were ‘productively linked...through the exceptional personality of Paul Cassirer, who from the first had fought for a new attitude in Germany; he started the new movement which he has led without compromise ever since’. Another defendant was Secession artist Lovis Corinth, who expressed his gratitude to modern art dealers such as Cassirer for marketing contemporary German art:

So oft ich von deutscher Malerei sprach und ihren Beziehungen zum Auslande, so oft habe ich die grossen französischen Impressionisten, von denen von den Monet, Degas und Renoir noch leben, rühmend als hellstrahlende Vorbilder für uns Deutsche hervorgehoben. Ich bin dem modernen Kunsthandel dankbar gewesen – das es allein durch das Einführen dieser Meisterwerke überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat, dass Deutschland mit ihnen bekannt wurde... Es ist wichtig... dass man zeigt was in der Welt in allen Richtungen geschaffen wird. Ich will eine deutsche Kunst und hoffe auf sie ebenso brennend wie jeder andere Deutsche. Nur erwarte ich ihre Vollendung durch Tatsachen, die mit der Reaktion und dem in der Vinnenschen Broschüre Angedeuteten gar nichts zu tun haben.538

538 All above citations come from PAN, 1, 1910/11, issue 14, 16 May 1911, p. 484. This reference is to a facsimile version.
Blaue Reiter artist August Macke similarly praised Cassirer and his peers for their contribution to the German contemporary art world. 'We painters owe a debt of gratitude to Paul Cassirer and Hugo von Tschudi,' Macke wrote, 'who, free from any petty considerations, committed themselves totally to the best of modern art.' Macke also singled out Germany's liberal museum directors, art historians and critic-writers, particularly Meier-Graefe.539

Paul Cassirer personally responded in the pages of PAN in spring and summer 1911, with a series of lengthy essays under the overall title, 'Kunst und Kunsthandel'. In section I, subtitled 'Vom unwissenden Künstler', Cassirer made the case for the need of art patrons and financial sponsors, without whom art would have had difficulty in flourishing.540

'Wo keine Mäzene sind oder kein Ersatz für Mäzene, da kann keine Kunst wachsen'.541 He also advised artists to become more closely involved with the dealers' marketing styles and to compare options, advantages and disadvantages amongst different art dealers and galleries. In the same essay in section II, subtitled, 'Quousque tandem'

Cassirer predicted that Vinnen's Manifesto would have no lasting consequence, and drew attention to contradictions inherent in the pamphlet's text.542 Indeed, Cassirer argues in Section III (no subtitle), that the primary reason behind the protest was human envy. He pointed out that the majority of his gallery's artists were not among the signatories of the petition, as they did not feel disadvantaged; on the contrary, he had represented them successfully. More importantly, Vinnen could not stop the triumph of French Impressionism because it had become a global intellectual movement, no longer

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540 PAN, 1, 16 May 1911, pp. 457-469 (facsimile).
541 Ibid., p. 457.
restricted to an artistic or commercial project. On the contrary, Cassirer felt that the protest only strengthened French Impressionism’s stance and gave it greater exposure, claiming that bad publicity was better than no publicity, writing:

Ein Protest gegen eine solche Bewegung hat kein anderes Resultat als die Aufmerksamkeit der Kreise, die sich mit ihr noch nicht beschäftigt haben, auf sie zu lenken und sie dadurch zu stärken.\(^{543}\)

Sarcastically, Cassirer suggested that Vinnen should be thanked for suggesting improvements in the handling of modernist art and artists. Vinnen had, Cassirer wrote, raised questions about the material conditions of German artists, the possibilities of exporting German paintings, the relationship between supply and demand, how art should be marketed and finally, how to ensure that neither the artists nor their art would suffer.\(^{544}\)

In the final section of the essay, Cassirer gave the sales statistics for French modernist art and concluded that it constituted a relatively small percentage of the overall art market in Germany. He also insisted that his French colleague, Paul Durand-Ruel, had neither hoarded nor speculated on the value of art, as Vinnen had implied. Cassirer posed the question, ‘Why had Durand-Ruel purchased art at a time when its value was uncertain?’ Cassirer insisted that Durand-Ruel did so only because of his fundamental commitment to \textit{l'art pour l'art}. Cassirer stressed that Paul Durand-Ruel was in business for financial reasons as well as for his ideological beliefs. Moreover, he argued that Durand-Ruel’s contractual practices, which he emulated, were in the interests of the artists, for they saved them from hardship or ruin and allowed them to concentrate on their work,

\(^{542}\) Contradictions included praising Pauli’s modernist policy of acquiring Monet while criticising Pauli for acquiring works by Van Gogh and other foreign artists.
notwithstanding critical reviews or gallery sales. In another instalment, ‘Der ideale Zustand’, (PAN, July 1911) Cassirer argued the case for the interdependence of the art patron, the artist, the art historian and the art critic. He also argued that this progress was crucial to the development of modernism:

Künstler und Käufer sind miteinander befreundet der Maler ist der gern gesehene Gast seines Mäzens. Zwischen Künstler und Mäzen steht weder der geldverdienend Kunsthändler noch der Rate erteilender Kunstgelehrte noch der alles Schöne beschmutzende Kritiker.

Cassirer conceded that the status quo was not the ideal situation, but at least it allowed for greater freedom for individual artists. Furthermore, he insisted that art dealers had only limited control over the taste of client-collectors. In the section ‘Der moderne Kunsthändler’ Cassirer pleaded his case, his words adding up to a grosse Verteidigungs und Lobrede auf dem Kunsthandel, a defence and laudatory review of the art trade. As to his own beliefs, he identified art as a sensuous object to be enjoyed in addition to its intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic content. He believed that art was an object to be sold in order for the artist to continue to work; he considered the accusation that artists wanted to make a profit simply hypocritical. He explained that a picture was also an object, its spiritual content was not everything; as an object it needed to be displayed, and as art it needed to sold:

Es ist, ein mit grösser Handwerkskunst geschaffener, prezioser, sinnlicher Gegenstand und will...wie eine kostbare Perlenkette nicht ungetragen blieben...Der Künstler, will und muss verkaufen, und Bilder sind dazu da, dass sie verkauft werden. Ein schöner Bildermarkt ist ein gutes und nützliches Ding und das Geschimpf darüber, dass Künstler Geld verdienen wollen, nichts als Heuchelei.

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543 PAN, p. 465. (Facsimile).
544 PAN, p. 466. (Facsimile)
545 See remarks by H. White and C. White, Canvas and Careers (Chicago, 1993), pp. 126-129.
547 PAN, (1911), p. 567.
Furthermore, Cassirer confirmed that the traditional role of the French and German Salon academies had been superceded by a novel system that consisted of a new type of art dealer, art critic and the modernist liberal museum director (See Chapter I). Cassirer interpreted Vinnen’s attack as an offensive against the new, democratic system of the dealer-critic-patron, which was now the new support system of the contemporary artist. Cassirer wrote that Vinnen did himself a disservice by arguing against these agents, for they were the only representatives who could provide the support and sustenance required by contemporary artists. Vinnen and his friends, Cassirer explained, ‘do not know and unfortunately do not understand that the only way to help the artist economically is the expansion of the number of critic-reviewers, art dealers and modernist gallery directors’. 548

Cassirer further pointed out that the lack of competition gave the few dealers greater powers, which he did not welcome. Moreover, he also considered the attacks on modernist art dealers so ferocious that, in his view, it was not surprising that only a few were willing to engage in such a profession. Tellingly, he declared that only those who had ‘a great love and passion for art’ would tolerate these attacks. Cassirer believed that the profession called for eine tolle Liebe und Leidenschaft für die Malerei. 549

Cassirer, the man who was accused of monopolising the art trade and pursuing the profession for profit, was making a pitch for further competition as well as declaring his passion for art as an overriding factor. He ended his essays by suggesting that instead of writing against great art, Vinnen should have written a pamphlet against ‘trashy art

548 PAN (1911), p. 571.
549 Ibid., p. 573.
dealership and lousy art', eine Brochure gegen den Schundkunsthandel und die Schundmalerei.\textsuperscript{550}

In the wake of the Vinnen protest, Cassirer would continue to suffer both from the taint of scandal and an unfavourable opinion of his apparent domination of the art scene. For instance, at the celebratory gala dinner of the Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung (1912) the Berlin major Reicke threatened to withdraw municipal subsidies from the Berlin Secession if the organisation would not find a more suitable director, in other words, someone other than Paul Cassirer.\textsuperscript{551} Cassirer himself disliked his title Direktor and ironically attempted to circumvent the threat by having himself appointed Secession President in December 1913. This unfortunately made internal Secession political problems worse, as it appeared to many as if Cassirer was making a mockery of the whole thing.\textsuperscript{552} Indeed, in response to Cassirer's new status and many ongoing grievances, several Secession members resigned and formed yet another new organisation, naming it the Freie Secession.\textsuperscript{553} This group excluded Cassirer and appointed Liebermann as its Honorary President. With the earlier foundation of the Neue Secession in 1910 and now the Freie Secession, by 1913, there were in all three Secession organisations in Berlin. Directly or indirectly, constructively or destructively, Paul Cassirer was closely linked to all three.

\textsuperscript{550} Ibid., p. 573.
\textsuperscript{551} Reicke, 'Mein Austritt aus der Kunstdeputation' in Gesammelete Schriften (1922) as cited by Löhneysen, 'Paul Cassirer und Kreis', p. 156.
\textsuperscript{552} See PAN, 13 May 1914, where the incident is re-examined.
\textsuperscript{553} The Freie Secession was dissolved in 1923.
Conclusion

In exploring the role of the avant-garde art dealer Paul Cassirer in early 20th-century German metropolitan culture, by looking at his marketing, promotion and defence of German and French modernism, this chapter has cast considerable light on his impact on the complex and interactive relationship between German Jewish patronage and the Wilhelmine art establishment.

From 1898 onward, Paul Cassirer succeeded in offering fin-de-siecle Berlin an experience of modern art of a range and quality unprecedented in Wilhelmine Germany. As a promoter of French Impressionist and post-Impressionist art, Cassirer's dealership was significant in shaping the taste for new art, German and foreign. His clientele included prominent financiers, businessmen, bankers, writers and most importantly for the nation state - and for Paul Cassirer's long-term public significance and impact - they included a number of progressive museum directors.

By considering Paul Cassirer as a member of the German Jewish haute-bourgeoisie, the chapter has shown how he and a certain group of German Jewish patrons were attacked on the grounds of their 'foreign-loving' modernism, thus emphasising their marginality. Paul Cassirer suffered greatly from anti-Semitic insinuation against his professional integrity, as he was repeatedly accused of putting profit before art, *im jüdischen Gewinnstreben*.


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555 "Die Berliner Kunstausstellungen", in *Hochland* 1 (1903), pp. 252-3, as cited by Eva Caspers, *Paul Cassirer und die Pan-Presse*, p. 11.
In fact, it was often implied that the Berlin Secession was an extension of his commercial
gallery; according to Karl Scheffler, Paul Cassirer felt that he did not receive full
recognition for his pioneering role and resented bitterly that he was considered ‘just a
dealer’, a profession, he felt, that carried little or no true appreciation or status:

Dass er zwar ein angesehener, international erfolgreicher Kunsthandler war, doch eben auch ‘nur’
als Kunsthandler im Adreßbuch stand... Sein Gram und seine laute Wut war, dass der
Anerkennung seiner Begabung...die soziale Bewertung des Berufs im Wege stand. 556

I suggest that this chapter reconfirms Paul Cassirer as the Outsider, as an embattled
Kulturträger of modernism pre-1914. I argue his ground-breaking role as a ‘tastemaker’
of French Impressionism and post-Impressionism in the cultural context of conservative
Wilhelmine Germany. Moreover, this chapter has shown that Paul Cassirer was not only
a pioneering dealer of German and French modernism, but also the original promoter of
the art of Vincent van Gogh and the creator of his European market. Within the context
of Zemel’s analysis of van Gogh’s art as a project of utopia, it is possible to suggest that
Paul Cassirer as a Jew and Outsider had a particular inner empathy with van Gogh’s
oeuvre and the artist’s vision of a better world to come. 557 Furthermore, by extension, I
suggest that Cassirer’s van Gogh clients were also able to empathise with the artist’s
project of progress and notions of modernity, which might go some way towards
hypothesising about their particular attraction to van Gogh’s art. 558

556 Karl Scheffler, Die fetten und die mageren Jahre. Ein Arbeits-und Lebensbericht. p. 121
(Leipzig/München, 1946)
557 See Paul Cassirer own exploration of a future after the end of World War I, Utopische Plauderei
published in Weisse Blätter, March 1919, see Epilogue.
558 Whether Hofmannsthal’s reaction to Van Gogh’s oeuvre - wie jedes dieser Dinge, dieser Geschöpfe aus
einem furchterlichen Zweifel an der Welt herausgeboren war – was particularly applicable to Cassirer’s
own feelings may indeed be a tempting possibility in the context of a personal and cultural analysis. For
further evidence of this option, this hypothesis can be linked to Cassirer friends who spoke at his funeral of
his grave cynism and scepticism towards the world around him. As Cassirer did not leave a suicide note, it
On a pragmatic and ideological level, Paul Cassirer's cultural impact before World War I was often equated by Wilhelmine voices to political power and attacked on those grounds. Ultimately, Paul Cassirer's effect as a Kulturkritiker, ideological art dealer and aesthetic 'tastemaker' was indeed crucial and as such, he was a pivotal figure for his generation's new sense of freedom, their new Weltanschauung and their visions of multifaceted modernities. Arguably, he stood as a complex paradigm for 'utopia and progress' as well as for the 'frustrations and alienation' of modernism and modernity.

As a highly successful art dealer – commercially speaking - with a high profile clientele, the populist press linked Cassirer, art and power, which made him and his Jewish patron-peers into targets for anti-Semitic polemics. These campaigns made it difficult for Cassirer to forget that he was a German Jew and as such, he was compelled to hold different values and aspirations from the average Wilhelmine citizen or even other German Gentile art dealers. Indeed, this chapter has argued that the historical Jewish experience encouraged a highly developed sense of self reliance, personal responsibility, entrepreneurial talents, communal solidarity, all of which stressed personal decision-making, which were conducive to the new; all of these characteristics were applicable to Paul Cassirer. In the words of Arnold Zweig,

.....the unprejudiced attitude and hunger for the new on the part of Berlin’s Jewish public was no different from other European capitals such as Paris, London and Madrid, but what made Berlin Jews – as opposed to gentle Berliners – even more susceptible to the new was the fact that they did not have a long tradition of being socialised to the dominant tradition.
Several German commentators also emphasised the anchoring in the ‘here and now’; they also believed that the successful adaptation to daily reality implied constant changes which indeed, at times, could produce a sense of frustration and alienation. These situations demanded an unconventional perspective, vitality, persistence, tirelessness, even a revolutionary sense of reality, all characteristics that Paul Cassirer displayed throughout his life.

At Cassirer’s tragic early death at the age of fifty-five in February 1926, Scheffler’s obituary pronounced him ein Kind der impressionistischen Weltanschauung. Scheffler rejected the allegations that Cassirer’s suicide – or rather suicide attempt, for it was a cry for help – was proof of his loss for the ‘lust for life’. Nor – according to Scheffler - was it true that Cassirer was in despair, because he could not understand the post-war era. Even if one acknowledges the subjective perspective of an eulogy, the following words stand for an authentic testimony by a man and colleague who shared the struggle for similar goals: 

Sucht man mit einem Wort auszudrücken, was Paul Cassirer für das deutsche Kunstleben bedeutet hat, so kann man sagen, dass er einen neuen Typ des Kunsthändlers geschaffen hat... noch gab es noch nicht den Händler, der seinen Beruf mit diesem praktischen Idealismus und wie eine geistige Aufgabe aufgefasst hatte, der an die Kunst so erfüllt vom hohem Pflichtgefühl herangetreten wäre, der als Kaufmann ein so leidenschaftlicher Kämpfer für das Echte gewesen wäre ...In Deutschland war am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Erscheinung wir Paul Cassirer neu; er hat sich seine Tätigkeit und Form dafür selbst schaffen müssen. Er war von der Natur selbst zu seiner Arbeit bestimmt... Dass er ‘nur’ als Kunsthändler dazugehörte, dass die Öffentlichkeit den Kaufmann, seinen reinen Enthusiasmus beargwöhnte, dass die materiellen Erfolge nicht als Konsequenz der richtigen Einstellung zur Kunst genommen, sondern einer besonderen Pflichtigkeit für die Konjunktur zugeschrieben wurden: das war im dauernd ein Stachel...

561 Paul Cassirer was buried at the Jewish cemetery, Heerstrasse, Berlin. Liebermann and Kessler gave the eulogies. This obituary was printed in Kunst und Künstler XXIV, 1925/26; see also Brühl, Die Cassirers p.99.
563 Ibid. p.99
Paul Cassirer’s long-term friend, Harry Graf Kessler spoke at his funeral, representing a truly independent spirit as he refused Ernst Cassirer’s request to exclude Tilla Durieux from his speech. This request was based on the strong animosity between the Cassirers and Tilla Durieux, Paul’s second wife, a divorcée, a Viennese, Protestant actress, who had never been fully accepted by the Jewish Cassirer clan. Despite this alliance and Cassirer’s unconventionality, it is difficult to argue that ‘Jewishness’ and Jewish traditions played no part in his life. Indeed, his family’s history, his own experiences in the early years of his student years, the choice of his professional options as well as numerous anti-Semitic attacks against him and his circle, reminded him only too clearly where he came from and where he belonged. How much Paul Cassirer considered himself a Jew remains an unanswered question, but it is likely that above all else, he saw himself as a humanist, a cosmopolitan and a good European, as did many German Jews of his generation. He was also a strong Francophile and a few months into the First World War, for which he volunteered, he became a pacifist, a development experienced by so many friends and colleagues in his German and German Jewish circle (See Epilogue). Harry Graf Kessler interpreted Paul Cassirer’s unique art historical and cultural role imbued with profound political, social and moral significance. Kessler’s eulogy praised Cassirer as the first dealer to introduce and establish modernist high quality art in Berlin, whilst a critical battle raged world wide between what constituted good and bad art.

564 Kessler wrote in his memoirs that Paul’s cousin, Ernst Cassirer, had telephoned him as representative of the family ‘demanding’ verlangte that he should not mention Tilla Durieux in his speech weil eine so starke Animosität gegen sie herrschte... Brühl, p. 102.

565 See Interview with his grand-daughter Renate Morrison in Appendix B 3) where she describes how the family ethos encompassed humanism above all else, yet pointed out that Jews tended to marry Jews, particularly in the Cassirer clan.
Kessler suggested that this struggle also highlighted *die hohe künstlerische Qualität des Lebens*, as represented by contrasting camps such as French Impressionism and academic art world, a confrontation that went beyond the boundaries of the aesthetic. Kessler saw the revolt of the young as a hunger for life and progress and a battle against death; it was Paul Cassirer who showed the possibilities of victory of life over death. Kessler reminded everyone in his eulogy that the entire educated circle in Berlin had become acquainted at Cassirer's Kunstsalon with the art of Manet, Monet, Degas, Renoir, Cézanne and particularly van Gogh, at a time when the Dutch artist was still the well-kept secret of a few collectors in Holland and France. Furthermore, Cassirer had also built the reputation of young Germans such as Corinth, Slevogt, Kalkreuth, Trübner and Leistikow. As a result of this, Kessler said, progressive museum directors were strengthened in their fight against the Wilhelmine art establishment. Kessler saw Cassirer as someone who was willing to dismantle the old and rotten, to set fire to it and rebuild the new edifice brick by brick.

Kessler interpreted the early revolt in art and literature of the late 19th and early 20th century as the beginning of the political revolution that brought down the German Empire in 1918. His eulogy concluded that Paul Cassirer was a revolutionary *par excellence.*

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Indeed, Kessler interpreted Paul Cassirer’s life as a signifier, a symbol, an emblem for a new *Weltanschauung* that stood for the educated generation who fought against a retrospective past and stood for an affirmation of — often problematic— present and future. It had been not only a struggle of accepting Impressionism and post-Impressionism as the ‘painting of modern life’, but it had been a fight for artistic progress which had turned into a political controversy in the backward-looking Wilhelmine climate, where political and social policies were eventually doomed to fail.

Kessler could have added that Paul Cassirer’s revolutionary role had greater urgency for a German Jew than for a conventional Wilhelmine citizen. Thus Kessler could have summarised Paul Cassirer as a German Jew who had a vested interest in revolutionary change. Moreover, Kessler could have added that as a Jew, Cassirer was not part of a German history when at best, Jews had been excluded or marginalised, and at worst, had been persecuted and expelled. Indeed, for Cassirer and his circle the Impressionist project came to stand for a new European *Weltanschauung*, which offered a greater sense of liberty and equality, hence this thesis’ hypothesis that French Impressionism stood for many as the ‘iconography of inclusion’, with van Gogh’s art carrying an element of...
secular-humanism with which Cassirer and his Jewish clients seemed particularly able to
empathise.

Interpreting Paul Cassirer as a revolutionary par excellence seems in many ways to
encompass as yet another contradiction: the German Jew Paul Cassirer was neither an
anarchist, nor a Marxist or a socialist figure. He was a liberal and pacifist bourgeois art
dealer and thus a capitalist, who experienced the complex and often contradictory
successes and frustrations of his generation, in his case resulting in his suicide in 1926.567

However, ultimately, Cassirer’s modernism stood in many ways for what the Wilhelmine
establishment feared most: a new Zeitgeist that threatened Imperial Germany’s political
and cultural ‘status quo’.

567 Madness and suicide were major preoccupations of German youth in the first decade of the century. See
CHAPTER IV

FRENCH IMPRESSIONIST COLLECTIONS
AND GERMAN JEWISH COLLECTORS
Introduction

Private collectors of French Impressionism amongst the German Jewish haute-bourgeoisie represented up to 85% of the private French modernist collectors in Wilhelmine Germany.\(^{568}\) However, this has hitherto gone unexamined in one single study.\(^{569}\) This chapter proceeds by examining first various Wilhelmine critical writings on art collecting; secondly, it investigates the biographical data of twenty-two major collectors and their modernist art collections, which present an original assessment of German Jewish modernist patronage.\(^{570}\) The profile allows a conclusion as to their economic and social milieu and their leading activities in the art world. As for the investment value of modernist art, I will begin this chapter by pointing out that buying into the avant-garde was a risky venture pre-1914, as it was difficult to predict which art would survive the vicissitudes of time. This chapter’s information thus leads to a hypothesis as to the Jewish collector’s receptivity to modernist art in general and French Impressionism in particular.\(^{571}\) The data establishes several factors about these collectors: who they were, what their taste was and the pattern of collecting, constituents that crucially affected the French Impressionist art market. What emerges is the distinctiveness of Jewish art collector-patrons in comparison to their non-Jewish German peers, as well as a better understanding of the relationship between their art collecting and the construction of their German Jewish and cosmopolitan identities.


\(^{569}\) Individual German-Jewish collectors and collections have been examined in numerous diverse German studies.

\(^{570}\) It includes fifteen minor collectors briefly, as there is no detailed data available. In a socio-cultural context, this group does not vary in substance from the major collectors.
Wilhelmine Commentators on Modernist Art Collecting.

According to the economic historian Werner Sombart in 1911, Jews were the first modern people, for he interpreted the modern outlook as focusing on economic activity. Indeed, the Jewish association with finance, international banking and commercial enterprise was linked to capitalism, and consequently to all the modernist products that the new system produced, modernist art being one of them. In previous centuries, art (classical and traditional, carrying the stamp of approval and authenticity) could be seen as an investment, but as modernist art was tinted with political and controversial ideologies, it carried financial risks. That some modernist art turned out to be - in the long run - a highly valuable investment was unpredictable. Indeed, what could have been the reasons that German Jews were so attracted to modernist art? The definition of a modernist art collector was tremendously varied, as the following interpretations by Georg Swarzenski, Karl Scheffler, Emil Waldmann and Alfred Donath will show.

Georg Swarzenski, director at the Städelische Kunstmuseum in Frankfurt since 1906, believed that modernist collectors were primarily interested in the artist, the new movement, and the position the individual artist occupied within that movement. A single work was seen as an important document of a new way of seeing. Swarzenski believed...
that the individual artist’s work preoccupied the modernist collector only in a secondary way; the new movement was at the heart of the debate, whereas the appreciation of the quality of the single work came later.\textsuperscript{575} In short, it was more significant to accept the new movement and its new ideology, rather than be drawn to an individual work.

Karl Scheffler, long-time editor of the modernist art and literary journal, \textit{Kunst und Künstler}, believed that private collectors manifested a broad variety of motivations in their pattern of collecting. Whereas some displayed public ambitions, others collected quietly and in total privacy, and did not allow public access to their treasures. Some patron-collectors wanted to ease the difficult life of the artist and support his work; they often bought directly from them and cut out the art dealer and public exhibitions - such as the Secession - in the process. Some collections were inherited, some were put together by a single person, and others were built in partnership, some with professional advice and others without. Some collectors had a pure, childlike joy when admiring their art works, others were more formal in their appreciation; some collections were broadly based, others highly specialised. Wealthy collectors could afford to spend large sums on their art acquisitions, whereas others spent more modestly, and some even paid in stages, since at times this was the only way that they were able to afford to purchase art works at all.\textsuperscript{576}

Emil Waldmann, appointed curator at the Kunsthalle Hamburg after Alfred Lichtwark’s death in 1914, published an anthology in the 1920’s on the theme of art collectors; here he suggests that the Wilhelmine collector’s fundamental question was whether to collect

\textsuperscript{575} Georg Swarzenski, ‘Die Sammlung Hugo Nathan in Frankfurt am Main’, \textit{Kunst und Künstler}, no. XV (1917) pp. 105-120.
\textsuperscript{576} Karl Scheffler, Catalogue Preface, ‘Sammlung Stern Berlin’, Cassirer Kunstsalon, 22 May 1916.
He also distinguished between modest and wealthy collectors, suggesting that if a collector had the instinct and bought early enough, before a particular artist's prices rose, the connoisseur came into his own by reaping the rewards later. Furthermore, he believed that the old and new trends confronted each other, with the new school ultimately winning. Although he cited individual collectors who incorporated both trends, he believed that this was the exception. Waldmann argued that modern man was naturally inclined to collect modern art; he suggests that 'modern' man did not have the time or leisure to engage in an historical debate, whereas he empathised more readily with images of contemporary life, such as was portrayed in the works of Manet or Liebermann.

Es ist sehr begreiflich, dass ein Mensch des absolut modernen Lebens, ein Industrieller zum Beispiel, der keine Zeit hat Bücher zu lesen und sich in eine Kultur vergangener Epochen langsam und ruhig zu versenken, der keine Briefe schreibt und sich nur noch per Telegraph oder Telephon mitteilt, der nur mit Kohlen und Kabeln, mit Hartgummi, Stahl und Maschinen und höchstens noch mit sozialer Wohlfahrtspflege zu tun hat, dass also ein Mensch mit einem solchen ganz auf das Aktuelle gerichteten Sinn sehr gut Leidenschaft und Verständnis haben kann für die Kunst seiner Zeit, dass er die contemporanité Manet’s empfindet, in Liebermann’s Werken die Schönheit des Lebens fühlt, sich von Slevogt malen lässt und die Leidenschaft unbewusst so sieht, wie Trübner sie unbewusst sehen lehrt.

Waldmann wrote of the vanity of 19th-century art collectors who often aimed at building a visually honourable historic past, which became a characteristic of many private collectors, suggesting that if a collector had the instinct and bought early enough, before a particular artist's prices rose, the connoisseur came into his own by reaping the rewards later. Furthermore, he believed that the old and new trends confronted each other, with the new school ultimately winning. Although he cited individual collectors who incorporated both trends, he believed that this was the exception. Waldmann argued that modern man was naturally inclined to collect modern art; he suggests that 'modern' man did not have the time or leisure to engage in an historical debate, whereas he empathised more readily with images of contemporary life, such as was portrayed in the works of Manet or Liebermann.

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collectors of the German bourgeoisie. However he suggested that this was the role of a museum, whose responsibility it was to build a nation’s collective visual memory.

Waldmann saw the private collector as being free of such concerns. Waldmann believed that regardless of whether the private collector collected old or new art, the priority for him was whether it was *echt oder unecht*, - genuine or false - whether it would retain its validity and above all, whether the collector believed in the new movement and only secondarily concerned himself with the quality of the work itself. Waldmann also pointed out that the private collector had the freedom to buy and sell: in short, to experiment with the acquisition of modern art. By contrast, he argued, public institutions had long-term responsibilities, and also had to account to the state, the municipality, donors and sponsors as to the quality of the work, as well as to the price paid.

Waldmann argued that the genuine collector – *der wahre Sammler* – specialised in a particular collecting pattern. He believed that a modernist collection was characterised by a specialisation, an *Einseitigkeit* – a one sidedness, a focus. Furthermore, the true collector sought expertise in his chosen field, even if he was building on a collection that he had inherited. Indeed, it was the museum which came to benefit by such donated specialised collections; Waldmann cited America as the best example of this trend. He believed that there was a covert interdependant alliance between a private collector and a

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581 Ibid., p. 15.
582 Ibid., p.16, 33.
583 Ibid., p. 18. As a ‘particular’ collection, for examples, one could mention the the Earl of Spencer, who collected at Althorp (Northampton) mainly paintings by Pourbus, Moor, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Reynolds and Gainsborough. Often his ancestors were acquainted with the artists personally.
584 Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 33.
585 He cites the French Impressionist collection of Mr. Pope which included works by Manet, Monet, Renoir and Degas, a collection which he bequeathed to the city of Hartford, where he built a ladies’ college in his lifetime, which would also house his bequest after his death. Waldmann, p. 21-22.
museum, a relationship that benefited both parties. The close relationship between individual patrons and museums was particularly seen in urban centres that were the main locale for modernist art collectors, and which were mostly situated in industrial and commercial cities, such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Dresden, Hamburg and the cities of Rhein-Westphalia. Waldmann strengthened his case by citing the industrial and commercial cities of the USA, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and the smaller towns of Connecticut.

As for the foremost group of collectors of modernist art, Waldmann cited Theodor Fontane’s novel *Poggenpuhls*, where the fictional Bartenstein, a Jewish family, owns two works by Adolf Menzel, the *Ballsouper*, and a study for one of the coronation paintings. At one point in the novel, Miss Poggenpuhl admiringly relays to her siblings the luxury and culture of the Bartenstein home, but Fontane does not speculate or give reasons why it is a Jewish businessman who is a collector of such modernist works. Waldmann suggests that Fontane had observed that the Jewish business and banking elite provided the new type of collector who responded to contemporary new art dealers and artists. The critic-writer suggests that one of the reasons was that they were unattached to age-old traditions, either in their professional lives or in their aesthetic taste:

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586 Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 23.
587 Ibid., p. 29-30.
588 *Das Ballsouper* (1878) which was at least until 1888 in the possession of the banker Adolf Thiem, now at the Alte Nationalgalerie, see Catalogue, Nationalgalerie Berlin, p. 300. The passage might refer to the sketch for *Kronung König Wilhelms I zu Königsberg* (1861), now at the Alte Nationalgalerie Berlin, see its new Catalogue, p. 294.
Denn macht bracht doch einen Menschen nicht zu verachten, bloss weil er Bankier ist oder Margarine fabriziert.\textsuperscript{591} Angeboren kann die Leidenschaft für Kunstwerke jeden sein, es kommt nur darauf an, was er aus ihr macht und ob er sie in die richtige Bahnen lenkt, dass heisst, ob er sie seinem übrigen Charakter entsprechend zu formen weisst. Ob er den Mut hat, wenn sein ganzes Denken und Fühlen dem modernen Leben zugewandt ist, hieraus auch für seine Kunstliebhaberei die entsprechenden Konsequenzen zu ziehen, auf falsche Wappenschilder zu verzichten und auch hierin ganz seiner Zeit anzugehören. Viele Grosse im Reiche der Börse, der Finanz und der Technik haben dies getan und damit vielleicht halb unbewusst die moderne Forderung nach dem rein künstlerischen Charakter der Sammlung erfüllt, dadurch, dass sie sich um historische Traditionen nicht kümmerten.\textsuperscript{592}

Indeed, Waldmann’s words sound like an apology for bankers, industrialists and technocrats, whom he recognised as the leading generation of art patrons. In his view they had crucially contributed to the acceptance in Wilhelmine Germany of German modernism, as well as French Impressionism. Furthermore, Waldmann identified art as a passion for the artist and the collector, regardless of opposition each may have encountered. He suggested that ‘passion’ drove artists, the new Impressionist movement and its inherent ideologies, however uncomfortable this may have been for the German nationalistic establishment:

Leibl war bis fast an sein Lebensende verkannt und doch hat er so gemalt, wie er musste und nicht wie die anderen wollten. Manet war tief unglücklich darüber, dass man ihn hasste und hat sich nicht geändert. Cézanne galt als verrückt und hat sich nicht geändert.\textsuperscript{593} Man kann den [Französischen] Impressionismus nicht mehr hinwegdenken aus der Entwicklungsgeschichte der ganzen Kunst, ja aus dem ganzen Geistesleben Europas. Dies mag für ein nationaldeutsches Gefühl unbequem sein, aber es ist eine Tatsache.\textsuperscript{594}

\textsuperscript{591} Maybe this is a reference to the French margarine manufacturer; the sale of the Pellerin Collection in Germany was arranged jointly by Cassirer in Berlin and Thannhauser in Munich.
\textsuperscript{592} Waldmann, Der Sammler, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{593} Ibid, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{594} Ibid, p. 133-134.
However, despite Wilhelmine Germany's opposition to French modernism, Waldmann
noted the paradox that most of the major Impressionist works were not sold in France, but
in Germany, other European countries and the USA.\(^595\)

Adolph Donath, the Jewish art critic, contributed to the revival of Jewish art within the
Zionist movement in Germany.\(^596\) In collaboration with several Zionists such as Martin
Buber, Donath actively tried to strengthen the position of German Jews in the art world as
he was acutely aware of growing anti-Semitism.\(^597\) He pleaded for freedom for Jews to be
Jews; he recommended a strong Jewish identity based on pride and solidarity, which he
saw as the basis for a unity of being a \textit{Mensch} and a \textit{Jude}, regardless of whether he
collected traditional or modern art, whether he chose to be a militarist or pacifist.\(^598\)

\textbf{Collecting against the Grain: Jewish Collectors and French Impressionism.}

A small élite of late 19\textsuperscript{th}-century German Jewish art patrons embraced French
Impressionism once it became available to them. They seemed to display a hunger and a
taste for contemporary art that was unencumbered by traditional German values such as
\textit{Völkisch} historicism, images of German aristocracy or Christian religious iconography.
But towards 1900, German Jewish patrons were faced with the opportunity to acquire art
works that represented contemporary life and corresponded to their experiences and
aspirations. Indeed, they responded with a singular passion, even if they had acquired
traditional art previously. Though it might seem a contradiction, at the same time, many
German Jews retained their German traditions on many levels, despite their newly

\(^595\) Ibid, p. 134-137. See also previous chapter on Cassirer international clients; see also Appendix A) 3.
\(^596\) Entry for Adolph Donath in \textit{Jüdisches Lexikon} (Berlin Judischer Verlag, Berlin, 1928), p. 41.
\(^597\) Adolph Donath published several anthologies and several monographs, such as \textit{Lesser Uri, Seine
Stellung in der Welt} (Berlin: Max Perl Verlag, 1921). He was on the staff of \textit{Die Welt} (1902-3).
acquired avant-garde taste. Besides, they also considered it their duty to collect German art as a function of a good citizen, for it was part of being a respectful German Bürger. In the words of the philosopher Hermann Cohen,

... the Jews of the Occident [...] all have an intellectual and spiritual link with Germany [...] Every Jew of the Occident has, in addition to his fatherland, to recognise, honour and love Germany as the motherland of his religiosity, of his fundamental aesthetic strength and therefore the centre of his cultural convictions.599

Peter Pulzer suggests that Hermann Cohen’s words may have been wishful thinking, yet Pulzer also makes the case that wishful thinking and aspirations of a people, particularly a minority people, are valuable primary sources:

...[wishful thinking] is a guide to the hopes and expectations entertained by particular people at particular times. It helps us to understand and to emphasise with mentalities – in this case European Jews who hoped to escape from the confines of the ghetto, join modern civilisation, become integrated into general society and be treated as citizens on their individual merits, only to discover that this process was more complicated than either they or their well-wishers had anticipated.600

Indeed, in keeping with Germany’s post-1871 preoccupation with economic stability, one of the overriding aspirations of the newly enfranchised German Jewish community was economic success. Furthermore, potential art patrons were now part of the haute-bourgeoisie, measured by their economic status or by their belonging to intellectual and artistic circles.601 Members of this new elite searched for new cultural activities and commitments commensurate with their economic and professional success. Whilst socially they were still treated as a minority, culturally they sought a space that they could share and shape. Thus they created – not always consciously – a cosmopolitan

601 See Introduction and references to historiography.
milieu and culture that would include their presence and their voice, places where their aspirations had validity, weight and gravitas. In carving out this niche, they supported the cultural and artistic avant-garde, even extended its boundaries, and ultimately changed the European art market for French modernist art. In reality, they built a cosmopolitan community of like-minded patrons who cross-pollinated European ideas and supported modernist French art.

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603 Hacohen argues that Central Europe was never truly cosmopolitan, but was a myth and an imagined concept. He suggests that it was only a dream of a Jewish minority and it was only their aspiration to create a cosmopolitan culture that the concept stayed alive. Hacohen argues that ‘cosmopolitanism’ must be studied in the context of multi-culturalism and ethno-nationalism. Hacohen, p. 107.
Wilhelmine Jewish Collectors and French Modernist Collections.\textsuperscript{604}

The following analysis of twenty-two major German-Jewish collectors is divided into three professional categories, such as bankers and leading industrialists; business people and the art and publishing world. The group of minor collectors is not analysed separately as it only confirms the behaviour and pattern of the major collectors.\textsuperscript{605}

This analysis has yielded several results: it highlights 1. the homogeneity of modernist German Jewish collectors in reference to their shared social and economic backgrounds; 2. their close, almost incestuous relationships; 3. their Outsider status, despite their relatively high degree of integration into some German professional circles, which confirmed their marginality in German conservative mainstream society. 4. their international perspective and their cosmopolitan views at a time of increasingly parochial nationalism and 5. their strange predilection for a particular (foreign) art that only enhanced their distinctiveness.

The following analysis also highlights the proactive participation of Jewish women in the collecting enterprise in contrast to their German peers. These findings correlate not only to the changing status of women of the German Jewish bourgeoisie, but also confirm the work by other scholars who have interpreted French Impressionism as the ‘iconography of the female’.\textsuperscript{606}

\textsuperscript{604} For a comprehensive breakdown of collectors and collections, see Appendix A 3. This study has aimed to include every major or minor collector amongst the Wilhelmine Jewish bourgeoisie, but it does not claim that it has succeeded in identifying every one, only those that were accessible during my research.

\textsuperscript{605} See Appendix A 4.

\textsuperscript{606} See Marion Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, family and Identity in Imperial Germany, 1991 See studies by Griselda Pollock, Linda Nochlin, Carol Zemel and others.
MAJOR COLLECTORS

Carl and Felicie Bernstein\textsuperscript{607}

The Bernsteins acquired their French art collection some ten to fifteen years earlier than the majority of other Jewish collectors. Furthermore, they do not fit into the other categories and therefore represent an exception on several levels.

When it came to purchasing French art works, German Jewish patron-collectors acquired them by various modes. In the case of Carl Bernstein, a professor of Roman law, and his wife, Felicie, they bought their Impressionist works in Paris in the summer of 1882, at a time when works by French Impressionists were still contentious and prices low. Their original Impressionist purchases were facilitated under the guidance of their cousin Charles Ephrussi, publisher of \textit{Gazette-des-Beaux-Arts}\textsuperscript{608} (See Chapter I). Ephrussi had personal contacts with the artists, similar to the Bernstein’s relationship to German artists. The Bernsteins were keen to share their avant-garde collection with Berlin patrons and they thus permitted their French Impressionist collection of some twelve to thirteen works to be exhibited at the Berlin Fritz Gurlitt gallery in 1883. This exhibition was enlarged by works on loan from Paris art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel. Both the exhibition and the Bernstein’s collection were greatly derided in Prussia’s capital, particularly by the artist Adolph Menzel, who was also a frequent visitor at the Bernstein Salon. The Bernsteins were unsettled by the hostile reception of the Gurlitt exhibition.\textsuperscript{609}

\textsuperscript{607} Carl Bernstein (1842-1894) and Felicie Bernstein (née Rosenthal) (1852-1908)
\textsuperscript{608} See chapter I.
\textsuperscript{609} Jules Laforgue, who had been an assitant to Charles Ephrussi in Paris, was now reader to Empress Augusta in Berlin. It was supposed to write the catalogue of this first Impressionist exhibition in Berlin, but this did not materialise. Also see Thomas Gaetghens and Julietta Scharf, ‘Die Sammlung Otto Gerstenberg’, in \textit{Die Moderne und ihre Sammler}, pp. 152-153.
The Bernsteins owned five works by Manet (there were three still lifes of flowers and one image of the harbour of Folkstone). The Bernstein collection also included two works by Monet (a river scene and \textit{L'été, Champs de coquelicots}), one by Camille Pissarro (Labourers in a Field), one by Sisley (\textit{Seine à Argenteuil}), and one work by Degas (theme and title unknown). Surprisingly for the year 1882, the collection also included one work each by four Impressionist women painters, Eva Gonzales, Marie Cazin, Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt. (All three were portraits of women and children, thus representing family and private life.) Most of the art works in the collection had been painted in the last decade and represented contemporary life and themes that were relatively easily accessible to the viewer, despite their new technique. Thus Charles Ephrussi, the Paris based relative, had been instrumental in influencing the Bernstein’s decisions. Indeed, the collection represented a broad cross-section of the major artists of the new Impressionist movement. The fate of the collection is unknown.

**BANKERS AND FINANCIERS**

This largest group of collectors is represented by eight collections. It included Paul and Henriette Mankiewicz, four members of the Mendelssohn-Bartholdy banking family, Julius and Malgonie Stern, Hugo Nathan, and the banker and lawyer Alfred Wolff, and his wife Hanna. All of these individuals resided in Berlin except for Nathan, who lived in Frankfurt am Main, and Alfred and Hanna Wolff, who resided both in Berlin and in Munich.

All of these major collectors held regular Salons – here women also played an important role - where they hosted writers, artists and museum directors and thus shared their
collections with their exclusive circle. Such activity implied that their interest in private art collecting overlapped with their social life, and that their social circle acted as a support system for their art collecting. Furthermore, personal contact with the artists might seem contradictory to Waldmann’s argument that collectors were more concerned with the movement *per se*, rather than individual works. However, such interaction often allowed for a better understanding of the new movement. Indeed, many collectors acquired works directly from contemporary German artists. Most - if not all collectors’ taste in art was for both French and German contemporary art.

**Paul and Henriette Mankiewicz**

Paul Mankiewicz was particularly well integrated into German industrial life. He was a financier of international significance as a member of the Berlin Stock Exchange and had connections to the Deutsche Bank, Anglo-Deutsche Bank and the Banca Commerciale. He was on the board of the German Handelsflotte and the Norddeutsche Lloyd insurance conglomerate. In the cultural world, he was an active patron of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft and a Freund der antiken Kunst. His wife Henriette was a patron of the Berlin Nationalgalerie and the Verein für Deutsche Volkskunde. There are neither records of their social life nor whether they owned a collection of German art. However, it is known that they had a French Impressionist collection which included twelve works by Courbet, Manet, Degas, Renoir and Monet. One of the Monet works depicted houses in Argenteuil, and was donated to the Berlin Nationalgalerie in 1899.

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610 Paul Mankiewicz (no dates known) Henriette Mankiewicz (1858-1924)
There is no record of where, when and from whom these art works were purchased. However, Cassirer's Kunstsalon had exhibited all these artists from 1898 onward and Hugo von Tschudi at the Nationalgalerie had exhibited French Impressionist works since the summer of 1896. Moreover, Max Liebermann was recognised as one of the leading German artists who had also begun to collect French modernist works. Thus it is more than likely that these three public figures - Cassirer, von Tschudi and Liebermann - influenced the Mankiewicz in their acquisitions. As with the other collectors in this category, international banking connections and foreign professional and cultural interests may have facilitated an open-minded attitude towards France and French modernist art.

The Mendelssohn Family: Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy

Several members of the Mendelssohn-Bartholdy family were prominent modernist art collectors. Ernst Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, as patriarch of his generation - was a member of leading Imperial financial institutions and was honoured in 1896 with a hereditary ennoblement after which he joined the Preussische Herrenhaus. Although Jews were excluded from the Diplomatic Civil Service, they were free to accept honorary positions and thus he was appointed Honorary Royal Danish Consul.

6 Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1846-1909)
6 Ernst Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1846-1909) was the grandson of Abraham Mendelssohn, who was one of Moses Mendelssohn's (1729-1786) three sons. It was Moses' son Abraham (1776-1835) who founded the banking firm in collaboration with his brother Joseph (1770-1848). The bank helped to transfer the French indemnity after Napoleon's defeat and was later active mainly in German and foreign railway issues and state loans, particularly Russian. The firm of Mendelssohn and Co. was also a correspondent for many foreign commercial banks, central banks and governments, although they did not launch any industrial ventures of their own. Abraham brought up his children as Protestants to help improve their social opportunities, and he and his wife converted in 1822; his decision to convert was strongly motivated by the 'Hep! Hep!' riots in 1819. See Encyclopaedia Judaica, pp. 1325-1326, vol 11 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1971)
These biographical data show how integrated Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was in the financial and political world; moreover, he was also one of the leading philanthropists as he had donated the Villa Franconieri in Rome as a home for artists abroad and personal guest house for Wilhelm II.  

Closer to home, Ernst Mendelssohn-Bartholdy responded enthusiastically to Hugo von Tschudi’s request for financial support. Indeed, Ernst emerged as one of the co-sponsors for the Nationalgalerie’s first Impressionist acquisition in 1896, Edouard Manet’s *La Serre*, the sponsorship shared by a consortium of other Jewish patrons. Many of the following art acquisitions (and cultural projects for public institutions) were sponsored in consortium of other Jewish patrons, a regular pattern of cultural sponsorship by German Jews.

Although no records have been located of Ernst’s private modern art collection, he was known to be a modernist collector of some significance. Indeed, it must be assumed that he influenced his banker son Paul and his wife, Charlotte, in their taste of collecting.

**Paul and Charlotte Mendelssohn-Bartholdy**

Paul and Charlotte Mendelssohn-Bartholdy lived in Berlin West and owned a summer residence at nearby Wannsee. Like his father and other member of his extended family, Paul also held eminent positions in the financial world of Berlin, and was also a member of the Preussische Herrenhaus. He was also heavily involved with Wilhelminian art and cultural institutions.

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614 Various cultural projects in Italy were fashionable during this period, such philanthropy often resulting in Imperial rewards.
615 See chapter V. The necessity of a consortium could imply that the work was relatively expensive and also that no single patron wanted to be seen to be the only one to support such controversial art.
616 Paul von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1875-1935) Charlotte von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (dates unknown) mendl
Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, like his father, became one of the staunchest supporters of Tschudi’s modernist acquisition programme, frequently in conjunction with Eduard Arnold. Indeed, these two patrons became regular sponsors of many of Tschudi’s choices at the Neue Pinakothek in Munich after his dismissal from Berlin. Indeed they also became the staunchest financial supporters of the acquisition programme of the ‘Tschudi Spende’, a foundation set up in Tschudi’s memory. Thus Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy’s commitment to modernist art was a strong passion, both privately and publicly.

Privately, Paul collected French modernist art in close collaboration with his wife Charlotte; it was known that the couple had one of the most significant modernist collections in Germany, their particular passion being for Vincent van Gogh. Their collection included eight works by the Dutch artist (*Sun Flowers*, *Mother Roulin and her Baby*, and *St. Paul Hospital*, the other five works are not identified). It is likely that most of these works were purchased at the Kunstsalon Cassirer after 1902. Other French modernist artists in the collection included Rousseau, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Degas, Cézanne, Derain, Toulouse-Lautrec and early works by Picasso, although details of titles are unknown. There is no record of a collection of works by German artists.

The couple were most likely influenced by works at the Nationalgalerie and Secession exhibitions and Paul Cassirer’s modernist gallery programme. Moreover, they must have been aware of the the writings by Richard Muther and Julius Meier-Graefe, as well as

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617 See chapter V.
618 Chapter V examines the Kaiser’s opposition to Tschudi’s modernist acquisitions, but in 1896 this was still not evident nor was expected of Tschudi, who had been for a decade the assistant of conservative Wilhelm von Bode.
619 For a breakdown of Van Gogh purchases and clients, see Walter Feilchenfeld, *Paul Cassirer, etc.*
being well informed on the Parisian art scene. But as a highly successful banker – success breeding confidence and decisive judgement – Paul and Charlotte paid little attention to negative German contemporary art reviews that derided the works of French Impressionists in general and van Gogh in particular.

Indeed, there was a sense of solidarity combined with a sense of shared values and aesthetic taste amongst this exclusive, individualistic and successful peer group. Competitive peer pressure to adhere to visual modernism amongst bankers who financed many modernists industrial and business projects may also have played a significant role. Professionally, these men were headstrong leaders in the financial world, and thus were accustomed to independent thinking and may have translated this autonomy to their leisure and cultural activities. This freedom was new and sudden among these prosperous Jewish circles which went hand in hand with integration into Wilhelmine professional life on many levels. The paradox of autonomy, otherness and integration were contradictions of which they may have been unaware. However, socially and culturally, they continued to be a group apart, mixing within their own circle and displaying a taste that went against the grain of the establishment, representing a defiance whose consequences they seemed prepared to face, regardless of its outcome. Of course, it was this ‘Otherness’ that laid them open to criticism and growing anti-Semitism.

**Robert von Mendelssohn**

Robert von Mendelssohn shared his passion for van Gogh with other Mendelssohns. Like his uncle Ernst and his brother Paul, Robert was an international financier in the family’s banking house. He too was a significant figure in the financial world and a

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621 Robert von Mendelssohn (1857-1917)
622 The link with Robert was also reflected in a few other purchases, see chapter I.
member of the Preussische Herrenhaus, as well as being one of the Kaiserjuden at the Court of Wilhelm II.\(^6\) He was also a board member of professional associations in Germany and abroad and was the Royal Swedish Consul. Like his relatives, he was a patron of many Imperial institutions. Despite loyalty to Imperial traditional museums, he was also a co-sponsor of Manet's *La Serre* and Charles Daubigny's *Le Printemps* for the Nationalgalerie in 1896. Many years later, in 1918, he also donated to the Nationalgalerie - in conjunction with Margarethe Oppenheim - Max Liebermann’s work, *Die Gartenbank* on the occasion the artist's 70\(^{th}\) birthday, a defiant gesture to redress the official refusal of honouring Liebermann publicly.

Robert von Mendelssohn was also a passionate collector of antique violins, maybe in honor of the family's musical history.\(^6\) However, his art collection encompassed contemporary works of all the leading Secession artists. Although there is no record of personal relationships, given the small, even incestuous nature of Berlin’s avant-garde circles, it is likely that he knew most of them personally.

The artistic themes of his collection included landscapes and cityscapes, parks and trees in works by Chaigneau, Daumier, Daubigny, Manet, Pissarro, Degas and van Gogh.

**Franz von Mendelssohn**\(^6\)

Franz Mendelssohn was also involved in the family banking concern; he was a brother of Robert.\(^5\) He too was a member of numerous financial professional institutions, the

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\(^6\) See John C.G. Rohl, *Der Kaiser* -

\(^6\) Girardet, *Jüdische Männer*, p. 188. Culturally, the most illustrious of the Mendelssohns was Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, (1809-1847) who was the the grandson of Moses Mendelssohn and the son of Abraham, the founder of the banking dynasty. Felix was not only a composer, but a superb pianist, a good violinist, an exceptional organist and an inspiring conductor. See *Oxford Dictionary of Music* (1994).

\(^6\) Franz von Mendelssohn (1865-1935)

\(^5\) Franz von Mendelssohn established in 1920 an Amsterdam branch of the bank. He was involved with co-financing the Russo-Japanese War.
Preussische Herrenhaus and was the Belgian Consul in Germany. The fact that several Mendelssohns held honorary consul roles clearly indicates that there must have been an element of peer pressure and competitive spirit amongst them. By the same token, I argue that this spirit was also translated into their art collecting and art taste.

Like many family members, Franz was a major art and cultural patron. In conjunction with James Simon he made several donations to various museums, and arranged for his bank to extend a loan to the important Egyptian Museum in Berlin, which only highlighted the breadth of his interests. Indeed, his cultural patronage was clearly patriotic, illustrated by his wide support of Wilhelmine institutions. Despite supporting many traditional projects, he was the major co-sponsor for several modernist works at the Nationalgalerie. Modernist art was closest to his heart, since privately he collected only French works, his collection including works by Manet, Cézanne, Braque, van Gogh paintings and drawings. Thus Franz von Mendelssohn’s public cultural patronage did not correspond to his private art collecting taste, although his financial position would have allowed him to acquire whatever he wished. His public traditional patronage might have brought him public acclaim, but his private taste corresponded to his own emotional need and aesthetic sense, which he saw reflected in Impressionism and post-Impressionism iconography.

In summary, all four Mendelssohns were internationally successful financiers, well respected in Imperial financial institutions and members of the Preussische Herrenhaus.

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627 See chapter V.
628 Details of each work are unavailable, other than works by Van Gogh.
(it is actually debatable what real power the house held) and as Kaiserjuden they had access to the court of Wilhelm II. Yet, at least three of them displayed controversial, independent and avant-garde taste. Their taste was likely to have been influenced by German modernist art writers and exhibits at the Nationalgalerie, at the Secession and at the Cassirer Kunstsalon, all venues exhibiting French modernist art against the grain of majority opinion, (See Chapter V). Indeed, the Mendelssohns also influenced each other and were particularly instrumental in helping to establish Vincent van Gogh’s reputation as a collectable artist. Thus they also inadvertently changed the art market worldwide.

**Julius and Malgonie Stern**

Julius Stern was a director at the Nationalbank für Deutschland. Like other prosperous members of the bourgeoisie, the Sterns lived in Berlin and owned a summer residence near Potsdam. Their Berlin home was a focus for social Soirées. Many of their guests were closely associated with the Berlin Secession, such as the Liebermanns, the Cassirers and others. Again, like other Jewish patrons, the Sterns’ public patronage consisted of donations to Imperial institutions often in conjunction with other Jewish sponsors. Like many of their fellow collectors, the Sterns’ private art collection consisted of contemporary German and French art works, the 200 works including several sculptures. They collected work by Max Liebermann, Lovis Corinth, Max Slevogt, Paul Baum, E. R. Weiss, Karl Walser, Wilhelm Trübner and Hans Thoma. The sculptural works included Anette Kolbe, Wrba and works by Dora Hitz, who was also Malgonie’s art tutor.

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629 Indeed it was their independence that the Kaiser found interesting, but at the same time their independent attitudes caused also their downfall, since the Emperor did not tolerate controversial opinions, see John C.G. Rohl, *Der Kaiser and his Court*; pp. 190 -212.

630 Julius Stern (1859-1914) Malgonie Stern (dates unknown)
According to Karl Scheffler, who wrote the introduction to the Stern Auction Catalogue, the collection expressed a *geistige Freiheit*, a freedom that represented the spiritual and ideological aspect of art patronage. Scheffler’s words illustrate once again that modernist collecting encompassed an intellectual, social and moral component:

> Eine liebenswürdige Sammlung, in der kein schlechtes Stück ist und die einige Höhepunkte hat...
> Diese Art des tätigen Kunstinteresses knüpft die Beziehung zwischen Künstlern und Publikum neu, die Zeit so arg zerrissen hat, sie, macht, dass der Kunstfreund Leid und Erfolg des Künstlers mit geniesst, und bringt in das grossbürgerliche Leben eine geistige Freiheit, die kaum in einer anderen Weise praktisch zu erwerben ist. Sie vergeistigt das moderne Mäzenatentum. 631

Thus Scheffler summarised the essence of contemporary modernist patronage as the sharing of pain and success with the artist as well as partaking in *eine geistige Freiheit* – thus intellectual freedom being a strong element in modernist art patronage.

The Sterns’ French collection included Courbet, Manguin, Pichot, Le Beau, Denis, Manet, Degas, Renoir, Pissarro, Monet, van Gogh, Sisley, Gauguin, Cézanne and Bonnard, Guys, Toulouse-Lautrec and Rodin and Maillol. The themes of the works included fruit still life, landscapes and cityscapes and portraits of women and children. The collection was considered one of the most comprehensive French modernist collections in Wilhelmine Germany. It was very much the joint venture of Julius and Malgonie Stern, who was an artist in her own right. Besides this artistic connection, the Sterns’ taste was moulded by their exposure to modernist exhibitions in Berlin. It is most likely that they bought most of the art works at the Kunstsalon Cassirer. Indeed, it was the Kunstsalon that handled the dispersion of the Stern collection. This dispersion was

Held — in conjunction with Hugo Helbig, Munich, at the Victoriastrasse premises on 22 May 1916. Karl Scheffler wrote the preface for the Catalogue.632

Hugo Nathan633

Hugo Nathan was a director at the Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt am Main, where he held a significant social position in the city. Although nothing is known about his public patronage, in his private capacity he collected works by numerous German and European artists. These artists included figures such as Josef Israels, Ferdinand Hodler, Giovanni Segantini, Anton von Burger, Burnitz, von Scholderer, Fritz Boehrle, Wilhelm Trübner, Werner von Anton and Hans Thoma, Hans von Marees, Max Liebermann, Max Slevogt and Jacob Nussbaum. Most canvases depicted contemporary settings, with the few exceptions being Christian religious works by Ferdinand Hodler, Wilhelm Trübner and Fritz von Uhde and a mythical scene by Lovis Corinth.

However, Hugo Nathan also acquired an outstanding French Impressionist collection which included Camille Corot — who was rarely part of collections in Germany — Gustave Courbet, Honoré Daumier, François Daubigny, Henri Fantin-Latour and Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin, van Gogh, Bonnard, Maurice de Vlaminck and Maurice Denis.634

Despite such an illustrious parade of French art, Georg Swarzenski suggests that the significance of Nathan’s collection lay in his collection of German traditional and

632 During World War I until 1930 the Cassirer house held auctions regularly, often of collections that Paul Cassirer had helped to build. However, as French art had become once again the art of the archenemy, French modernism was difficult to market in Germany. Thus the house began to auction furniture, rugs, antiquities, miniatures and clocks and watches.
633 Hugo Nathan (1861-1921).
contemporary masters.\textsuperscript{635} As a citizen of Frankfurt, Nathan was probably closely guided by Georg Swarzenski, the director of the Städelische Kunstinstitut, whose modernist acquisition programme was comparable to Tschudi’s art policies. Indeed, the Frankfurt Jewish bourgeoisie represented a significant circle of modernist collectors (See Chapter V). Although it was said that there was a conservative trend in Frankfurt, Swarzenski led as an avant-garde role model and often acted as advisor to many private collectors.\textsuperscript{636} Indeed, he considered Nathan’s collection as one of the best and judged almost each work as a treasure.

**Alfred and Hanna Wolff** \textsuperscript{637}

Alfred Wolff was both a banker and a trained lawyer. He was transferred to Munich’s Dresdner Bank in 1904 when he was appointed to the executive board. After Alfred married Hanna, the couple briefly moved to Berlin for professional reasons. Like other modernist German Jews who cared about contemporary style, the interiors of the Wolff homes were designed by Henry van de Velde.\textsuperscript{638}

The Wolffs’ private collection of French neo-Impressionists and Pointillist art was substantial and included works by Signac, Seurat, van Gogh, Gauguin, Bonnard and Maurice Denis, Théo van Rysselberghe, Edmond Cross, Maximilian Luce and sculptures by Aristide Maillol. The profile of this collection resembled two other collections of its kind in Wilhelmine Germany, those of Harry Graf Kessler and Curt Glaser. The

\textsuperscript{635} Swarzenski, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{636} Ibid. p. 116
\textsuperscript{637} Alfred Wolff (1866-1959) Hanna Wolff (dates unknown)
\textsuperscript{638} Van de Velde was also commissioned by Harry Graf Kessler for his Weimar home, and for certain interiors at the Cassirer Kunstsalon in Berlin and other modernist institutions Wilhemine Germany.
similarities in their taste suggested that these three collectors knew and influenced each other and may even have been competitors in the purchase of art works.

Indeed, the Wolffs’ brief spells in Berlin - being exposed to Nationalgalerie and Secession exhibitions’ modernist programmes- might have been influential for their pattern of collecting. It is most likely that the Wolffs purchased their art at the Kunstsalon Cassirer. Max Liebermann’s significant French Impressionist collection might also have been a strong influence on the Wolffs, as the Liebermanns were neighbours at the Pariserplatz, abutting the Brandenburger Gate.

**Conclusion**

To summarise the lives and taste of these major collectors in this category, many similarities emerge. All were international financiers and bankers; they were all resident in the leading urban centres of Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, cities which then had the strongest cosmopolitan influences. (The Wolffs were an exception, for they lived periodically in Munich). Most were self-made men of the first or second generation of German Jews newly enfranchised in 1871. (The Mendelssohns being the exception on many levels). Their prosperity afforded them at times a second home and a high standard of living, and they often held Salons where their wives played a leading role. Their status allowed them to pursue their passion for private art collecting and public patronage.639 Most collectors seemed interested in contemporary design, as reflected in the avant-garde design of their homes, where they hosted an international, cosmopolitan circle. At times they had direct contact with the artists and bought works without the intercession of middlemen such as dealers or the Berlin Secession; all these factors shaped their personal
taste and their patterns of collecting. Furthermore, it is likely that they also influenced each other and even became competitors at sales and auctions. Here, they often would bid for the same works, thus strengthening, even creating the new market for French modernism. This phenomenon strongly influenced the art market across Europe, and even beyond.

It is most likely that these sophisticated patrons subscribed to PAN and Kunst und Künstler, both of which were mouthpieces for modernism and contemporary discourse, often read not only in Berlin, but also in other parts of the German-speaking world. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to assume that these publications were also carefully noted in Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam.\footnote{640}{It is interesting to note that both PAN and Kunst und Künstler were published by Berlin Jews.}

Two modernist museum directors, the gentile Swiss-born Hugo von Tschudi and the German Jewish – albeit highly assimilated – Georg Swarzenski, were leading modernists in Wilhelmine Germany. Indeed, their pioneering leadership was made possible through ideological and financial support by the prosperous Jewish bourgeoisie. These directors often acted as consultants to private collectors, possibly in the hope that some of these private collections might find their way into their institutions. Thus the relationship between private collectors and public servants, whether Imperial or municipal, was interdependent and mutually supportive and beneficial. Finance, art and public museums were interwoven, each needing and benefiting the other (See Chapter V). The dominant influences on these collectors were progressive museum directors such as Tschudi and Swarzenski, the Berlin Secession, Max Liebermann and Paul Cassirer’s exhibition programme as well as modernist art and cultural publications. (See Chapter III).
INDUSTRIALISTS AND BUSINESSMEN

This group was represented by six major collections. It included the coal magnate and leading industrialist Eduard Arnold at the firm of Caesar Wollheim; the scientist and AGFA founder, Franz Oppenheim and his wife, Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim; the Hungarian industrialist, Marzell von Némes; Hugo and Alfred Cassirer, directors of the Cassirer Kabelwerke, a family industrial concern producing electric cables; (Paul Cassirer’s brothers) and Robert von Hirsch, the leather manufacturer, who founded the Offenbach leatherwear industry. These collectors were all resident in Berlin, except for von Némes, who divided his time between Budapest and Munich, and von Hirsch who resided originally in Offenbach, a small town near Frankfurt am Main and who later immigrated to Basel.

Eduard Arnold

Eduard Arnold was the leader of this group, despite his advanced age when he became interested in French Impressionist art. Arnold was a self-made man who was employed by Caesar Wollheim in Berlin; at Wollheim’s death in 1882, Arnold was appointed the head of the concern. He developed into a highly successful coal industrialist, and became a leading financial and industrial figure. In 1913 he was the first unconverted Jew to be admitted into the Preussische Herrenhaus. Like many other upper-class Jews, Arnold

\[641\] Eduard Arnold (1849-1925)

\[642\] His brothers Max and Georg Arnold founded the bank Gebrüder Arnold in 1864 in Dresden.
and his wife Bertha lived in Berlin's Tiergarten district and owned a summer residence at the Wannsee. They also owned an equestrian manor in Hirschfelde near Werneuchen.643

Arnold's art collection and its installation resembled no other, as he hung his German and French art in the same rooms and next to each other; Arnold hung his art works personally and his methods of display resembled in many ways museum exhibitions. His German art collection was larger than his French, but it was the latter which caused more controversy and was more prominently displayed. What was most significant about Arnold's collection was the fact that both German and French art found a peaceful coexistence in his home. Indeed, Arnold acted like an informed and liberal museum director, earning the respect of Richard Muther, Julius Meier-Graefe and Emil Waldmann. All three mentioned individual works from his collection in their art-historical publications.644 Hugo von Tschudi considered Arnold's collection to be augenblicklich wohl die künstlerisch wertvollste Privatsammlung moderner Kunst.645

Furthermore, Arnold was a major philanthropist, both at home and particularly in Italy, where he was the main patron of the Villa Massimo, the Bibliotheka Hertziana in Rome and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence.646

In Berlin, he had been collecting for some years under the guidance of Wilhelm von Bode. However, after Hugo von Tschudi was appointed Nationalgalerie director in 1896,
Arnold became one of the first public patrons to respond to his modernist trends, donating a Meunier bronze which he had purchased at the first exhibition of the Cassirer Kunstsalon in November 1898.647 Indeed, he was the first client of at Paul Cassirer’s Kunstsalon in November 1898. The following Cassirer citation reveals Arnold’s support and loyalty:648

Ohne ihn wäre meine Laufbahn unendlich schwieriger gewesen, ohne seine moralische Unterstützung und seine tatkräftige Hilfe wäre mir in den ersten schweren Zeiten meines Berufs vielleicht der Mut gebrochen worden. Er war der erste der in meinem Kunsthändler-Leben zu mir als Käufer kam, er war der erste, der durch diesen Ankauf mich den Charakter des vornehmen Amateurs kennenlernen ließ, er war der erste, der damals bereit war, ein größeres Geldopfer für seine Kunst zu tun, die damals wirklich nicht die Liebe unserer Landesgenossen fand. 649

Notably, Arnold was one of the co-sponsors of Manet’s La Serre. After Tschudi’s death in 1911, Arnold was appointed to the board of the Nationalgalerie, in appreciation of his generosity and patronage to the museum over many years.

Until about 1892, Arnold had bought German contemporary artists such as Anselm Feuerbach, Adolph Menzel, Ludwig Knaus, Arnold Böcklin, Wilhelm Leibl, Franz von Lenbach, Hans Thoma, Max Klinger, Fritz von Uhde, Walter Leistikow, Max Slevogt, Lovis Corinth, August Gaul and Max Liebermann, whom he knew personally. They mixed in the same social circles both in Berlin and at their summer residences at Wannsee, where they were neighbours.650 Indeed, Arnold considered it his mission to support contemporary artists.

From the mid-1890s onwards, Arnold bought French works by artists such as Corot, Courbet and Daubigny, although he continued buying German art as well. Arnold began

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647 See Appendix A) 2 Kunstsalon Exhibition Programme 1898-1914.
to amass a great many French Impressionist works from 1896 onwards. His first French art purchase was a painting by Monet, and in time he began to acquire works by Manet, Degas, Renoir, Sisley, Pissarro, Cézanne and van Gogh, although his collection also included Spanish and British artists. Arnold’s French Impressionist works originated mostly from the 1860s and 1870s; by the time Arnold acquired them, they were considered to be the more ‘acceptable’ works of the new movement.

As Arnold was nearing fifty when he began to collect modernist art, it was forgivable that he did not show a preference for more avant-garde and adventurous works.\(^{651}\) Indeed, his art collection was dominated by landscapes, garden scenes and figurative works of individuals and families engaged in bourgeois and mundane daily pursuits. Contemporary German scholar Dorrmann argues that images of ‘la vie moderne’ were absent from his collection.\(^{652}\) However, I suggest that the representations of leisure time in the countryside, parks and gardens are indeed identifiable as ‘paintings of modern life.’

Indeed, for the new Jewish bourgeoisie such experiences were new and meaningful, as they reflected their social and cultural reality as well as aspirations, both in terms of what they depicted – countryhouses and leisure time at the seaside – and as symbols of their success in a modern economy and in a changing society. What was often missing were scenes of the industrial aspects of modern life in the restructured inner city of Paris and its environment, which indeed did not seem to be to Arnold’s taste.

Nonetheless, Arnold was unique in combining in his art collection, the old and the new, German and French art, almost in equal measure. Arnold hung German and French artists side by side; such as Böcklin with Manet, and Monet with Uhde, a policy that invited not

\(^{651}\) Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 38.

only art-historical but also cultural-political interpretations. In his ‘Rote Saal’ he hung
Lenbach portraits of Bismarck and Wilhelm I, separated by Böcklin’s Prometheus.
According to Dorrmann, this amounted to a political declaration in support of the
Kaiserreich. But opposite the portrait of Wilhelm II, he also hung works by Monet and
Manet, the ‘art of the arch-enemy’, art of the French nation. Furthermore, all these works
hung in the same room as Max Liebermann, an unconventional artist and president of the
breakaway Berlin Secession as well as a fellow Jew.
This hanging policy suggests that Arnold believed that all art was equally valid and worth
collecting. Was it a possible Versöhnungsangebot? Indeed, it was a public statement –
even a political one – in favour of cosmopolitanism and against nationalism. He wanted
to share his passion for art and his belief that French and German art could co-exist. In
addition, he wanted such art to serve as a backdrop for his social life of regular parties
and receptions for friends and family, diplomats, ministers and politicians. His collection
was open to the public, a gesture which was not always the case with other important
private collections. Indeed, it was said that Arnold did not model his art collection on a
museum, but rather the other way round, since many museum directors were inspired by
his collection and hanging arrangements, thus Arnold was often seen as the model for
collectors and museum directors, art historians and dealers interested in creating an
atmosphere of reconciliation.

Besides buying thirteen works from the Kunstsalon Cassirer, Arnold often bought art
works at auctions, such as on the occasion of the sale of the Pellerin and Faure

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653 Ibid., p. 33.
654 Ibid., p. 36.
655 Ibid., p. 32.
656 Waldmann, Der Sammler, p.39-40, where he explores the relationship between these individual parties.
Collections.\textsuperscript{657} Indeed, on these occasions collectors would bid for the same works and thus began to push up prices and strengthen the art market.\textsuperscript{658} As to the strongest influence on Arnold, Dorrmann suggests that Arnold – a neighbour of Cassirer since 1898 – trusted Cassirer’s judgement and was led by his advice rather than consulting Tschudi privately. This observation indicates that Arnold was not only one of the first but also one the best of Cassirer’s clients; their relationship was further strengthened by their shared social and Jewish circle.\textsuperscript{659}

\textbf{Dr. Franz and Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim}\textsuperscript{660}

Franz trained as a chemical engineer and became the founder-director of the Aktien-Gesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation (AGFA). He was a board member of the chemical giant I. G. Farben and treasurer and board member of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Chemie as well as the Dresdner Bank. In short, Oppenheim was rightly regarded as one of Germany’s leading industrialists, who won further renown as an important collector.

Franz and Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim were married sometime after 1905 and lived in Berlin. The Oppenheims displayed art at their Berlin home during the year and took their collection to the Wannsee residence during the summer months.

Franz and Margarete were known for their public patronage of many traditional cultural institutions. As Franz’s widow she continued his art projects, for example donating the statue \textit{Herkules mit Löwen} (1905) and \textit{King Heinrich of France} (1913) to the Abteilung der Bilderwerke christlicher Epochen. She gave the most important pieces of her


\textsuperscript{658} Dorrmann, “Unser Bedeutender”, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{659} Ibid, p. 28-9.
prestigious porcelain collection to the Kunstgewerbe department of the Schlossmuseum on a fifteen-year loan.

However, the Oppenheim art collection was considered outstanding for its patronage of modernist works. It notably incorporated major works by Cézanne, which they had bought mostly at the Kunsts salon Cassirer. At the time of her death in 1935, Margarete’s Cézanne collection – thirteen works in all – was the leading Cézanne collection in Germany, at a time when there were fifty-three Cézanne works in the entire country. In 1905 her artistic taste had been considered highly idiosyncratic, to the point that she was declared mad, an opinion revised some decades later when she attracted admiration and respect for her early determination to follow her own judgement. As Stefan Pucks has written:

[Margarete] ‘durfte’ von 1905 eine Sammlung moderner Kunst aufbauen; ...‘durfte,’ denn anfangs wurde Margarete Oppenheim deshalb für ‘verrückt’ erklärt; erst in den zwanziger Jahren verwandelte sich die Verachtung allmählich in Bewunderung für ihren Mut, so früh schon allein ihren Geschmack gefolgt zu haben.662

Indeed, Margarethe Oppenheim had been a significant and active partner in determining the contents of the Oppenheim’s art collection. At the time of Margarete Oppenheim’s death, besides works by Cézanne, the collection comprised works by Courbet, Manet, Degas and van Gogh and Oskar Kokoschka.

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663 My findings of the significance of the role of women in the creation of avant-garde French Impressionist collections is corroborated by the definitive study on the crucial role of women in Wilhelmine Jewish Germany, Marion A. Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
Privately, the Oppenheims displayed avant-garde taste despite public criticism. Like other German-Jewish collectors, their financial and social independence permitted them to disregard Wilhelmine art policies and collect French Impressionist and post-Impressionist works without worrying about repercussions to their professional and personal lives.

Marzell von Némes

Marzell von Némes, the third member in this category, was originally from Budapest, but also spent considerable time in Munich. Little is known about Némes's Jewish background or indeed his private life. He made his fortune as a coal merchant, but soon became a prosperous industrialist on an international scale and was ennobled in Germany. He retained his Magyar name of Némes, which he adapted from his original name of Moses Klein. He was a Hungarian-born Jew who became a leading industrial figure in Wilhelmine Germany, where his public art patronage corresponded to other German Jewish collectors and their public patronage. By 1913 he was a significant art patron in both Hungary and Germany. Indeed, Budapest had displayed an active role in the collecting of French Impressionism before 1918, Paul Cassirer having acquired several clients in the Austro-Hungarian metropolis.

Némes's taste in art was highly eclectic. Parts of his collection were exhibited in 1911 for six months at the Pinakothek in Munich, Tschudi writing the catalogue introduction.

The Némes collection included works by the Italian Masters, Fra Angelico, Bellini,

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664 Marzell von Némes (1866-1939).
666 In the 1930s part of this art collection was auctioned at Frederic Muller, Amsterdam, 1913 and 1928. Another auction of his collection was at held at Hugo Helbing and Paul Cassirer and Mensing & Sohn in 1931.
Titian, Tintoretto, Tiepolo and Guardi, and he owned twelve works by El Greco. He also collected Dutch Masters: Rubens, Rembrandt and Hals. His German art collection included Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach, and his French collection held works by Manet and Degas. Némes was accused of acting like a dealer because he bought and sold works regularly and probably made a profit in the process, which was always suspicious. However, it must be remembered that all “true collectors” updated their collections. Emil Waldmann defended Némes’ actions as being typical of all private collectors since they had the freedom to experiment and improve their collection. Furthermore, Waldmann argued, they were not responsible to anyone but themselves.667

Dr. Hugo and Lotte Cassirer-Fürstenberg (widowed Fürstenberg, née Jacobi) 668

The fourth art collection in this category was owned by the Hugo and Lotte Cassirer, Hugo being one of Paul Cassirer’s brothers.

Hugo had studied chemistry at the Berlin University and after obtaining his doctorate he was apprenticed to his uncle, Otto Bondy, at his electrical cable firm in Vienna; subsequently, he gained experience in the rubber industry in the UK. He became the co-founder – in conjunction with his father Louis and his uncle Julius – of Dr. Cassirer & Co. Kabelwerke (March 1896) which they established in Berlin, where the Cassirer family had recently settled.669

667 Waldmann, Der Sammler, p. 40-42.
668 Dr. Hugo Cassirer (1869-1920) Lotte Cassirer-Furstenberg (dates unknown).
669 Dr. Cassirer & Co. Kabelwerke was founded in March 1896 and was located at Berlin Prenzlauer Berg, Schonhauser Alle 62. The firm exported electric and rubber products to England, Holland, Norway, Russia, Egypt, and further afield to Africa, Australia, India and South America. Ultimately the firm developed into the leading cable manufacturers in the Empire. See Georg Brühl, Die Cassirers (1991), p. 36.
Hugo married Lotte Jacobi-Fürstenberg, who developed into a glamorous society hostess, enjoying the reputation of an *enfant terrible* within the extensive Cassirer clan.\textsuperscript{670} Little is known about the Cassirers’ public patronage; their private collection was built in a strong partnership between husband and wife. Their German and French art collection was substantial, possibly due in part, to the fact that Hugo was the elder brother of Paul Cassirer, but they did not start collecting French works until relatively late, in 1908. Despite this, the collection grew to a substantial size and consisted of approximately fifty art works, mostly bought at the Kunstsalon Cassirer.\textsuperscript{671} As to the relationship between the brothers, it was said that the Cassirer clan was a very tightly knit family. Paul Cassirer’s three brothers were particularly supportive of the Kunstsalon during the war years 1914-1918, when Paul was mostly absent from his gallery (See Epilogue):

\begin{quote}
Die Verwandtschaft Paul Cassirers, so das Fazit, sorgt für Umsatz, bildet einen festen Abnehmerstamm. Ob Hugo Cassirer, der in Kriegsjahren nahezu monatlich als Kunde in der Galerie auftrat, dadurch den Fortbestand der Kunsthandelung weitgehend ermöglichte, wird noch Gegenstand weiterer Untersuchungen sein müssen. Erste Preisvergleiche ergeben, dass Paul Cassirer seinen Brüdern keineswegs Nachlaß gewährte; für Abgüsse des kleinen Eselreiter von August Gaul zahlten sowohl Hugo Cassirer wie auch Eduard Arnold beispielsweise jeweils 400 Mark.\textsuperscript{672}
\end{quote}

Their extensive German art collection comprised works by Max Liebermann, Ernst Barlach, Robert Breyer, Theo von Brockhusen, August Gaul, Olaf Gulbrandsson, Thomas Theodor Heine, Ulrich Hubner, Konrad von Kardorff, Walter Leistikow, George Mosson, Friedrich Orse and Max Slevogt. Their French Impressionist collection included Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Manet and Cézanne.

\textsuperscript{670} The marriage produced Stefan Walter, who relocated to Copenhagen and became an art dealer, and Dr. Reinhold Hans, who moved to Johannesburg in South Africa, and married Nadine Gordimer. The latter’s son was named Hugo, and he became a documentary film producer.
In summary, it can be said that, given Hugo’s early years of apprenticeship in Vienna and the UK, as well as the family export business worldwide, it seems natural to assume that Hugo Cassirer was open-minded towards other cultures and foreign art. In addition, he was probably strongly influenced by Paul, his brother’s art gallery and by his cousin Bruno’s journal *Kunst und Künstler*. The Cassirers collected both French and German art, a combination that they did not consider a conflict. It is important to stress Lotte’s active involvement in the building of their art collection, a pattern seen repeatedly in Jewish circles.

**Alfred and Hanna Cassirer**\(^{672}\) (née Sotschek)

The fifth member in this category was Alfred Cassirer, the younger brother of Paul Cassirer. Alfred was as a trained engineer and joined the family firm of electrical and rubber cables, Dr. Cassirer & Co. Alfred married Hanna Sotschek and the couple settled in Berlin, Charlottenburg. Their home displayed 18th-century French furniture, German and East Asian ceramics and oriental rugs, an interior typical of the sophisticated haute-bourgeoisie.

The Cassirers owned a significant Oriental rug collection, part of which they loaned during Alfred’s lifetime to the Islamische Museum.\(^{674}\) The couple’s art collection included German Masters such as Albrecht Dürer; however the emphasis was on contemporary art, with a particular liking for Secession artists August Gaul, Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt. The collection included works by Wilhelm Leibl, Karl Blechen, Ernst Barlach,

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\(^{671}\) An extensive treatment of this collection, see Brühl, *Die Cassirers*, and Stefan Pucks, 'Von Manet zu Matisse' in *Kampf um die Moderne*.

\(^{672}\) Business Account Books, May 1915; also cited by Stefan Pucks, p. 387.

\(^{673}\) Alfred Cassirer (1875-1932) Hanna Cassirer, née Sotschek. (no dates)

The couple also owned a substantial French collection, which included Constatin Guys and Gustave Courbet as well as some of the most significant artists of the new Impressionist and post-Impressionist movement, such as Manet, Pissarro, Degas, Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Signac, van Gogh and Cézanne. Like other German Jewish art collectors the focus was on contemporary artists, and one can assume that they knew many German artists personally. Judging by the above citation, the couple probably bought most of their art works from the Kunsthall Cassirer, particularly during the war years. This was particularly true for their French art, as there is no record of any personal visits to Paris or connections to Parisian art dealers. Thus Alfred and Hanna Cassirer were publicly traditional patrons, but privately preferred German and French modernists, with a strong commitment to local Secession artists and their brother Paul and probably to Bruno's projects as well.

Robert and Martha von Hirsch (née Dreyfus-Koch) 675

The sixth and last member of this group was Robert von Hirsch in Frankfurt am Main. He entered the leather firm of his uncle, which he expanded to international fame, and in 1913 he was ennobled after the Grand Duke of Hesse visited his factory in Offenbach. Robert married Martha Dreyfus-Koch, a sculptress and daughter of the Frankfurt jeweller Louis Koch. His wife became an active partner in building their art collection. Besides

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674 See details in Appendix A) 4.

being a sculptor, Martha Dreyfus-Koch was a renowned horticulturist, having created a significant botanical garden in Frankfurt which harboured rare trees, shrubs and alpine flora. The Hirschs were great travellers who made annual visits to Paris and London. The Hirschs lived in Frankfurt am Main when they began to collect art and build an outstanding art reference library. At the beginning of Nazi rule, they were able to take a large part of their collection to Basel where they settled. Both their German and Swiss homes were focal points for artists, museum directors and art historians. The Hirschs were renowned for their hospitality and their luncheon parties were famous.\(^6\) 

In 1905, Hirsch met the newly appointed director of the Städelische Kunstinstitut, Georg Swarzenski and they began travelling together, thus Hirsch gained knowledge about the art world. Indeed, it was under Swarzenski’s guidance that Hirsch began to buy his first works of art. The first purchase was Toulouse-Lautrec’s *La Rousée au Caraco Blanc*, which Hirsch bought via the Paris dealers Bemheim-Jeune in 1907. That same year he purchased Pablo Picasso’s *Scene de Rue* from the Frankfurt dealer-gallerist, Ludwig Schames.\(^7\) (Coincidentally both art galleries were owned by Jews. On the one hand, it is feasible that group solidarity and trust may have been a contributory factor for buying from them, on the other hand, it could be argued that Jewish art dealers were indeed at the forefront of modernist art). In the 1920s and early 1930s, Hirsch built his unrivalled collection of medieval and renaissance art, which he acquired from the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Collection, the Guelph Treasures and the Hermitage sales.

In 1930 Hirsch was made administrator of the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main. Despite his numerous social and cultural positions in the city, Hirsch was disturbed

\(^6\) After the couple's wedding, the Hirsch collection of a Meissen dinner service was replaced by the *faïence* collection of the Koch family and a modern dinner service by Lurcat.
by the change in the political climate. He had enough foresight to apply for exit visas as early as January 1933, when he planned to emigrate with his family and his art collection to Basel. His application was granted on condition that Hirsch donate Cranach’s *Judgement of Paris* to the German Nation.\(^6^7^8\)

Once settled in Basel, his significance as an art patron was honoured when he was appointed an executive member of the board of the Kunstmuseum Basel, an institution to which he often loaned art from his vast private collection. Besides his collector’s eye for most French modernist works, he had a particular passion for Cézanne. Indeed, he had an entire wall covered with drawings exclusively by Cézanne. His other treasures included ivories, medieval medal enamels, early Italian and German paintings, Renaissance bronzes, Dutch, German and Italian drawings, paintings and furniture of the 18\(^{th}\)-century.

In conclusion, Hirsch’s French modernist art collection is difficult to place within this thesis as he started to buy art as early as 1905 and continued until his death in 1977.

Hirsch was of a later generation than the majority of collectors in this study. Nonetheless, he deserves inclusion in the list of great collectors, because he began collecting modernist art before 1914. Which pieces were bought where and when is difficult to establish, despite the Sotheby’s sales catalogue of the Robert von Hirsch auction held in London in 1978, as the catalogue does not always give the provenance of each work.\(^6^7^9\) The auctioned works included Ingres, Géricault, Delacroix, Corot, Daumier, Chavannes,

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\(^6^7^7\) Sotheby's Catalogue, pp. 47, 65.

\(^6^7^8\) This work was returned to Hirsch after 1945 and he subsequently bequeathed it to the Kunstmuseum Basel. This exchange of art for an immigration visa was one of the benefits of art ownership for Jews during the National Socialist period. Moreover, one could suggest that art thus served as a bargaining point at a time of life and death. Had Hirsch not accepted the conditions imposed on him by the German state, he may not have had another chance to save his family before the deportations to the concentration camps.

\(^6^7^9\) The Robert von Hirsch Collection, Auction Catalogue, four volumes; Auction held by Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. New Bond Street London, W1. Monday, 26 June 1978 (paintings and sculptures) and Tuesday, 27 June 1978 (drawings and watercolours).

680 Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. on 16 and 27 June 1978 in London, see catalogue Volume Four. A great proportion of the items consisted of drawings and watercolours.
WRITERS AND PUBLISHERS

The third group was represented by seven collections. They constitute the second largest group under consideration in this thesis. Among them were collections built by the art historian Julius Elias and his wife Julie; the art dealer Paul Cassirer and his actress wife, Tilla Durieux; the literary publisher Bruno Cassirer; the medical doctor-cum art historian, Kurt Glaser, and his wife Elsa; the Impressionist artist and Berlin Secession president, Max Liebermann; the art writer, critic and occasional dealer Emil Heilbut. In fact, the only collector who was not professionally involved with art was the author and playwright, Carl Sternheim and his wife Thea Lowenstein. All these collectors lived in Berlin, although the Sternheims were peripatetic.

Julius and Julie Elias.\(^6\)\(^8\)\(^1\)

Julius Elias was trained as a Germanist and art historian, and held the post of a lecturer in art history at the Berlin Technische Hochschule in Charlottenburg. Elias was also a translator for Bjornsons and Ibsen and became responsible for the latter’s reputation in Germany. Julius’s wife Julie was a popular fashion and cookery writer for women’s magazines and also wrote cookery books. Their home was a meeting place for Berlin’s artistic and intellectual circles and their art collection was displayed in their study. The Eliases were close friends of Tilla Durieux and Paul Cassirer.\(^6\)\(^8\)\(^2\) In 1890 Julius Elias had moved to Paris, where he met Monet, Pissarro and Cézanne and started to collect their

\(^{681}\) Julius Elias (1861-1827). Julie Elias ( no dates known)
After returning to Berlin in 1892, Elias organised the second French Impressionist exhibition to be seen in the German metropolis. It was held at the Hotel Kaiserhof and showed works loaned by Paul Durand-Ruel. Elias was thus one of the first public and private proactive supporters of French Impressionism in Germany. (The first exhibition was in 1883 and mainly showed Bernstein’s private collection in conjunction with works on loan from Durand-Ruel, who later held French Impressionist exhibitions in Berlin at various venues until 1895.)

The Eliases’ private art collection comprised works by German and Scandinavian artists, Kollwitz, Ury, Van Dongens, Munch and Liebermann and French Impressionists Manet, Monet, Sisley, Pissarro and Cézanne. Nothing is known about their public patronage; it must be assumed that their financial position was more restricted that of some of the wealthier collectors, and therefore their public patronage may not have been financially feasible.

It is interesting to note that Julie Elias had an independent journalistic and writing career, which was unusual during this period, although a significant number of women among these collectors seem to have had independent interests, some even pursued independent careers; as already mentioned, they often played an active role in the shaping of the art collections. Whether Julie was an active partner in the building of the Elias collections is unknown, but it is likely that it was her art-historian husband who was shaping the taste of their collection. Julius Elias early interest in French modernist art was in due course taken up by the younger Paul Cassirer commercially. The two men remained friends.

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683 Pucks, p. 386.
684 Elias was to write about art dealer Durand-Ruel in Kunst und Künstler in 1911/12, see Julius Elias, ‘Paul Durand-Ruel aus dem Leben eines modernen Kunsthändlers’, in Gunter Feist (ed.). Kunst und Künstler.
although both built art careers in different directions. This is another example where German Jewish patrons’ professional and social lives overlapped.

**Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux**

The second collecting couple in this category is Paul Cassirer and his second wife Tilla Durieux. Paul Cassirer and his cousin Bruno Cassirer had established their art gallery near his home at Victoriastrasse 35 in 1898, hoping that the closeness of potential clients might be favourable to the new venture. He later purchased the Victoriastrasse building in 1910, the year he married Tilla Durieux, and the couple undertook renovations to the house. Although the renovations incorporated modernist features, the Cassirers also owned some traditional pieces, such as mahogany chairs from Holland and an Italian renaissance walnut cabinet. Many paintings from their valuable French Impressionist private collection were displayed in the light-green walled dining room designed by Karl Walser. Thus the Cassirers’ professional, social and private lives were closely interwoven; the couple entertained the avant-garde élite from the world of art, theatre and literature, press and publishing.

The art collection built by Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux held the best works by German and French artists. As with all art dealers, Paul Cassirer often sold from his private collection and replaced old works for new ones. The Cassirers’ German art collection included numerous works by Cranach, Liebermann, Barlach, Gaul, Orlik, Kokoschka, Corinth and Kollwitz. As to the French modernists, by 1914, they owned works by Courbet, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Cézanne and works by Renoir, the artist

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Aus 32 Jahrgangen einer Zeitschrift. (Mainz 1972). This is a facsimile of the entire publication of Kunst und Künstler.

685 Paul Cassirer (1871-1926) and Tilla Durieux (1880-1971) née Ottilie Godefroy, divorced Spiro.

whom they commissioned in the summer of 1914 to execute a portrait of Tilla Durieux (Plate 1). One must note that despite Cassirer's unconventional - relatively speaking - professional and private life, Paul was strongly supported by various members of his more conservative family in particular and by the German Jewish bourgeoisie in general. Paul Cassirer became a role model not only as a cultural modernist, as an art dealer and private collector in his own right, but was admired for his ideological commitment for modernism, both ideologically and aesthetically. Furthermore, he was instrumental in influencing members of his family to buy art. For example, he persuaded his first wife's mother, Ida Oberwart, to buy a work by Renoir, which eventually helped her to establish a new life in London, after she had taken refuge in England when the National Socialist regime came to power in the early 1930s.687

Paul Cassirer's controversial and avant-garde role as a modernist art dealer-collector-patron was indicative of a liberal Wilhelmine Zeitgeist that was particularly pronounced amongst small German Jewish élite. Paul Cassirer's success can be attributed in part to the trust and solidarity shown by his liberal Jewish peers. Moreover, Paul Cassirer was crucial in the leadership of this avant-garde circle of collectors and indeed introduced modernist art as a tool in the construction of cultural and secular identities. However, it must be stressed that it is doubtful whether this was perceived as a conscious act either by Paul Cassirer or his client-patrons.

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687 This Renoir painting – details of title unknown – was smuggled out of Germany when Ida Oberwart fled to London. Here she sold it and the proceeds went towards the purchase of a property in Swiss Cottage, North London, where she established a Bed & Breakfast 'Pension', which became her main source of income. For details see Interview with Paul Cassirer's grand-daughter Renate Morrison in Appendix B) 3.
Bruno and Else Cassirer.\textsuperscript{688} (née Louis Cassirer)

The third collection in this category was built by Bruno Cassirer and Else Cassirer. The Bruno Cassirers lived in Berlin-Charlottenburg, Carmenstrasse 18 and, after 1914, at Branitzerplatz 1. Bruno had studied art history in Berlin and Munich before settling in Berlin, where he became involved with the newly founded PAN Genossenschaft in 1895, an association co-founded by Julius Meier-Graefe. In 1898 he established with his cousin Paul a joint publishing house and art gallery, and in 1901, when the cousins split, Bruno Cassirer built the Bruno Cassirer Verlag (1901-1938), a publishing firm with a list in art and literature. Bruno also founded the art journal \textit{Kunst und Künstler} (1901-1932), which became the foremost German art journal supporting modern art and contemporary discourse. His publishing house often issued writers' and composers' monographs with illustrations by artists such as Slevogt, Walser and Liebermann.\textsuperscript{689} Bruno Cassirer's words, 'Ich habe keine Tradition, also bin ich durch und durch modern', are a testament to his acute self-perception, and clearly expressed his modernist role and aspirations.\textsuperscript{690}

In 1898 – the year that he and Paul set up business together – Bruno married Else, Paul Cassirer's only sister, who became an editor of the popular \textit{Künstlerbriefe aus dem Neunzehnten Jahrhundert}, issued by her husband's publishing house.\textsuperscript{691} The Bruno Cassirer home was interior designed by van der Velde and Karl Walser, who had one room painted in canary yellow and another in forget-me-not blue. Although modern in ambience in many respects, the home also included English antiques, Sheraton and Adams style furniture, Japanese silks, Persian bowls and eastern ceramics and bronzes.

\textsuperscript{688} Bruno Cassirer (1872-1941) Else Cassirer, nee Louis Cassirer (no dates known)
\textsuperscript{689} K. Scheffler, \textit{Die impressionistische Buchillustration in Deutschland} (Berliner Bibliophilen-Abend, Berlin 1931).
\textsuperscript{690} Brühl, \textit{Die Cassirers}, p. 216.
These were not displayed in a showcase, but dotted around the house as objects to be touched and if possible to be used.\textsuperscript{692}

Music was an important part of their cultural lives as all family members played instruments. Sunday afternoon chamber music concerts were regular events.\textsuperscript{693}

Bruno Cassirer owned Germany’s leading equine estate, Mariendorf (which he had bought from the bankrupt Berliner Traper-Klub in 1913) and two stud farms, Lindenhof and Templin in the Untermark. The race course and Bruno Cassirer’s racing stable became the most significant in Germany’s Trabrennsport. From 1918, he was President of the Obersten Behörde für Traber-Zucht und Rennen and the Deutschen Traberzüchtervereins. Thus Bruno Cassirer was unusual in his interests and leisure pursuits, since members of the German Jewish haute-bourgeoisie were not generally known for their interest in horses and horse racing. (Eduard Arnold was the only other art patron who owned a Rittergut). Although this information implies that such pursuits were contingent on considerable prosperity, I suggest that many of the other collectors could also have afforded such pursuits but chose not to, thus indicating that German Jewish upper-class interests were clearly delineated. Indeed, it has often been speculated that Jews tended to have interests that were easily moveable - such as jewellery, china and art - rather than opting for territory based acquisitions, although the exceptions only proved the rule, as in the case of Bruno Cassirer.\textsuperscript{694} However, horses were only additional interests in his general cultural pursuits. Indeed, when the Bruno Cassirer and his family were forced to flee Germany in 1938, it was the art collection primarily which they were

\textsuperscript{691} Ibid., p. 219. See Interview with Dorothea and Michael Kaufmann, Appendix B 1 and 2.
\textsuperscript{692} Brühl, Die Cassirers, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{693} See Interview with Bruno Cassirer’s grand-daughter Dorothea and her husband Michael Kauffmann in Appendix B1 and 2.
able to take into exile with the help of Walter Feilchenfeldt, a family friend and later partner in the Paul Cassirer's Kunstsalon.\textsuperscript{695} (In England, Bruno Cassirer confessed that he had been 'transplanted' too late in life and missed his roots and environment; see also Interview with his grand-daughter in Appendix B).

Bruno Cassirer was a well known art patron, as he regularly lent art works to the Nationalgalerie Berlin from his private collection such as Karl Friedrich Schinkel's \textit{Der Morgen} in 1911.\textsuperscript{696} Bruno's contemporary art collection included work by the German artists, Menzel, Leibl, Stuck, Liebermann, Slevogt, Corinth, Leistikow, Walser and Blechen and the Scandinavian artist, Munch. His French art collection included all the major figures of the Impressionist movement, such as Manet, Sisley, Pissarro, Monet and numerous works by Cézanne.

In summary, Bruno was a member of an extended and intermarried family clan, one with strong feelings of peer and ethnic solidarity amongst its own circle. On the other hand, Bruno himself had a strong sense of independence in business ventures, in his social life and the pursuit of his personal passion for horses. Furthermore, like many other Jewish collectors from the haute-bourgeoisie, he projected an individualistic avant-garde taste in art and literature, but at the same time he also owned traditional art and furniture. Indeed, his interests were not dissimilar in some respects to upper-class Germans; however, he also relied on his own judgement and could afford to do so financially, a characteristic true for most entrepreneur modernist art collectors.

\textsuperscript{694} See the case of Ida Oberwart and the Renoir painting which became a life saver. Also see the Hirsch exchange with the German government as a guarantee for exit visas.

\textsuperscript{695} See Interview in Appendix B) 1 and 2.

Prof. Dr. Kurt and Elsa Glaser

The fourth collection in this category was built by Professor Dr. Kurt Glaser and his wife Elsa, when the couple had settled in Berlin. Elsa was born into a Jewish family and married Kurt Glaser, who apparently converted to Judaism in 1914 at her request. Elsa played an important part in the building of the art collection. Indeed, it was her father – Hugo Kolker, a chemical industrialist and consul in Breslau – whose financial support enabled the Glasers to start their art collecting. Kurt Glaser trained as a medical doctor in Freiburg in the Breisgau and later Munich, but subsequently qualified as an art historian in Berlin in 1902. He first obtained a post at Berlin’s Königliche Kupferstichkabinett and was later appointed director at the Staatliche Kunstabibliothek.

The Glasers were not known for their public patronage, which may be due to their financial position: Kurt Glaser was after all, a civil servant and thus had a limited income. Guests at the Glasers’ weekly Salon included museum curators and art critics, writers and artists. The Glasers were not only avant-garde art collectors; they also collected East Asian and Baroque art, a pattern similar to that of other important patrons such as Eduard Arnold, Bruno Cassirer and Carl Bernstein. However, Kurt Glaser had a passion for the controversial Scandinavian artist Edvard Munch, and the couple owned some thirteen canvases by him; by the 1920s the Glasers possessed the largest Munch collection in Germany. Indeed, Kurt Glaser wrote Munch’s first biography, with the first of several editions published by Bruno Cassirer in 1917.

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697 Kurt Glaser (1879-1943) Elsa Glaser (née Kolker) (no dates known)
698 The Kolkers were related to Hugo Perls, another collector.
The Glasers' German contemporary art collection included Lovis Corinth and Max Beckmann, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Erich Heckel. Their French art collection included Pablo Picasso and two works by van Gogh. Glaser commissioned a portrait of his wife Elsa Glaser by Matisse. In contrast, it is interesting to record here that whereas Paul Cassirer had commissioned Renoir to paint Tilla Durieux in 1914, Glaser commissioned Matisse for the portrait of his wife. Such a choice of artist illustrates that Glasers' were truly avant-garde, with Elsa Glaser taking a significant role in the collections's trend.

The Glaser's case history is slightly unusual on several grounds. First, the art collection – at least in its early days – was financed by Kurt Glaser's Jewish father-in-law, Hugo Kolker. This fact meant that Glaser himself was unable to afford buying art with his own income. Second, Glaser converted to Judaism, meaning that if it were not for his Jewish wife and father-in-law, he might not have been part of this thesis on German Jewish collectors. However, it is striking to note that by entering the avant-garde world, he came to be associated with certain Jewish circles; by joining one world, Glaser was acculturated into the world of the 'others'. However, the Glasers French collection centred on post-Impressionist artists Matisse, van Gogh and even Picasso and in the German collection on the Brücke artists, who on the whole were not collected by Wilhelmine Jews, although there were some notable exceptions such as Dr. Rosa Schapire, the Delbancos and Ida Dehmel, patrons who started their collections of Brücke art in Hamburg from 1908.

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700 Kurt Glaser sold Van Gogh's *La Route* because Hans Purrmann declared it a fake. However, this opinion was later revised in the van Gogh Catalogue Raisonné by Jacob Baart de la Faille in 1928.
701 See Maike Bruhns, 'Rosa Schapira und der Frauenbund zur Förderung deutscher bildenden Kunst'.
A further exception was the important collection of Ludwig and Rosy Fischer of Frankfurt am Main.  

The Glaser case illustrates again that German Expressionist art was preferred by German collectors whereas Wilhelmine Jews displayed an early preference for French Impressionism and post-Impressionism, which was certainly true before 1914. Indeed, there was a different ideology and ethos to both movements: from the mid-1860's to the closing of the 19th century, French modernist art stood for a hopeful vision, normality and universality of the growing bourgeoisie, whereas German Expressionism was united—although they lacked stylistic cohesion—by their rejection of Impressionism and guided by the search for an inner, essential reality behind the external world of appearances.

Furthermore, Expressionism often represented an apocalyptic vision of a collapsing world. It seems easy to understand that French Impressionist iconography had a great appeal to a Jewish circle which considered freedom and liberty as aspirations they longed to see fulfilled, as opposed to a doom-laden vision of a collapsing Europe, possibly as a reaction to the changing modernist world and the tragic years of the First World War.  

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pp. 269-282 in Henrike Jung, Avantgarde und Publikum. (Bohlau Verlag Köln, 1992). (I am indebted to Shulamith Behr for drawing my attention to the Delcanos and Ida Dehmemel as Expressionist collectors.) 


Alfred and Thekla Hess built their staggering collection of Expressionist works in Erfurt during the mid-First World War boom, a period outside the brief of this thesis which ends in 1914. However, see Mechthild Lucke, ‘Der Erfurter Sammler und Mäzen Alfred Hess’, pp. 149-156, in Henrike Junge, Avantgarde und Publikum, (Bohlau, 1992) also Shulamith Behr, Supporters and Collectors of Expressionism, pp. 45-58 in Exh. cat. German Expressionism (London, 1997) also T. Gaehtgens, ‘Vom Inhalt zur Form. Deutsche Sammler und Französische Moderne’, pp. 1-10 in Die Moderne und ihre Sammler (2001). 

Max Liebermann\textsuperscript{705}

The fifth collection in this category was that of the artist-collector Max Liebermann. This collection was arguably the most influential on the taste of his peers. Max Liebermann was the son of prosperous textile merchant-manufacturer Louis Liebermann and his wife Martha. He trained as a professional artist in Weimar, Munich and Paris; he also visited the Netherlands regularly. Liebermann settled permanently in Berlin in 1884 and inherited a substantial fortune after his father’s death in 1894. He also inherited the prestigious family domicile at Pariser Platz 7, abutting the Brandenburg Gate, where he lived with his family until the end of his life. The art collection was mainly hung in the music room of their Berlin home. For a period, the Liebermanns owned a summerhouse in Holland but after its sale, they acquired a country house at Wannsee, where so many of his Jewish peers owned a summer residence. Here Liebermann would paint many of his late works, often portraits of the German and German Jewish bourgeoisie. He was represented by the Kunstsalon Cassirer to whom he was deeply loyal, particularly during the war years of 1914-1918.

Liebermann’s artistic career underwent many stages, but from the 1880s onwards he was influenced by the leading French modernists. In this respect he differed from many other German artists of his time and this early advocacy of French Impressionism threw into relief his ‘othernesses’. Liebermann’s artistic, cultural and social position was always multi-layered, complicated and often controversial, despite his central role in the artistic life of the country. Indeed, his self-perception was coloured by his Prussian wit and acute insight into his own controversial status, best summarised with his \textit{bon mot}, ‘Ich war erstens Jude, zweitens reich und drittens hatte ich Talent’. \textsuperscript{706}

\textsuperscript{705} Max Liebermann (1847-1935)
As to Liebermann's public roles - despite his modernist agenda - he was a member of many Berlin institutions, such as the Berliner Akademie der Künste, the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum Verein and the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst. After an initial refusal by the state for him to accept France's first offer of the Légion d'Honneur, he was permitted to accept it in 1886 when it was offered to him a second time. With the establishment of the Berlin Secession in 1898, he was elected its President.

Liebermann was one of the first artist-patrons to appreciate modernism, both in a German and French context. Since his days as a student in Paris, Liebermann had admired the works of Manet and his own collection was to include sixteen to seventeen paintings, two oil sketches and one watercolour by the artist. Between 1903 and 1910, Max Liebermann bought fifteen modernist art works, mostly from Paul Cassirer's Kunstsalon and art dealer Hermann Pächtner. During the war years 1914-1918 Liebermann bought thirteen further works from the Cassirer gallery, thereby showing solidarity with his own dealer during Cassier's absence during the war.

Max Liebermann owned an extensive German art collection, which included works by Kruger, Menzel, Gaul, Blechen, Leibl, Steffeck and Zorn. Foreign artists in the collection were the Dutch Masters, Hals and Rembrandt, and the contemporary Dutch artist Josef.

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706 Max Liebermann und die französischen Impressionisten (Köln, Du Mont, 1997), p. 69 exh.cat. G.Tobias Natter and Julius H. Schoeps (eds.) Hereafter Liebermann und die Impressionisten.
707 In France, a comparable artist was Caillebotte, who like Liebermann, was the son of a wealthy textile manufacturer and inherited a fortune. (1874) However, there were major differences: Caillebotte owned many works by his fellow artists and bequeathed his major collection to the French State in 1894; it was refused and only accepted at the third attempt made by his descendants; today this collection forms part of the core of the Impressionist collection at the Musee d'Orsay in Paris. In France, comparable to Max Liebermann's influence on German collectors, Mary Cassatt, the American artist in Paris, often acted as a spokesperson for Manet, Degas and Renoir, whilst she also influenced American collectors, most notably the Havemeyers who built a renowned Collection. See Waldmann, Der Sammler, pp. 27-28.
708 When Liebermann completed the portrait of Carl Bernstein in 1892, Bernstein gave him a Manet painting as a gift and token of his appreciation. Some scholars give the number of Manet works in Liebermann's French art collection as high as seventeen. See Gutbrod, p. 91.
709 In contrast to Max Slevogt and Lovis Corinth, who were also Paul Cassirer artists; see V.Tafel, p. 40.
Israels, who was also a personal friend. Liebermann’s French art collection was one of the most comprehensive in Germany, including precursors of the Impressionists such as Corot, Courbet, Daubigny, Rousseau and Daumier. He started collecting French modernist art in 1892 - although he had visited Paris earlier - and the collection extended besides Manet, to Degas, Monet, Cézanne, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley, van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec.\textsuperscript{710}

In summary, one must stress that the position and status of Max Liebermann was more the exception than the rule among art collectors of French modernist art. He was an anomaly on so many levels: he was an artist himself; he had a private income and was a mediator between France and Germany and French and German art. Yet at the same time, he was the President of the break-away Berlin Secession. In short, he understood French modernism and represented it in Wilhelmine Germany, whilst also fighting for young and up coming German artists. Indeed, he was perceived as a leader of and for German artists and a model for contemporary patrons; he was considered a trendsetter, someone who influenced the judgement of collectors to an extent that was comparable to the ‘taste makers’ Paul Durand-Ruel and Paul Cassirer. In this high profile public role he was often the target for conservative German opposition as well as anti-Semitic attacks.

\textsuperscript{710} See the exh.cat. Max Liebermann und Impressionisten (1997).
Emil Heilbut.\textsuperscript{711}

The sixth collection in this category was built by Emil Heilbut, who originated from a Hamburg rabbinical family.\textsuperscript{712} There is no reliable information regarding his financial affairs, but after early attempts at painting, Emil Heilbut became an art historian, literary and art critic, art dealer and art collector of French Impressionism as early as 1885-9.\textsuperscript{713} Heilbut held a professorship of art history in Hamburg, and in 1889 he gave a highly regarded series of lectures on 19\textsuperscript{th}-century French art at the Grossherzogliche Sächsische Kunsthalle in Weimar. During his peripatetic life, Heilbut lived in Hamburg, Munich, and Paris and intermittently in Berlin and Montreux, where he died.

Heilbut’s uncle Ferdinand Heilbut had settled in Paris in the 1850s, where he had achieved some fame as an artist at the Salon.\textsuperscript{714} During Emil Heilbut’s visits to Paris, his uncle introduced him to art dealers Paul Durand-Ruel, Goupil-Boussod & Valadon and Ambroise Vollard, where Emil Heilbut bought his first works by Monet and Degas.

Heilbut’s early advocacy of French modernism, particularly of Monet, was significant on many levels, not least because it influenced German artists Christian Rohlfs, Ludwig von Gleichen-Russwurm and Theodor Hagen. Besides the Bernsteins, Heilbut was the earliest private collector and supportive critic of French Impressionism. German scholar Heinrik Ziegler regards Heilbut’s Weimar lectures in 1889 as significant \textit{Aufklärungsarbeit}.\textsuperscript{715}

\textsuperscript{711} Emil Heilbut (1861-1921), alias Herman[n] Helferich. For more information, see Hendrik Ziegler, \textit{Die Kunst der Weimarer Malerschule. Von der Pleinmalerei zum Impressionismus} (Originally Doctoral Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1999). Ziegler mentions that the name is sometimes written with one n, at other times with two.

\textsuperscript{712} See also Hendrik Ziegler, ‘Emil Heilbut, ein früher Apologet Claude Monets’, in Pophanken, \textit{Die Moderne} p. 50.

\textsuperscript{713} Emil Heilbut was often confused with Paul Heilbuth from Denmark; see Ziegler, ‘Emil Heilbut’, p. 59. Heilbut bought a Degas from Vollard in 1895, although the dealer bought it back seven days later: Ziegler, \textit{Die Kunst der Weimarer Malerschule} p. 49, Ziegler, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{714} Ferdinand Heilbut (1826-1889).

\textsuperscript{715} Ziegler, p. 47.
Heilbut’s private French art collection was built from 1889 to 1918 and included artists Monet, Manet, Degas and Cézanne.

As early as 1887, Heilbut published his first monograph on *Neue Kunst*, under the pseudonym Hermann Helferich. This monograph was in fact a compilation of his earlier art criticism, which had appeared in article form in the *Nation*.\(^{716}\) In 1891 he wrote for the illustrated catalogue for the art collection of the Hamburg banker Eduard Behrens, *Die Sammlung Behrens*.\(^{717}\) Heilbut regularly wrote for *Kunstwart, Kunst für Alle, Zukunft, Neue Deutsche Rundschau, Neue Rundschau* and *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, a journal founded by Otto Brahm.\(^{718}\) From 1902-1906 he was the first editor of *Kunst und Künstler*, the journal for which he wrote extensively about the Vienna Secession Exhibition in 1903.\(^{719}\) At first Heilbut had shared editorial responsibilities at *Kunst und Künstler* with Caesar Flaschlein, but after 1903 he was appointed sole editor.

In 1906 Heilbut was succeeded by Karl Scheffler, and his art criticism diminished in output and significance.

It was said that Heilbut perceived his French Impressionist private art collection – he often paid for art works in several stages for a lack of funds – as a mediating and educational tool, as he often sold works soon after they had fulfilled their pedagogic value. This is illustrated by three paintings by Monet that he bought and used to supplement his Weimar lecture visually.\(^{720}\) Hendrik Ziegler suggests that Heilbut bought

\(^{716}\) Hermann Helferich [Emil Heilbut], *Neue Kunst* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1887), cited by Ziegler, p. 58.

\(^{717}\) Emil Heilbut, *Die Sammlung Eduard L. Behrens zu Hamburg*, 2 vols. (München: 1891-1899). This was one of the most significant collections of Barbizon artists in Germany. Ziegler, p. 42.


\(^{720}\) Heilbut sold two works by Monet to Durand-Ruel, in 1897 and 1900 respectively; he sold a third to a Cologne private collector in 1899, Ziegler, p. 47.
these works to draw the attention of collectors and dealers to Monet’s work. At times, Heilbut bought works on behalf of collectors and only held them in his possession temporarily, as for example Manet’s *La Maitresse de Baudelaire*.

Between 1880 and 1897, Emil Heilbut functioned as an advisor to the collection of Erdwin and Antonie Amsinck in Hamburg, their collection consisted primarily of works by Rousseau, Millet, Corot, Courbet, Rossetti, Whistler and Böcklin. Until 1900 Heilbut was a strong supporter of German contemporary artists Böcklin, Uhde and Max Liebermann as well as of the emerging Symbolists artists and the British Pre-Raphaelites, writing about the British school, particularly Rossetti and Whistler. However, Heilbut was primarily a writer, supporter and dealer-collector of French Impressionism, rejecting the neo-Impressionism of Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, Maximilien Luce, Henri Edmond Cross, Theo van Rysselberghe and van de Velde.

Heilbut’s case is another example of German Jews collecting French Impressionism first and foremost rather than neo-Impressionism, which was favoured by the non-Jewish Harry Kessler and Kurt Glaser. Heilbuth is another example of a German Jewish patron who had personal connections to France and who brought his love for French modernism to Wilhelmine Germany before collectors started to buy such art locally at the Secession and the Kunstsalon Cassirer. In this respect he is comparable to trendsetters and tastemakers Max Liebermann and Julius Elias. He too used art as a tool and symbol of his new secular identity.

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721 See detailed research on this collection, Ziegler, p. 62.
Carl and Thea Sternheim (divorced Loewenstein, née Bauer)\textsuperscript{723}

The seventh collection in this category was built by Carl Sternheim in pro-active participation of his wife Thea. The Sternheims lived in Munich between 1907 and 1912 at the Villa Bellemaison, a house built in 1907/8 by Sternheim’s brother-in-law, the engineer and architect Gustav Hermann von Cube.\textsuperscript{724} The thirty-five-room villa was constructed in the style of Louis XVI; it was supposed to convey the relevance of past cultures for a contemporary avant-garde élite.\textsuperscript{725}

However, due to a financial crisis, their extravagant lifestyle was short lived as the Sternheims moved to La Hulpe near Brussels in 1912, where they continued entertaining the European avant-garde at their new Villa ‘Clairecolline’ until 1918. To pay for the renovation of this new home, they sold in 1914 one of the most precious art works from their collection, Vincent van Gogh’s \textit{L’Arlésienne}. During World War I they moved temporarily to the vicinity of Frankfurt am Main.\textsuperscript{726} After the war the Sternheims lived in Switzerland (1918-1921), Dresden (1921-1924) and later in Utwill on Lake Constance. They divorced in 1927; Carl moved to Brussels where he died in 1942, and Thea settled in Paris and then Basel, where she died in 1971.

Carl Sternheim originated from Leipzig banking and publishing family with close connections to other Jewish dynasties such as the Rothschilds and the Mendelssohns. Carl studied at universities in Leipzig, Göttingen, Freiburg and Munich. When he settled

\textsuperscript{723} Carl Sternheim (1878-1942) and Thea Sternheim (1883-1971), née Bauer, divorced Loewenstein.

\textsuperscript{724} The villa was located in Holliengelskrehuth, near Pullach, south of Munich. Carl’s father’s financial bankruptcy in 1912, which Thea’s fortune was supposed to mitigate, forced the sale of the Munich villa. Thereafter the young couple moved to Belgium, where they lived on and off until 1918. A large part of the art collection was auctioned in Amsterdam after WWI to ease their financial situation.

in Munich, he met the publisher Alfred Walter Heymel in 1908, and became an author for his *Insel Verlag*. In 1908, Sternheim and Franz Blei co-founded the Munich journal for fine arts, fiction and criticism entitled *Hyperion*, which ceased publication two years later, in 1910. Carl Sternheim was a playwright of grotesque expressionist and satirical works that openly caricatured Wilhelmine society and often caused scandals. The play *Nineteenhirteen* addressed the moral collapse of an ambitious bourgeoisie, a work that was accepted by Max Reinhardt for the Deutsches Theater but was not performed because of the outbreak of the war. It was only partially published in the war journal *Weisse Blätter*.

Thea Lowenstein was the daughter of a wealthy Rhineland industrialist, whose financial prosperity enabled the Sternheims to enjoy a lavish lifestyle, and allowed them to collect French Impressionist art. Although Carl Sternheim was a successful, albeit controversial, playwright, the finances for their art collection came mainly through Thea’s family fortune.

The Sternheims’ circle was the cosmopolitan world of writers, artists, musicians, politicians and art directors such as Harry Graf Kessler, Walter Rathenau, Carl Einstein, Franz Pfemfert, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Frank and Tilly Wedekind, Heinrich Mann, Julius Meir-Graefe, Max Reinhardt, Paul Cassirer, Tilla Durieux and Hugo von Tschudi.

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726 Pophanken, “Die Sammlung Carl und Thea Sternheim”, p. 257. See also remarks on the loan of some of the art collection to Frankfurt Exhibitions and storage of their collection at the Frankfurt Städelische Kunstinstitut in Chapter V.

727 Particularly controversial were the play *Kassette* (premiered in Munich 25 March 1912 and later produced at the Burgtheater in Vienna) and *Don Juan* (premiered Berlin’s Deutsches Theater, 13 September 1912). See Pophanken, *Die Moderne*, p. 254 and pp. 262-263.

728 The trilogy consisted of *Die Hose* (1911), *Der Snob* (1914) and *1913* (1915). These attracted great public attention and are still produced today. *Die Weisse Blätter* was a critical monthly, published by E. E. Schwabach and Rene Schickele in Leipzig.
Most of these individuals had personal connections with France. Indeed, the Sternheims often visited Paris where they bought art from dealers Bernheim-Jeune, Schuffenecker, Amboise Vollard and Durand-Ruel. Of course, like all German collectors, they also bought from Paul Cassirer in Berlin and Brakl and Thannhauser in Munich. The Sternheims’ collection included works by Boucher, Géricault, Greuze, Daumier, Goya and the modernists Renoir, Maurice Denis, van Gogh, Gauguin and Matisse. Like many serious art collectors, the Sternheims focused on one artist, in their case it was Vincent van Gogh. In some instances they bought these works directly from Johanna Cohen-van Gogh-Bonger in Amsterdam. By 1919, the Sternheim collection held thirteen paintings by van Gogh. This constituted the largest collection of the artist in Germany, except that held by Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux. Thea in particular had a fascination for van Gogh and was instrumental in building the collection, although her husband shared her interest, illustrated by the fact that Carl published an essay on van Gogh and Gauguin in 1924. The Sternheims’ interest in Gauguin was kindled by Düsseldorf art dealer Alfred Flechtheim and Frankfurt’s director and curator of the Städelische Kunstinstitut, Georg Swarzenski.

729 Pophanken, Die Moderne., p. 254.
730 Carl Sternheim, Gauguin and Van Gogh (Berlin 1924).
MINOR COLLECTORS

Besides the above twenty-two major collectors, there were also seventeen minor collections built by patrons of the German Jewish bourgeoisie. Hence we are considering a total of thirty-nine collections in all. However, with respect to minor collectors, this chapter evaluates them only very briefly, as their profile only confirms the overall finding of the German Jewish major collectors.\(^{731}\)

Before 1914, minor collectors consisted of the Berlin department store family, the Freudenbergs, including the father, Philipp, and two of his three sons who collected modernist art. Others were the brothers Dr. Julius Freudenberg and Hermann Freudenberg. The group extended to Dr. Erich Flersheim and the brothers Ernst and Martin Flörsheim, Siegfried and Lola Kramarsky, Rudolf and Anne-Marie Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Leopold Sonnemann, Walter Rathenau, Samuel Fischer, Walter Levinstein, Hugo Oppenheim, Max Emil Meierowski, Alfred Gold, Harry Fuld and Hugo and Käthe Perls.

Post-1914, the collectors of modernist art consisted of Max Silberberg, Leo Lewin, Ismar Littmann, Leo Smoshewer and Carl Sachs. In short, during the period 1898 until 1918, fifteen minor collections were built, and after World War I another five collections came into being.

\(^{731}\) The details of their biographies and data on their art collections can be found in Appendix A) 4, the available information being very uneven.
Conclusion

The analysis of this chapter yields some general comments: this group of German Jewish art collectors was part of the first generation of Jews whose legal equality was endorsed at the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. Indeed, it was this new status that allowed them to become art collectors officially and publicly and this accelerated their interest in art privately.732

The case studies of twenty-two major collectors of French modernist art in three categories such as bankers and leading industrialists, businessmen and the art and publishing world, have allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the German Jewish artistic and cultural commitment as well as a detailed profile of their civic and secular identities: the following breakdown of themes allows for a clearer analysis of the data:

Socio-Economic Factors

Towards the closing of the 20th-century, educational and economic factors drew many German Jews into urban centres, where the majority of modernist collectors were situated such as Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, where new ideas arrived first and were adopted faster than in the provinces. Furthermore, here, avant-garde trends were more easily tolerated than in smaller and more provincial towns.

In urban centres, small groups of Jews rose into the upper strata of the affluent new bourgeoisie. This was accelerated by access to higher education, the speedy process of industrialisation and new opportunities in business and free professions, where a small but high profile group achieved outstanding economic success. The groups’ international

732 German Jews had been art patrons and art collectors throughout the 19th-century, but their circle was much smaller and more restricted in its taste.
networks encouraged cultural autonomy that was reflected in various philanthropic and
cultural projects, some in keeping with and others outside the establishment. Most art
patrons travelled extensively, with many having professional or personal contacts abroad,
such as Italy, Belgium, France and Hungary. Many of the above factors led to greater
tolerance towards France, French culture and modernist art. Thus international
connections and economic and financial independence often resulted in personal and
cultural open-mindedness in many other areas of their lives (Bernsteins, Elias, Max
Liebermann, Némes, the Sternheims and the Mendelssohns as Consuls for various
Scandinavian countries).

The financial prosperity of some patrons encouraged the acquisition of contemporary art -
both German and French – even if in other cases their income was restricted; (Julius
Elias, Kurt Glaser and Emil Heilbut) however, a passion for modernist art often became a
priority amongst their other interests and expenditures. Most of these patrons were self-
made entrepreneurs who were pioneers in their professional lives and who sought to
translate their spirit of innovation into their artistic and cultural interests (Major collectors
such as Eduard Arnold and Marczell von Némes, Hugo Cassirer and Alfred Cassirer,
Robert von Hirsch, Franz Oppenheim; minor patrons such as Walter Rathenau, the
Freudenberg family and Samuel Fischer). Some patrons inherited family wealth and thus
enjoyed an independent income – sometimes only for a limited period - which permitted
them the collection of art (Max Liebermann, Martha Dreyfus-Koch, Elsa Glaser and Thea
Sternheim).

Professional achievement and financial position was often translated into individualism,
autonomy and a decisiveness that expressed itself in quick purchases of art works. These
decisions were carried out regardless of their investment value, which incorporated a risk they were willing to take. Moreover, purchasing modernist art was often accompanied by disregard for German traditional values, despite the fact that some patrons were leading personalities in their professional associations and held loyalties to the Kaiser and firm commitments to Imperial cultural and professional institutions; such contradictions in the lives of Wilhelmine art patrons were not uncommon.

Peer Pressure, Social Interactions and Gender.

Socially, Jewish art patrons tended to live near other Jews, many couples hosting a regular Salon for a select, small cosmopolitan circuit. Some of their homes were designed by leading contemporary designers. Thus social peer pressure and competition among this group for the acquisition of similar art works was not infrequent. Indeed, an element of competition amongst collectors was both a burden and a responsibility and a spur towards greater discrimination in taste and installation arrangements.

The profile of these collectors’ reveals a highly educated group of men and women; the latter often enjoying independent interests and at times even independent careers, repeatedly in avant-garde fields. A third of all modernist collections were built with the contribution of women partners, - in some cases with financial contribution (Julie Elias, Tilla Durieux, Malgonie Stern, Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim, Else Cassirer, Lotte Cassirer-Fürstenberg, Charlotte Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Elsa Glaser, Thea Sternheim, Käthe Perl and Anne-Marie Goldschmidt-Rothschild). Indeed, Impressionism could be interpreted not only as ‘the painting of modern life’, but also as the ‘iconography of the emerging modernist woman’, both evaluations probably equally unwelcome in
authoritarian Wilhelmine Germany. Furthermore, these case studies show that if women were financially independent, they responded to contemporary art, in this case, to both German and French art. Thus these women's financial emancipation conferred on them a certain amount of power and legitimacy - within their circles and beyond - which they had lacked in previous generations, a development that was most likely perceived to further undermine the authority of Imperial chauvinistic society.

Indeed, considering the above case studies of women as leading partners in the building of the art collections, it is surprising that the works by leading Impressionist women artists Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzales and Berthe Morisot were under represented in these collections, with the Bernsteins' collection being the most obvious exception.\(^\text{733}\)

**Practical Accessibility to Modernist Art and the Modernist Art Market.**

The chapter has indicated that collecting modernist art was a risk: nobody was able to predict which artist and which works would survive the vicissitudes of time. However, pr the process of supporting contemporary German and French art, German Jewish patrons helped to shape and build the strongest modernist art market in Europe before 1914, particularly for French Impressionism and post-Impressionism.

On a pragmatic level, several factors of access may have influenced collectors: first, the new European Secession movements of Brussels, Vienna, Munich and Berlin which fed their enthusiasm for new concepts, combined with the ability to view and buy such art.

Second, the prominence of Hugo von Tschudi at Berlin's Nationalgalerie and Georg

\(^{733}\) See Griselda Pollock and Linda Nochlin. There were some notable women collectors of French modernist art such as the American Gertrude Stein in Paris, Mrs. Potter Palmer in Chigaco, the Coen sisters in Baltimore, and the Davis sisters, Gwendoline (1882-1951) and Margaret (1884-1963) in Wales, who bequeathed their collections to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
Swarzenski at Frankfurt’s Städel Institute represented models to be emulated. (It is interesting to note that although there were minor liberal art centres across the German Reich, it is only Berlin and Frankfurt that became significant centres for private art collectors and patrons.) That said, it must be stressed that a few of the private collectors became role models for museum directors, rather than the other way around (Cassirer, Bernsteins, Arnold, Glasers). However, it is well to remember that individual patrons at times built their private collections as if they were public museum installations, both in terms of their comprehensive representation of artistic trends, and in the granting of access to the public. The latter being a new by-product of the history of art collecting; in fact, Paul Cassirer, critics and museum directors noted and welcomed these developments, which they termed ‘democratic’ (Eduard Arnold, the Sternheims). Third, museum directors, art writers, art historians and dealers were often consulted for professional advice and thus were a significant influence on private collectors. Lastly, a key factor in influencing private collectors was the access to modernist art galleries in major cities and smaller liberal German centres as well as touring exhibitions, which helped familiarise patrons with new trends.734

**Paul Cassirer as Leader and Focus of Group Solidarity.**

Paul Cassirer’s close relationship with his collector-patrons had a major impact on the taste of his generation. His clients evidently trusted his professional knowledge and appreciated his commitment as an ideological dealer and his public advocacy of French modernism. Most likely, patrons were aware of Cassirer’s knowledge of the Paris art
scene and thus came to accept Paris as the centre of the contemporary art world; by doing so, they made Berlin only second in importance to Paris.

Furthermore, Paul Cassirer’s public defence of modernist art in response to the Vinnen Manifesto (1911) may have strengthened his clients’ resolve to support him. In short, the group he helped to foster displayed solidarity on ideological grounds based on similar cultural values and aspirations. Indeed, German and German Jewish art and cultural élite sought out like-minded individuals in an atmosphere of solidarity, encouragement and support, a circle which bolstered their confidence against open criticism, even hostility. This was clearly expressed by the German Jewish banker Carl Fürstenberg’s observation:

Man kannte sich persönlich und bildete in gewissem Sinne eine grosse Familie (...) Ich will nicht behaupten, dass wir uns mit Gefühlen ungetübter Nächstenliebe gegenüberstanden. Aber die unausgesetzten und häufig intimen persönlichen Zusammenhänge schufen doch in manchen Grundfragen eine Kollegialität und sogar Solidarität, die viel Gutes gezeigt hat.

Moreover, peer pressure and competition in Jewish circles may also have played a significant role in the creation of modernist taste, as surprisingly many members of one family tended to collect the same artists; they influenced each other and exchanged information among their network. In the process, they gave legitimacy to art works and pushed the boundaries of the modernist art market, promoting the credibility of modernism, not only among interrelated families (Hugo Oppenheim being related to the Mendelssohns, Elsa Glaser being related to Hugo and Käthe Perl, Max Liebermann to

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735 There is an extensive literature of Jewish solidarity and self-defence towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, particularly during anti-Semitic waves, a period coinciding with attacks on Jews and French modernist art. However, Jewish solidarity could also be a contentious concept among Jewish contemporaries, see Karl Kraus’ writing in Die Fackel (November 1900).

736 Hans Fürstenberg, Erinnerungen (Wiesbaden 1965), p. 312. Kaplan suggests that this solidarity was caused by their minority status, and it also maximised economic and family contacts for professional and
Adolph Liebermann and the Liebermanns to Walter Levinstein and to Walter Rathenau and many Cassirers to each other), but also among extending European avant-garde circles (Mendelssohns, the Freudenbergs, the Liebermanns and the Cassirers).

Ideology and Modernist Art

A number of art patrons took their private collecting as seriously as they took their public role and civic responsibilities. Some patrons opened their private collections to the public. However, not all public patrons were private collectors and visa versa. The German Jewish attraction to French Impressionism on an ideological plane functioned on several levels: first, Jewish collectors were not tied to German traditional culture and folklore; thus they were eager for new ideas and concepts of aesthetic modernism. Second, the data has shown that patrons’ aspiration and cultural goals predisposed them for the content of the ‘paintings of modern life’, whether German or French, but particularly French art as it reflected political and cultural exclusivist ideas. (Furthermore, it must be assumed that the acceptance of new themes also made them more readily open to acceptance of new painterly techniques.) Indeed, the chapter has argued that on an ideological level, French Impressionism stood for enlightened European philosophies of inclusion and integration. Thus French modernist art emerged as the first iconography in the canon of western art which also included the representation of the life of the western secular Jew, an iconography of increasing liberty and greater equality with which Jewish sensibilities and values could identify.737

social reasons. Indeed, many successful companies were run as family concerns over several generations, see Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class, p.233.

This was the overall impression ideology, despite the misgivings of some artists such as Degas and Renoir (see Chapter 1).
Jewish women patrons were strongly involved in public cultural life as well as being proactive partners in the assembly of private modernist art collections. Indeed, it could be argued that their attraction to Impressionist iconography may have been due to its increasing representation of women within a modernist context, which indeed correlated to their progressive lives. In some cases, Jewish women’s financial independence offered them greater freedom from traditional roles and offered them greater social and professional opportunities, which empowered them in new and unforeseen ways. Indeed, many of the Impressionist images also included themes of women and children, particularly in the works by women artists such as Eva Gonzales, Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt which were crucial in the building of the iconographies of the feminine and the female. 738

Thus these various and complex ideological components were key elements in the ‘painting of modern life; it fact, in has been argued that Impressionism was the first western iconography that allowed Jewish artists to participate in western art, Pissarro and Liebermann being prime examples. 739

Thus French Impressionism was collected not only as ‘art for art’s sake’, but also for its ideological reasons; it stood for German Jewish aspirations and visual wish-fulfilment; as to their committed collecting, their behaviour helped to shape the universal modernist spirit that established Berlin as a major art centre before 1914.


739 See Katzelson.
CHAPTER V

GERMAN JEWISH MODERNIST ART BENEFACTORS

to

NATIONALGALERIE BERLIN,

NEUE PINAKOTHEK MÜNCHEN,

STÄDELSCHE KUNSTINSTITUT, FRANKFURT AM MAIN
Introduction

This chapter aims to explore two aspects of the contribution of Jewish benefactors to three Wilhelmine art institutions: on the one hand it seeks to identify which Jewish patrons donated which art and how this was achieved, whilst also examining Wilhelmine acceptance and opposition. At the same time it also wants to explore what these donations meant for the Jewish donors themselves and where this avant-gardism placed them within Imperial society.

The chapter illustrates the modernist vision of Hugo von Tschudi whilst director at the Berlin Nationalgalerie and at the Munich Neue Pinakothek and his legacy carried out through the ‘Tschudi Spende’, a foundation set up after his death. Furthermore, this chapter also examines the only other museum that could boast a comprehensive collection of French modernist art before 1914, the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main.740

This chapter thus explores the meaningful collaboration between museum directors and Jewish patrons, a relationship that transformed two if not three of the most significant Wilhelmine conservative national galleries into leading European institutions of modernist art. It also shows that the transformation at the Nationalgalerie contributed to the emergence of Berlin as Europe’s foremost art centre second only to Paris.741 This

740 For a three year exception at Weimar under Harry Graf Kessler’s directorship at the Kunstgewerbe Museum see chapter II and for minor liberal modernist centres, see Appendix A)1
741 A great many French works were sold as ‘Degenerate Art’ by the National Socialists at the Galerie Fischer auction in Lucerne in June 1939 or exchanged in the previous years for German art. Therefore, today, there are relatively few French modernist art works at the Berlin Nationalgalerie and the Neue Pinakothek in Munich. Although the captions accompanying German and French Impressionist art exhibited at the newly reopened Berlin Nationalgalerie (December 2001) identify the names of Jewish patrons, no attention is drawn to them as Jews, which is the present politically correct attitude. However, it would seem appropriate if the patrons were identified as German Jews, since identifying them as such would pay homage to their memory and legitimise their place in the German modernist art histories still in the writing.
chapter proceeds to examine the group identity of these Jewish patrons in their fertile and fateful relationship with Hugo von Tschudi. Although Tschudi’s art-historical achievements are now recognised in present day Germany, the exploration of Tschudi’s significant collaboration with Jewish patrons has been neglected, both by German historical scholarship and by historians of German Jewish social and cultural histories. However, this chapter will show that Tschudi’s modernist achievements were accomplished only through the support of his Jewish patrons, who represented up to 70% of donors of modernist museum acquisitions. After the exploration of Tschudi and his donors, the chapter addresses the support for French modernist art by Frankfurt’s Jewish bourgeoisie at the Frankfurt Städelische Kunstinstitut under the directorship of Georg Swarzenski from 1906 to 1914.

Thus this chapter serves to identify acquisitions incorporated in these three museums through significant financial and ideological support of Jewish patrons, thus concluding that there was a crucial alliance between two liberal and progressive museum directors and the Jewish haute-bourgeoisie. Ultimately, this chapter questions the effect of such behaviour and taste on Jewish patron-donors and disputes the notion that the Jewish élite overwhelmingly aimed at ‘acculturation’ to the dominant Wilhelmine culture, when the support for French modernism - a conscious choice- placed them in the position of the Other.

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742 The exception is Girardet’s study, an examination of Jewish patronage to German museums during the Imperial period and the Weimar Republic. However it does not focus on French modernist art.

743 This is not to be confused with the 80-85% of private collectors of French Impressionism in Germany. See chapter IV.
Hugo von Tschudi (1851-1911)

In order to place Tschudi’s modernist activities into the overall context of the Berlin art world around 1900, it is necessary to take a closer look at his life. This examination will show Tschudi’s personal and professional role in the position of the Other, despite his significant appointment in 1896 as director of the leading museum in the Empire. Whilst it might have appeared that his directorship put him at the helm of the museum world, his enthusiasm for modernism, particularly French modernism put him increasingly into opposition to the Wilhelmine establishment. However, this emerged only over the course of events during his thirteen years in Berlin.

After a twelve-year apprenticeship to Wilhelm von Bode, Tschudi was appointed director of the Berlin Nationalgalerie in the spring of 1896. Once appointed, the Swiss-Austrian aristocrat was seen as a man of intellectual and artistic independence, earning the reputation as a fearless and somehow heroic figure. His controversial modernist commitment was unexpected by his superiors, but should not be seen as surprising in the

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745 Berlin's Gemäldegalerie director Wilhelm von Bode met Tschudi in Rome during Tschudi's two year Kavalierstour (1882/83) whilst Tschudi was engaged in research on Quattrocento sculpture. Bode offered Tschudi a position as his assistant, which he accepted; he began working for Bode on 1 May 1884. Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne p.33.
context of the growing European breakaway movements, such as the Secessions in Brussels, Vienna, Munich and Berlin, the latter being established in 1898/9.

Hugo von Tschudi was born near Vienna, in Lower Austria, on 7 February 1851 as the son of Swiss doctor and diplomat Johann Jacob von Tschudi and Austrian aristocrat Ottile Schnorr von Carolsfeld.\textsuperscript{747} Tschudi’s high public profile during three decades in Wilhelmine Germany did not change his self-perception as a foreign-born outsider among conservative Prussian and Bavarian society. This argument is based on the instructions he left before his death: he specified that he was to be buried in his hometown of Lichtenegg on the family estate of Jakobshof in Austria.\textsuperscript{748} Tschudi died on 23 November 1911 after complications arising from lupus, a condition from which he had suffered for many years.

Once appointed director at the Nationalgalerie Berlin in 1896, Tschudi felt most at ease in liberal circles of the cultural avant-garde, which was frequented by men like Harry Graf Kessler, Julius Meier-Graefe, Max Liebermann and a small German Jewish élite, who became his most loyal supporters for the new acquisitions he was to make for the museum.\textsuperscript{749} From the start of his Nationalgalerie directorship, Tschudi displayed an enthusiasm for French modernism at a time when no other European museum had purchased works by Manet, Pissarro, Renoir, Degas and Monet. Thus he stood from his earliest Berlin days as a pioneer and in controversial opposition to Imperial art policies and current art interpretations. However, it was Tschudi who was the Outsider, since the

\textsuperscript{747} Ottile’s father was Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, the curator of the Vienna’s leading public gallery, the Belvederegalerie. Tschudi’s uncle was the artist Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, thus Tschudi inherited his artistic predisposition from his maternal side of the family.

\textsuperscript{748} Tschudi is buried in a family vault at the cemetery in Lichtenegg, near Jacobshof, the Austrian estate where he had spent his childhood. See Hohenzollem, ‘Hugo von Tschudi als Persönlichkeit’, pp. 10-11. See also Babette Warncke, ‘Biographie’, in Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne p. 452.

\textsuperscript{749} Meier-Graefe, Kessler and Liebermann spoke at his memorial service, as discussed later in this chapter.
Kaiser’s dislike of modern art was shared by most European rulers and cultural institutions and the majority of German people, particularly the jingoistic upper classes.\footnote{See Theodor Fontane's Der Stechlin (1897) which explores the relationship between art and state...contrasting how art affects society and visa versa, 'wie die richtigen Linien in der Kunst sind auch die richtigen Formen in der Gesellschaft verloren gegangen.'} Therefore, Tschudi and other liberal figures as well as the German Jewish sponsors of French modernism could be delineated as a closed circle and a group apart, as has been argued throughout this study.\footnote{The group included Graf Kessler, Julius Meier-Graefe and Henry van de Velde, see Chapter II}

Previously - during the years of Tschudi’s assistantship to Bode (1876-1886) - Tschudi and his superior frequented the same Berlin Salons of the Jewish haute-bourgeoisie. Both were guests at the home of the Jewish lawyer Carl Bernstein and his wife Felicie in the early 1880s, whose home displayed the first French Impressionist paintings to be seen in Germany in 1882.\footnote{See Chapter IV and Appendix A 4} In the days of the early 1880s Bode was also an admirer of some French artists, particularly Manet’s early work, but when Tschudi began pursuing Cézanne, van Gogh and Matisse, Bode and Tschudi went in different directions and in the process became competitors for raising funds amongst potential Jewish patrons.\footnote{See Kessler’s diary entry for 7.2.1909 in Ulrich Ott, ed., Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch eines Weltmannes. Exhibition at the Deutsche Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Marbach am Neckar; Exh. Cat. (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1988) see also Claude Keisch, 'Adonis', in Tschudi und der Kampf, p.354.} Harry Graf Kessler - also a regular visitor at Jewish Salons and Soirées - recorded Bode’s growing anger at Tschudi’s success securing funding for his own acquisition programme.\footnote{See Kessler’s diary entry for 7.2.1909 in Ulrich Ott, ed., Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch eines Weltmannes. Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Exh. Cat. (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1988); Claude Keisch, ‘Adonis’, in Tschudi unter Kampf um die Moderne, p.354.} Thus Berlin Jewish patrons learned to choose between Bode - promoter of mainly traditional projects - and Tschudi who advocated the French avant-garde, but until
the late 1890s, both museum directors benefited from their generosity. However, as Tschudi’s taste for the French modernism grew, he attracted greater funds and a strong commitment for French modernism among the growing new bourgeoisie.

During his apprenticeship to Bode, Tschudi had learned the *System Bode*, which meant travelling in Europe, visiting museums, reviewing the traditional and contemporary art market, and, upon his return to Berlin, he sought financial support for selected works.\(^{755}\)

Indeed, Hugo von Tschudi as well as Wilhelm von Bode, Justus Brinckmann (director of the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe) and Friedrich Lippmann (director of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett) all courted the same Jewish circles of art patrons. These men were - as shown in the previous chapter - businessmen, bankers and industrialists such as Eduard Arnold, Ernst von Mendelssohn, the brothers Franz and Robert von Mendelssohn, Hugo Oppenheim, Oskar Huldschinsky, Markus Karpell and their contemporaries. However, it was Tschudi who seemed the most successful and whose acquisitions invited the greatest public attention.

\(^{755}\) Tschudi sometimes purchased outright. At other times he only reserved works and thus increasingly diverted funds from Bode’s own traditional projects.
Hugo von Tschudi and the Nationalgalerie Berlin

The Nationalgalerie Berlin was a neo-Greek classical building inscribed on its tympanum with the words DER DEUTSCHEN KUNST MDCCCLXXI, the museum housing mainly 19th-century German art. However, Hugo von Tschudi, as a new comer, brought a crucial change of direction. Once appointed in his new post, he travelled with Max Liebermann in the summer of 1896 to Paris and visited Paul Durand-Ruel, where he came under the spell of Manet’s *Dans la Serre*, a work he immediately reserved for the museum’s permanent collection:

> Die Bereicherung, die unsere Sammlung hierdurch erfährt ist umso bedeutungsvoller und erwünschter, als sie nur ausländische Kunstwerke in sich erfasst, für deren Erwerbung staatliche Mittel bisher nicht oder nur ganz ausnahmsweise zur Verfügung standen.  

On Tschudi’s return to Berlin, he had to find financial sponsors and seek the Kaiser’s approval for the chosen paintings; moreover, Tschudi had to confirm the credentials of the benefactors. He had to pledge that he knew the patrons personally and that he was willing and able to give character references indicating that, *...die als höchst achtbare Persönlichkeiten bekannt sind.* If the sponsors were Jewish patrons -as was the case for the first work of Manet - or if they made up the majority of the consortium of benefactors, it was advisable for the group to be ‘headed up’ by a non-Jewish patron to help win the Kaiser’s reluctant approval. This procedure indicates that there was suspicion against both Jewish patrons and foreign art, despite the fact that many of these

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756 Wilhelm I had commissioned the building in 1861 to house the art collection bequeathed by the Berlin banker Joachim Heinrich Wilhelm Wagener, thus establishing the Nationalgalerie Berlin. Wagener’s father’s fortune was made in the transport business. It is compelling to note Wagener’s banking background which is comparable to the new generation of Jewish patrons of modern art. See Eberhard Roters, ‘Die Nationalgalerie und ihre Stifter. Mäzenatentum und staatliche Förderung in Dialog und Widerspruch’, in Mäzenatentum in Berlin, eds. Günter and Waldtraut Braun (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), p. 74.

757 SMPK, ZA, I/NG, Acta Gen.37, Nr.1288/1896; also cited by Girardet, p.65.
Jewish individuals were often respectable public figures whom the Kaiser knew personally.758

During Tschudi’s first year in office (1896-97) he wanted to rearrange the Nationalgalerie space to accommodate new French art acquisitions, and thus he came into direct confrontation with Wilhelm II and his close ally Anton von Werner. As no art acquisition or gift over 3,000 Mark could be made without the express approval of the Kaiser, Tschudi had to present each painting at an imperial ‘audience.’759 However, according to Meier-Graefe, the Kaiser expected subordination and liked being surrounded by flatterers, whereas Tschudi found it difficult to submit to his taste. Indeed, Tschudi was a determined, calm and reserved ‘man of the world’ who had no talent for flattery.

After Tschudi’s speech on 27 January 1899 on the theme of Kunst und Publikum, held on the occasion of Wilhelm’s birthday celebrations at the Berlin Königliche Akademie der Kunste, the Nationalgalerie director’s already precarious position worsened.760 In his speech, Tschudi declared his disappointment at the public’s reception of modern art and stressed that insistence on conventional beauty as well as idealism and nationality were misguided. Furthermore, Tschudi argued that traditional ‘history paintings’ were political and thus not ‘genuine art’. He advocated that artists and art must be free from political constraints, as true art flourishes only in freedom and autonomy.

This was a view advocated earlier by Franz von Reber, Richard Muther and Julius Meier-Graefe and, later that year, by Max Liebermann at the inaugural speech of the Berlin

758 See chapter IV and the biographies of private collectors, some of whom were also public benefactors. See also John C.G. Rohl, Der Kaiser and his Court.

759 Most purchases were over this amount. See Jörn Grabowski, »Euer Excellenz zur gfl. Kenntnisnahme...« Hugo von Tschudi und der Kaiser’, in Tschudi und Moderne p. 392 as well as Höhenzollern, pp.10-11.
Secession in May 1899. However, this thesis has argued in previous chapters that it was indeed, the political and cultural subtext of French modernist art as the ‘painting of modern life’ that seemed to appeal to their German Jewish collector-sponsor-patrons. Arguably, Tschudi wanted to see modernist art liberated from restraining historicism. Indeed, Thomas Gaetghens suggests also that despite Tschudi’s covert rejection of the significance of the content of the ‘new painting’, this mattered as much as new technique. Gaethgens argues that Tschudi wanted to highlight the artist’s individual experience and personal interpretation, thus only a small minority seemed to understand and appreciate the Impressionist perspective. Indeed, previous chapters have suggested that Impressionist artists painted the experiences and aspirations of the growing middle class, which also coincided with those of German Jews. Indeed, these Impressionist images were in opposition to Wilhelmine traditional art which stood for the taste of the majority that continued to favour Christian, historical and mythical themes and idealised and romantic representation.

Tschudi’s view highlighted the gulf between the perception of the masses and a small exclusive élite, thus drawing attention to a fundamental conflict between majority and minority taste and illustrating that the avant-garde remained an enigma removed from the conservative majority. In Tschudi’s words:

\[\ldots \text{die Wahrnehmung der Masse und den \textquoteleft Wenigen, die fähig sind, das Beste zu empfinden.}\]
\[\ldots \text{so bleibt doch die Grundfrage des Konflicts zwischen rückwartsgewandte Kulturidentifikation und Gegenwartserneuerung erhalten.}\]

\[\text{761 Tschudi, \textquoteleft Kunst und Publikum \textquoteright, (1912) pp. 56-75 as cited by Thomas W. Gaetghens, \textquoteleft Tschudis Impressionismusverständnis: Historienmalerei als Darstellung erlebten Lebens\textquoteright, in Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne, p. 363.}\]
\[\text{762 Gaetghens, \textquoteleft Tschudis Impressionismusverständnis\textquoteright, p. 362.}\]
\[\text{763 Ibid., pp. 362-63.}\]
However, Tschudi declared openly his identification with ‘new painting’ and a new
Zeitgeist,\textsuperscript{764} and his speech at the Kaiser’s birthday had significant repercussions: some
eight months after the birthday address, a new decree was passed (August 1899) to curtail
his activities and place the Nationalgalerie under the even tighter control of Wilhelm II:

\textquote{Zugleich bestimme ich, dass kunftig zu allen Erwerbungen fur die Nationalgalerie, sei es durch
Ankauf, sei es durch Schenkung, zunachst meine Genehmigung eingeholt werde...}\textsuperscript{765}

Tschudi also perceived French Impressionism as an enrichment of the appreciation of
nature, whilst it explored the real world through new perspectives and new methods such
as the individual artist’s personal emotions.\textsuperscript{766} Indeed, these were Tschudi’s leading
aesthetic credentials, which guided his didactic museum programme, illustrating his
independence from any particular school or movement. As director of the
Nationalgalerie, Tschudi was at the heart of a national institution, yet he remained a
maverick and an Outsider with foreign origins, a multilingual traveller, who combined
his taste for modernism with the sensibilities of an ‘international cosmopolitan’, a
Wilhelmine slogan of the radical right often used in reference to ‘Jews, socialists and
intellectuals’.\textsuperscript{767} Tschudi – like his major Jewish supporters, however patriotic they may

\textsuperscript{763} Tschudi, 1912, p.75.
\textsuperscript{764} Gaetghens, 1993, p.363
\textsuperscript{765} The decree is cited by Hohenzollern, p. 13, note 13. Schuster argues that the regulation was also true of
earlier German works; what this decree demanded was the restoration of the earlier hanging plan, removing
a primary position for French Impressionists works that had been bought since 1896. See Schuster,
Tschudi und der Kampf., p. 28.
\textsuperscript{766} Jörn Grabowski, 'Euer Excellenz zur gfl. Kenntnisnahme...« Hugo von Tschudi und der Kaiser', in
Tschudi unter Kampf., pp. 393-9; Claude Keisch, 'Adonis', p. 354.
\textsuperscript{767} Besides being a Swiss-Austrian, Tschudi was educated abroad. He studied law in Vienna and conducted
art-historical research in Rome. He married a Catholic Spanish woman, Angela Gonzales Olivares. Tschudi
travelled professionally and privately to Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Britain, Scotland, Italy, France,
Spain and Russia, taking a camera on his travels, an early modernist behaviour. He also visited his
homecountries of Austria and Switzerland regularly. See Berlin Zentralarchiv, Personalakte, Hugo
v.Tschudi Rep.T 7. Tschudi was also one of the pioneering users of the first telephones. See Warnake,
‘Biographie’, p.451 and Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Hugo von Tchudi,
have been — treasured their independence and the emphasis on individuality that they saw reflected in Impressionism.

Tschudi moved with ease amongst Berlin’s Jewish haute-bourgeoisie, where he was a welcome figure and where he found his most loyal supporters. As to their motivations for supporting Tschudi’s novel ideas, the previous chapter have shown that these individuals were often leaders in their professions and thus many of them wanted to reproduce their modernist experiences and attitudes in their aesthetic and cultural patronage. Moreover, Tschudi’s personal charm and persuasive commitment to new art seemed to have influenced them. However, their relationship was interdependent: Tschudi influenced and guided their appreciation of modernist art, giving them confidence through his personal knowledge and commitment as well as his prestigious museum position, while at the same time, the circle of Jewish patrons empowered him to acquire modernist art for a national institution through their financial support, which they believed, at least at the beginning, would be welcomed by the Emperor and the state and would reflect well on their newly won citizenship. Arguably, these patrons might even have believed that it offered them respectability and honour, but in time they came to experience the opposite.

Indeed, the relationship between Tschudi and Jewish benefactors was groundbreaking, since their joint projects represented a contentious modernist project. Sponsorship of modernist art was particularly surprising in the case of Eduard Arnold, Oscar Huldschinsky and James Simon, three men who had hitherto supported traditional art only, the latter owning one of the most significant private art collections in Berlin.

Indeed, previous art and cultural historians have suggested that during the early days of Tschudi’s directorship, his high profile position may have appealed to Jewish patrons’
civic pride and vanity as it highlighted their contact with such a public figure; but there is little evidence for such a hypothesis since Tschudi's acquisitions of French Impressionist art became openly contentious early on, and Tschudi and his supporters often became the subject of public ridicule and attack. Furthermore, Jewish patrons grew increasingly independent-minded. They disregarded such hostility and continued to support Tschudi's French modernist art program in Berlin and later in Munich, where Tschudi became director of the Neue Pinakothek after his dismissal from Berlin in 1909. Indeed, major Berlin Jewish patrons continued Tschudi's art-historical legacy in Munich through the foundation of the 'Tschudi Spende', which was set up after his death. In assessing Tschudi's departure from Berlin, Julius Meier-Graefe declared that Tschudi had succeeded in transforming the Nationalgalerie from a 'space of patriotism and sentimentality to one of the most beautiful modern galleries in Europe'.

It could be argued that Jewish sponsorship of the French avant-garde complicated the already complex and multi-layered identities of German Jews; indeed, their acceptance of French and cosmopolitan values set them apart from the majority of the German Jewish and German non-Jewish art patrons. Their chosen path explored the transposition of modernist cultural values from France to Wilhelmine Germany, despite its growing unpopularity among the dominant culture. However, these patrons persisted in their support and added an extra dimension to their German, modernist and secular Jewish identities. Their behaviour illustrates that they did not seek 'acculturation' to existing values, but spearheaded visual modernism, even at the risk of greater visibility that emphasised not only French art as 'different' but their own perception as the Other.

Berlin Nationalgalerie Acquisition Programme. (1896-1907)

The following chronology gives a breakdown of Tschudi's modernist acquisitions and illustrates his increasingly difficult position in the face of Imperial, conservative opposition; it identifies Jewish patrons of contentious French works and points indirectly to their social status, compromised by their resolute pursuit of the avant-garde.769

During Tschudi's first year in office, 1896, he made fifteen acquisitions, ten of which were financed by Jewish individuals, the total works purchased (15) at an estimated value of 64,545 Mark.770 Tschudi's choice of Manet's *Dans La Serre*, 1878/79, (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 1) was funded by a trustee-consortium of Eduard Arnold, Ernst von Mendelssohn, Robert von Mendelssohn and Hugo von Oppenheim.771 Ludwig Justi's memoirs recall how the Kaiser reacted when presented with the painting

…Da sitzt eine Jüdin auf der Bank und hinter ihr steht ein jüdischer Mann. Was soll das in unserer Nationalgalerie?772

Given that the two figures in the painting have arguably no Jewish characteristics, the models were certainly not Jews, the fact that the Kaiser assumed they were Jews indicates the extent to which he associated French art with Jews.773 Wilhelmine art critics at the time considered the woman in the painting bold as she haughtily dominates the canvas and gazes past her companion and the spectator, a characteristic Manet employed in many other works. It could also have irritated the Kaiser since the dark-haired woman dominates the canvas taking up a central position in a relaxed manner, both the position

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769 For a complete chronological record of each art work acquired, see Appendix 7
770 Alte Nationalgalerie Berlin archives.
771 Tschudi had first admired *Dans La Serre* at Paul Durand-Ruel's gallery in Paris in the company of Max Liebermann in the summer of 1896.
772 Girardet, p. 67. Her source is SMPK/ZA. I/NG, Ludwig Justi, Memoiren, p.208.
and her body language very much out of keeping with the supposed place of women in
Wilhelmine society, thus – supposedly - emphasising her ‘foreignness’ and maybe her
‘Jewishness’.  

Indeed, this courageous purchase for the foremost Imperial national gallery was much
commented upon in the French press, particularly as it was the first work by Manet to
have been acquired by and displayed in any European museum.

Still in his first year, Tschudi further acquired a work by Degas, which was financed by
Oskar Huldschinsky, a work by Courbet *L’ecluse de la Loue*, 1886 (Nationalgalerie
Berlin) (Plate 2) which was financed by James Simon and a Rodin bronze bust

*Jules Dalou*, 1883, (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 3) and a Vallgren bronze, both funded
by Max Liebermann, all three patrons - although Huldschinsky was not a private
collector - from the German Jewish haute-bourgoisie. Further acquisitions were one
Constable oil painting and one Constable Sketchbook, both donated to the
Nationalgalerie by the Jewish Paris art dealer Charles Sedelmeyer. Another Berlin
Jewish donor, Robert Guthman, funded a John Lavery oil painting and three pencil colour
drawings by Giovanni Segantini.

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773 The models were the department store owner Jules Guillemet and his American wife; they sat for Manet
774 It would be interesting to speculate whether Wilhelm II was aware of the high level of education and
independance of German-Jewish women?
775 Tschudi also purchased two works by Pissarro and one Monet, their donors are unknown.
776 Paris based art dealers Charles Sedelmeyer and Boussod Valadon hoped to make their name known in
the German art market, which was an appropriate assumption, as increasingly German-Jewish art collectors
looked towards French modernist art after 1896. See Giradet, p.67. Furthermore, Sedelmeyer was very
European-minded, as he was born in Vienna in 1873 and only moved to Paris in 1860. He also published
Wilhelm Bode’s writings on Rembrandt, (1879-1905) As a dealer he represented the Hungarian artist
Michail Munkaczy, taking his works to the Universal Exhibition in the United States, (1877/78) where one
his painting sold as the 'most expensive' work sold by a living artists. See Paper given by Christian
Huemer, (International Research Center for Cultural Research, Vienna) ‘The Dealer as Producer: Charles
The six foreign works acquired in 1896, besides La Serre and the bronze bust, were non-figurative works and represented landscapes or houses such as Paul Cézanne, Le Moulin sur la Couleuvre a Pontoise, 1881, (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 4) and Nature morte: Fleurs et fruits, 1888-90 (Nationalgalerie Berlin) (Plate 5) and Paul Signac La Seine à Samois, quatre etudes, 1895-1900 (Kupferstichkabinett Berlin) (Plate 6).

Indeed, on the surface of it, the images seemed to carry no political message and the only revolutionary aspect was their technique. However, as they were everyday scenes they were considered superficial and unworthy of attention; furthermore, they were of French origin and thus regarded by many as 'the art of the enemy'. Nonetheless, modernist acquisitions continued to be sponsored, as for example the work by Millet, which was funded by a large, primarily Jewish consortium consisting of Robert Veith, Franz von Mendelssohn, Robert Warschauer, Fritz Friedlander, Julius Bleichröder, Julius Kaufmann, Isidor Loewe, Max Steinthal and Julie Hainauer. However, the group was 'headed up' by a German gentile, Dr. Georg von Siemens, a pattern to be repeated in the future. In all, there were nine Jewish and one German non-Jewish sponsor for the Millet, a statistic that is self-explanatory. A work by Cazin was donated by Carl Levy, a Sisley sponsored by Karl von der Heydt and Dr. Georg von Bleichröder, a Pissarro and Richard Parkes-Bonnington by Huldschinsky, Karl von der Heydt being the only non-Jewish

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777 Stefan Pucks, 'The Archenemy Invades Germany: French Impressionist Pictures in the Museums of the German Empire, 1896 to 1918', in Impressionism Paintings Collected by European Museums, pp. 55-64.
778 The Millet cost 55,000 Franks (44,550 Mark), which Tschudi did not consider expensive; François Millet, 'Novembre' Inv. A I 589, lost during World War II, Girardet, p. 67 and Grabowski, p.393. Julie Hainauer was the widow of Oskar Hainauer, who had died in 1894.
German patron during this year. The partial financing for the Cézanne, Sisley and Pissarro, was subsidised by the funds in the Geschenkfond.

The work by Cézanne was the first by the artist ever to be acquired by any public museum; it was donated by the Berlin patron Wilhelm Staudt.

Of the six purchases of 1897, three had been donated by Jews outright and a further two were funded by Jews in conjunction with non-Jewish German benefactors who fulfilled the role of facilitating an acceptance of donations by Jewish patrons. This emerging pattern of 'joint-venture' patronage indicates that Jewish donations were not wholeheartedly welcome and highlights the status of Jews as 'outsiders' or second-class citizens. Despite this ambivalent attitude towards patrons - an embarrassing situation which was acceptable to them probably because it reflected only their similar status in other social circumstances - Jewish sponsors continued to support Tschudi's purchases.

What is highly significant is that disapproval of modernist French art did not result in withdrawal of Jewish support. In short, official criticism did not alter Jewish commitment to 'new painting' or their loyalty to and trust in Tschudi's avant-garde vision.

Further trouble was ahead: in December 1897 Tschudi planned to exhibit the new paintings in the small, but prominent position of the Cornelius Saal which the press covered extensively and which caused immediate controversy. Julius Meier-Graefe welcomed the new hanging arrangements.

In 1898, the Reichstag debated Wilhelm's art policies and his opposition to foreign art acquisitions with the result that the Nationalgalerie was not allowed to accept new works.

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779 SMPK/ZA I/NG, Acta Gen.37 V, Nr. 735/1897; Nr. 1068/1897; Nr. 854/1897; Nr. 853/1897; Nr. 1068/1897, see Girardet, p.68.

780 A further 33.000 Mark were deposited in the Geschenkfonds or Schenkungsfonds; details of financial transactions are not available. Girardet, p.68.
Indeed, on 15 March 1898, the Reichstag minutes record that the Nationalgalerie should be considered a space too sanctified to accept ‘donations’ of foreign art. The Emperor himself emphasised how closely politics and culture were interwoven and how French art sapped the core identity and idealistic aspirations of the German Volk,

Die Impressionisten sind die französischen Sezessionisten, die stehen gegen Thron und Altar, wollen dem deutschen Volk die Ideale nehmen.784

These arguments alleged that French modernist art was ideologically immoral and politically dangerous, since it imported revolutionary elements into the Reich and thus had the power to destabilise the Empire. Indeed, the establishment used Germanic art as a political and national tool in the building of its Imperial identities. Thus Germany was projecting its own needs and voicing its own fears, as they could not perceive modernist art other than as a political symbol and tool.785 In contrast, French modernist art represented everyday themes - despite its own nationalistic ideologies – building an iconography that eventually came to be regarded as international, transnational and multicultural.786

On some significant level, Germany had identified French Impressionism (and all that it stood for) as an expression of democratic identities and thus it was perceived as a real threat to the Imperial autocrats. Furthermore, 20th-century art historians of French Impressionism have come to interpret aesthetic modernism as the visual dimension of a

781 Girardet, p.68.
783 "Zu heilig, als dass dort fremdländische Bilder aufgehängt werden sollen, an der Stätte eines deutschen Nationalheiligentum... warum selbst geschenkte Bilder fremdländischen Ursprungs, Bilder von denen ein hochstehender Herr gesagt haben soll, dass man sich so etwas auch nicht einmal schenken lasse..." See the minutes of the 47th Session of Haus der Abgeordneten, 15. March 1898. As cited by Giradet, p. 69.
784 Ludwig Justi, Memoiren, p.282 as cited by Giradet, p.69.
785 See Meier-Graefe on the art of Böcklin and the ensuing polemic in Chapter II.
politically new bourgeoisie and a new society. Now art aimed at a universal appeal, beyond national boundaries in the context of a cosmopolitan agenda, as has been explored in previous chapters. These chapters have argued that the French Impressionists' motto, *Il faut être de son temps*, was political. This was suggesting that French modernism was inclusivist with a political agenda that supported tolerance, freedom and equality for all classes, individuals and all faiths, with exceptions that proved the rule, such as Degas' and Renoir's well known anti-Semitism during the Dreyfus Affair (See Chapter 1).

Despite opposition, Tschudi pressed on regardless of set-backs: in his third year in office (1899) he acquired the second Monet through the sponsorship of Jewish patron Henriette Mankiewicz as well as a work by Signac acquired with the funds of the *Geschenkfond*. Despite the fact that these works were financed outside the official Nationagalerie budget, the Kaiser passed another decree on 29 August 1899, which again restricted donations without his personal inspection. Furthermore, all foreign art works – even those personally approved – were to be relegated to the third floor, whereas only 'German patriotic art' was to hang on the first floor. This new decree further restricted Tschudi's acquisition programme considerably. It highlighted the growing animosity towards French art, and it temporarily destabilised the good relationship Tschudi enjoyed with his Jewish patrons who were reassessing their position in this controversial debate, demonstrated by the fact that during the following eighteen months only a few works

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786 Paul Cassirer, Paul Durand-Ruel and other dealers held Impressionist and post-Impressionist exhibitions in numerous countries, including the USA, where they found an eager circle of patron-collectors.

787 See historiography in Introduction.

788 The Monet cost 3,000 Mark, the Signac 800. See Girardet p. 69. Henriette Mankiewicz and her husband Paul were private collectors of French Impressionism. See Chapter IV.

found their way into the museum. Alternatively, this barren period could also be interpreted as a time when the Kaiser was even more hostile to Tschudi’s choices that he had ever been previously.

In 1900, only three works by French artists were acquired: Charles Daubigny’s *Le Printemps*, which was purchased, from the Paris art gallery of *Boussod, Valadon & Cie*, the proprietors discounting the work by 7,000 francs because they considered it a privilege to supply the Berlin Nationalgalerie. They also considered it important to retain contact with Tschudi and his sponsors:

> Comme vous devez en être convaincu, nous sommes très désireux, tant pour reconnaître vos longs efforts, que par amour propre personnel, que ce tableau reste au Musée de Berlin. Et puisque vous pensez avoir épuisé la liste des amateurs d’arts que vous pensez pouvoir intéresser à cette souscription, de nous inscrire nous-mêmes pour la somme de 7,000 fr. qui vous manque. Nous considérons comme une compensation d’honneur de voir notre nom figurer à cote de ceux qui ont contribué à doter le Musée d’une œuvre capitale de l’un des plus grands paysagistes français.

However innocuous, this Daubigny work was again sponsored by a consortium of Jewish patrons including Ernst von Mendelssohn, Robert von Mendelssohn, Eduard Arnold and Isidor Loewe. Again, the group was ‘headed up’ by the German gentile industrialist and aristocrat from Upper Silesia, Guido Graf Henckel von Donnersmarck. It seems that this collaboration achieved a prompt consent by the Kaiser and thereafter Graf Henckel repeatedly co-sponsored art donations. From now on, Tschudi tended to choose German patrons to head up German Jewish sponsorship; sponsors whom even the Kaiser could

790 Girardet, p.70.
791 The painting sold for 50,000 Francs.
792 Girardet, p. 70, note 335. Her source is SMPK/ZA, I/NG, Acta Gen. 37, V, Nr. 593/1900.
793 He was a member of the new economic German élite and was estimated to be the second wealthiest man in Prussia. (His capital worth was estimated 254 million Mark and his income at 12.25 million per annum) see “Jahrbuch des Vermögens S.V” Girardet, p.70.
not afford to reject, assuring the acceptance of chosen works. Girardet suggests that Graf Henckel’s cooperation with Jewish art patrons was probably motivated by the economic benefit that may have accrued to him by such business and banking connections. Indeed, Graf Henckel was not known for his love of modernist art, German or French. (It is worth repeating that not all Jewish public benefactors were also private collectors, nor were all private collectors also public sponsors.)

In the same year, one oil painting by Daubigny and one by Emile Claus were a bequest by the German gentile banker Felix Koenigs from Cologne. It has been speculated that Koenig gave these works to the Nationalgalerie because of Tschudi’s modernist reputation, whereas the more conservative local Cologne museum might not have accepted his gift. In 1901, Koenigs bequeathed another five works, only one of them was of French origin, a Rodin sculpture. No other works were chosen or accepted.

The following year, 1902, no foreign works were incorporated into the Nationalgalerie collection, although Tschudi selected four works. He chose one oil painting by Signac and three by Denis. None were allowed into the Nationalgalerie, but some ten years later, all four were financed after Tschudi’s death by the ‘Tschudi Spende’ and accepted at the Munich Pinakothek. Once again, the four works were donated by Berlin Jewish patrons Eduard Arnold and Robert von Mendelssohn.

Still in the same year, 1903, after two unproductive years, the Geschenkfond had 52,000 Mark at its disposal, and Tschudi bought a bronze by Rodin and an oil painting by

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794 Girardet, p.70
795 Girardet, p.71
796 According to Tschudi, Koenigs’ bequest, valued at 13,000 – 15,000 Mark, was the most significant that the NGB had been given (Girardet, p. 71). Girardet’s source is SMPK/ZA, VNG, Acta Gen. 37. Nr. 1151/1900; Nr. 98/1901.
His fears were well grounded since Cézanne and Gauguin were poorly represented after his departure from Berlin. It was only in 1912 that these works were financed by Eduard Arnold and Robert von Mendelssohn and accepted into the Munich Pinakothek through the ‘Tschudi Spende’.\(^{802}\) It is thus likely that had Tschudi submitted these works for the Kaiser’s approval, Jewish sponsorship would have been forthcoming by the same patrons earlier on. Instead, the Berlin Nationalgalerie lost another two masterpieces by Cézanne and Gauguin.\(^{803}\) In 1905 Berlin, a Courbet was also funded by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team.\(^{804}\) In addition, five van Gogh oil paintings were selected at the Cassirer Kunstsalon, two of which were paid for through funds in the Geschenkfond which held 140,000 Mark.\(^{805}\) One van Gogh oil painting was offered as a gift by Emy Roth of Zurich, but her offer was refused, most likely because of van Gogh’s avant-gardism rather than the unacceptability of the donor. Tschudi took the other two works to Munich; one was sold by Tschudi’s widow in 1912 to the Munich Pinakothek, although the purchaser is unknown; the other painting was sold by his widow in 1929 through Georges Wildenstein to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung.\(^{806}\)

Still in 1905, Tschudi submitted again an application for the Manet painting

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\(^{800}\) Girardet, p.72.

\(^{801}\) Gauguin Martinique, 8 July 1904, 2,477.20 Mark at Kunstsalon Cassirer, Berlin.

\(^{802}\) The Tschudi Spende was a trust/foundation established after Tschudi’s death in 1911. It was headed by Dr. Braune, who sought to insure the acquisition of works chosen by Tschudi in his lifetime and their incorporation into the Neue Pinakothek in Munich. The works often kept in storage long after their acquisition. See Kurt Martin, ‘Die Tschudi-Spende: Hugo von Tschudi zum Gedächtnis’, exh. cat. München: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1962.

\(^{803}\) In 1904, the Jewish brothers Leo Arons and Paul Arons had donated to the Nationalgalerie a painting by Ludwig Knaus, Salomonische Weisheit, which was refused because Leo Arons was accused of being a social-democrat agent. Despite a public debate the work was accepted in March 1904 into the stock of the Nationalgalerie. Girardet, pp.73-74.

\(^{804}\) The Courbet sold for 12,000 Francs and 80 Mark. See Girardet, p. 72, SMPK/ZA I/NG Acta Gen.37 VII Nr. 1735/1904.

\(^{805}\) 80,000 Mark and 5,100 Mark for the five works; Sonnenblumen, 3,200 Mark; Landschaft in Anvers, 5,500 Mark; Boulevard in Arles, 4,060 Mark. See Girardet, p. 72, SMPK/ZA, I/NG Acta Gen. 37, VII, Nr. 1468/1905. Eisenbahnbrücke and Landschaft both sold for 5.100 Mark. Nr. 2441/1905.
La Maison à Reuil (1882) now available again at the Cassirer Kunstsalon at a higher price of 5,000 Mark. The request was resubmitted to the Kaiser on 5 and 12 June 1905 and accepted on 6 December 1905. The sponsor was the Jewish patron Karl Hagen.807 The only other work accepted in 1905 was the Rodin bronze Le Penseur (1881-83) which was donated by Oskar Huldschinsky with a specific contribution of 5000 Mark for this particular work.808 Tschudi also chose at Cassirer’s a work by Renoir,809 and he bought his first work by Daumier at a London dealer.810 Tschudi also bought a work by Hammershoi and a self-portrait by Fantin-Latour, the latter sponsored by Jewish patron Paul Freiherr von Merling.811 Thus in summary for 1905, the acquisitions funded were by Jewish patrons Eduard Arnold, Mendelssohn, Karl Hagen, Oskar Huldschinsky and Paul Freiherr von Merling, representing a Jewish majority of patrons for the acquisitions of French art. Indeed, at least a further gift, a van Gogh oil painting offered by Emy Roth, could also have been secured for the Nationalgalerie had its conservative policies tolerated it.

In May 1906 came a further tightening of Imperial control, with Tschudi now obliged to submit a report of donations and bequests over the past three years.812 Tschudi submitted the details of thirteen oil paintings at a value of 185,700 Mark and roughly thirty drawings at a value of 71,140 Mark, including four Signac aquarelle drawings, which Tschudi bought in Paris probably directly from the artist in 1906.813 However, Wilhelm

806 One of the works is now at Mark Steinberg Foundation, on loan at the Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis, MO, USA, the other is also in a private collection in the USA.
807 Karl Hagen changed his name from Karl Levy in 1906; SMPK, Nr.1247/1906 also Girardet, p.72
808 SMPK/ZA l/NG Acta Gen. 37 VII, 146/1905 also Giradet, p.72.
810 500 Sterling; 1704/1905 also Girardet p. 72.
811 Girardet, pp.72, 74-75.
812 Ibid., p.73.
insisted on a further breakdown report for each item. This development was taking place whilst a number of recently acquired art works were stacked in store rooms awaiting the Kaiser's approval, including five works by van Gogh, one by Gauguin, and one by Renoir and three by Manet.

In 1905, Tschudi was hoping for the 'right' moment to get the Kaiser's authorisation, and he expected a more receptive atmosphere after the 'Jahrhundert-Austellung deutscher Kunst'. Tschudi had organised the project, - it was financed by Eduard Arnold - and earned the Emperor's approval through its popular success. Thus in 1906 Tschudi chose three Renoir oils from the Cassirer Kunstsalon. One was approved and financed by the Geschenkfond (December 1906), the second was sponsored by Jewish patron Mathilde Kappel (June 1907), and the third was donated by the German Gentile patron Elise Koenigs. A Courbet, also from Cassirer Kunstsalon, was accepted in December 1906; at first it was financed by the Geschenkfond, but shortly thereafter it was underwritten by the Jewish patron Paul Freiherr von Merling. A Monet from the Kunstsalon was accepted in 1906 and financed jointly by Berlin Jewish bankers Karl Hagen and Karl Steinbart. Cézanne oil, probably from the Kunstsalon, was accepted in 1906 and funded by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team. In summary for 1906, of the six works accepted, one each by Renoir, Courbet, Monet and Cézanne, four were financed by Jews, one was financed by the Geschenkfond, which had many Jewish subscribers, and only one was underwritten by a German gentile patron, Elise Koenigs. Thus 1906 had been a relatively rewarding year for the Nationalgalerie, not least because the banker Carl

814 Angelika Wesenberg, 'Impressionismus und die »Deutsche Jahrhundert-Ausstellung Berlin 1906«', in Manet bis van Gogh, pp.364-370.
815 Girardet, p.73.
Hagen had put up 90,000 Mark for new acquisitions.\textsuperscript{817} It could have been a better year still, since one Gauguin oil, four van Gogh drawings and one Rysselberghe oil had been refused by the Kaiser.

What was the Nationalgalerie's loss proved to be the Pinakothek's gain: a previously chosen Gauguin work was accepted in Munich in 1912, donated again by Arnold-Mendelssohn. Tschudi had chosen four van Gogh drawings from the Kunstsalon, but none were incorporated in the Nationalgalerie. One work found its way into the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung in 1915 through the donation of the Arnold-Mendelssohn team; another one was offered to the Pinakothek, but it was refused.

Tschudi's widow put up another work for sale in 1911, its outcome is unknown. Nothing, moreover, is known about the fourth drawing. The Rysselberghe oil was accepted at the Pinakothek in 1912 financed by Arnold-Mendelssohn. Thus Munich's Neue Pinakothek benefited from the patronage of Berlin Jews who shared Tschudi's own passion for the French avant-garde vision and supported him over the course of his career and beyond.

During 1907, Tschudi's last year in Berlin, one work by Monet was donated by Carl Hagen and Karl Steinbart. Another Monet was acquired, but no provenance is known. Tschudi's choice of one van Gogh oil and three drawings, of which two probably purchased at Cassirer Kunstsalon, were taken to Munich in 1909. At least one was donated by Arnold-Mendelssohn, details of the other one is unknown. Daumier oil was accepted in Munich in 1913 and funded by the Munich nobleman Freiherr von Cramer-Klett.

\textsuperscript{816} Elise was the sister of German banker Felix Koenigs, a major patron to the Nationalgalerie, who had donated significant paintings and sculptures from his personal collection in 1901.

\textsuperscript{817} Girardet, p. 74.
Tschudi had selected a Cézanne in December 1907 at the Cassirer Kunstsalon, but as it was just prior to his enforced leave of absence, he could not find a sponsor and was obliged to return it to Paul Cassirer; Max Liebermann subsequently purchased it for his private collection.\textsuperscript{818} Another Cézanne and a George Minne marble bust were taken to Munich, where they were accepted in 1912, again funded by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team. Also in 1907, Tschudi accepted a major donation by Adolf von Hildebrand and Eduard Arnold, consisting of five drawings to accompany the Naples frescoes by Hans von Marrées, which had been discovered in Italy by Julius Meier-Graefe.\textsuperscript{819} According to Tschudi’s successor Ludwig Justi, Tschudi had feared the Kaiser’s rejection, and thus these drawings lingered in the Nationalgalerie’s stores rooms until Tschudi left Berlin and took them to Munich.\textsuperscript{820}

\begin{quote}
Die ganze Marrées Sammlung lag im Keller gestapelt; solange Tschudi Direktor war, blieb das geheim. Man wollte auch die Genehmigung durch den Kaiser nicht einholen, das Risiko war zu gross.\textsuperscript{821}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{818} Today this work is owned by a unknown private collector, but is on permanent loan at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.


\textsuperscript{820} Girardet, p. 74.

\textsuperscript{821} Justi Memoirs, p. 337, as cited by Girardet, p. 74.
The Tschudi Affaire

The controversial relationship between the Kaiser and Tschudi came to a head after some twelve years of quasi-collaboration. It reached its fateful climax the day the Kaiser visited the Nationalgalerie on 3 February 1908 to inspect proposed art works from the Barbizon School.\(^{822}\) These art works had become available through the sale of the art collection of the Dutch businessman J.H. van Eeghen which was now offered by the London dealer Obach & Co. Tschudi wanted to acquire some of the works as he perceived gap in the museum’s collection. He chose Corot’s *Die Schmuggler*, Delacroix’s *Medea*, two landscapes by Rousseau and a landscape with cows by Troyon, *Das Toucjes Tal*. Badly timed, Paul Cassirer also offered at the same time works by Delacroix, Courbet and Daumier. According to Meier-Graefe’s account, Tschudi used previous tactics for getting the Kaiser’s approval by first showing a work by Troyon which depicted several life-size cows:

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\text{……auf den riesigen Troyon mit den fast lebensgrossen Kühen. Ich redete nach Kräften dagegen,}
\]
\[
\text{denn es war für eine Galerie zu viel Rindvieh auf einmal und kostete ein Heldengeld, aber Tschudi}
\]
\[
\text{behauptete, nur im Schatten der Kühe liessen sich die anderen Meister durch drücken, und die}
\]
\[
\text{wären eine Sünde wert.}\(^{823}\)

On this first inspection visit, the Kaiser consented to the purchase of four paintings, but he later changed his mind and withdrew his approval.\(^{824}\) However, Tschudi was committed to the British dealer Obach & Co. and thus was obliged to turn to his usual supporters including Eduard Arnold, Robert von Mendelssohn and James Simon. They

\(^{822}\) The Barbizon School was a group of landscape painters centred around the village of Barbizon, near the forest of Fontainbleau. Their leaders were Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Charles-François Daubigny and Jean-François Millet and they were considered precursors of Realists and Impressionists.

\(^{823}\) Meier-Graefe, "Kunstschreiberei", p.225.

\(^{824}\) Peter Paret, Die Tschudi-Affäre, pp. 396-401.
granted an interest free loan of 400,000 Mark, on a three-year term, which represented a reduction from the original price. Indeed, two of the Rousseau works had to be sold to repay part of the loan, although Arnold gave his contribution as a donation. How much of Mendelssohn and Simon’s portion of the loan was repaid is unknown. Meier-Graefe reported that Tschudi’s Jewish regular supporters were on this occasion unwilling to finance the works, because they did not consider these works ‘controversial’. This attitude by Jewish patrons is evidence for the fact that they appreciated their unique role in supporting modernism at a time when it was ‘controversial’, at a time when the establishment was rejecting such works:

da es sich um Werke von berühmten Meistern handele, ihre Börse zu schonen und ausnahmsweise die staatliche Hilfe zu beanspruchen. Der Kaiser sollte ein Extraordinarium bewilligen.

According to Meier-Graefe’s report of February 1909, Jewish sponsors had argued that the art works in question should be funded by the museum budget, as the credibility and value of such art had been established, as opposed to avant-garde art, which indeed needed their support. Thus it is crucial to note that in 1909, Jewish patrons were not prepared to fund non-controversial art, but instead were mainly committed to avant-garde works only, certainly in public. This suggests that the regular Jewish patrons consciously perceived their role as leading modernists who filled a unique gap in Wilhelmine cultural life. They acknowledged and positioned themselves by choice in the space of the ‘Other’, believing that if they did not take such a pioneering role, avant-garde art would

825 See the Zivilkabinett documentation cited by Giradet, p.76.
826 Justi complained that this large loan blocked his own plans to ask for support for his own museum. See Girardet, pp.75-76.
not find its way into German museums, implying that they cared deeply about the art that was bought by such institutions.

In the wake of the Obach & Co. affair in 1908, the Kaiser gave an unprecedented interview to journalists of the London *Daily Telegraph* on 28 October, linking his art policies to his countries’ foreign policies, once again allying art with politics and further weakening his royal prestige, particularly abroad. The outcome of this historic incident was the petition of 3 March 1908, which pressed Tschudi to submit a request for a year’s leave, which was swiftly granted two days later. Wilhelm had thus finally succeeded in Tschudi’s removal from office and thus the Kaiser’s control stopped further acquisitions of foreign and French art at the Nationalgalerie. Indeed, no French works were acquired in 1908. Tschudi had chosen a Maillol terracotta bust, but he took it to Munich, where it was accepted in 1912 after Arnold and Mendelssohn provided the funding.

With Tschudi’s forced resignation in 1909, the French modernist programme at the Nationalgalerie came to an historic end. The only French work donated to the permanent collection in 1909 was Felicie Bernstein’s gift of a work by Manet, thus during Tschudi’s tenure, the first sponsorship and last donation were by Jewish patrons, interestingly both were works by Manet.

In summary it can be said, that despite the Jewish patrons’ generosity many art works were lost to Berlin and resurfaced in Munich. The Bavarian city may not have ranked as the patrons’ first choice, but rather than forfeiting these works entirely, they preferred to sponsor them at the Munich Pinakothek rather than lose them for Germany altogether. Moreover, it proved that patriotism was a strong emotion for German Jews, otherwise they could have let these works go to other countries and museums. However, it must be
noted that Jewish modernist patronage was not linked to social prestige, nor could it be interpreted as compensation for their inferior status as previous scholars have often argued. Indeed, I am suggesting, as I have in previous chapters, that the passion for modernist art could be seen as tool for the construction of their secular and cosmopolitan identities at the margins of majority society.

Moreover, avant-garde patronage was clearly not rewarded with honours, so other motivations must have been at stake. It could not have been status and reward since modernist patronage was thus linked to a museum director who had been dismissed and had invited hostility amongst the art establishment and its press. Thus Jewish modernist sponsorship ran contrary to nationalistic trends and became the target for anti-Semitic factions (see earlier chapters) who wished to combat the allegedly foreign and Jewish elements in Wilhelmine society. None the less, Jewish patrons were totally committed to bringing French modernism to German national institutions as an expression of their patriotism, otherwise they could have purchased such contentious art exclusively for their own private collections.

The Kaiser’s tight control of the Nationalgalerie proved misguided and ultimately abortive when he tried to install Anton von Werner as Tschudi’s successor (Tschudi had left on 1 July 1909). In the event, Ludwig Justi was appointed Tschudi’s successor later in 1909 and the acquisitions of French modernist art virtually ceased. A few Jewish patrons remained on the museum’s board, such as Arnold, who was also appointed to the Sachverstandigenkommission at the Nationalgalerie and Paul Freiherr von Merling, who

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828 Paret, ‘The Tschudi Affaire’, p.398
829 See Chapter II and III.
830 Justi was appointed Nationalgalerie director from 1909-1933 when he was granted leave of absence with his pension coming into effect in 1941, Girardet, p. 77 and Justi’s Memoirs, p. 357.
continued to donate works and to help raise funds for more traditional works, for which
he was honoured. 831 Under pressure from Reichskanzler Fürst Bülow, Tschudi was
reinstated briefly to his post after a year’s leave, which Meier-Graefe welcomed, although
he saw the absurdity of the situation: 832

Das ware vielleicht gut. Je toller sie’s treiben, um so besser…..die Norddeutsche Allgemeine
bringt offiziell Notiz, dass Tschudi Direktor der Nationalgalerie bleibt. Das einzige praktische
Resultat des Kaiser-Interviews. Bulow hat es durchgesetzt. 833

After this débâcle, Tschudi accepted an invitation to the Munich Staatsgalerie but the
Tschudi Affaire remained the climax of the conflict between ‘art and state’. This German
confrontation – not entirely unique in Europe – illustrates the growing intolerance
towards the ‘politicisation of culture’. It also demonstrates that Tschudi, modernism and
Jewish patrons had become key pawns in the exercise of political ambition and power.

The Assessment of Tschudi’s Tenure at the Nationalgalerie. 834

In Germany, Tschudi’s legacy was appraised by Richard Muther with the words:

Wenn man den Katalog von 1896 mit dem von 1908 vergleicht, glaubt man, von dem, was früher
Nationalgalerie hiess, sei eigentlich nur das Gebäude, ….alles belanglose Zeug ….ist
verschwunden…. Tschudi hatte die Nationalgalerie, die ein vaterländischer Bildspeicher, ein
Ablagerungsort künstlerisches Schuttes war, zu einer der schönsten Kunstsammlung Europas

831 See Merling’s list of donations 1891-1914 in SPK, Gsta Merseburg. as cited by Girardet, p. 77.
832 Tschudi used the time to travel to Japan and return via an extensive tour through Europe.
833 Meier-Graefe, Dairies 23.10.1908 and 20.11.1908, Marbach Deutsches Literaturarchiv, cited by
Schuster p.32.
834 The Freunde der Nationalgalerie was founded in late 1929, whose Jewish patrons included Eduard
Arnold, Franz von Mendelssohn, Paul Mankiewicz, Herbert Gutmann, Henry Nathan, Willy Dreyfus, Jacob
Goldschmidt, Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, Carl Furstenberg, Siegfried Buber, Paul von Mendelssohn, Gustav
Mannheimer, Franz von Oppenheimer, Carl von Weinberg, Ernst Simon, Hans Arnold, Curt Glaser, Max
Steinthal and Hans Lachmann-Mosse. Many of these men and their families went into exile or died during
the Nazi period. For biographies, collections and donations of some of these patrons see Chapter IV and
Appendix A 4 also Girardet, p. 79.
result, the permanent collections at the Neue and Alte Pinakothek were in a state similar to the one Tschudi had found in Berlin over a decade earlier. This was despite the fact that his Munich predecessor, Franz von Reberhard, had already achieved some limited curatorial independence by advocating that contemporary art facilitated and encouraged the reinterpretation of traditional art.

Tschudi’s first two years in Munich were relatively peaceful, but a crisis erupted in March 1911, when a letter from Tschudi was leaked regarding a Daumier work, *Le Drame*, (1860) which he was determined to acquire. The letter also contained a complaint that the Academy Professor Franz von Stuck had been engaged without his prior notification. Staatsminister Wehner took offence at the content of the letter and demanded an official apology. After this incident, Tschudi’s position became progressively difficult, and he died on 26 November 1911 after a long illness of lupus, borne with great courage and moral strength.

**Die Tschudi Spende**

A self-funding trust was set up in Tschudi’s name, the *Tschudi Spende*, which was committed to his modernist legacy. However, despite this trust, each new art work had to be submitted for approval by the reigning monarch Prince Luitpold of Bavaria. In the event, many Berlin Jewish patrons continued to be loyal to Tschudi’s memory.

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836 For an extended analysis on Tschudi’s years in Munich, see six essay contributions in *Hugo und der Kampf*, pp. 402-437.

837 The painting was then in Carl Sternheim’s private collection. Tschudi considered Daumier the greatest artist before Manet. See ‘Die Sammlung Tschudis’ in *Tschudi unter Kampf*, p. 62. Helge Siefert’s article seems to contain a typing error as it gives March and May 1911, referring to the same incident.

838 Helge Siefert, p.406. The Daumier was eventually acquired in 1913, donated by Munich patron Cramer-Klett.

through the *Tschudi Spende*, financing modernist works for Munich, some of which had been rejected by the Nationalgalerie in Berlin or indeed, had never been submitted for inspection and had lingered in the museum store rooms; others still, had been acquired by Tschudi personally and were now offered to the museum by his widow, ‘so that for all times, the Pinakothek, a gallery which he led for such a short time, will incorporate works by masters, admired and honoured by Tschudi’.

The trust was administered by Tschudi’s assistant Dr. Heinz Braune who held the interim post until the director of the Vienna Staatsgalerien Friedrich Dornhofer was appointed successor to Tschudi three years later, on 1 January 1914. During this interim period, many offered art works were approved on two historic occasions of 19 January 1911 and 14 March 1912. Any other applications also had to be approved by the Bavarian monarch.

The Vinnen Manifesto, published in April 1911 (See Chapters II and III) had attacked modern artists, patrons and museum director Tschudi and his followers. A number of modern artists such as Franz Marc, Wassily Kandinsky and patron Alfred Walter Heymel invited Tschudi to respond in *Der Kampf um die Kunst*, but Tschudi was too ill to participate; in the event, the pamphlet appeared after his death and was dedicated to him. At Tschudi’s memorial service on 27 November 1911, only two close Munich colleagues spoke, Dr. Winterstein and Dr. Braune, as did close friends Julius Meier-Graefe and Max Liebermann.

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841 Heinz Braune 1880-1957.
842 Kurt Martin, p.15, 17.
Hugo von Tschudi and the Pinakothek Acquisition Programme (1910-1911) and Tschudi Spende (1911 onwards) 845

Tschudi selected a Manet at the sale of the French Pellerin Collection, which was organised in Germany by Paul Cassirer, showing first in Berlin and then in the gallery of Munich Jewish art dealer Heinrich Thannhauser. This Manet work was accepted at the Pinakothek in 1911 and was funded by Georg Ernst Schmidt-Reissig from Starnberg. Another Manet was purchased at the same Pellerin Sale, but it was only accepted in 1914; its donor was unknown. A Monet, bought at Cassirer Kunstsalon, was accepted at the 1912 historic application and funded by the team Arnold-Mendelssohn. A Renoir, bought at the Cassirer Kunstsalon, was also accepted in 1912, donor unknown. A work by Cézanne was acquired also accepted in 1912, probably bought at the Paris Bernheim-Jeune gallery, its donor unknown.

During the year of Tschudi’s death in 1911, two Courbet oil paintings were accepted and funded by the Hungarian-born Jewish industrialist Königlicher Rat Marzcell Némes, the patron-collector who divided his time between Munich and Budapest. 846 From June 1911 until early 1912, the Alte Pinakothek showed thirty-six works from the Némes private collection. His loan included works by El Greco, Tintoretto, Rembrandt, Rubens, Guardi, Goya, Constable as well as Manet, Monet, Degas, Renoir and Cézanne. 847 Tschudi wrote the preface to the catalogue, his words becoming his aesthetic testament, 848 as he died on 23 November 1911,

847 See chapter II
844 Tschudi Cat. p. 452
845 For a full breakdown of all the works accepted at the Neue Pinakothek München, see Christian Lenz, Heinz Braune und die Tschudi Spende, pp. 435-436 in exh.cat. Tschudi und der Kampf.
846 See chapter IV and Appendix A) 4
847 Tschudi Cat., p. 452
848 Tschudi Cat.p. 452
von der modernen Kunst aus musse man zum Verstandnis der alten Kunst vordringen, und nicht, wie bisher, umgekehrt; er wusste, dass, wer nichts von neuer Kunst versteht (deren Verständnis uns um so viel naher steht) auch nichts von alter Kunst verstehen konne, denn es gibt nur eine Kunst, ob alt oder neu, die Kunst, die - lebt!

In 1911, Tschudi had selected a Courbet oil, which was accepted in 1912, funded by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team; two Manet brush and ink drawings were chosen in 1911 and were accepted four years later, and were funded again by Arnold-Mendelssohn; two Toulouse-Lautrec oil paintings were accepted in 1912, one was funded by the writer Walter Alfred Heymel, the other by Arnold-Mendelssohn.

In 1912, a Maillol bronze of Rodin was accepted and funded by Arnold-Mendelssohn and a Rodin bronze bust was accepted and funded with an interest free loan by the Dresdner Bank. In the same year, a Vuillard oil painting was accepted and funded by Arnold-Mendelssohn. Also in 1912, another Vuillard was accepted, having being donated by the Paris Jewish art dealers Bernheim-Jeune. A Pissarro oil painting was offered in 1912 and accepted in 1913, as was a Guillaumin oil painting, both of which were funded by Jewish Munich patron Ludwig Prager. A Gauguin painting, Les quatre bretonnes, 1886 (Neue Pinakothek München) (Plate 7) was donated by Jewish patron Emy Roth from Zurich, offered in 1912 and accepted in 1913. A Daumier oil painting, Don Quixote was offered in 1912 and accepted in 1913, funded by Munich Jewish collectors Carl and Thea Sternheim. A Renoir painting, Les Jardins de Montmartre donnant vue de Sacre-Coeur.(1896) (Neue Pinakothek Munich) (Plate 8) was applied for in 1914 and accepted in 1916, funded by Munich Jewish patron Dr. August L. Mayer. In 1912, Paul Gauguin’s Te Tamari No Atua (L’enfant dieu) (1896) (Neue Pinakothek München) (Plate 9) was

849 See earlier remarks on the motivations of Paris art dealers donating works to German institutions.
accepted and paid for by Arnold-Mendelssohn. The acceptance of two van Gogh works
such as the Self Portrait, dédie a Gauguin, 1888 (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University
Art Museum, Cambridge (MA) (Plate 10)\textsuperscript{851} and Tournesols, 1888, (Neue Pinakothek
Munchen) (Plate 11) were accepted, but in both cases the donors remained anonymous.

In 1912, Durand-Ruel donated Renoir’s Portrait Monsieur Bernard.

A work by Henri-Edmond Cross, Le Cap Layet –petit version, 1904 (Neue Pinakothek
Munchen) (Plate 12) was accepted and paid for by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team. A
work by Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Femme assise, 1897 (Neue Pinakothek Munchen)
(Plate 13) was also paid for by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team, with another van Gogh,
Männliches Bildnis paid for by Walter von Heymel. Indeed, Walter Heymel had
sponsored four works at the time of the application on 25 November 1912.

In summary, it emerges that out of fifteen donors at the Pinakothek, five were Jewish
patrons. (E. Arnold, M. Kappel, Paul and Robert von Mendelssohn and the Parisian
dealer brothers Bernheim) Out of the twenty paintings accepted in Tschudi’s life time,
thirteen were donated by the Arnold-Mendelssohn team and one by M. Kappel. From the
six sculptures, four were paid for by Arnold-Mendelssohn. One Courbet work was
donated by the Paris dealer Paul Durand-Ruel. After Tschudi’s death five paintings were
added, most patrons remaining anonymous with three exceptions of a gift by the Parisian
dealers Bernheim-Jeune (Vuillard’s Speisezimmer),\textsuperscript{852} by Oskar Moll (Purmann’s
Landschaft von Collioure) and Dr. Bley (T. Rysselberghe’s Tänzerin). Of the three

\textsuperscript{850} See chapter IV
\textsuperscript{851} Bequest of Collection Maurice Wertheim, class of 1906.
\textsuperscript{852} As to the relationship between Vuillard and the Bernheim brothers, see exh. cat. Vuillard, National
Gallery of Art Washington, USA, 2003
sculptures, Paris dealer Ambroise Vollard donated a bust of Renoir, and Rodin himself
donated a drawing, whereas a drawing by Matisse was donated anonymously.

**Tschudi and 'Museum-Romanticism'**

Twentieth-century scholars, Thomas Nipperdey and Robin Lenman argued that the *fin-de-siècle* museum was celebrated as a precious temple of modernity which they believed was the essence of Tschudi’s *Museum-Romanticism*. They argued that art in museums offered an escape from the realities of life and that art and especially modern art, was used as a substitute for religion. Paradoxically, they also argued that the power of sensuality accompanied by deep scepticism was an inherent rejection of modern life, its political and social problems and trivialities. Nipperdey and Lenman saw in this dialectic a symptom of modernity and believed that Tschudi and the liberal *Bürge*rtum thus subscribed to ‘an elitist and uncivic art’. However, my thesis has argued that Jewish patrons were indeed motivated by civic yet democratic values; furthermore, they were strongly committed to placing avant-garde art in the public domain. For them, modernist art was not an escape from modern life, but a deeper plunge into it. Previous chapters have argued that most Jewish patrons were probably aware of art writings in Germany and France, all of which interpreted modernism as the ‘painting of modern life’. Thus, to see modern art, to appreciate it and to acquire it, involved modernist patrons’ perception of the world in a new, contemporary and realistic perspective, rather than to speak of an ‘escape’. What may be justified is the interpretation of art as aesthetic pleasure and

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comfort and thus a refuge. However, it seems inappropriate to speak of it as a refuge from modern life, since many Jewish patrons were on the cutting edge of the modernisation process of the Empire, as previous chapters have demonstrated. The examples cited have been Eduard Arnold, who was a director of the coal concern Caesar Wollheim, a pre-eminent industrialist at the centre of the Industrie und Hochfinanz. The Cassirer family established and developed the pioneering electrical cable plants in Europe, Dr. Cassirer & Co. Kabelwerke and exported their products worldwide. Other examples could be the minor collector-patrons such as the Freudenberg family, which was a major department store founder, one family amongst a number of entrepreneurial businessmen, who introduced the novel concept of centralised shopping to German cities. The Liebermann families were pioneer leaders in the cotton textile industry; Emil Rathenau was the founder of the German branch of the American electric company Edison, (later AEG) becoming one of the leaders in the field. Although he was no art collector, his son Walter Rathenau – who was an artist in his own right as well as a minor collector- later entered politics, becoming the first Jewish minister in modern times. Franz Oppenheim was a chemical engineer and founder director of the Actien-Gesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation (AGFA). Robert Hirsch founded the Offenbach leather industry; the Düsseldorf Flechtheims were major grain merchants. Other leading modernist art private collectors and public sponsors were from the banking world, such as Ernst von Mendelssohn and the brothers Franz and Robert Mendelssohn and Franz Oppenheim, all of whom were financiers of modernist business, industrial projects and sometimes political events, such the financing of the Japanese Russian War. Other patrons were professionals such as the
lawyer Carl Bernstein and publishers such as Rudolf Mosse, and Leopold Sonnemann and Samuel Fisher.

Art dealers, art writers and their publishers such as Herwarth Walden, Bruno Cassirer, Alfred Flechtheim, Georg Thannhauser, Paul Westheim and art historians or museum directors such as Georg Swarzenski, Friedrich Lippmann, Max Friedländer, Julius Elias, Kurt Glaser and authors such as Carl Sternheim were often involved with modernist projects, even pushing its boundaries in their field, rather than escaping from its difficulties. Admittedly, modernist art could be an aesthetic pleasure and leisure pursuit from daily vicissitudes. Worth repeating is the fact that professional, bankers and business people embraced modernity in their professional lives and therefore were ambitious to extend it to their private lives and leisure activities. Moreover, their acceptance of artistic and cultural modernism reflected a new Zeitgeist, a critical space they had chosen and to which they were committed against majority trend, behaviour, taste and Wilhelmine cultural values.

Manuel Frey draws attention to Karl Scheffler’s words in the museum guide to the Nationalgalerie Berlin of 1912, which was published a year after Tschudi’s death. Here Scheffler speaks of Tschudi’s search of sponsorship as peinliche und unwürdige Bettelei, as ‘an embarrassing and unworthy begging’. However, Frey omits to say that Tschudi’s fundraising strategies were crucial as there were no state budgets for art acquisitions and therefore the system relied on private sponsorship leaving museum directors little alternative. Furthermore, Frey criticises the Jewish élite - with little disguised anti-Semiticly flavoured criticism - for their far reaching international and immer dichter verknüfft, ‘ever tighter forming circles’, citing financial supporters Hugo Reisinger in
New York, Alfred Beit in London and Emy Roth in Zurich, a dubious critique of ‘international money’. However, he does not elaborate on how ‘international money’ was detrimental to ‘international art’ or its ‘international consumption’. Furthermore, in the same vein, Frey argues that this ‘international collaboration’ was driven by the ambitions of a small élite, which coupled with bildungsbürgerliche Kulturverständnis und wirtschaftliche Macht aimed at influencing highest political figures. He suggests that greed for power lay at the basis of Jewish donations and sponsorship, thus producing a Kultur der Reichen, which smacks of a Socialist interpretation with little understanding of the modernist art market in general and the modernist art scene before 1914 in particular.

More suspicious scholarship still, is Frey’s suggestion that hospitals and educational establishments were set up by German Jewish patrons to give their educated sons and daughters employment and career opportunities. If this was truly so, it would only highlight the scarcity of jobs in Wilhelmine society, which still excluded Jews in many public positions, such as in public law, the civil service, higher education, military and diplomatic corps. However, Frey’s argument is difficult to substantiate as being detrimental for the growing bourgeoisie. Furthermore, Frey suggests that these patrons did not experience a modernist ‘identity crisis in Wilhelmine Society’, but instead experienced growing self-confidence, gewachsenem Selbstbewusstsein. However, simultaneously, he points to Jews as retaining a fundamental insecurity tiefgreifende Unsicherheit due to the ambivalence displayed by the Kaiser and the art world headed by

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854 See chapter II, IV and V
855 Frey, p. 119
856 Compare earlier remarks on French Jewish collectors of pre-modern art.
857 Frey, p. 122
Anton von Werner, Wilhelm von Bode and other establishment circles. Indeed, it is precisely this ambivalence in Wilhelmine society that encouraged German Jews to accept, create and push for a space of the avant-garde, such as art, theatre, literature, press and any new and alternative cultures.

**Hugo von Tschudi and his Public Role**

In conclusion, the above has brought evidence for Tschudi's tenacity rather than the Imperial tolerance towards modernism, as suggested by Peter-Klaus Schuster.\(^{858}\) He argues the case for a liberal Berlin by pointing to Tschudi's appointment to a public institution at the heart of the German Empire, despite him being of Austrian-Swiss descent, trained as a lawyer and not as an art historian, omitting to mention that Tschudi was apprenticed to Bode for an extensive period of ten years.\(^{859}\) Schuster argues that Tschudi’s appointment proves a greater tolerance towards ‘foreigners’ than is normally credited. However, I suggest, that by drawing attention to the fact that only a German-born citizen would be expected to be appointed to such a position, Schuster only emphasises the German perception of Tschudi as the Outsider. Furthermore, Schuster fails to stress that Tschudi’s taste for modernist art was unexpected, not least unexpected by Bode who had recommended him for the post and thus his modernist tendencies were a surprise and in the event, little tolerated. Crucially, once Tschudi was appointed in his position of director, his avant-garde activities were a continuous struggle as the data of this chapter has illustrated. Schuster does not stress that it was despite and not because of

\(^{858}\) See K Schuster, *Tschudi und der Kampf*, pp.21-40

\(^{859}\) The University discipline of art history was still rare, as it had only just become an academic subject. Most sons from the middle-upper classes were expected to study either law or medicine, but not necessarily practise in either of these professions and thus some qualified to enter the museum world.
the Wilhelmine establishment, that Tschudi built a unique and historic European modern
art collection.

Many public attacks on French modernism speak of a low tolerance level towards foreign
art and all patrons who supported it. Tschudi’s acquisition programme was truly avant-
garde and a unique achievement, but in the light of substantial opposition, it is all the
more noteworthy. Conservative opposition towards 'art of the archenemy' exposed
Tschudi’s Other and different perspective, which Anton von Werner interpreted as ‘the
outrageous deeds of an Austrian born Swiss, an unpatriotic journeyman'. However,
Schuster claims - it is difficult to see how - that Tschudi’s achievements were in line with
the views of the Kaiser, who advocated a Nationalgalerie policy that should not be
perceived as provincial. However, this chapter’s evidence has confirmed the notion that
the Kaiser’s views were first and foremost conservative and nationalistic. Schuster further
argues that Wilhelm was pleased by the French and British press praising Tschudi’s art
programme, which focused on German ‘tolerance’ towards the French avant-garde and
highlighted the slow acceptance of Impressionism in France and French museums. In
fact, Schuster argues that the decree of 29 August 1899 was ‘only’ restricting the
prominent position of French art works, as a royal approval was nothing new, a policy
already in position in previous years. Yet, Jorn Grabowski has shown that Kaiser
Wilhelm II’s notorious decree of 29 August 1899… ‘restricted acquisition policies
substantially and interfered with the gallery’s autonomy without any sensitivity’.

......berichtigte Erlass Kaiser Wilhelms II vom 29 August 1899 markiert in der Geschichte der
Nationalgalerie ein Ereignis, das die Erwerbungspolitik wesentlich beeinträchtigte und zugleich
empfindlich die Autonomie der Galerie eingriff. 861

860 P-K Schuster, Tschudi und der Kampf, pp.21-40, here p.27.
861 Jorn Grabowski, Ibid. pp.391-395 (393)
Grabowski's scrupulous research shows that Tschudi felt so aggrieved at continuous and growing opposition that he seriously considered leaving the Nationalgalerie as early as October 1903, as he confided in Alfred Lichtwark. Despite conflicting scholarly interpretations, which sanitise these embarrassing episodes, the overwhelming evidence of this chapter suggests that the Kaiser did control Tschudi's modernist programme and that as a direct result, Tschudi was considerably restrained. On the other hand, it is also true that on many occasions Tschudi was able to convince Wilhelm to accept generous gifts, possibly on the grounds that it raised the Empire's European art profile, as the foreign press reported so positively of the Nationalgalerie acquisitions. Ironically, it was the interpretation of a 'positive European art profile' on which the two men disagreed: Wilhelm believed in Nationalität, Idealismus und Schönheit and völkisch-nationale Kunst, whereas Tschudi advocated the opposite perspective by rejecting classical beauty and supporting universal modernist art beyond national and political borders. Wilhelm, as a lay artist and authoritarian, was known to have said to Tschudi in 1908 'Warten Sie, bis ein anderer Kaiser kommt, der weniger von Kunst versteht'. Even Schuster concedes that Wilhelm's self-aggrandisement had at times caused ridicule and derision, concluding that he was often his own worst enemy; he pointed out that the Berlin bourgeoisie and liberal press took pleasure in mocking the conservatism of the Emperor. By 1923,  

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863 Meier-Graefe Diaries, 1898 pp.590-594, cited by P-K Schuster, Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne p. 28. Of course, Wilhelm could not foresee that he was last Hohenzollern ruler and that the Second German Empire would collapse with him; indeed, the changes in art policies, were short lived during the Weimar Republic, as during the National Socialist period, art and politics were once more closely linked, with grave implications for artists, dealers and patrons.
864 Even Reichskanzler Fürst Hohenlohe-Schillingfurst objected to the Kaiser's ban for the aristocracy and senior civil servants to enter the new Secession building in 1898, which the chancellor provocatively visited and praised.
Alfred Lichtwark assessed the patrons of modernist art and the Tschudi circle with the words:

.....alles, was jung und untemehmend war, was Bildung und (oder) Vermögen und internationale Kontakte hatte, war künstlerisch gegen den Kaiser. Das jüdische Grossbürgertum zumal, das mit betrachtlichen finanziellen Mitteln auch moderne Kunst sammelte. Es waren in erster Linie jüdische Unternehmer und Bankiers, die Hugo von Tschudi den Rücken stärkten und seinen spekulären Erwerbungen moderner Franzosen gegen den Willen des Kaisers.865

**Tschudi and Jewish Sponsors of French Modernism**

In liberal circles, Tschudi’s modernist commitment and independent courage had become an inspirational role model for numerous progressive museum directors, whilst he was a respected advisor to private collectors. Schuster argues that despite Wilhelm’s conservatism, Jews from the liberal and progressive *Grossbürgertum* were loyal to the Kaiser as their loyalty was based on their newly acquired wealth as a result of Wilhelm’s economic policies. Schuster does not allow for the fact that many 19th-century German Jews had fought for liberal policies since their representation by Gabriel Riesser and Johann Jacoby in the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848.866 Indeed, the Jewish *Bürgertum* was often committed to liberal politics whilst they took significant roles in the industrialisation of the country and strongly contributed to a new commercial mass market, both as suppliers as well as consumers.867 Thus their openness to pioneering ventures in industry translated itself into modernism in art and cultural projects and the Kaiser’s conservatism proved increasingly difficult to accept, despite personal loyalties to Wilhem I as a figure head. Moreover, wealth was not the motivating factor, as the

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865 Lichtwark 1923, II, p. 123 as cited by Schuster, p.31 *Tschudi und der Kampf*
866 See David Sorkin *The Transformation of German Jewry* pp.71-120 and Peter Pulzer *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism* pp.185-284.
867 Further facilitated by the Jewish legal enfranchisement in 1871.
prosperity of German Grossbürgertum did not translate itself into modernist art patronage. Admittedly, many members of the Jewish bourgeoisie were indeed royalists, but without subscribing to his political platform. Moreover, many Wilhemine Jews were aware of increasing political anti-Semitism which was compounded by the rise of the nationalistic conservatives after 1879, forcing the Jewish minority to re-evaluate their 'conservative' stance. Thus several and complex issues converged into an 'identity crisis': on the one hand, German Jews were trying to build new secular identities whilst shedding their religious practices and traditions; on the other hand, they also displayed a growing self-confidence, a contradictory collective behaviour pattern not unusual amongst minorities. The often mentioned 'identity crisis' amongst the German Jewish bourgeoisie, as noticed by many eminent writers, was part of the transformation of political, social and cultural histories in the making. The crisis was exacerbated by the fact that French modernist art was identified as Verfallskunst, as 'degenerate art' and a symptom of a disease. Ironically, it was Jewish Max Nordau who published in 1892/93 Entartung, a book that became a bestseller and which condoned attacks on modernism. Its argument was based on interpretations since the Goethe era, that 'healthy' art was classical art and therefore French modernism such as Impressionism was degenerate'. The accusation of modernism as being a symptom of a 'disease' was a concept, which had developed almost into an obsession towards the late 19th-century, the concept explored in literature, drama and art, permeating much of cultural discourse.

868 Peter Pulzer, The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism, pp.71-120 and pp.185-284
869 Max Nordau (1849-1923) (alias Simon Maximillian Suedfeld) adapted Cesare Lombroso's term 'degeneracy' to the modernist works of Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Wagner, Ibsen and Zola. See Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 12, p.1211. It is tragically ironic that a Jew and later Zionist should redefine the term 'degenerate', which was appropriated to much of modern art which German Jews had supported and collected with such dedication. See 'Entartete Kunst', Exh. Cat (1991) also Schuster's reference p.39 to the storage of modern art in 1938 at Schloss Niederschonhausen, Berlin.
Conclusion

On Tschudi’s death, Max Liebermann’s spoke at his memorial service at the Prag-Friedhof in Stuttgart on 27 November 1911, praising him as a friend and as ‘a man of principle, who would never relinquish his beliefs’.

Liebermann recounted how Tschudi had often considered suicide because of his ill health, but his singular mission coupled with his natural optimism sustained his spirit. Furthermore, Liebermann said that despite his reserved demeanour, Tschudi was a passionate man and a man of visionary principles. It was his *bestrickende Liebenswürdigkeit* his dazzling charm, which assured generous patrons without whom he could not have achieved his life’s work. Liebermann believed that Tschudi saw the essence of art in its continuing evolution:

> *Wesen der Kunst…… das ewig Werdende. Er erkannte, dass jeder Maler nur dann ein Künstler ist, wenn er seine eigene Sprache spricht und dass es eine Thorheit ist, von einem modernen Künstler zu verlangen, dass er wie Rembrandt oder Velasquez malen solle… Er erkannte, dass der Impressionismus nicht eine neue Richtung in der Malerei ist, sondern eine neue Weltanschauung, die nicht etwa den Verfall der Malerei bedeutet, sondern eine Wiederbelebung.*

Dr. Winterstein and Dr. Braune, Tschudi’s close Munich collaborators attended his memorial service in Stuttgart, but no officials were sent from Berlin, indicating Tschudi’s banishment from establishment circles; his life long friends Max Liebermann, Meier-Graefe and Harry Graf Kessler attended, the latter interpreting Tschudi’s role in the context of ‘martyrdom’.

> *Er wählte gute Bilder, gute Werke aus, aber ob aus spontanem Geschmack oder nach gewissen Grundsätzen, oder nach Theorien über den Entwicklungsgang der Kunst ist mir nie klar geworden… Er war ein Martyrer und doch hatte man manchmal seinen Zweifel an der Sicherheit seines Glaubens. Vielleicht musste er sich aufopfern…*

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870 Max Liebermann’s speech in *Kunst und Künstler*, Year X, Berlin 1912 pp.179-182.
872 Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch, 27.11. 1911.
Georg Swarzenski and the Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main \(^873\)
(1906 – 1914/1933/37)

In April 1906, the Jewish-born Georg Swarzenski - trained as a lawyer and as an art historian- was appointed head of the Städelsche Kunstinstitut, an art gallery that enjoyed the status of an independent institution. \(^874\) After the Nationalgalerie Berlin, the Neue Pinakothek München and briefly for three years, the Weimar Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, the Städelsche Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt was the most significant institution to invite and confront modernism, led by Georg Swarzenski with the substantial support of Frankfurt’s Jewish citizens.

The Frankfurt Städelsche Kunstinstitut was the city’s foremost art museum, founded in 1817; it was bequeathed by the banker and merchant Johann Friedrich Städel to accommodate his private collection of Dutch, Flemish and German art. It is compelling to note that German bankers helped to established both, the Berlin Nationalgalerie and the Frankfurt Städel Kunstinstitut in order to house their private collections. \(^875\) Indeed, Jewish bankers were also leading patrons, and therefore the comparison between Wegener, Städel and Jewish bankers is worth making within an art-historical as well as socio-economic context. Thus, the histories of art are often closely linked to the socio-

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\(^{873}\) Georg Swarzenski (1876-1957)

\(^{874}\) Swarzenski's doctorate in 1900 was on Regensburger Buch Illustration and was apprenticed at the Berliner Kunstgewerbe Museum. He was appointed to the directorship of the Frankfurt institution, where he retained his position until 1933, when he was amsenthoben (removed from office) by the Nazis. He managed to retain a consultancy post until 1937, immigrating to the USA in 1938. He was appointed Director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1939, see Kern, p.320. Previous directors at the Städelsche Kunstinstitut had been Henry Thode, 1889-1891, Heinrich Weizsacker 1891-1904, and Ludwig Justi 1904-1905, followed by Georg Swarzenski 1906-1933/1937. The Städel director was also responsible for the Liebighaus, a Villa donated by Baron Liebig, which Swarzenski turned into a sculpture gallery in 1909. See Martin Sonnabend, Georg Swarzenski und das Liebighaus (Frankfurt/ Main 1990)

economic histories of banking families and Jewish banking dynasties holding a special place in Jewish social history.876

Another patron, Ludwig Joseph Pfungst from Worms bequeathed to the city of Frankfurt in 1905 the sum of two million Mark with the specific instruction that the money was to be spent on the purchase of art by contemporary artists.877 Thereafter, the municipality established a separate Städtische Galerie and Swarzenski was invited to head both institutions. The original museum was to continue with the acquisitions of Old Masters, whereas the new Städtische Galerie was to concentrate on modernist art.878 Indeed, Swarzenski was to make his art historical mark with the establishment of a substantial sculpture collection at the Liebighaus879 and with his programme of French Impressionists at the Städelische Kunstinstitut.880 In keeping with other progressive museum directors such as Tschudi, Lichtwark and Kessler, Swarzenski interpreted French modernism as a Vermittler von Lebenswerten and Französische Probestellung which encouraged the free development of art that was to correlate to a visible reality.

Das wesentliche dabei liegt aber nicht in den Einflüssen und Abhängigkeiten, sondern der Macht der Probleme, in der Erschließung künstlerischer Möglichkeiten......Kunst ein Korrelat der sichtbaren Wirklichkeit zu sein habe.881

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876 A close study on the subject is still outstanding, although the Rothschild’s art collections have come under closer scrutiny in exhibitions on this banking dynasty, one held at the Jewish Museum in New York and the other at the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt am Main. Indeed, the Edmond de Rothschild art collection (Southampton, UK) employs a curator to this day, Michael Hall, who was a Vising Scholar at the Getty Centre, Los Angeles, California during 2004.

877 Pfungst died 4 July 1905 and the bequest came through in October 1905, Markus Kersting, p.16.

878 In 1928, the two galleries were annexed and Swarzenski presented a proposal for the restructuring of the two institutions. Kersting, p.16.

879 The Liebighaus was founded in 1909.
Städelsche Kunstinstitut Acquisition Programme. 882

In 1899, the Protestant Stadtrat (City Councillor) Dr. Viktor Mössinger had donated Sisley's *Seine Ufer* to the Städel Kunstinstitut, the same year as it had also accepted Max Liebermann's *Freistunde im Amsterdamer Waisenhaus*. However, the Städel's next donation of a French modernist painting had been Claude Monet's *Maisons au bord de la Zaan*, 1871 (Städel Kunstinstitut) (Plate 13) also paid for by Mössinger; 883 it was accepted by director Ludwig Justi, despite official resistance by the conservative museum's acquisition committee. 884 However, after his appointment to the directorship in 1906, Georg Swarzenski began to acquire modernist works such as Gustave Courbet, *La Mer Orageuse, La Vague*, 1869-70 (Städel Kunstinstitut) (Plate 14); 885 Claude Monet, *Le Dejeuner* 1868 (Städel Kunstinstitut) (Plate 15) 886 and two works by Auguste Renoir, *La Fin du Dejeuner* 1879 (Städel Kunstinstitut) (Plate 16) 887 and *Jeune Fille Lisant*, 1886. (Städel Kunstinstitut) (Plate 17), works which are still in the Städel to this day.

881 Swarzenski, Deutsche und Französische Kunst. pp. 19-20, cited by Gutbrod, p. 104
884 Archive of the Städelischen Kunstinstitut, Daily Minutes, June 1905; the works by Monet and Sisley were given by Victor Mössinger 'in the same way', Swarzenski to Karl Ernst Osthau, 4. Nov. 1911, also quoted in provenance of *Portrait du Dr. Gachet* at Christie's, New York, 1990. Saltzmann, p. 28
885 Courbet had exhibited in a Frankfurt leather warehouse as early as 1852. See p. 8 Impressionismus. 6 Französische Meisterwerke, Städel Frankfurt (1999) This painting was acquired in 1907, see Klaus Herding, 'Gustave Courbet, Die Woge,' Meisterwerke, Städel Frankfurt, (1999) pp. 16-29. Two other versions of this work were also acquired by Tschudi and Gustav Pauli, as it was recognised for its influence on abstract modernism; see Bernhard Maaz, p. 310 in Tschudi Cat.
886 This was acquired in 1910; see John House, Claude Monet *Le Dejeuner*, pp. 31-41 in Meisterwerke. Swarzenski had another seven works sent on approval by Cassirer on 22 April 1910, see Bismarck, p. 33. Monet sold this painting to the French Jewish collector Fromenthal in 1875; it was bought by the Städel from Durand-Ruel in 1910, see John House, Meisterwerke, p. 41.
Having become an admirer of van Gogh’s art, Swarzenski persuaded Mössinger in 1912 to donate the *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* 1890, (Saito Ryoei, Tokyo, Japan) (Plate 18) that came to represent the donors’ third contested contribution to the museum and a testament to modern interpretation of portrait painting.\(^{888}\) As to this work, van Gogh had written in a letter to his sister Wilhelmine:

> I painted a portrait of Dr. Gachet with an expression of melancholy, which would seem like a grimace to many who saw the canvas. And yet it is necessary to paint like this, for otherwise one could not get an idea of the extent to which, in comparison with the calmness of the old portraits, there is expression in our modern heads, and passion, like waiting for something, a development. Sad, yet gentle, but clear and intelligent. This is how we ought to make many portraits.\(^{889}\)

In 1912, Swarzenski added four modernist works: Edgar Degas, *Musiciens et l’orchestre, 1870-74* (Städelische Kunstinstitut) (Plate 19)\(^{890}\) and Edouard Manet, *La Partie de croquet*, 1873 (Städelische Kunstinstitut) (Plate 20)\(^{891}\) and Henri-Edmond Cross, *L’apres-midi au jardin*, 1905 (Städelische Kunstinstitut) (Plate 21).\(^{892}\)

These eleven works came to represent the core of the French modernist collection at the municipal Städelische gallery. These acquisitions stood in contrast to the policies voiced by conservatives who demanded an emphasis on art which represented the newly founded German Reich. Thus in Frankfurt also, municipal politicians pursued one agenda and the liberal Swarzenski and his loyal patrons another, generating positions that were difficult

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\(^{887}\) This was acquired 1910 see Wilfried Wiegand, Auguste Renoir, *La Fin du déjeuner*, Ibid., pp. 85-101.

\(^{888}\) The Städel statues stipulated that works by living artists must be bought without a dealer, but Renoir and Monet directed clients to either Paul Durand-Ruel or Paul Cassirer.

\(^{889}\) It was acquired in 1912, see Markus Kersting, ‘Stete Intensivierung- Sammlungsideen im Städelischen Kunstinstitut, pp. 11-30 (here p. 23-25) in ReVision (1991).

\(^{890}\) Letter to Wilhelmine van Gogh, 23 June 1890, as cited by Orten and Pollock, 1978, p. 77.

\(^{891}\) Monet sold it to Durand-Ruel on 14 June 1873 for 1200 Francs, who sold it to the collector J.B.Faure for the same price; temporarily it was owned by Bernheim-Jeunes, who sold it back to Durand-Ruel; after this it was sold to the Frankfurt Stadel on 12 December 1912 for 125.000 Fanes, see Henri Loyrette, ‘Edgar Degas, Orchestermusiker’, p. 61.
to reconcile. However, as the Empire's conservative art policies were made in Prussian Berlin and not in Hessen, the independent Stadtrepublik of Frankfurt enjoyed sufficient freedom and independence to permit the building of an important collection of French Impressionist art. Indeed, Swarzenski retained his director position until the National Socialist party came to power, when he was 'retired' early in 1937.

By 1914, Swarzenski had acquired further works, such as Delacroix, Denis, Corot, Daubigny and Puvis de Chavannes. This list of French acquisitions indicates the relative positive reception of foreign art in the free city of Frankfurt, being an independent commercial centre with relatively liberal political tendencies. Alfred Lichtwark commented:


However, in Frankfurt too there were some conflicts between local politicians and conservatives who criticised foreign art and urged priority to be given to German artists. Here too there was a discrepancy between the acceptance of 'official art' against 'subversive art' of the French. Here too German hostile voices considered modernist French art inconsequential, with no spiritual value and touching 'only' on superficial, fashionable and visual aspects of daily life, as opposed to addressing idealised themes of Germanic values.

Georg Swarzenski's interest in French Impressionism can be traced to primary sources only after 1909, the year he made several purchases. This stance is particularly

891 This work was acquired in 1912, see James Rubin, Eduard Manet,' Croquer le croquet, Manets Gartenpartie', Stadel exh.cat., pp. 67-83
892 Henri Loyrette,' Edgar Degas, Orchestermusiker', Ibid, pp. 59-65
893 Bismarck, p.33
894 A. Lichtwarck: 'Frankfurt Kunst und Leben um die Jahrhundertwende', as cited by Klaus Gallwitz, p.1905

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surprising, as it was the year of Tschudi's controversial dismissal from Berlin, thus further highlighting Frankfurt's independence. However, the following year of 1910, Bode made a virulent attack on Swarzenski, accusing the colleague of having turned competitor, who made hasty and thoughtless decisions. This anger was based on Bode having lost out to Tschudi on financial sponsorship, but with Swarzenski, Bode lost actual works which he had tried to buy for himself such as the altar of Lucas Cranach which Swarzenski acquired for the Liebighaus.  

During 1910 to 1912, Swarzenski corresponded with - and acquired works from - several major Impressionist art dealers such as Paul Cassirer and the Gurlitt Salon in Berlin, Ernst Arnold in Dresden and the leading Paris art dealers Paul Durand-Ruel, Theodore Druet and Ambroise Vollard, thus Swarzenski was well informed regarding European art developments through German and French contacts.  

Beatrice von Bismarck interprets Swarzenski's acquisition policy as a signifier for the interest in French modernist art in Frankfurt in general and Swarzenski's commitment to it in particular, adding that opposition to French art only fortified the city's resolve in its fight for modernism. She fails to draw any conclusions or attempts any analysis as to its reasons in comparison to the Nationalgalerie, the Pinakothek or the Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe or any other liberal art centres. However, the title of her catalogue essay is clearly stated the issue: 'eine Stadt im Kampf um die Kunst', a city in the struggle of art.  

895 Bismarck, p.32
896 See Bernhard Maaz, in Tschudi und der Kampf, p.130
897 J.Kern, Impressionismus im Wilhelminischen Deutschland (Würzburg, 1989also Bismarck, pp.32 -33.
898 No primary reference by Bismarck for this argument.
899 Beatrice von Bismarck, 'Georg Swarzenski und die Rezeption des Französischen Impressionismus in Frankfurt; Eine Stadt im Kampf um die Kunst, pp.31 -40 in ReVision, Die Moderne im Städel 1906-1937 Exh. Cat (Frankfurt 1991)
Frankfurt Jewish Art Patrons

Making her defense for Frankfurt’s patronage of modern art, Bismark records the opening exhibition of the Frankfurt commercial gallery ‘Moderne Kunsthandlung Marie Held’ (October 1908) which showed one Cézanne and three works by van Gogh; Feilchenfeldt records no sales, nor does Bismarck mention any sales for Cézanne. The same year, there was also the ‘Frankfurter Kunstverein Exhibition’, (14-28 June) showing eighty-two oil paintings and sixteen drawings by van Gogh, most of them on loan from private clients of Paul Cassirer from Moscow and Munich, again no sales were recorded.

There was no modernist exhibition in 1909, but the ‘Frankfurt Kunstverein’ held an exhibition in January, where one van Gogh work sold and in February, the ‘Marie Held Kunsthandlung’ sold a further van Gogh work, its rarity highlighted by the record. Swarzenski’s success in persuading Mössinger in 1911 to donate Portrait of Gr. Gachet was clearly a bold move, a decision that was supported by the Jewish citizen Leopold Sonnemann, Städels’ chairman of the ‘Association of the Friends’. This underlines Swarzenski’s, Sonnemann’s and Messenger’s appreciation of such masterworks against officially accepted art policies and is indicative of the unconventional taste of the individuals involved.

Bismarck minimises the significance of Städel’s acceptance of a van Gogh by observing that in 1909 another local art dealer, Schneider also exhibited Renoir, Gauguin, Mauve

900 W Feilchenfeldt, p. 147
901 Both these Exhibitions printed catalogues, but the Frankfurt show did not, see Feilchenfeldt, p.66. In 1908 Paul Cassirer held a Van Gogh exhibition in Berlin (March 5-22) when he acquired one work for himself and sold three others: two were purchased by Fritz Oppenheim, Die Weissen Rosen and Iris (subsequently it sold to Robert von Mendelssohn, both Berlin Jewish patrons) The third buyer is unidentified. With other words, Frankfurt did not respond to Van Gogh as enthusiastically as Berlin patrons, see chapter IV. Also Feilchenfeldt, p. 146.
and Monticelli and also held a solo exhibition for Fantin-Latour. However, she does not mention whether any works sold nor does she mention the critical reception for the Fantin-Latour exhibition. However, in the same year, Frankfurt Jewish art dealer Marcel Goldschmidt held an exhibition of *Austellung von Meisterwerken aus Frankfurter Privatbesitz*, showing Corot, Courbet, Fantin-Latour, Monet and Renoir. Bismarck thus suggests that the Kunstverein exhibitions and the commercial exhibitions of galleries Held, Schneider and Goldschmidt - the latter showing already sold works and thus not aimed to sell - paved the way for the public discourse on French art. Admittedly, it placed French modernist art into the Frankfurt public domain, but it would have been crucial to analyse its reception and examine its opposition. Furthermore, she does not emphasise that it was the Frankfurt Jewish bourgeoisie who responded in disproportionately large numbers to modernist art, both privately as well as publicly.\(^{902}\) Indeed, Swarzenski's acquisitions were thus an avant-garde trend not reflected in Frankfurt society at large.

In 1912, the Kunstverein held a major retrospective *Die klassische Malerei Frankreichs im 19. Jahrhundert* (July-September) showing 120 works, of which only half were for sale; amongst the works available for purchase were four Corots, three Daubignys, two Courbets, two Daumiers and two Fantin-Latours, one Cross, three van Goghs (none sold) and three Gauguins, Monets, Millets and Sisleys.\(^{903}\) Bismarck reports that the loaned works were from French and German public institutions and private collections without identifying the institutions, private collectors or collections.

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\(^{902}\) See previous chapter III.

Bismarck and Kern suggest that the Kunstverein Exhibition excluded works by Manet because the Städel had never bought works by this artist. They advocate that Frankfurt private collectors were guided by Swarzenski and thus they also refrained from acquiring Manet. However, this is erroneous, since the Kunstinstitut records the acquisition in 1912 of Eduard Manet’s *La partie de croquer*. This work is cited in the exhibition, *Six chefs-d’oeuvre français prêtés par Francfort* shown at the Musée d’Orsay in Paris in 1999. Furthermore, there were also numerous works by Manet in Frankfurt private collections.

In 1913, a year later, the Kunstverein (July-September) showed an exhibition entitled as *Frankfurter Kunstschatze* showing works on loan from private Frankfurt collections exclusively, such as the Hugo Nathan Collection and the Flersheim Collection including works by van Gogh, Monet, Toulouse-Lautrec and Sisley. Indeed, the strongest patronage of French modernism was amongst the Jewish collectors such as the brothers Ernst and Martin Flersheim, Rudolf von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Robert von Hirsch, Louis Koch, Dr. Hugo Nathan, Sidney Posen, Dr. Heinrich Simon and Eduard Simon-Wolfskehl. These collectors not only owned the most significant private collections, but also supported the modernist acquisitions at the Städel Kunstinstitut.

Beatrice von Bismarck and other scholars have argued that there was a close correlation between the art collected by Frankfurt’s bourgeoisie and Swarzenski’s museum.

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904 Josef Kern, p. 290.
906 See previous chapter
907 Feilchenfeldt, p. 149
908 Josef Kern, p. 290
909 See chapter III and Appendix 1
910 No details were available regarding individual sponsorship besides those recorded above.
acquisitions, the two being interrelated and mutually beneficial. As this thesis has argued in earlier chapters, it is feasible that here too there was group solidarity and peer pressure amongst the Frankfurt Jewish including director Swarzenski, dealers Marcel Goldschmidt and Ludwig Schames and private and public art patrons.

Städelsche Museums-Verein, Leopold Sonnemann and Jewish Art Patrons

In 1899, Leopold Sonnemann re-established the Städelsche Museums-Verein. He personally contacted and co-opted friends and acquaintances from the Frankfurt Grossbürgertum and the Frankfurt Jewish bourgeoisie, some already committed private collectors. Leopold Sonnemann was a liberal Reichstagsabgeordneter in the Frankfurt Stadtversammlung - he had fought against Bismark's social decrees - and the founder of the respected daily newspaper Frankfurter Zeitung, as such he was one of Frankfurt's most influential Jewish citizens.


Ludwig Schames represented primarily German Expressionism, which Swarzenski also purchased for the museum. See Expressionismus und Exil, Die Sammlung Ludwig und Rosy Fischer also Shulamith Behr 'Supporters and Collectors of Expressionism' in Germany Expressionism, pp.45-58, where Behr points out in relation to German Expressionism 'the Jewish ... participation in the project of modernity, serves to highlight the extremely fragile and short-lived path of this so-called renaissance.', here p.54.

For a full history of the museum and its 'Verein der Freunde' up to the 1970s, see Geschichte des Städelischen Museums-Verein Frankfurt am Main (1994) The section on Jewish members of the association is particularly revealing with a focus on Leopold Sonnemann. (pp. 39-42) However, equally significant for the Jewish contribution to the Museum association were the years 1914-1933 (pp. 85-96).

The original 'Städels Verein' was founded in June 1899 and was progressive from its inception. In 1900 it acquired for its first Exhibition, Max Liebermann's Freistunde im Amsterdamer Waisenhaus, purchased at Paul Cassirer in Berlin., see Josef Kern, pp.195-6. The model for the Sonnemann-led Verein was the 1895 founded Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein in Berlin, which was founded and led by Wilhelm von Bode. The other model was the Paris (1897) Société des Amis du Louvre, see 'Gründung des Städelischen Museums-Vereins', pp.31-35 in Städelische Museums-Verein (Frankfurt am Main, 1994) Städelischer Museums-Verein, pp. 37-38.
The newly revitalised Association - Verein - aimed at extending its membership and facilitate new acquisitions. It also aimed at raising awareness amongst the general museum going public, particularly the wealthier members of the bourgeoisie. This was to encourage them to collect art privately and, in old museum tradition, to bequeath their art collection - in due course - to the Städel in their will. Not only Sonnemann, but also Swarzenski thus kept in close contact with all private collectors, a relationship he interpreted as part of his professional responsibilities.

The membership list of the Kunstverein comprised on 31 March 1901 eighty members and as many as half were Jews and had been personally approached by Sonnemann and his volunteer team. Indeed, many Museum-Verein members received professional advice from Swarzenski for their private collections. Similarly, Swarzenski was included in their insider information of the European art market, such as what art was available, where and at what price. Furthermore, Swarzenski wrote critical reviews and essays on private collections, such as the Harry Fuld Sammlung and the Hugo von Nathan Sammlung. Swarzenski also wrote the text for the auction catalogue in 1914 for the

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916 Annual membership was 200 Mark, life membership was 5000 Mark, both sums kept the membership to a small select numbers of individuals of ca. 100 in 1901, Ibid pp.34-38. It also encouraged donations, sponsorship or advantageous loans and aimed at the growth of subscriptions and encouraged bequests. He expressed these views in an article published in a 'dictionary on communal sciences'...‘it is only natural that a museum director encourages donations and sponsorship and thus maintains a close relationship with the museum’s supporters and private collectors’. Swarzenski also believed that enthusiasm for a public collection should encourage appropriate sacrifice. See Georg Swarzenski, Kunstsammlungen, in Handwörterbuch der Kommunalwissenschaften, Jena, 1922, p.207, cited by Bismarck, p.35.


918 There is evidence for this connection in the correspondence between Swarzenski and Robert von Hirsch, relating to works by Bonnard (9, 11 Dec. 1911 and 24, January 1912), Bismarck, p.35 and works by Matisse, see Sotheby's Catalogue of Robert von Hirsch Collection, New York, 1979.

920 Kunst und Künstler, XV, Heft 3, Dec. 1916, pp.105 - 120.
Eduard Schnapper Sammlung;²¹ as for the Sternheim Sammlung, Swarzenski admired it and maybe even hoped to benefit one day as he had helped the Sternheims to store their private collection during the war years of 1915-17.²²

Despite Swarzenski’s French modernist acquisitions before 1914, he neither acquired neo-Impressionists (Gauguin, Cézanne, Toulouse-Lautrec, Signac or Seurat), nor did he acquire – despite being offered such works by art dealers- at this stage works by Picasso, Vlaminck, Matisse or Derain, all artists whose works were acquired by local private collectors, thus proving again private collector’s independence and avant-gardism.²³

This emphasises the difference between Frankfurt private collectors’ more pronounced taste for new artists and movements and Swarzenski’s public institutional programme, which was guided by a more cautious philosophy. Swarzenski did not believe that art works should carry a political message, but that art should remain ‘neutral’, ‘timeless’ and ‘universal’, furthermore, he was suspicious of certain modernist trends, such as the Futurists. Indeed, Swarzenki made a distinction between the independence of private collectors and the responsibilities of a public institution, which he defined as a ‘lasting home for art’.²⁴

Swarzenski’s museum policies and art ideologies were clearly publicised in his official response to the infamous Vinnen Attack; by referring to the universally and the eternally

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²² During the war years of 1915-17, Carl and Thea Sternheim moved from Munich to the vicinity of Frankfurt. Swarzenki was protective of their valuable art collection and offered storage facilities at the Institute; through Swarzenski’s mediation, the Kunstverein Exhibition *Neue Kunst aus Frankfurter Privatbesitz* (1917) included art works from the Sternheim collection. Was Swarzenki totally altruistic in offering the collection shelter during the war? See chapter IV and Appendix A 4.
²³ Bismarck, p.36 and Josef Kern, p. 321
²⁴ Kersting, 1991/92, pp. 24-25 also Swarzenski, 1922, p. 207.
valid, Swarzenski confirmed the *gravitas* of modernism, very much in keeping with other Wilhelmine art historians and commentators:

An die in Museen befindliche Kunst müsse der höchste Massstab angelegt weden, weil ' in den Meisterwerken der bildenden Kunst der schöpferische Menschengeist in immer neuer Weise mit der Menschheit und mit der Welt sich auseinandersetzt' .... die Werke der grossen Meister bieten einen 'Lebenswert' der über das spezifisch künstlerische Erlebnis .....herausgeht.925

...in der die Welt und ihre Erscheinungen in neuer und in sich vollkommener Weise schöpferisch gestaltet sind.926

Carl Gebhard, art critic of the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung* and organiser of the exhibition of *Die klassische Malerei Frankreichs im 19. Jahrhundert* (1912) differentiated between French and other art:


The perception that French Impressionism stood for 'experienced, lived life and not for an idealistic interpretation of life or for the life of ideas' were new concepts. But public donors - as well as private collectors - were committed to this new *Weltanschauung* and their contribution to Frankfurt’s leading museum; they did not consider the establishment’s opposition to be sufficient reason to desist from supporting new trends.

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925 Swarzenski, 1911, p.19
926 Swarzenski, 1911, p. 20
927 Gebhard, 1912 p. 7.
Conclusion

This section concludes that first, Swarzenski received substantial financial and ideological support for modernist acquisitions from the Städelischen Museums-Verein, which was led by the Jewish liberal citizen Leopold Sonnemann and numerous members from the prosperous Jewish Wirtschafts und Bildungsbürgertum. Second, the support by German and a relatively large number of Jewish patrons helped to boost Swarzenski’s confidence in modernist acquisitions, whilst in turn his leadership influenced them. Third, there is evidence that private collectors displayed greater commitment to avant-garde taste compared to Swarzenski’s museum policies. Fourth, the collaboration between Swarzenski and Jewish patrons - most of them bankers, businessmen and industrialists - was underlined by their mutually beneficial exchange of information, facilitated by their European professional contacts and the changing international art market. Lastly, the acquisitions of French Impressionism and post-impressionism were reflected in the cultural Zeitgeist of a relatively liberal Frankfurt in the decade before 1914. Thus it must be noted that the Frankfurt’s Städel Institute became, despite some conservative tendencies, besides the Berlin Nationalgalerie Berlin, the second most important public institution to house French modernism in Imperial Germany. It was the Städel’s municipal status, backed by a liberal and prosperous bourgeoisie, the artistic vision of Georg Swarzenski and his diplomatic skills that assured French modernist art its relatively strong representation in Frankfurt’s leading contemporary art museum.

928 Swarzenski had been offered by the Munich art gallery Galerie Neue Kunst, works by Franz Marc, Helbig, Kirchner, Heckel, Vlaminck and Picasso, but on the whole Swarzenski declined. See correspondence with Alfred Reichert, Paris/Berlin, 21.5.1914, as cited by Josef Kern, p.197 and 321.

929 See modernist art centres in Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Bremen, Mannheim, and then München’s Neue Pinakothek, see Appendix A 1, also Josef Kern, p.195

930 After the 1920’s, Swarzenski’s previous modernist trends changed to more conservative policies that seemed to enable him to survive in his position until 1937.
Although Tschudi was a model to most, if not all, progressive directors, each case of leadership varied and therefore brought different responses and achieved different results. For example, Swarzenski did not attempt to exhibit French modernist works in an independent room, but placed them interspersed with more conservative art. In this respect he was less avant-garde than Tschudi, but more diplomatic and less confrontational and therefore encountered less opposition, although there were many other factors at stake as has been shown above:

Heute soll und will das Museum [...] möglichst direkt und vollkommen das künstlerische Erlebnis übermitteln, - als eigenen, autonomen Bezirk schöpferischer Geistigkeit.\(^3\)

Throughout this chapter, the data on Wilhelmine Jewish public donors has been examined in the context of their possible ‘acculturation’ to the dominant culture and it concludes that the acquisition of avant-garde French Impressionism and post-Impressionism was negotiated as the critical and independent Other. However, their cultural activities were in alignment with liberal values as well as many values of Wilhelmine citizenship and still allowed for loyalty to the Kaiser. None the less, Jewish private and public patrons displayed independent behaviour and taste that was different from most of their German peers, regardless of their prosperity which was not a primary correlation. The profile of this élite shows that they were a group apart that tolerated a plurality of aesthetics and cultures before such ideologies became more widely accepted during the short period of the Weimar Republic.

CONCLUSION

Although various articles have appeared on German Jewish patrons of French modernist art in previous scholarly publications, this thesis is the first that identifies and assembles in one study all major private German Jewish collectors and public donors of French Impressionists and post-Impressionists in Wilhelmine Germany, positioning Paul Cassirer, the Jewish art dealer, as its pivotal centre. The secondary purpose has been to examine the extent to which these Jewish patrons diverged in their behaviour and taste from mainstream German society, thus allowing the construction of a profile of the German Jewish cultural avant-garde élite. This profile has resulted in the illumination of the ‘space and voice’ of the Other, often played out against critical and popular hostility.

A further aim was the exploration of a possible rationale as to why German Jewish patrons pre-1914 were the greatest supporters of French modernist art in Europe, this development being especially intriguing as Germany displayed, of all countries, the strongest opposition to such art. In the light of this thesis, it is now possible to draw a profile of German Jewish modernist art collectors and assess their art collections, as well as appreciating their donations and sponsorship to three Wilhelmine institutions. The study shows that Germany led the European Impressionist art market, both in private collecting and in donating to public museums. As to German Jewish public sponsorship, the study shows that these patrons wished to be pro-active in the promotion of Wilhelmine modernist art and culture, hoping to affect change in the public sphere. At the same time, the thesis has explored the transformation of this generation’s Jewish élite and proposes the notion that this circle may have been using their embrace of modernist art patronage as a component in the building of new secular identities.
Chapters I and II have shown that from 1871 onwards, a small circle of French Jews were at the forefront of the cultural avant-garde in France, often influencing Impressionist art and artists, both in the content of their work as well as in marketing such art. It showed that when French Impressionism first reached Germany, it was taken up by a number of German (gentile) progressive patrons, writers, museum directors and liberal German Jewish francophile supporters in a climate of general incomprehension and conservative opposition.

Chapter III shows how the Berlin Jewish art dealer Paul Cassirer became a spokesman for contemporary German art in general and for French modernist art in particular. In the process, he created a German Jewish clientèle base that changed the European art market for French Impressionism and post-Impressionism irreversibly. It also showed how Cassirer pioneered the market for the art of van Gogh, encouraged critical appraisal of his work as well as publishing the correspondence between the van Gogh brothers. The support of modernism and van Gogh in particular embroiled Cassirer in xenophobic, even anti-Semitic attacks to which he felt compelled to react publicly. The chapter suggests that van Gogh’s vision of ‘utopia and modernity’ may have linked Cassirer and van Gogh patrons in a shared project.

Furthermore, chapter III has argued that Paul Cassirer was an aesthetic tastemaker and ideological Kulturträger of a new Zeitgeist. The German Jew Paul Cassirer - however conciliatory his generation tried to be - emerged as a revolutionary leader who wanted to destroy the old and create the new. The chapter also shows that the avant-garde stance in authoritarian Wilhelmine Germany invited attack by conservative and nationalistic
factions that linked art, modernism, Jews and xenophobia. Hence, these policies opposed not only French modernist art, but also prevented full acceptance of these German Jewish patrons in mainstream society and reconfirmed their marginality comparable to fellow liberal Germans, with whom they shared many values and aspirations.

Chapter IV has offered biographical and socio-cultural data to counter assumed trends of Jewish acculturation to the Wilhelmine majority. It suggests that Jewish support for French modernism emerged as a particular extension of an existing German Jewish 'sub-culture'. The chapter has identified twenty-two major and eleven minor German-Jewish collectors and their French modernist art collections and the resulting profile has revealed a number of interesting themes. It has shown that although many private collectors were loyal to the conservative Kaiser on many levels, they constituted a highly individualistic and independent group, whose political enfranchisement of 1871 and their Wilhelmine (socio) - economic success nourished their autonomy both professionally and culturally. The study concludes that it was neither wealth, nor potential profit through investments or an inferiority status that which motivated this avant-garde group, but a genuine commitment to art for art's sake. Contributory factors for their enthusiastic reception of French modernism can be traced to several components. Besides a certain financial status which allowed for the collecting of art, it can be traced to a certain mind set. This was brought about by characteristics of the first generation of newly enfranchised German Jews: an increase in geographical mobility which resulted in greater urbanity, better access to secondary education and travel, a propensity for other languages and an open mind towards other people and other cultures which predisposed them to the new, the
modern. Moreover, this Jewish group was unhindered by historic Germanic idealised notions of traditions. These patrons' taste for modernist art was often influenced by direct contact with France and an apparent desire – on many levels - to identify closely with art and culture of the French Republic. For this group, France had become a model for freedom and equality since the French Revolution, despite contemporary shockwaves reverberating through European Jewish communities during the Dreyfus trials around 1900.

Their taste in art was also influenced by accessibility to view and purchase modernist art in galleries and museums in their own cities. Moreover, it was also shaped and influenced by their own peers in their social circle. Here they encouraged and sought personal contacts to contemporary artists, art writers, museum directors and other like-minded liberals from the world of the avant-garde. Indeed, the patrons' social life was clannish and Jewish patrons mixed predominantly in Jewish or non-Jewish liberal, cosmopolitan circles, thus creating their own pressure group, which also acted as a point of reference and solidarity and as a buffer against an often hostile environment. Thus modernist art patronage provided for a small exclusive élite a means of self-expression in a modern consumer society, where Jewish traditions and rituals were no longer adhered to or considered important.

Chapter V shows that German Jewish public sponsorship was carried out in close alliance with Hugo von Tschudi and Georg Swarzenski, two visionary museum directors and their liberal supporters. Again, this collaboration with two individuals was taking place in divergence from majority behaviour, policy and taste, and Jewish patronage thus stood in
contrast to the hitherto assumed ambitions of acculturation to the dominant culture.

Furthermore, the prosperity of the German Jewish élite has not proven to be a correlating factor, since only a few Germans were modernist art patrons, although the prosperity of the *Gründerjahre* would have allowed them to be leaders in such ventures, if they so desired.

The ‘difference’ of Jewish public donors was particularly complex: on the one hand, Jewish public patronage to French modernism in Wilhelmine museums was arguably perceived as subversive, yet it was based on German Jewish feelings of patriotism. This was proven by the fact that patrons did not collect such art only privately, but also wanted to patronise such art publicly, proving that they wanted to influence museum policies and expected to affect change.

Thus, these modernist German Jewish patrons displayed the group behaviour of an exclusive élite circle that set them apart from others. Yet, one of the core hypotheses of this thesis argues that French Impressionism might have appealed not only for aesthetic reasons, but also because it stood for an ‘iconography of inclusion’. This seeming paradox only highlights Jewish aspirations of wanting to become active partners in the decision-making process of artistic and cultural policies. By making modernist donations to public museums, Jewish patrons wanted their voice to be heard, even or because it was the progressive voice of the Other. Indeed, the power of French modernism was associated with political, artistic and cultural internationalism and inclusive ideologies, tenets that were perceived as a threat to the Wilhelmine Reich. It was this ambivalence towards modernism and modernity that fostered a climate of distrust; on the one hand, the
majority of German Jews at the end of the 19th century aimed at integration into mainstream society, on the other hand, they embraced modernism as their liberal domain.

Thus the history of collecting stands not only for a discipline of art history, but also offers a history of ideas which is based on the emergence of new artistic movements, its critics and dealers, all joined by a common project. By having looked at key figures and their strategies and mapped out their network, this thesis has thrown considerable light on this circle’s embrace of new aesthetics which came to alter their ethics too.

Thus the history of marketing and collecting centres on the discourse of taste and values; ultimately, this history of art dealers and collector-patrons stands for the European histories of art patronage, a theme that constantly crosses boundaries of various disciplines.

Ultimately, this thesis contends that German Jewish patrons did affect German modernist taste and values in the long-term, as much as, or probably even more than, German taste and values moulded them. This thesis has suggested that a certain group of Wilhelmine Jews embraced modernity and modernism as something positive, whereas most of the German establishment feared and tried to delay modernist trends before 1914. However, from 1900 onwards, visually and ideologically, the ambivalences of modernity were explored through the utopian and apocalyptic visions of war, revolutions and counter revolutions that ultimately offered a searching and original new iconography of German Expressionism.

During the 1930’s and 1940s, many modernist private collections were dispersed and museum collections partially sold or destroyed. Fortunately, a small percentage of art
works donated to the Nationalgalerie Berlin, the Neue Pinakothek and the Städelsche Kunstinstitut have survived in the museums’ permanent collections. Had French modernist art not been opposed during the Wilhelmine era, nor marginalised during the brief years of the Weimar Republic, nor persecuted during the long years of the National Socialist reign, Germany today, could boast the most significant public French Impressionist and post-Impressionist collections in Europe, with no equal worldwide.

Ultimately, the study concludes that French Impressionist philosophies of personal freedom and subjectivity were a fundamental Weltanschauung that appealed to Jewish sensibilities. Indeed, this only endorses the core notion of this thesis that has pointed to social, political and moral questions beyond art and cultural history, aesthetics or the international art market. Indeed, it suggests that avant-garde art may be interpreted as a universal symbol for progress, tolerance and free expression. Not only art, but the response to art, is a cultural mirror of its time.
EPILOGUE (1914-1926)

This thesis covers the period 1896-1914 and therefore the years up to 1926 fall outside its brief. However, in order to achieve closure to the theme of the German Jewish experience and visual modernism in the 20th century, it is tempting to complete the narrative. It is equally compelling to focus on Paul Cassirer's life until his death in 1926 as he stands as a paradigm for the trials and tribulations of the Wilhelmine artistic and cultural avant-garde.

Paul Cassirer, War, Art and the Weimar Republic

As war clouds gathered over the Paris horizon in July 1914, Auguste Renoir was finishing the commissioned portrait of Tilla Durieux. After its completion Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux left Paris to return to Berlin via Holland as Germany had declared war on 1st August on Russia and on the 3rd August on France. Like many Germans, both Christian and Jewish, they welcomed a war that promised a new life in a new Europe. In the heat of patriotic enthusiasm, Cassirer founded the journal *Kriegszeit* and *Kunstflugblätter* in August 1914 and aged 43, he volunteered for army service the following month. He learned to drive a motor car and served as a courier-driver and began commuting between Berlin and Ypres in Belgium, being awarded the Iron Cross in September 1914. Paul Cassirer's enthusiasm was short lived; he became depressed and

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932 This commission was comparable to commissions by French Jewish dealer-patrons of their own wives and families. As yet another example of the French situation being a model for some francophile German patrons. As the Durieux painting was too wet to be moved, Paul Durand-Ruel had agreed to store it. For further details on the fate of the painting, see Tilla Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre* (München, 1971).

933 The Cassirers owned a summer house in Noordwijk; hence their detour via Holland.

934 Judging the patriotism of the Cassirer family, Georg Brühl mentioned no less than eleven members of the family who volunteered for the war; see Brühl, *Die Cassirers* (1991), p. 38. Besides Paul Cassirer's Iron Cross, awarded in October 1914, his younger brother was awarded the *Eiserne Kreuz* II Klasse in 1917. See Kennert, *Paul Cassirer und sein Kreis*, p. 220.
despaired at what he saw and experienced. He returned to Berlin as a pacifist, which was a dangerous position to hold and often carried a prison sentence.\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^5\) Inspired by a new feeling of anti-militarism, Cassirer replaced his earlier pro-war publications in 1916 with the Bildermann, an illustrated journal with images of the war and reports by soldiers and war correspondents; moreover, his publishing house now pursued a pacifist programme.\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^6\) As a consequence, Paul Cassirer and his circle were denounced in Berlin's militaristic climate; indeed, when Cassirer was redrafted he was sent to a penal camp at Rathenow, near Berlin. There he went on hunger strike, which resulted in his admission to several psychiatric hospitals until his arrest on grounds of desertion in November 1917.\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^7\)

From 1916 onwards, during Cassirer's absence from his Berlin art gallery and publishing house, Leo Blumenreich acted as his deputy and thereafter introduced auction sales more frequently, the first being the sale of the Julius Stern Sammlung.\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^8\) As the art market between Germany and France had collapsed, from this date onwards auction sales became a regular feature. The Cassirer house handled objects as diverse as art, both modern and traditional, furniture, china, glass, watches and clocks. Between 1916 and 1932, eighty-two auctions took place, many held in conjunction with Hugo Helbing, a Munich auction house.\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^9\)

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\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^5\) Amos Elon's chapter 'War Fever' is particularly illuminating on the positions of German Jews in the war. See Amos Elon, The Pity of it All. (2002) pp.297-354

\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^6\) The house published amongst others the writings by Rosa Luxemburg; see Kennert, p. 129.

\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^7\) Paul Cassirer was marched publicly between two armed soldiers through Berlin who delivered him at the military base, lieferten ihn in der Militärstelle ab; from where he was taken to a penal camp, eine Art Strafregiment in Limmritz, near Kurstin; see Durieux, Meine ersten neunzig Jahre (1971), pp. 248-250.

\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^8\) 22 May 1916, see Brühl, p. 170.

\(^9\)\(^3\)\(^9\) The other Berlin auction house which lost in significance as Cassirer and Helbing gained their reputation was the Firma Rudolf Lepke. Cassirer's house also collaborated with C.G. Boerner/Leipzig and Jacques Rosenthal in Munich. Many of the auction catalogues are held at archives at the Zentralbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin and Deutschen Bucherei in Leipzig; see Brühl, p. 166-69.
From 1916 to 1917, Cassirer was intermittently under psychiatric care, and the treating doctors, Professors Ferdinand Sauerbruch, Eugen Bleuler and Alfred Hoche, gave testimonies over the war years as to Cassirer’s psychological and physical unsuitability for further army service. Cassirer’s old network of professional connections and friends not only saved his sanity, but probably his life. His previous relationship with Harry Graf Kessler now became all-important for his decision to go into Swiss exile. Since September 1916 Kessler had been in the employ of the German Foreign Office in Bern, where officially he was to organize German Kultur und Kunstpropaganda, whilst simultaneously sounding out France’s willingness for a peace agreement. In the event, Kessler put in an application for Paul Cassirer to join him in Bern, and permission was granted for his release for a three-month period.

At the end of this Swiss sojourn, Paul Cassirer returned to Berlin, but on receipt of his redrafting papers, he decided to return to Switzerland for the remainder of the war. Upon his arrival in Bern, Cassirer received another summons, this time with the charge of having bribed a Feldwebel and an officer, as well as having deserted once again. However, once again, psychiatric testimonies confirmed that Cassirer was psychologically and physically unsuitable for army service.

Whilst staying in Bern and Zurich, the Cassirers were once again organising cultural events such as literary readings and concerts, becoming the focus of the intellectual elite.

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940 Bruhl, p. 92.
941 For details on Kessler’s activities in Switzerland, see correspondence between Kessler and Bodenhausen, in Simon, ‘Briefwechsel Eberhard von Bodenhausen-Kessler’, cited by Kennert, p. 131 and p. 221.
942 Paul Cassirer had invited the Feldwebel to a dinner, Bruhl, p. 89. He had given an officer a gift of a Liebermann work; see Bruhl, p. 89, also Durieux, p. 258 and Kennert, p. 132.
943 Bruhl, p. 92
in exile. Paul was dubbed and feted affectionately as the *Kaiser von Jerusalem*.\(^{944}\)

Cassirer’s responsibilities for organising art exhibitions once again made him the target of accusations of conflicting identities. For instance, he was called a *Vertreter des Kunstkapitalismus*, yet he was also chided for having sympathies with the socialist party, the SPD.\(^{945}\) Many old accusations against him were reactivated, such as prioritising French rather than German art, which only highlight the climate of suspicion even in ‘neutral’ Switzerland. While neither the German military nor the foreign office acknowledged the imminent collapse of the Reich, Cassirer and his circle were charged by Germans with harbouring ‘anti-militaristic’ and European-international sympathies. They were accused of sympathising with France rather than professing their loyalties to Germany.\(^{946}\) With other words, Cassirer’s pre-war reputation of supposedly unpatriotic stance continued even in neutral Switzerland.

On 9 November 1918, Philipp Scheidemann declared the new Republic, and Wilhelm II abdicated. This marked a historic moment, which was soon followed by a cycle of localised revolts across German states. Once the Republic was declared, Cassirer and other exiled émigrés returned to Berlin; they became political activists who hoped to translate their pro-European cosmopolitan ideologies into practice, having harboured dreams of a new Europe for years. In Stefan Zweig’s words, they were united in the

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\(^{944}\) This Swiss circle included Henry van de Velde, Julius Meier-Graefe, Karl Walser, August Gaul, Franz Werfel, Frank Wedekind, Stefan Zweig, Else-Lasker-Schuler, Oscar Fried, Bertha Zuckerkandel and many of their friends and colleagues from their former days. See Kennert, p. 133, and Brühl, p. 91.

\(^{945}\) Kennert, p. 143.

Kampf um die geistige Bruderschaft. However, when the peace was ratified on 19 January 1920 in Paris, Kessler’s diary records were bleak and prophetic:

Eine furchtbare Zeit beginnt für Europa, eine Vorgewitter schwüle, die wahrscheinlich in einer noch furchtbareren Explosion als der Weltkrieg enden wird. Bei uns sind alle Anzeichen für ein forgesetztes Anwachsen des Nationalismus.947

After 1918, once again the exiled circle reunited at the Kunstsalon Cassirer Berlin under the banner of the Bund Neues Vaterland with numerous ‘revolutionary’ meetings held on the Victoriastrasse premises. Indeed, a new group was formed under the rubric of Clarté, modelled on Ivan Goll's Paris journal of the same name. The German Clarté was an association that stood against nationalism and wars, a Bund gegen den Nationalismus und neue Kriege.948 at the time when similar associations emerged such as the Liga für den internationalen Gedankes.949

Cassirer became politically active during the early days after the war, but always returned to his real passion which was art and which he saw as ‘trans-national’. Cassirer believed that an artist, whatever his nationality, was a member of one large family.950 However, he was ultimately resigned to the political impotence of art and began to question its real social function:

Die Kunst kämpft gegen das wesenlose Abstraktum für sich, für die Seele des Menschen... Nicht die deutsche Kunst kämpft gegen die französische Kunst, sondern 'Vierverbandkunst kämpft gegen Entente-kunst – Verwirrung und Wannsinn, im Frieden erzeugt, im Kriege zur riesigen Missgeburt gewachsen... Der Staat soll nicht meinen, dass man mit Kunst – Kriege machen kann. Mit Kunst kann man nichts machen als Kunst, nicht einmal Krieg, nicht einmal Frieden...951

948 Kennert, p. 146-50.
949 Ibid., p. 153
950 Cassirer took a lead in Der Revolutionäre Klub, which also counted as members Theodor Taubler, Harry Graf Kessler, Rene Schickele, Rudolf Hilferding, Rudolf Breitscheid and Hugo Simon. See Bruhl, p. 94.
951 Paul Cassirer, "Krieg und Kunst", in Die weissen Blätter, Year 5, 3 Heft (September 1918), pp. 155-159 (here p. 159). Die Weissen Blätter was published by Paul Cassirer now in conjunction with Max Rascher. Rascher & Co., the original publishing house of the Rascher Verlag, was situated in Zurich; a German
In March 1919, Cassirer published an allegorical tale *Utopische Plauderei*; it was the story of an artist who had lived for years on an island in total seclusion; after years of absence from Berlin, on his return, he finds a new utopia, a modernist society.\(^{952}\) His guide (Paul Cassirer) accuses the island-artist of having abandoned society (the artist had detached himself from social constructs, such as money, press, art dealers and museum directors) and thus having lost his right to represent society. The guide considers this opting out as destructive and instead advocates openly *Die Kunst im Dienste der Menschheit – ja aber keine Auftragskunst, keine politische Mission!* In short, the guide pleads for the supreme independence of the artist, but not at the price of losing human contact and social interaction.\(^{953}\) Cassirer pleads for art in the service of humankind (*Menschheit*) but not in the service of politics. This essay turned out to be Cassirer’s social, cultural and ethical manifesto for the legitimacy of art and the limits of its power.

By 1920, Paul Cassirer had indeed turned away from politics and now began his search for the redefinition of art and artists for a new society. At the same time, he committed his publishing list to promoting the works of leading socialists.\(^{954}\) Moreover, Cassirer found it difficult to come to terms with the growing movement of German Expressionism, which he perceived to have political intent and criticised them for neglecting their craft in favour of theories and politics. Ultimately, Cassirer rejected art as

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\(^{952}\) Paul Cassirer, "Utopische Plauderei" in *Weisse Blätter*, Year 6, Heft 3 (March 1919), p. 105-117. See also earlier references to Van Gogh’s utopian project in chapter III.

\(^{953}\) According to Eva Caspers (p. 23) Cassirer may have been influenced in his *Utopische Plauderei* by the socio-revolutionary aesthetics of the British arts and crafts artist and theoretician, William Morris, whose utopian tale of ‘News from nowhere’ had been published in German translation in 1892/93.

\(^{954}\) The list included Leo Kerstenberg, Gustav Landauer, Karl Kraus, Eduard Bernstein and Ferdinand Lasalle. In the series, *Wege zum Sozialismus*, the house published writings by Heinrich Heine, Robert Owen, Saint-Simon and Karl Kraus; see Caspers, p. 22. See also *Unser Weg 1920*, Ein Jahrbuch des Verlags Paul Cassirer, (Berlin 1920) p. 124.
a political or propaganda tool, since he believed that the artist should not act as statesmen
or politician. However, he restated that art must be closely linked to everyday life.

Always a pragmatist, Paul Cassirer came to support new groups such as *Arbeitsrat für
Kunst* and *Novembergruppe*, both founded at the end of 1918 and both aimed at the
regeneration of art. However, Cassirer began to question whether his personal
interpretation of art had relevance to the reality of the German Republic,

... *ob seine Kunstauffassung der Wirklichkeit noch standhielt*.955

During the last five or six years of his life, Paul Cassirer continued to represent Secession
artists as well as Oskar Kokoschka, Max Pechstein and Otto Müller. Indeed, the last two
were members of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and the *Novembergruppe*. Moreover, he
became interested in modernist architecture, and held an exhibition of architectural
drawings by Eric Mendelsohn, (1887-1953) thus supporting another avant-garde direction
that many contemporaries found difficult to accommodate.956 Furthermore, Cassirer
sought new markets in Amsterdam in 1921 and in New York in 1922.957 Whether these
new marketing ventures were in response to the changing art market after World War I,
or to Paul Durand-Ruel's death in 1920 or to the German political and economic situation
which was worsening, accelerated by renewed anti-Semitism, will remain unclear.958

Indeed, since the end of war, Karl Stock had rekindled the argument that German Jews
endangered the German art world and prevented German art and artists from reaping the
success they were due. In 1923, Theodor Fritsch republished in a 29th edition the

955 Kennert, p. 163.
956 See Karl Scheffler in *Kunst und Künstler* 18 *(1919/1920)*, p. 183, 283; see also Caspers, p. 24.
957 Helmuth Lutjens joined the Amsterdam venture in 1923. For further details of Cassirer's publishing
ventures, see Caspers, p. 24-25. See also recollections of Durieux, p. 330
958 The Jewish census as to Jewish participation in the war had been a great disappointment to Jewish
sensibilities and much Jewish soul-searching followed among German Jews.
This publication attacked once more 'the monopolies' of Paul Cassirer and Max Liebermann personally and the Jewish group collectively by naming patrons such as Julius Elias, Julius Meier-Graefe – again mistaken as a Jew – Hans Rosenhagen, Fritz Stahl (alias Siegfried Lilienthal) and Oscar Bie.960

The fantasy of a united Europe had turned out to be a utopian dream.961 Cassirer became disillusioned with Weimar politics, with the direction of the German avant-garde and the changing art market and its virtual ban on dealing with French art, a climate aggravated by rampant inflation. All these factors added to Paul Cassirer’s health problems. When it was compounded with his marital problems, his health was substantially undermined. On the verge of agreeing to a divorce – initiated by Tilla Durieux – Paul Cassirer died of self-inflicted gun wounds in February 1926.

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959 Kennert, p. 168.
961 See article by Malachi Hacohen, chapter II.
Jewish Collector-Patrons and the Fate of the Avant-garde

During the latter years of the Weimar Republic, German modernist art was declared un-German and entartet, and as such worthy of vilification. From the late 1920s onwards, once again, it was again often linked to modernist artists who were out of favour and to Jewish groups of dealers and patrons. During the ensuing twelve years of the National Socialist regime, much of modernist art was judged officially to be ‘degenerate’ and no longer tolerated.\footnote{The difference was that during the Imperial period such art was publicly attacked and publicly defended, whereas during the National Socialist period, it was officially judged to be evil, and as such worthy of expulsion. At the extreme, it was deemed worthy of physical destruction, and so public defence was not an option.} The expulsion and physical destruction of modernist art and its patrons had now become a national priority.\footnote{S.Barron (ed.) Entartete Kunst, (1991) and S.Barron (ed.), Exil, Flucht und Emigration europäischer Künstler 1933-1945 (1997).} Ironically, however, some modernist art was confiscated and found its way into the private collections of senior Nazi officials.\footnote{Besides the studies mentioned below there was a panel discussion chaired by Jonathan Petropoulos (Claremont McKenna College, USA) at the Getty Conference, under the heading, ‘The Market of War-Dealers in the Nazi Era’.
} For some time now, international efforts have aimed at World War II looted art to be returned to their rightful Jewish owners, especially since they or their descendants have staked a legal claim.\footnote{Lynn H. Nichols, The Rape of Europe, The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War (London 1994). Hector Feliciano, The Lost Museum, The Nazi Conspiracy to steal the World's greatest Works of Art, (New York, 1997) Elisabeth Simpson, (ed.) The Spoils of War (New York, 1997). P. Harclerode, Brendan Pittaway, (eds.) The lost Masters, the Looting of Europe’s Treasure Houses (London, 1999). J. Petropoulus, The Faustian Bargain, The Art World in Nazi Germany (London, 2000).} By rightfully claiming such art as their property, not only legally, but also morally, the descendants suggest that the repossession of art works would go some way towards restoring some semblance of lost German Jewish identities. And this specifically Jewish identity, they argue, formed part of a European cultural heritage, a fundamental component of their Jewish legacy.
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*Madame Gaston Bernheim*, 1901, oil

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*Portrait Theodor Fontane*, 1896, lithograph,
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*Portrait Richard Strauss*, 1918, oil,

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*Portrait Paul von Hindenburg*, 1912, oil,

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Nationalgalerie Berlin
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Nationalgalerie Berlin
5. Paul Cézanne

*Nature Morte, Fleurs et Fruits*, 1888/90, oil,
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8. Auguste Renoir

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Neue Pinakothek Munich.
9. Paul Gauguin

*Te Tamari No Artua (L’enfin dieu)* 1896, oil,
Neue Pinakothek Munich
10. Vincent van Gogh

*Self portrait*, 1888, oil,

Fogg Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge, MA. USA
11. Vincent van Gogh

_Tournesols_, 1888, oil,

Neue Pinakothek Munich
12. Henri-Edmond Cross

*Le Cap Layet- petit version*, 1904, oil,

Neue Pinakothek Munich
13. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec

*Femme assise*, 1897, oil,

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*Maisons au bord de la Zaan*, 1871, oil,
Städelche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main
15. Gustave Courbet

La mer orageux, la vague, 1896, oil,
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*Le déjeuner*, 1868, oil,

Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main
17. Auguste Renoir

La fin de dejeuner, 1879, oil
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Musiciens et l’orchestre, 1870-74, oil,
Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main
20. Edouard Manet

*La partie de croquer*, 1873, oil,
Städelische Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main
21. Henri-Edmond Cross

*L’apres-midi au jardin*, 1905, oil,

Städelische Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main
APPENDIX A) 1

WILHELMINE LIBERAL ART CENTRES
INTRODUCTION

In order to document comprehensively all artistic trends and museum expansion during the Wilhelmine period, besides the recognized modernist institutions of Weimar, Berlin, Munich and Frankfurt, it is imperative to cite secondary centers which were supported by industrialists and businessmen, professional, publishing and literary figures, art dealers and art critics. These patrons not only believed in the authenticity of new art trends, but some aimed to raise the national cultural level to an international platform. The emergence of Expressionism was not readily accepted but artists came to insist on 'freedom from the constraints of rules and the codes in art', particular to the German situation.¹

WEIMAR² 1903-1906

Kessler was appointed director at the Grossherzögliche Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Weimar on 24 March 1903; it was a state sponsored institution, a position comparable to and possibly modeled on Tschudi's role at the Nationalgalerie Berlin.³ The Weimar museum experienced continuous conservative opposition and Kessler - like Tschudi - was ultimately forced to resign because of his liberal, modernist art acquisitions and art programmes.

Kessler organized in his first year, 1903, two exhibitions (June and December) the second probably modeled on earlier Berlin Secession exhibitions, showing Deutsche und französische Impressionisten und Neo-Impressionisten. Kessler also founded the 'Deutscher Künstlerbund' in December 1903 and laid out his art theories in an essay, Deutsche Künstlerbund.⁴ In 1904, the Weimar museum showed works (July and August) by Manet, Monet, Renoir and Cézanne, followed by a solo show for the French sculptor, Rodin.⁵ This exhibition was relatively well received amongst a small modernist circle,

¹ Ibid.
² The exhibition programme is chronological.
³ The Museum Board included German military personalities, aristocracy and the new director Henry van de Velde from the 'Weimar Kunstgewerbliches Seminar', which was established on 15 January 1902.
⁴ H. Graf Kessler, "Der Deutsche Künstlerbund", Kunst und Künstler, Year 2, ed. 5, Berlin 1903.
⁵ Kessler commissioned works by Rodin. Soon thereafter he meets another French sculptor, Maillol, with whom he was to form a close friendship. Kessler, Maillol and Hofmannsthal were to travel to Greece in May 1908. The art critic Roger Marx writes on Rodin, in PAN 1897; Rilke writes and lectures on Rodin in 1902, calling him the erste Plastiker nach Michelangelo. See Kessler Exh. Cat., p. 129.
but most of Weimar's conservative critics reviewed Rodin's partial or fragmentary figures as 'perverse, destructive or even sadistic'. Kessler believed that it was the young German poet, Rainer Maria Rilke, who rendered the most incisive and sensitive interpretation of the French artist's work.

In 1905 (June) Kessler held a Monet exhibition with loans from private collectors. This was followed by a solo exhibition of Gauguin (July-September) showing thirty-three works; the critics were shocked by the artist's exoticism, which was perceived as a Schande and Dreck. Innovatively, most Weimar exhibitions were accompanied by a catalogue; the Gauguin exhibition catalogue became the model for the later publications of the Weimar Cranach Presse, which Kessler founded with Eric Gill in 1913. In the catalogues Kessler giving biographical details of the artists and presented a short modernist art historical analysis, a novelty which had been pioneered by Paul Cassirer. The second Rodin exhibition (January 1906) contained fourteen aquarelle drawing which it caused an indecency scandal and resulted in a call for Kessler's resignation. Kessler's last exhibition showed works by German artists and French artists Courbet, Monet, Jean-Francois Rafaelli, Renoir and Alfred Sisley.

Kessler's forced resignation only highlights the continuing conservatism and opposition to modernism in provincial Weimar, which dominated and ultimately triumphed over Kessler avant-garde vision. Indeed, Kessler resigned under pressure on 13 July, but his diaries speak of 'freedom regained.' Whilst in Weimar – a period of three years – he had mounted some thirty exhibitions, including spectacular retrospectives of Gauguin, Rodin, Nolde, Kandinsky, Corinth and the French artists Manet, Monet, Renoir and others.

After Kessler's Weimar period, he resettled in Berlin and re-established his contacts with avant-garde circles in the art, theatre and cultural world.

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6 This was, of course, reminiscent of Baudelaire's similarly audacious differentiation between a painting that is complete and a work that is finished. See L. Nochlin (ed.), Sources and Documents, 1966, p. 74-75.
7 Rainer Maria Rilke, 1875-1926
8 See list of loaned works by Paul Durand-Ruel, Kessler Exh. Cat. p. 125-127
9 Kessler Exh. Cat. p. 130.
10 Ibid., p. 130.
11 Ibid., p. 141.
13 Thomas Fohl, p. 300.
14 Ibid., p. 296
DARMSTADT

The Darmstadt artists' colony was founded in 1899. The Vienna Secession artist Joseph Maria Olbrich opened the first house in 1902, where life style and art were perceived as a total work of art.15

DRESDEN

The commercial Ernst Arnold art gallery exhibited French Impressionists first in 1898/99, showing Manet, Degas, Renoir, Pissarro, Monet, Sisley, Seurat, Signac and Toulouse-Lautrec, which coincided with the Cassirer’s Kunstsalon opening.16 It was reviewed in Kunst für Alle, wherein the critic emphasized that it 'gave a complete overview of the development of French Impressionism from its beginnings until the present'. Despite this groundbreaking exhibition, French modernist art was not included in the municipal Dresden Gemäldegalerie until the 1920s. The exception was Courbet's Steinkloffer in 1904, although there were a number of private German collectors in Dresden since the 1890s, such as in the Schmitz and Rothermundt Collections.17

The Dresden Expressionist circle, Die Brücke was founded in 1905 and included Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Ruttloff, Hermann Max Pechstein, Fritz Bleyl and Emil Nolde, German artists in revolt against naturalism.

15 Viennese Secession architect Josef Hoffmann and artist Koloman Moser formed the Wiener Werkstatte which produced everyday decorative objects. In 1905 Hoffmann designed the Secession-style building, Palais Stocklet, in Brussels, with interior design by Moser and murals by Klimt. It was one of the great projects of the Wiener Werkstatte which was completed in 1911.

16 Kunst für Alle, 1898/99, p. 252, Ausstellungsbericht o.V. See also Gutbrod, p. 105.

MUNICH

The first exhibition of the Munich Secession was held in July 1893, some five years before the Berlin Secession was founded in 1898/99, but ironically, this Secession came to represent a powerfully anti-democratic force within the Kunstpolitik of the era.19 Local artists (661) were irritated by the fact that many of the artists shown at the Glaspalast, Munich traditional exhibition hall, included many foreigners. (706)20 Munich's Pinakothek became a significant French modernist art centre during Hugo von Tschudi's brief tenure; furthermore, the modernist acquisitions continued through a foundation set up in his memory, the Tschudi Spende.21 The Munich group Der Blaue Reiter was launched in 1911 and included Franz Marc Paul Klee, August Macke, Vasily Kandinsky, Alexander Jawlensky and Robert Delauny, this group sending their shows on touring exhibitions across Germany. The circle aimed at artistic freedom and the synthesis between art and mysticism.22 Indeed Munich was a more important centre than Dresden, the Bavarian capital often holding international art exhibitions and where the Jugendstil found a strong following.

MANNHEIM

Fritz Wichert had been Georg Swarzenski's assistant for two years in Frankfurt (1907-09) and was appointed director of the new Kunsthalle Mannheim in December 1909.23 Wichert continued to be influenced by Georg Swarzenski and other modernists, such as Hugo von Tschudi, Alfred Lichtwark and Gustav Pauli and Julius Meier-Graefe.24 Wichert exhibited works by the French artists, Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet, Cezanne, Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and van Gogh, and the Germans, Liebermann, Corinth, Slevogt, Uhde, Feuerbach and Böcklin and the Austrian Kokoschka. Wichert broke new

19 Ibid., 171
20 Robert Jensen, p. 169
21 See Chapter V.
22 Kandinsky aimed at abstract representations, publishing in 1911 “Concerning the Spiritual in Art”.
23 Wichert’s doctorate was on ‘The Reception of Italian Art in Germany’ (1906) under Heinrich Wölfflin.
24 During the Weimar republic years, Wichert was one of the most significant educators, who supported the artists Max Beckmann, Willi Baumeister and Richard Scheibe. After his dismissal by the Nazis, he retired to Sylt where he died in 1951. See Manfred Fath, "Fritz Wichert und die Mannheimer Kunsthalle", in Tschudi und der Kampf, p. 313-15.
ground by arranging text panels, which gave the price of each work, an original and modernist innovation.\textsuperscript{25}

In his first year, Wichert acquired the politically and artistically controversial painting by Manet, \textit{Die Erschiessung des Kaiser Maximilians}, 1868/9. The work came from the Pellerin Collection and was financed by local art patrons and surprisingly by the consortium of dealers of Paul Durand-Ruel, Bernheim-Jeune and Paul Cassirer. The purchase was made possible through the mediation of Max Liebermann and Julius Meier-Graefe.\textsuperscript{26} Another French modernist purchase, Cézanne's \textit{Raucher mit aufgestiirztem Arm}, 1890-91, was opposed by the local municipal council in 1912. In fact, the previous year Thomas Alt had attacked Wichert fiercely in his pamphlet, \textit{Die Herabwertung der deutschen Kunst durch die Parteigänger des Impressionismus} (1911).\textsuperscript{27} However, by 1914 Wichert's modernist acquisitions and educational programme had attracted some 12,000 members to the museum's association of \textit{Freier Bund zur Einbürgerung der bildenden Kunst}.

HAMBURG

Despite Hamburg's status as an international shipping and trading centre, it was a conservative town. The Hamburg Kunsthalle gallery was established in 1886 with the donation of the \textit{Schwabengalerie}, a collection of 148 British works.\textsuperscript{28} Alfred Lichtwark was appointed director in 1886;\textsuperscript{29} he became a renowned art and cultural critic,\textsuperscript{30} building the museum into a pedagogical and cultural institution, supporting and buying contemporary works by Böcklin, Feuerbach, Marées, Menzel, Leibl and Liebermann, much of it with local opposition.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{25} Alfred Fath, p 315-16.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid. p. 315.
\textsuperscript{28} This is based on the catalogue Katalog der Meister des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Kunsthalle Hamburg; see Gutbrod, p. 96.
\textsuperscript{29} Alfred Lichtwark (1852-1914).
\textsuperscript{30} Lichtwark wrote on art and culture; he wrote on architecture, interiors, crafts, gardens, public memorials and photography in Educating the Bourgeoise: Alfred Lichtwark and Modern Art in Hamburg 1886-1914. Carolyn Helen Kray (Originally Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University Press, 1994).
\textsuperscript{31} Lichtwark’s educational aim was to encourage the public to re-evaluate modern aesthetics, but he was not a champion for ‘art for art's sake'; art had to be creative, original and distinctive to German values of Bildung. see C. H. Kray, p. vi-vii.
Lichtwark acquired the first Impressionist work in 1897, Monet's *Poires et Raisins,* 1880; he persuaded the ‘Verein der Kunstfreunde’ (est.1870) to purchase the work and donate it to the museum. However, it was another eleven years before Lichtwark was to acquire another Impressionist painting in 1907 which was Manet's *Henri Rochefort,* and another three years before he acquired Manet's *Faure as Hamlet* and another two years before he acquired Renoir's *A Rider in the Bois de Boulogne,* 1912.

Kunsthalle Hamburg acquired the reputation for modernism during 1886-1912, probably based on director Lichtwark's art historical writings rather than on his acquisition programme, since only four Impressionist works were accepted at the museum during this period, which only underlined the scarcity of such paintings in public collections. Lichtwark wrote to Liebermann in 1910, emphasizing the significance of 'modern painting' for the modern world.

Ganz Europa und Amerika sind von der Empfindung abhängig, die Manet und Monet zuerst gehabt haben, dass ist eine Tatsache die nicht geleugnet werden kann.'... 

...Sie allein haben gesehen, dass das letzte Interesse nicht den amusanten Detail, nicht der Erzählung und Aufzählung, sondern in der grossen geschichtlichen Gesamtform zu suchen ist... es ist da ein Stück heutiger Welt, wie es keine Zeit vorher gekannt... 

**BREMEN**

Gustav Pauli was appointed director of the Kunsthalle Bremen in 1899 and brought international modernism to an Imperial provincial town. In 1903 Pauli accepted the Degas drawing, *Dancer* as a donation of art patron Alfred Walter Heymel. By the time Pauli left Bremen in 1914 – to take up the Hamburg post which had become vacant through Lichtwark's death – the museum had acquired nine Impressionist works,
including a Pissarro *Landscape*, Monet's *Camille*, Monet's *Park*, Manet's *Zacharie Astruc* and van Gogh's *Poppy Field*. The latter ostensibly inspiring the Vinnen Manifesto, a protest originally intended for a local Bremen newspaper, but which eventually became a nation-wide public manifesto. In 1924 Pauli bought Monet's *Nana*, originally part of the Pellerin Collection. It is compelling to note that Pauli retained his position through the support of loyal and liberal patrons, spending some 15 years at the Bremen museum, a longer period than Tschudi and Kessler had been able to secure their posts, from which they were forced to resign.

**HAGEN - ESSEN/WESTPHALIA**

Karl Ernst Osthaus was a banker's son and financially independent through a family inheritance and thus he was able to establish his own museum at the age of 24 in 1902. This was the exception, as German museum directors were generally state or municipal employees and depended on official funding and approval for their acquisitions. Osthaus' Museum Folkwang was a three-storey building interior designed by Henry van de Velde; its Art Nouveau architecture setting a significant precedent for other modernist museums, although Cassirer had already employed van de Velde in 1898.

In 1903, Osthaus owned three works by Gauguin, and by 1904 he had seven. In 1905, he owned seven works by van Gogh; in 1906 he bought works by Cézanne and in 1907 works by Matisse. Besides buying Renoir's *Lise* at Cassirer's, most others came from the Paris dealer Ambroise Vollard. Osthaus acquired works by Renoir, van Gogh and

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42 It was acquired at Cassirer's in March 1906 for 6,000 Mark. See Gutbrod, p. 101.
43 The Cassirer Business Accounts refer to Mme Monet; it is probably in reference to this work [50,000 Mark]. See Gutbrod, p. 101.
44 [8,000 Mark] Ibid., p. 101.
46 Acquired in 1911 [30,000 Mark], Ibid., p. 103.
47 See Chapters II and III.
48 Karl Ernst Osthaus 1874-1921, son of one of the wealthiest metal manufacturing families, the Funckes, died tragically young at the age of 47 of consumption. He worked tempestuously in his short life, his museum almost representing an 'idée fixe'. Osthaus was dedicated to new ideas, restlessly travelling, and was a pioneering founder of a modernist museum and an artist colony, involved with cultural politics and art education. His intellectual entrepreneurship included art, photography, artists, programmes, publications, the building of museums, theatres, warehouses, country houses and designs for whole areas of the Rhineland. He was a man of ideas as well as action and deeds. See Karl Scheffler, *Die fetten und die mageren Jahre* (Munich, 1945), p. 248.
49 Sembach, p. 20-21.
50 Sembach, p. 72-77.
Gauguin and commissioned three works by Cézanne. Osthaus and his wife sought bought and commissioned works directly from the artists which distinguished them from other public galleries and museums, and even from other private collectors. Osthaus owned works by Munch and also bought Expressionist works by Hodler, Nolde, Rohlf's, Heckel, Schmidt-Rottloff, Kokoschka, Kandinsky, Macke, Marc and others. Osthaus was also the first president of the ‘Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler’, its first exhibition held in Düsseldorf in 1909 and displaying French and German artists alternatively. The second exhibition showed the young generation of artists from the circle of Die Brücke as well as neo-Impressionists, Signac, Vuillard, Bonnard and the Fauves and Picasso. The general response to such avant-garde works was incomprehension, which climaxed in the Vinnen Protest in 1911. In response to this protest, the ‘Sonderbund’ organized an exhibition in Cologne in 1912, but the following year, in 1913, the association was dissolved. Some original Bund members regrouped in a new group, Die Friedfertigen, while Herwarth Walden gave a new platform to the Blaue Reiter artists in Berlin. Only Brücke artists tried to keep the ‘Sonderbund’ alive and refused to participate in Herwarth Walden’s ‘Herbstsalon’ in 1913. The Museum Folkwang was one of the earliest spaces to exhibit both western and non-western art.

Besides the above centers, there were further marginal pockets of liberalism in Wuppertal-Elberfeld (Heydt Museum, with its director, von der Heydt), in Cologne (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, director Alfred Hagelsstange), in Stuttgart (Royal Museum for Fine Arts, director Konrad Lange), in Posen (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, director Ludwig Kaemmerer) and in Krefeld (Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, director Friedrich Deneken). Most of these museums acquired merely single works by French modernists, although most of them supported German modernist artists from the circles of Die Brücke and Blaue Reiter.

51 Only Renoir’s Stilleben und Olivengarten are presently at the Folkwang Museum; much of the Collection was auctioned at Cassirer’s on 8 March, 1917; see Gutbrod, p. 107.
52 Gutbrod, p. 107.
53 Wolfgang-Dieter. Dube, Die Expressionisten, p. 197.
APPENDIX A) 2

KUNSTSAALON CASSIRER EXHIBITION PROGRAMME
1898-1914

also
CULTURAL EVENTS
at
KUNSTSAALON CASSIRER

Addendum
VINCENT VAN GOGH
APPENDIX A) 2 (1898-1914)
Art exhibitions at Cassirer Kunstsalon Berlin, Victoriastasse 35
Art exhibition organized by Paul Cassirer outside Berlin.
Berlin Secession Exhibitions at Cassirer Kunstsalon, Victoriastrasse 35

Primary Data relating to Exhibitions:
The exhibitions are numbered in chronological order for each successive year only. The dates of each individual exhibition refer to the original catalogues.
Only the Cassirer Kunstverlag Exhibition Catalogues record the full list of the artists. The chronological order and the spelling or abbreviations of artist’s names are those used in the original Catalogues. Whenever a Catalogue was available for an individual exhibition, it is recorded as ‘Catalogue’; if there was a ‘Preface’ it is recorded as ‘Preface’.
If there was no Catalogue Preface, there is no mention of it. If the Preface was signed by an author, the name is recorded or given as anonymous, if applicable.
As this study focuses on French Modernist and Impressionist Artists, their names are in bold. The quantity of works is indicated by ‘opus’ abbreviated as opp, as used in the Catalogue.

Cultural Events at Kunstsalon Cassirer, Berlin, West, Victoriastrasse 35
Social and cultural events taking place at the Cassirer Kunstsalon Berlin Victoriastrasse 35 premises are listed in chronological order, giving details of the sponsor/organizer of the event, if known.

Bibliography
This is collated in alphabetical order; the references are marked with abbreviations of the initials of the authors: [ ]

[WB]

(Although this work proved significant for my research, there are frequent inaccuracies in Georg Brühl’s text and therefore data was used with great caution and cross referenced whenever possible)
[GB]

[WF]

[GH]


[TH]


[RJ]

Barbara Paul, Hugo von Tschudi und die moderne Kunst im Deutschen Kaiserreich Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 1993

[BP]

Art Journals :
Kunst für Alle, Munchen 1898-1914 [KA]
Kunst und Künstler, Bruno Cassirer Kunstverlag, Berlin 1901-14 [KK]
Die Kunst [K]
Kunstwart [KW]
Cassirer Exhibition Catalogues, Cassirer Kunstverlag, Berlin 1898-1914 [CEC]

Others:
Vossische Zeitung [VZ]
Der Sturm [S]
YEAR 1

1898/99

1. November - 3 December 1898 [1st Exhibition] KA, Munich 14, 1898/99, p.98
Kollektivausstellung, Part I
Max Liebermann
Edgard Degas
Constantin Meunier

Kollektivausstellung, Part II
Felicien Rops
Jean Francois Rafaeli
James Paterson

Kollektivausstellung, Part III
Wilhelm Trübner
Dutch School:
Jozef Israels
Jacob Maris
Wilhelm Maris
Georg Hendrik Breitner
Anton Rudolf Mauve
Johannes Bosboom

also KW 11, 1899, p. 390.
Kollektivausstellung, Part IV
Hans Thoma

March 1899 [5th Exhibition] KA 14, 1898/99, p.216
Kollektivausstellung, Part V
Claude Monet
Edouard Manet
Giovanni Segantini.

Exhibition of Caricatures from German and French Satirical Journals

Event
Verein für Kunst und Literatur
26. November 1899 (no details available)
YEAR 2

1899/1900


Catalogue

Edouard Manet (Nr. 1-16 a) 17 opp.
Edgar Degas (Nr. 17-30 b ) 15 opp
Puvis de Chavannes (Nr.13 -43 ) 13 opp.
Max Slevogt (Nr. 44 -78) 35 opp.
also
Claude Monet
Alfred Sisley
Arnold Böcklin

December 1899 - 8 January 1900 [ 2nd Exhibition] KA, 15, 1899/00 , p.185

Max Liebermann
Lovis Corinth
Ludwig Ritter von Herterich
Franz von Stuck
Hugo Frhr. von Habersmann
Robert Breyer
Christian Adam Landenberger
Josef Flossmann
Emil Pottner
Max Slevogt
Rupert Carabin
Ziegel

January 1900 [3rd Exhibition ] KA, 15, 1899/1900, p.238

British School:
Gainsborough
Constable
Reynolds
Romney
Raeburn
Lawrence
Benington
Becckey
Hoppner
Jackson
Morland and others

Dutch artist
Jan Toroop
German artists (early and late 19th century)
Hummel
Emil Pottner
Julius Exter
Richard Plietzsch

French artists
Auguste Rodin (bronze bust)
Alfred Sisley


British School
John Constable
Thomas Gainsborough

Alfred Sisley

March 1900 [5th Exhibition] KA 15, 1899/1900, p.310

School of Fontainebleau
Jean Francois Millet
Jean Baptiste Corot
Charles Francois Daubigny
Theodor Rousseau

Camille Pissarro
Alfred Sisley
Claude Monet

Max Liebermann
Wilhelm Trübner
August Gaul
Anders Zorn
Jacob Nussbaum
F.Flaum
Mora
Anton Rudolf Mauve (Estate of)

? - mid April 1900 [ 6th Exhibition ] KA, 15, 1899/00, p.358
Wilhelm Trübner
Joseph Block
Curt Hermann
Heinrich Hubner
Claude Monet
Alfred Sisley
Camille Pissarro
Anton Rudolf Mauve (Estate)

End of April - 12 June 1900 [7th Exhibition] KA 15, 1899/00, p.404

Edgar Degas

Graf Leopold von Kalkreuth

Summer Exhibition [8th Exhibition]
School of Fontainebleau
Camille Pissarro
Claude Monet
Francisco Jose de Goya
Wilhelm Trubner
Fritz von Uhde
Paul Cézanne
Auguste Rodin

YEAR 3
1900/1901

15-31 March 1901 Exhibition at Paris dealer Bernheim-Jeune showing 71 works by Monet, Degas, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley, Cezanne, Gauguin and van Gogh; it also included works loaned from private collectors, such as Pissarro, Rodin, Emile Stuffenecker and the writers Mirabeau, Julien Leclercq, Duret and dealers Vollard, Eugene Blot, Josse Hesssel, Gaston Bernheim.
Cassirer must have seen the Paris exhibition and reacted instantly [WF, p. 14]

May 1901: 3rd Berlin Secession listed 5 van Gogh works in the Catalogue, but no sales were acieved [WF, p.13- 14].

George d' Espagnat (20 opp.)
Giovanni Segantini
Max Liebermann
Wilhelm Trübner
Camille Pissarro
Hans von Marées
Fritz von Uhde
Ludwig Hofmann
Hugo Frhr. von Habermann
Gotthardt Kuhl
Claude Monet
Catalogue, preface: anonymous
Paul Cézanne (1-13) 13 opp.
Lovis Corinth (14-31) 18 opp.
Walter Leistikow (32-42) 11 opp.
Fritz Klimsch (43-49) 7 opp.
D.Y.Cameron (50-51) 2 opp.
also
George d'Espagnat

Heinrich Ludwig Frhr.von Gleichen-Russwurm
Carl Strathmann
Hans Thoma

9 January 1901-early February 1901 [4th Exhibition]
H.L. Frhr. V. Gleichen-Russwurm
Carl Stratham
Honore de Daumier

Mid -end February 1901 [5th Exhibition] KA 16, 1900/01, p. 292
French Landscapes
Claude Monet
Alfred Sisley
Camille Pissarro
Anders Zorn
Robert Breyer
Jacob Maris (Estate)

20 February 1901 - 22 March 1901 [6th Exhibition] KA 16, 1900/01 p. 317
Drawings from Simplicissmus
Paul Baum
Thomas Theodor Heine

23. March - April 1901 [7th Exhibition]
Ulrich Hubner
Curt Hermann
Camille Pissarro
Auguste Renoir
Jean Francois Rafaelli
Charles Francois Daubigny
Jacob Maris (Estate)

April- May 1901 [8th Exhibition]
Sale of Collection Beckerath
Original drawings by Dutch artists
Summer Exhibition [9th Exhibition]
Felix Vallaton
Claude Monet
Camille Pissarro
Alfred Sisley
Jean Francois Rafaelli
Max Liebermann
Hugo Frhr.von Habermann
Robert Breyer
Emil Pottner
Fritz von Uhde
Walter Leistikow
Henrich Frhr. von Gleichen-Russwurm
Anders Zorn
Paul Baum
Ulrich Hubner
George d'Espagnat
and others

YEAR 4
1901/1902
Mid October - ? November 1901 [1st Exhibition]
Collection Paul Durand-Ruel
Auguste Renoir
Max Slevogt
Wilhelm Trubner
Max Liebermann
Eugene Carriere
Fritz Klimsch

End November - ? December 1901 [2nd Exhibition]
Emil Orlik
Heinrich Linde-Walther
Edouard Vuillard
Ulrich Hubner
Lovis Corinth
Edouard Manet

End December 1901- January 1902 [3rd Exhibition]
Vincent van Gogh *(5 opp.)
Alfred Kubin
Ulrich Hubner
Lovis Corinth
Edouard Manet
The first showing of van Gogh in Germany was at the 3rd Berlin Secession from 8. May 1901: *Catalog Dritte Kunstaustellung Berliner Sezession*, (Bruno und Paul Cassirer Verlag, Berlin, 1901) [See letter 6. 4. 1902] from Cassirer [WF, p. 53 and p. 107 also Review by Hans Rosenhagen: K, 30. 1.1902 [WF p.152]

* First van Gogh Exhibition at Cassirer Kunstsalon December 1901 -January 1902 achieves no sales, (WF p.10 and p.144) but Kunstsalon Cassirer sells to Karl Osthaus, April 1902: *The Weathfield behind St. Paul's Hospital with Reaper [Ernte/Harvest]*

Mid- January - February 1902 [4th Exhibition]
Fritz von Uhde
Walter Leistikow
Hans Lichtenberger
Jacob Nussbaum
Dario de Regoyos
**Alfred Sisley**
August Gaul

End February - ? 1902 [5th Exhibition]
Max Slevogt
Matthias Streicher
Louis Tuaillon
George Mosson
**Alfred Sisley**
Rudolf Schramm-Zittau
D.Y. Cameron
Ulrich Hübner
Alfred Oppenheim and others

Early March 1902
Exhibition for Verein 'Hauspflege
Sale of Collection Seeger
Wilhelm Leibl
Adolph Menzel
Fritz von Uhde
Anselm Feuerbach
Max Klinger
Walter Crane
Fowler
Domenico Morelli
and others

Mid - End March 1902
Max Slevogt
Matthias Streicher
Louis Tuaillon
George Mosson
Alfred Sisley
Rudolf Schramm-Zittau
Heinrich Hancke
Hermann Leuer
Claude Monet

April 1902 [6th Exhibition]
Sale of Collection Eduard Fuchs (over 200 works) WB, pp. 249-284

Honoré Daumier
Paul Gavarni
Jean Mounier
Francisco Jose de Goya
Alfred Sisley
Camille Pissarro
Eugene Boudin

Walter Benjamin's wrote about the Fuchs’ archive and collection that he was a
Begründer eines einzig dastehenden Archivs zur Geschichte der Karikatur, der

May 1902 [7th Exhibition]
Max Slevogt
Edouard Manet
Max Liebermann
Claude Monet
Ulrich Hubner
Wilhelm Trubner
Edgar Degas

YEAR 5
1902/1903
6. October - ? 1902 [1st Exhibition] KA 18, 1902/03, p.93, KK 1902/03 p.31
Wilhelm Trubner
Josef Israels
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec
Claude Monet
Max Liebermann
Walter Leistikow
Ulrich Hubner
Georg Hendrik Breitner
Lucien Simon
Anton Rudolf Maue
Jacob Maris
Theophile de Bock

Collection Siegfried Bing: Japanese woodcuts
Utamaro
Harunobu
Hokusai


Gustave Courbet
Jean Francois Millet
Jean Baptiste Camille Corot
Eugene Delacroix
Theodore Rousseau
Walter Leistikow
Johan Barthold Jongkind
Max Slevogt
Max Liebermann
Jacob Alberts
Matthias Streicher

Exhibition of Berlin Secession Artists
Martin Brandenburg
Robert Breyer
Max Slevogt
Lovis Corinth
Ulrich Hüburner
Heinrich Hubner
Heinrich Linde-Walther
Walter Leistikow
Leo von König
Emil Pottner
Erich Hancke
Ernst Neumann
Konrad von Karforff
George Mosson
Josef Block

January 1903
Hamburg: Cassirer Gallery:
Munch graphics.

? January - early February 1903 [4th Exhibition]
Edvard Munch
Philipp Klein

Neio-Impressionists
Theo von Rysselberghe
Christian Rohlfs
Curt Hermann
Paul Baum
Max Arthur Stremel
Paul Signac
Pierre Bonnard
K. Xavier Roussel
Edouard Vuillard
Maurice Denis
also
Special Exhibition of Japanese Works

22. February 1903 Ausstellung. Tombolagewinne der Sezession
Max Liebermann
Walter Leistikow
Ludwig von Hofman
Max Slevogt
Wilhelm Trübner
Hans Thoma
Ulrich Hübner
George Mosson
August Gaul
and others

Lucien Simon
Charles Cottet
Edgar Degas
Max Slevogt
Robert Breyer
Wilhelm Trübner
Walter Leistikow
Fritz Klimsch
Max Liebermann

Event: (probably at the instigation of Paul Cassirer)
19 March 1903, lecture: Richard Muther: Impressionist Art.

1. April - ? 1903 [7th Exhibition]
Claude Monet
Edgar Degas
Franz Skarbina
Oscar Halle
Auguste Renoir
Edouard Manet
Henri Fantin-Latour

30. April – 2. May 1903
Special Exhibition at Dresden Hotel Europäischer Hof, GB, p.3
Max Liebermann
Claude Monet
Alfred Sisley
Edgar Degas
Edouard Manet

Catalogue
Exhibition London at New Art Club: (Roger Fry)
Sir William Rothenstein
William Oppen
David Muirhead
Walter W. Russell
Hugh-Carter
James R. Henry

Summer Exhibition [9th Exhibition] KK, I, 1902/03, p. 363
Max Liebermann
Henri Fantin-Latour
Edouard Manet
Claude Monet
Gustave Courbet
Max Slevogt
Camille Pissarro
Ulrich Hübner
Emil Pottner
Hugo Frhr. von Habermann
Alfred Sisley
Josef Israels
Walter Leistikow
Ludwig von Hofmann
Constantin Meunier
Georg Minne
August Gaul
Fritz Klinsch
Nikolaus Friedrich
YEAR 6
1903/1904

? October - 2 November 1903 [1st Exhibition] KA 19, 1903/04, p.151, and KK II, 1903/04, p.120

Sale of Collection C. Somoff, St. Petersburg
Catalogue (Nr. 1-94) 94 opp.

Max Liebermann (Nr. 95-100) 6 opp.
Walter Leistikow (Nr. 101-107) 7 opp.
Louis Tuaillon (Nr. 108) 1 op.
also
Paul Cézanne
Fritz Klimsch
Lucien Simon
Alfred Sisley
Auguste Renoir
Edouard Manet
Edgar Degas

Fernand Khnopff

? November ? 1903 [2nd Exhibition] KA 19, 1903/04, p.151, also KK II 1903/04 p.120
Catalogue:
Francisco de Goya (1-14) 14 opp.
El Greco (15) 1 opp.
also
Louis Tuaillon
Edward Munch
Ulrich Hubner

2. December 1903 - ? [3rd Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Lovis Corinth (1-30) 30 opp.
Josef Israels (31) 1 op.
Franz Skarbina (32-34) 3 opp.
Walter Leistikow (35) 1 op.
also
Konrad von Karkdorff
Georg Henrik Breitner
Hugo Lederer

10 January 1904 - ? [4th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Max Slevogt (1-44) 44 opp.
Heinrich Hübner (45-48) 4 opp.
Paul Baum (49-64) 16 opp.
Curt Hermann (65-76) 12 opp.

10 February - 1 March 1904 [5th Exhibition] KA, 19, 1903/04, p.294
Catalogue:
Edouard Manet *(1-3) 3opp.
Lucien Simon (4-15) 12 opp.
Wilhelm Trubner (16-21) 6opp.
Robert Breyer (22-31) 10 opp.
Leo von König (32-36) 5 opp.
Philipp Klein (37-48) 12 opp.
also
Auguste Renoir
Camille Pissarro
Degas, Rabbi Zacharias Astruc et General Mellinet (1871)

9 March 1904 [6th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Camille Pissarro (1-48) 48 opp.
Also
Franz von Lenbach
Konrad von Kardorff
Heinrich Linde-Walther
Oscar Moll

6. - 20 April 1904 [7th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Sale Collection Eugen Schweitzer
(1-76) 76 opp.

22 April - 23 May 1904 [8th Exhibition] KA 19, 1903/04, p.378
Paul Cézanne
Eugen Spiro

May 1904 - June 1904 [9th Exhibition]
Hans Rosenhagen ' Von Austellungen und Sammlungen', in KA, 19 (1 June 1904, pp. 401-03) "Cézanne is one of the strongest artists of the 19th century, but when placed side by side with the Impressionists of the 1900 Exposition Universelle, Manet seemed elegant, Monet decadent, Sisley sweet and Pissarro almost weak".

Paul Cézanne
Hirth du Frenes
Theodor Alt

15 June - 15 September 1904 [10th Exhibition] KK, II, 1903/04 p.466
Summer Exhibition
Max Liebermann
Walter Leistikow
Lovis Corinth
Ulrich Hubner
Josef Israels
Manet
Monet
Sisley
Pissarro
Cézanne
also
August Gaul
Klimsch
Max Klinger
Louis Tuaillon
Caspar David Friedrich

YEAR 7

1904/05

Catalogue: no preface
Claude Monet (1-13) 13 opp.
Lovis Corinth (14-32) 19 opp.
Hans Thoma (33-35) 3 opp.
Edouard Manet (36-37) 2 opp.
Camille Corot (38) 1 opp.
Edgar Degas (39) 1 op.
Sir Joshua Reynolds (40)
Francisco de Goya (41-42) 2 opp.
Lucas Cranach (43) 1 opp.
Auguste Rodin (44-45) 2 opp.
Stefan Popescu (46-71) 26 opp.

Rosenhagen assessed van Gogh’s work as a ‘sensation’, reviewing nine works
individually, thus German critics were ‘recognizing’ him. RJ, p.265.

Vincent van Gogh
Edouard Manet
Ulrich Hubner
Emil Pottner
Hans Baluschek
Georg Kolbe
Martin Brandenburg
Robert Breyer
Catalogue: no preface
Jacob Alberts (1-11) 11 opp.
Hans R. Lichtenberger (12-23) 12 opp.
Oscar Moll (24-31) 8 opp.
Eduard Munch (32-50) 19 opp.
Auguste Renoir (51) 1 opp.
Heinrich Zille (52-72) 21 opp.
also
Albert Marie Lebourg

20 January 1905 -? February 1905 [4th Exhibition]
Catalogue: no preface
E. Gordigiani (1-3) 3 opp.
Curt Hermann (4-18) 15 opp.
Walter Leistikow (19-50) 32 opp.
Adolph von Menzel (51) 1 opp.
Ernst Oppler (52-69) 18 opp.

Catalogue: no preface
Josef Israels (1-22) 22 opp.
Paul Baum (23-45) 23 opp.
Adolph von Menzel (46) 1 op.
Hermann Schlittgen (47-51) 5 opp.
Jan Veth (52) 1 op.
Karl Walser (53-66) 14 opp.
Richard Engelmann (67-70) 4 opp.

26 March - 28 April 1905 [6th Exhibition]
Auguste Renoir
Leo von Konig
Arthur Kampf
Philipp Franck
Otto R. Langner
Hugo Lederer
Heinrich Hübner
Edward Gordon Craig

29 April 1905 - ? May 1905 [7th Exhibition] KA 20, 1904/05, p. 383, KK III 1904/05
p.353.
Catalogue:
Francisco de Goya (1-3) 3 opp.
Josef Israels (4) 1 op.
Max Liebermann (5-6) 2 opp.
Claude Monet (7) 1 op.
Paul Cézanne (8) 1 op.
Ignacio Zuloaga (9) 1 op.
Vincent van Gogh* (10-32)
Konrad von Kardorff (33-41) 9 opp.
Ulrich Hubner (42-44) 3 opp.
F. Vallotton (45-61) 17 opp.
also
Edouard Manet
* Cassirer accepts 30 works on loan from Johanna van Gogh-Bonger and buys 10, but seems to have exhibited only 23 on this occasion. WF p.18 and p.152.

? June 1905 [8th Exhibition]

Edouard Manet
Alfred Stevens
Lovis Corinth
Max Liebermann
Anselm Feuerbach
Arnold Böcklin

YEAR 8
1905/1906

? October 1905 [1st Exhibition] KA, 21, 1905/06 p.91, also KK IV, 1905/06, p.136
Catalogue:
H.G. Breitner (1-3) 3 opp.
H.Burkel (4) 1 opp.
J. Constable (5) 1 opp.
Honore de Daumier (6-7) 2 opp.
Walter Leistikow (8) 1 opp.
Claude Monet (9-46) 38 opp.
Giovanni Segantini (57-58) 2 opp.
C. Spitzweg (59) 1 opp.
Maillol (60-66) 7 opp.

Event: Verein für Kunst


Catalogue [no preface]
O. Hammerschoi, Copenhagen (Nr.1-3) 3 opp.
Konrad von Kardorff (4-10) 7 opp.
Georg Kolbe (11-13) 3 opp.
Max Liebermann (14-90) 77 opp.
A. Rodin (91) 1 opp.
Kurt Tuch (92-98) 7 opp.
Walter Conz
Walter Leistikow
Vincent van Gogh
Robert Breyer
Gustave Haeger

early January-16. January 1905
Walter Conz
Walter Leistikow
Curt Hermann

Event: Verein für Kunst
12. January 1906
Freiherr von Oppeln-Bronikowski reads Maurice Maeterlinck’s Der Wandervogel

Catalogue: no preface
Gustave Courbet (1-38) 38 opp.
Heinrich Hubner (39-45) 7 opp.
Ernst Oppler (46-49) 4 opp.
Hermann Struck (50-71) 22 opp.

Events Verein für Kunst
19. January 1906
Alfred Mombert reads his work; also reads songs by Konrad Ansorge, Elsa Gregory, and Herwath Walden.
17. February
Alfred Kerr speaks on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Heinrich Heine.
9. March
Rilke speaks on Rodin
26. March
Maria Holgers speaks on Italian poetry, with special reference to Dante.

20 February - 14 March 1906 [5th Exhibition] KA, 21, 1905/06 p.307
Catalogue: no preface
Theo von Brockhausen (1-9) 9opp.
Paul Cézanne (10) 1 op.
Lovis Corinth (11-30) 20 opp.
I.B. Corot (31-21) 2 opp.
Gustave Courbet (33-34) 2opp.
L. Daubigny (35) 1 op.
Philipp Franck (36-43) 8 opp.
Oskar Moll (44-48) 5 opp.
Camille Pissarro (49-50) 2 opp.
Alfred Sisley (51) 1 op.
Regina Mundle (52) 1 op.

Gustave Courbet
Edgar Degas
Claude Monet
Berthe Morisot
Camille Pissarro
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes
Auguste Renoir
Alfred Sisley

April 1906 [7th Exhibition] KA 21, 1905/06, p.355
French Masters
Gustave Courbet
Auguste Renoir
Berthe Morisot
Pierre de Chavannes
Alfred Sisley
Claude Monet
Camille Pissarro
Paul Cézanne
Edgar Degas
Edouard Manet
Adolph Menzel

Event: Verein für Kunst
6. April 1906
Reading by Heinrich Mann

YEAR 9
1906/07
Catalogue: no preface
Sale of Collection Faure
Edouard Manet (1-14) 24 opp.
Claude Monet (25-40) 16 opp.
Heinrich Hubner (41-45) 5 opp.
Georg Mosson (46-51) 6 opp.
also
Willy Schwarz
Events Verein für Kunst
11. October 1906
Reading by Heinrich Mann
18 October 1906
Georg Brandes speaks on Voltaire and Friedrich II
25 October 1906
Gertrude Barrison reads Altenberg poetry

Catalogue: preface?
F. Boucher (1) 1 op.
Jans van Ceulen (2-4) 3 opp.
Lucas Cranach (5-6) 2 opp.
Francisco de Goya (7) 1 opp.
Van Goyen (8) 1 op.
B. van Helst (9) 1 op.
Pieter de Hoogh (10) 1 op.
Huet (11) 1 op.
Kalf (12) 1 op.
Cornelius Ketel (13-14) 2 opp.
Lancre (15) 1 op.
Aart v.a. Neer (16) 1 op.
Joshua Reynolds (17-18) 2 opp.
P.P. Rubens (17-18) 2 opp.
Jacob Ruysdael (20) 1 op.
Dirk v. Sandvoort (21) 1 op.
Santerre (22) 1 op.
David Teniers (23-24) 2 opp.
Tintoretto (25) 1 opp.
Toque (26) 1 op.
Watteau (27) 1 op.
Max Liebermann (29-39) 12 opp.
Walter Leistikow (40-49) 10 opp.
Heinrich Nauen (50-51) 2 opp.
Louis Tuaillon (52) 1 op.
Gerrit van Honthorst

Events: Verein für Kunst
1. November
Gertrude Barrison reads Altenberg poetry [Repetition]
8. November
Jacob Wassermann reads his works
12. November
Georg Simmel, Zum Problem des Porträts

12th Berlin Secession Exhibition: Schwarz-Weiss Ausstellung (Zeichnende Künste)
Catalogue?

Catalogue:
Max Beckmann*(1-24) 25 opp.
M Hagen (25-28) 4 opp.
Ulrich Hübner (29-42a) 15 opp.
George Minne (43 -63) 21 opp.

Paul Cassirer exhibits for the first time Max Beckmann; see letter George Minnes on 23.1.1907 and letter to Tschudi at Berlin Nationalgalerie on 26.1.1907. Also letter Paul Cassirer to Mathilde Beckmann, Mein Leben mit Max Beckmann (München/Zürich, 1983) GB, p. 157

Catalogue
Paul Baum (1-28) 28 opp.
Lovis Corinth (29-39) 11 opp.
Georg Kolbe (40-55) 16 opp.
Adolphe Monticelli (56-74) 19 opp.
Edward Munch*(75-104) 30 opp.
Joseph Oppenheimer (105-106) 2 opp.
Hermann Pleuer (107-112) 6 opp.
*This was the most comprehensive display of Munich's oeuvre, including portraits of F. Nietzsche and Harry Kessler, GB, p.167

Events: Verein für Kunst
31. January
Gerdt v. Bassewitz and Paul Scheerbart read from their works.
7. February
Oskar Schmitz reads his work.
21. February
Else Lasker-Schüler reads her poetry.
14. March
Herwath Walden reads Daphnislieder by Arno Holz
21 March
Prague poet Paul Leppin reads his work.

Catalogue:
Paul Baum (1-17) opp.
Heinrich Linde-Walther (18-28) 11 opp.
Ernst Oppler (29-47) 30 opp.
Camille Pissarro (48-77) 30 opp.
Fanny Remak (78-81) 4 opp.
Fritz Rhein (82-87) 6 opp.

Catalogue:
Von Brandis (1-2) 2 opp.
Ferdinand Chaigneau (3-14) 12 opp.
Emil Orlik (15-49) 35 opp.
Ernst Stern (50-81) 32 opp.
F. Westendorp (82-86) 5 opp.

English Masters: (87-121) 35 opp.
William Turner
John Constable
Joshua Reynolds
Thomas Gainsborough
John Hoppner
George Romney
Andrew Lawrence
Henry Raeburn

April 1907 [8th Exhibition]
Gustave Courbet
Theo Brockhusen
Leo Klein Diepold
Alfred Kubin
Erna Frank
Auguste Renoir
Vincent van Gogh

Isidore Verheyden (1-74) 74 opp. (Estate)

May - June 1907 [10th Exhibition]
Catalogue: preface?
Leopold Graf von Kalckreuth (1-83) 83 opp.
Martin Netke (84-91) 8 opp.

July 1907 [11th Exhibition]
Summer Exhibition
Leopold Graf von Kalckreuth
YEAR 10

1907/08


Catalogue:

Paul Cézanne, watercolors (1-69) 69 opp.
Curt Hermann (70-83) 14 opp.
Henri Matisse (84-89) 6 opp.
Edvard Munch (90-123) 34 opp.
Heinrich Wirsing (124-132) 9 opp.


Catalogue:

El Greco (1-2) 2 opp.
Edouard Manet (3) 1 op.
Claude Monet (4) 1 op.
Philipp Franck (5-9) 5 opp.
Ferdinand Hodler (10-33) 24 opp.
Walter Leistikow (34-45) 12 opp.
Jacob Nussbaum (46-49) 4 opp.
Karl Walser (50-53) 4 opp.
Honoré de Daumier
Max Slevogt
Max Liebermann
Konrad von Kardorff
Ulrich Hubner

Events: Verein für Kunst:
24. October 1907
Songs by Elsa Gregory and Herwath Walden; Bethy Schoth reads Peter Hilles' Mhyrrhdin
30. October
Hermann Bahr reads his poetry.


Catalogue: Preface: Julius Meier-Graefe
Sale of Collection Cheramy
Eugene Delacroix (1-56) 61 opp.

Events: Verein für Kunst
14. November
Kayssler reads Jens Peter Jacobson and Christian Morgenstern
21. November
Heinrich Mann reads his works.
28. November
Hermann Bang reads his works

14th Berliner Secession Exhibition: Schwarz-Weiss Auststellung (graphics)

Catalogue

Events: Verein für Kunst
5. December
Gertrude Barrison reads Altenberg (Repeat)
28. December
Hermann Bang reads from his works

2 January - 2 February 1908 [5th Exhibition] KA, 23, 1907/08, p.232 and KK, VI 1907/08, p.256

Catalogue: no preface
Max Beckmann (1-14) 14 opp.
Eduard R. Butler (15-22) 8 opp.
Lovis Corinth (23-39) 16 opp.
Georg Kolbe (40-47) 8 opp.
Emil Nolde (48-57) 10 opp.
Fritz Rhein (58-68) 11 opp.
Wilhelm Schockey (69-74) 6 opp.

Events: Verein für Kunst
9. January 1908
Oskar Schmitz speaks about Don Juan and Casanova
23. January
Hans Heinz Ewers reads his works.
30. January
Felix Holländer reads from his novellas


Catalogue:
Theo von Brockhusen (1-12) 12 opp.
Otto H. Engel (13-29) 17 opp.
Alexej Jawlensky (30-38) 9 opp.
Max Liebermann (39-48) 10 opp.
Max Slevogt (49-6) 19 opp.
Louis Tuilllon (68) 1 opp.
**Gustave Courbet** (69-70) 2 opp.
**Auguste Renoir** (71) 1 opp.

Events: Verein für Kunst
13. February
Lecture: Hermann Muthesius, Kunstgewerbe und Architektur
27. February
Hermann Stehr reads from his works
22/3 March 1908 [7th Exhibition]
23 van Gogh works are loaned from Johanna van Gogh-Bogner; 4 works are Paul Cassirer property.* WF p. 27; another 71 works on touring Exhibition to Munich. Both published catalogues; WF, p.27, also KA 23, 1907/08, p. 333, KK VI 1907/08 p.302

*Catalogue:
Vincent van Gogh (1-27) 27 opp.
also
French Masters (28-51) 24 opp.
Eugene Delacroix
Charles Francois Daubigny
Jean Baptiste Camille Corot
Theodore Rousseau
Auguste Renoir
Claude Monet
Edgar Degas
Alfred Sisley

Benno Bernais (52-55) 4 opp.
Albert Comes (56-59) 4 opp.
Christina Rohlfs (60-67) 8 opp.

Event: Verein für Kunst
5. March 1908
Else Lasker-Schuler reads her work.

March- April 1908 [8th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Paul Baum (1-33) 33 opp.
Erich Hanke (34-36) 3 opp.
Ulrich Hubner (37-47) 11 opp.
Konrad von Kardorff (48-56) 9 opp.
Leo Klein-Diepold (57-62) 6 opp.
Kathe Kollwitz (63-93) 31 opp.
Emil Pottner (94-98) 5 opp.
Emil Rudolf Weiss (99-118) 20 opp.
Camille Pissarro (119-149) 31 opp.

April - May 1908 [9th Exhibition] KA, 23, 1907/08 p.382 and KK, VI, 1907/08 p.348
Catalogue:
Ulrich Hübner (1-8) 8 opp.
Philipp Klein (9-59) 51 opp.
Emil Pottner (60-62) 3 opp.
Emil Rudolf Weiss (63-77) 15 opp.
May-June 1908 [10th Exhibition] KA 23, 1907/08, p.454, KK VI, 1907/08 p.393/394
Catalogue:
Francisco de Goya (1-22) 22 opp.
Corot (23) 1 op.
Daumier (24-27) 4 opp.
Guys (28-29) 2 opp.
Manet (30-32) 3 opp.
Renoir (33) 1 op.
Leopold Braun (34-38) 5 opp
Erna Frank (39-58) 20 opp.
George Mosson (59-63) 5 opp.

June 1908, Summer Exhibition [11th Exhibition]
Landscapes:
Camille Pissarro
Gustave Courbet
Claude Monet
Auguste Renoir
Vincent van Gogh

Heinrich Hübner
Theo von Brockhusen
Walter Leistikow
Max Liebermann
Lovis Corinth

YEAR 11
1908/09
September - October 1908 [1st Exhibition] KA, 24, 1908/09, p.98, KK, VII, 1908/09 p.89
Catalogue:
Gustave Courbet (1) 1 op.
Claude Monet (2) 1 op.
Wilhelm Trübner (3-4) 2 opp.
Fritz von Uhde (5-7) 3 opp.
Heinrich Zugel (8) 1 op.
Ulrich Hubner (9-26) 17 opp.
George Mosson (27-31) 5 opp.
Emil Pottner (32-36) 5 opp.
George Kolbe

Event Verein für Kunst
7. October
Karl Vollmoeller reads his works.
8. October
Memorial Evening for Walter Leistikow

Catalogue:
Lovis Corinth (1-1) 11 opp.
Still Lives:
Albert Andre (12-13) 2 opp.
Pierre Bonnard (14) 1 op.
Robert Breyer (15-16) 2 opp.
Paul Cézanne (17-25) 9 opp.
Durenne (26-27) 2 opp.
P.d'Espagnat (28-31) 4 opp.
Paul Gaugin (32) 1 op.
Vincent van Gogh (33-40) 8 opp.
Konrad von Kardorf (41) 1 op.
Laprade (42) 1 op.
Max Liebermann (43) 1 op.
Edouard Manet (44-46) 3 opp.
Manguin (47-48) 2 opp.
Henri Matisse (49) 1 op.
Claude Monet (50-52) 3 opp.
George Mosson (53-54) 2 opp.
Emil Orlik (55-56) 2 opp.
Camille Pissarro (57-58) 2 opp.
Emil Pottner (59-61) 3 opp.
Auguste Renoir (62-72) 11 opp.
Fritz Rhein (73) 1 op.
Charles Schuch (74-75) 2 opp.
Alfred Sisley (76-77) 2 opp.
Max Slevogt (78-81) 4 opp.
J. Vuillard (82-83) 2 opp.
Emil Rud. Weiss (84-85)
Zandomeneghi (8) 1 op.

Events: Verein für Kunst
22. October
Anna Gnutzmann, Denmark, presents her programme.
5. November
Oskar Schmitz reads from his works
12. November
Lecture: Stefan Zweig, Honoré de Balsac

Walter Leistikow (Estate)
Catalogue: Julius Elias (1-120) 120 opp.
Events: Verein für Kunst
19. November
Lecture: Franz Blei, Die moralische Illusion
26. November
Georg Simmel lecture
30. November
Lecture: Karl Larsen, Kriege und Menschen
3. December
Paul Leppin reads his own works.

Catalogue:
Leopold Graf von Kalkreuth (1-32) 32 opp.

January 1909 [5th Exhibition] KA 24, p. 272
Catalogue:
Henri Matisse (1-71) 71 opp.
Benno Berneis (72-98) 27 opp.

Events: Verein für Kunst
4. January
Rene Schickele reads his work
21. January
Herwath Walden, Gesänge

Catalogue:
Gustave Courbet (1) 1 opp.
Claude Monet (2-15) 14 opp.
Philipp Franck (16-21) 6 opp.
Heinrich Hubner (22-38) 17 opp.
Alice Lenhard-Falkenstein (39-44) 6 opp.
Arthur Segal (45-48)
Julie Wolfthorn (49-59) 11 opp.
August Gaul (60-64) 5 opp.
Hermann Haller (65-76) 12 opp.

Events: Verein für Kunst
4. February
Ernst Schur reads his work
18. February
Lecture: Karl Schnitzler (title unrecorded)

Catalogue:
Theo von Brockhausen (1-14) 14 opp.
Alfred Helberger (15-18) 4 opp.
Max Liebermann (19-49) 31 opp.
Georg Minne (50) 1 op.
Fritz Rhein (51-66) 16 opp.
Reinhold Nagele (67-76) 10 opp.

Events: Verein für Kunst
4. March
Peter Baum reads his work
18. March

Catalogue:
Auguste Renoir (1-33) 33 opp.
Heinrich E. Linde-Walther (34-36) 3 opp.
Emil Pottner (37-59) 23 opp.

Karl Walser (separate catalogue)

Event Verein für Kunst
4. April
Lecture: Andreas Aubert, Runge und die Romantik.

Vincent van Gogh
Auguste Renoir
Edouard Manet
Claude Monet
Paula Modersohn

June 1909
Cassirer buys 11 works by van Gogh from JvGB; signs contract to publish correspondence between brothers Vincent and Theo van Gogh through’ Paul Cassirer Verlag’. WF p. 34.

YEAR 12
1909/10
September - October 1909 [1st Exhibition] KA 25, 1909/10, p. 88 and KK VIII, p. 124
Catalogue:
Eugene Delacroix (1-6) 6 opp.
Josef Israels (7-8) 2 opp.
Georg Henrik Breitner (9) 1 op.
Ulrich Hubner (10-26) 17 opp.
Jacob Nussbaum (27-40) 14 opp.
Hans Steiner (41) 1 opp.
also
Gustave Courbet

Event: Verein für Kunst
21. October: Elsa Galafres speaks about Viennese poets

Catalogue:
Lovis Corinth (1-20) 20 opp.
Franz Heckendorf (21-29) 9 opp.
Alfred Helberger (30-35) 6 opp.
Oskar Moll (36-56) 21 opp.

Old Masters (57-63) 7 opp.
Giorgione
Peter Paul Rubens
Titian
Antoine Watteau
Also
Ludwig Thoma

Event: Verein für Kunst
11. November
Lecture: Adolf Loos, Das sogenannte angewandte Kunstgewerbe

Catalogue:
Paul Cézanne* (1-42) 42. opp.
Catalogue: ... In Deutschland ist Cézanne völlig unbekannt. Die jetzige Ausstellung ist seine erste. GB, p.158.

Events: Verein für Kunst
24. November
Bianca Segantini, Über meinen Vater
25. November
Lia Rosen reads Herden, Goethe and Jacobson.
29. November
Lia Rosen reads Herden, Goetheand Jacobson (Repeat)

Catalogue:
Josef Block (1-5) 5opp.
Alfred Feiks (6-19) 14 opp
Eugen Feiks (20-25) 6 opp.
Curt Herrmann (26-65) 40 opp.
Konrad von Kardorff (66-77)12 opp.
Alois Metz (78-93) 16 opp.
Fritz Rhein (94-102) 9 opp.

January - 6 February 1910 [5th Exhibition] KK VIII p.325

Sale: Collection E. Ludwig Behrens/ Hamburg (E. L. Behrens 18.1.1825 -18.4.1895)

Catalogue: Preface: Paul Meyerheim

. H Behrens war für seine Erwerbungen gut beraten, er befragte Künstler, was heute nicht mehr
Mode ist...die Unter den Linden wohnende äusserst verstandenden Kunsthändler Gebriider
Lepke, denen es die Kunstsammler jener Tage zu danken hatten, dass sie die herrlichen Werke der
grossen Blutezeit französischer Kunst in Deutschland einführten.
.... In jener Zeit gehörte es zum guten Ton, dass die Wohlabenensten bei dem Bau ihres Hauses
darauf Bedacht nahmen, einen schönen Raum für eine Bildergalerie ins Auge fassten, der bei

Andreas Aschenbach (1-3) 3 opp.
Oswald Aschenbach (4-5) 2 opp.
Arnold Böcklin (6) 1 op.
Boldoni (7) 1 op.
L. Bonnat (8) 1 op.
J.B.C. Corot (9-14) 5 opp.
C.F. Daubigny (15-17) 3 opp.
A.G. Decamps (18-19) 2 opp.
Franz Defregger (20) 1 op.
Eugene Delacroix (21) 1 op.
N. Diaz (22-23) 2 opp.
Jules Dupré (24-26) 2 opp.
Eugene Fromentin (27) 1 op.
J. L. Gerome (28) 1 op.
F. Heilbuth (29) 1 op.
Thomas Herbst (30-31) 2 opp.
Fritz August von Kaulbach (32) 1 op.
Ludwig Knaus (33-37) 5 opp.
Franz von Lenbach (38) 1 op.
H. Leys (39) 1 op.
L. l'Hermittee (40) 1 op.
Mauve (41-42) 2 opp.
Gabr. Max (43-44) 2 opp.
E. Meissonier (45) 1 op.
Adolph von Menzel (46-53) 8 opp.
F. E. Meyerheim (54) 1 opp.
Paul Meyerheim (55) 1 op.
L. Passini (56-57) 2 opp.
A. Pettenkofen (58-59) 2 opp.
F. Pradilla (60-64) 5 opp.
Theodore Rousseau (65) 1 op.
F. Roybet (66) 1 op.
Valentin Ruths (67) 1 op.
A. Schreyer (68) 1 op.
Enrique Serra (69) 1 op.
Wilhelm Sohn (70-71) 2 opp.
A. Stevens (72-73) 2 opp.
C. Troyon (74) 1 op.
B. Vautier (75-76) 2 opp.
F. Ziem (77) 1 op.

Event: Verein für Kunst
13. January
Karl Kraus reads from Die Fackel
16. January
Karl Kraus reads from Die Fackel (Repeat).

Catalogue:
Max Beckmann (1-20) 20 opp.
Theo von Bruckhausen (21-35) 15 opp.
Richard Dreher (36-46) 11 opp.
Ferdinand Hodler (47) 1 op.
Heinrich Nauen (48-55) 8 opp.
Julie Wolfthorn (56-62) 7 opp.

Catalogue:
Robert Breyer (1-19a) 22 opp.
Adolph Ed. Herstein (20-27) 8 opp.
Leo Klein-Diepold (28-36) 9 opp.
Heinrich E. Linde-Walther (37-52) 15 opp.
Reinhold Nagele (53-59) 7 opp.
Fritz Rhein (60-66) 7 opp.
Hedwig Ruetz (67-70) 4 opp.
Max Slevogt (71-89) 19 opp.
Fritz Westendorp (90-95) 6 opp.

Event: Verein für Kunst
3. March
Lecture: Adolf Loos, Ornament und Verbrechen
Sale: Collection Pellerin, Paris
Catalogue
Edouard Manet (1-37) 37 opp.

Catalogue:
Ludwig von Hofmann (1-45a) 46 opp.
Ernst Stern (46-61) 16 opp.
Erna Frank (62-82) 21 opp.

June 1910 [10th Exhibition] S, 1, 1910, p.19 and p.151 ref to Oskar Kokoschka
Catalogue:
Oskar Kokoschka. Vienna (1-49) 49 opp.

Summer Exhibition:
Max Liebermann
Konrad von Kardorff
Robert Breyer
Georges Mosson
Lovis Corinth
Max Beckmann
Max Slevogt
Theo von Brockhusen
Auguste Renoir

1910/011
YEAR 13

Catalogue:
Preface: Hans Mackowsky
Johann Sperl (1-69) 69 opp.

Catalogue:
Norwegian Artists:
Bernhard Folkestad (1-8) opp.
L. Karsten (9-15) 7 opp.
Theodor Lauring (16-21) 6 opp.
Henrik Lund (22-35) 14 opp.
Soren Onasger (36-45) 10 opp.
A. C. Svarstad (46-52) 7 opp.
also
Edvard Munch
Christian Rohlfs
Emil Nolde
Max Pechstein
Georg Tappert
Claus Richter
Otto Mueller

18. October 1910 KA, 26, 1910/11, p. 88
Norwegian Art:
Carl Hofer

Catalogue:
Vincent van Gogh* (1-74) 74 opp.

Cassirer accepts on consignment 23 paintings and 21 drawings from JvGB and organizes touring Exhibition to Frankfurt/Main and Hamburg; 3 other works are loaned from the second most important collector of van Gogh in Germany, Carl Sternheim, WF p. 35. Additional 47 works are on loan from Paris art galleries.

Event: Pan -Gesellschaft , VZ, 11. 11. 1910(Foundtion of journal PAN in Nov. 1910.)
10. November 1910
Lecture: Frank Wedekind

Catalogue:
Pierre Bonnard (1-23) 23 opp.
Ulrich Hübner (24-43) 20 opp.
Leo Klein-Diepold (44-53) 10 opp.
Hedwig Moos (54-65) 12 opp.
Arnold Schönberg

Catalogue
Lovis Corinth (1) 1op.
Ernst Barlach (2) 1 opp.
Robert Breyer (3) 1 op.
Theo von Brockhausen (4-5) 2 opp.
Paul Cézanne (6) 1 op.
Gustave Courbet (7-8) 2 opp.
Ulrich Hubner (9-10) 2 opp.
Konrad von Kardorff (11-12) 2 opp.
Walter Leistikow (13) 1 op.
Max Liebermann (14-16) 3 opp.
Fritz Rhein (18) 1 op.
Wilhelm Trubner (19-20) 2 opp.
Berlin Exhibition originated by *Neue Künstlervereinigung*, München.

Catalogue (layout and order as per catalogue)

- Von Bechtlejeff, Wladimir (2) 2 opp.
- Bossi, Erma (3-7) 5 opp.
- **Braque, Georges** (8) 1 op.
- Burljuk, David (9-10) 2 opp.
- **Derain, André** (11-13) 3 opp.
- Van Dongen, Kees (14) 1 op.
- Erbsloh, Adolf (15-16) 2 opp.
- Le Fauconnier (17) 1 op.
- **Gireud, Pierre** (18-21) 4 opp.
- Van Jawlensky, Alexej (22-28) 7 opp.
- Kahler, Eugen (29-30) 2 opp.
- Kandinsky, Wassily (31-33) 3 opp.
- Kanoldt, Alexnader (34-38) 5 opp.
- Kubin, Alfred (39) 1 op.
- Munter, Gabriele (40-44) 5 opp.
- **Picasso, Pablo** (45-46) 2 opp.
- **Rouault, Georges** (47-48) 2 opp.
- De Vlaminck, Maurice (49) 1 op.
- Von Werefkin, Marianna (50-53) 4 opp.
- Haller, Hermann (54-55) 2 opp.
- Hoetger, Bernard (56-58) 3 opp.
- Nieder, Adolf (59) 1 op.

February 1911 [7th Exhibition]

Catalogue:

- Charlotte Berend (1-11) 11 opp.
- Fritz Rhein (12-2) 17 opp.
- Waldemar Rosier (29-47) 19 opp.
- Hedwig Ruets (48-51) 4 opp.
- Theodor Schindler (52-59) 8 opp.

March 1911 [8th Exhibition] KK IX p.255

Catalogue:

- **Paul Cézanne** (1-6) 4 opp.
- **Gustave Courbet** (7) 1 op.
- **Charles F. Daubigny** (8) 1 op.
- **H. Edgar Degas** (9) 1 op.
- Ferdinand Hodler (19-22) 13 opp.
- Leopold von Kalckreuth (23-30b) 10 opp.
- Fritz von Uhlde (31-36) 6 opp.
- Maurice H. Sterne (37-47) 11 opp.
Event: Pan-Gesellschaft
Lecture: Dr. Paul Schmidt. *Die Teufelgestalt in der Faustsage*

Event: Neue Club
April 1911
Georg Heym reads extracts *Ophelia, Das Fieberspiel, Die Dämonen der Städte*.
Georg Schubert reads *Robbespierre*
Georg Heym reads *Atlanta*
May
Georg Heym reads unpublished poems

April 1911 [9th Exhibition] KK IX p.454
Catalogue:
Walter Bondy (1-11a) 12 opp.
Erna Frank (12-39) 28 opp.
Alfred Helberger (40-43) 4 opp.
Rudolf Levy (44-48) 5 opp.
Julius Pascin (49) 1 op.
Hans Purrmann (50-72) 23 opp.
M. Veszi (73-97) 25 opp.
Else Kovozhazy-Kalmar (98-100) 3 opp.
Hugo von Habermann (101) 1 op.
Hans Thoma (102-103) 2 opp.
Wilhelm Trübner (104) 1 op.
Claude Monet (105-109) 5 opp.
Camille Pissarro (110-112) 3 opp.
Auguste Renoir (113-114) 2 opp.
Alfred Sisley (115-11) 2 opp.

April 1911 [10th Exhibition]
Sale: Collection Maurice Masson, Paris
Catalogue:
French Art (1-36) 36 opp.
Camille Corot
Adolph Monticelli
Eugene Boudin
Felicien Rops
Claude Monet
Camille Pissarro
Alfred Sisley
Auguste Rodin
Willi Nowak (37-53) 17 opp.
Otto Rauth (54-67) 14 opp.
Catalogue:
Vally Friedmann (1-14) 14 opp.
Carl Strathmann
Ines Wetzel (45-52) 8 opp.

Catalogue : (1-261) 265 opp.
Egyptian and Islamic Art, Oriental and Persian Miniatures.

YEAR 14
1911/12
Catalogue
Feminand Hodler (1-79) 79 opp.

November 1911 [2nd Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Martin Bloch (1-5) 5 opp.
Paul Cézanne (6-10) 5 opp.
Henryk Glicenstein (11-15) 5 opp.
Konrad von Kardorff (16-32) 17 opp.
Kurt E. Kroner (33-36) 4 opp.
Max Liebermann (37-44) 8 opp.
Louis Tuaillon (45) 1 op.
Edgar Degas
Vincent van Gogh

December 1911 [3rd Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Leo Klein-Diepold (1-12) 12 opp.
Oskar Moll (13-28) 16 opp.
George Mosson (29-30) 2 opp.
Max Pechstein (31-39) 9 opp.
Fritz Rhein (40-49) 10 opp.
Josef Rippl-Ronai (50-59) 10 opp.
Louis Tuaillon (60) 1 op.

6-18 January 1912 [4th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Richard Dreher (1-8) 8 opp.
Werner Hoffmann (9-13) 5 opp.
Max Oppenheimer (14 -43) 30 opp.
( ? - 28 January 1912)

Vincent van Gogh

Edgar Degas

Claude Monet

Alfred Sisley

Ulrich Hübner

Max Beckmann

Konrad von Kardorff

January - February 1912 [5th Exhibition]

Catalogue:

Lovis Corinth (1-12a) 13 opp.

Franz von Hatvany (13-28) 16 opp.

Heinrich Hübner (29-47) 19 opp.

Fritz Behn (48-59) 12 opp.

February-March 1912

Catalogue: Julius Meier-Graefe, Sale: Collection Durand-Ruel

Auguste Renoir (1-41) 41 opp.


Robert Hoffmann (54-59) 6 opp.

Edouard Manet

March 1912 [7th Exhibition]

Catalogue:

Curt Hermann (1-32) 32 opp.

Ulrich Hubner (33-55) 23 opp.

Waldemar Rosier (56-63) 8 opp.

Albert Weisberger (64-81) 18 opp.

April 1912 [8th Exhibition]

Catalogue:

Paul Cézanne (1-15) 15 opp.

E.R. Butler (16-25) 10 opp.

Maria Slavona (26-43) 18 opp.

G.H. Wolff (44-54) 11 opp. Also

Edgar Degas

Alfred Sisley

Max Leibermann

Max Slevogt and others

May -June 1912 [9th Exhibition]

Catalogue:

Camille Corot (1) 1 op.

Edgar Degas (2) 1 op.

Edouard Manet (3) 1 op.

Die Aufgabe die ich im Jahre 1898 vorfand war eine Anzahl grosser Künstlerpersonlichkeiten, die in Deutschland unbekannt waren, bekannt zu machen, dem Liebhaber wie dem Kritiker Gelegenheit zu geben, die Personlichkeit der wirklichen Führer der modernen Bewegung kennen zu lernen.

Heute scheint mir die Aufgabe eine ganz andere zu sein. War es früher notwendig, die Persönlichkeiten der einzelnen Künstler durch Kollektivausstellungen deutlich zu machen - durch Kollektivausstellungen, die zur gleicher Zeit Kampfausstellungen waren - so ist heute die Kenntnis der Persönlichkeiten der grossen Künstler des 19 Jahrhunderts, die Kenntnis der Entwicklung der Kunst des 19 Jahrhunderts in keinem Lande so weit verbreitet wie bei uns in Deutschland. So lange um diese Kunst gekämpft wurde - und es wurde in diesen 15 Jahren heiss genug gekämpft - war es notwendig, immer wieder auf die Persönlichkeiten der Künstler, auf ihren Willen, auf ihre Theorie, auf ihre Entwicklung hinzuweisen und das konnte man nicht besser tun als durch Kollektivausstellungen. Ich war mir stets bewusst, dass diese Art des Austellens grosse Gefahren mit sich bringt, namentlich bei uns Deutschen, und die wir so sehr zum Theoretischen neigen......

Ernst Barlach (107) 1 op.
Max Beckmann (2-3) 2 opp. 1
Pierre Bonnard (54) 1 op.
Robert Breyer (85-87) 2 opp.
Theo von Brockhausen (92) 1 op.
Paul Cézanne (16, 22, 23, 25, 26, 32) 6 opp. 8
Lovis Corinth (1, 4) 2 opp. 2
Camille Corot (10,11,14,33,36,43,44,46) 8 opp. 6
Gustave Courbet (35,73,76) 3 opp.
Honore Daumier (5,61,63,65, 67, 69, 70) 7 opp.
Edgar Degas (42) 1 op.1
Eugene Delacroix (31, 71) 2 opp.
Nickolaus Friedrich (57) 1 op.
August Gaul (55) 1 op.
Theodore Gericault (37, 64, 66, 68, 75) 5 opp.
Vincent van Gogh (6, 17, 77, 78,102) 5 opp.
Ferdinand Hodler (93) 1 op. 1
Ulrich Hübner (89) 1 op. 1
Konrad von Kardorff (95) 1 op. 1
Fritz Klimsch (56) 1 op. 1
Georg Kolbe (58) 1 op. 1
Wilhelm Lehbruck (108) 1 op. 1
Wilhelm Leibl (12) 1 op. 1
Max Liebermann (8, 15, 21 27, 103) 5 opp.
Aristide Maillol (59) 1 op.
Edouard Manet (7, 9, 24, 30,97a, 98, 99, 100, 101) 9 opp.
Adolph von Menzel (74) 1 op.
Claude Monet (18) 1 op.
Georg Mosson (94) 1 op.
Edward Munch (101a) 1 op
Max Oppenheimer (48) 1 op.
Camille Pissarro( 19,28,41,80,81) 5 opp.
Emil Pottner (88) 1 op.
Auguste Renoir (13,20,34,38,39,72,82,83,84,96,97) 11 opp.
Fritz Rhein (91) 1 op.
Auguste Rodin (104) 1 op.
Waldemar Rosler (47, 49,86) 3 opp.
K.X. Roussel (53, 79) 2 op.
Alfred Sisley (40) 1 op.
Max Slevogt (29) 1 op.
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (50) 1 op.
Wilhelm Trubner (45,60,62) 3 opp.
Louis Tuaillon (105,106) 2 opp.
Edouard Vuillard (51,52) 2 opp.
Karl Walser (90) 1 op.
December 1912 [2nd Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Leopold von Kalkreuth (1-14, 22-34) 27 op.
Edvard Munch (35) 1 op.
Theo von Brockhausen (34-45) 10 op.
Hannah de Grahl (46-48) 3 opp.
Walter Kurau (49-53) 5 opp.
Robert Breyer (54) 1 op.
Ulrich Hübner (55) 1 op.

13. January 1913 [3rd Exhibition]
Sale: Collection Reber, Barmen
Catalogue: Preface (probably by Paul Cassirer, not signed.)

Mit der Ausstellung der Sammlung Reber beginnt eine Reihe von Ausstellungen von
Privatsammlungen. Im letzten Jahrzehnt hat sich der deutsche Kunstbesitz in ausserordentlicher
Weise vergrössert. Nicht nur in Berlin, auch in der Provinz sind Sammlungen entstanden, die
Meisterwerke enthalten.
Wenn es mir jetzt gelungen ist, einige Amateure dazu zu bewegen, ihre Sammlung zur Ausstellung
für Berlin herzuleihen, so glaube ich, dass diese Art der Ausstellung mancherlei Gutes hat. Diese
Austellungen zeigen einen nicht unwesentlichen Zweig kultureller Arbeit, sie lassen schöne Bilder
aus dem schwer zugänglichen provinziellen Preussen an as Licht der Öffentlichkeit kommen und
sie geben zugleich dem Besitzer Gelegenheit die kulturelle Höhe ihrer Tätigkeit an der Kritik der
öffentlichen Meinung messen zu lassen. Wenn ein Amateur so selbstlos ist, seine Schätze so lange
taum zu entbehren und sie einer öffentlichen Ausstellung zu überlassen, so ist wohl auch ein gewisser
Egoismus vorhanden, der Einem des Gefühls bei disser ernsthaften Art des Samm lens nicht allein
seiner Leidenschaft nachgegangen zu sein, sondern auch für die Gesamtheit gearbeitet zu haben.
Diese Art des Samm lens und diese Tätigkeit des Sammeldes die der Tätigkeit eines
Museumsdirektors sehr nahekommt, zeigt einen neuen Typ des Sammlens. Die alte Art war es,
seine Schätze zu verstecken und sie vor der Kritik zu hüten, die neue demokratische ist es, seinen
Besitzer vor der Welt und der Kritik aus zubreiten.

Oberrheinische Meister
? (1) 1 op.
Meister von Messkirch (2) 1 op.
Lorenzo Lotto? (3) 1 op.
Jorg Breu (4-5) 2 opp.
Berckheyde (6) 1 op.
van Beyeren (7) 1 op.
Van Craesbeck (8) 1 op.
Van Dyck (9) 1 op.
Jan Fyt (10) 1 op.
Goyen (11) 1 op.
Kalff (12) 1 op.
Rubens (13) 1 op.
D. Teniers (14) 1 op.
J.B. Weenix (15) 1 op.
Goya (16-18) 3 opp.
16. Petrus
17. Die Spinnerinnen
18. Revolution Scene

Cézanne (19-29) 11 opp.
19. Stilleben mit Apfel
20. Stilleben mit Birnen
21. Grosses Stilleben
22. Stilleben
23. Landschaft
24. Lutteurs amoureux
25. Grosse Akte
26. Harlekin
27. Der junge Philosoph
28. Portrait eines Fuhrmannes
29. Mann mit gekreuzten Armen

Corot (30) 1 op.

Courbet (31-33) 3 opp.
Daumier (34) 1 op.
Degas (35) 1 op.
Gauguin (36-37) 2 opp.

Van Gogh (38-42) 5 opp.
38. Stilleben
39. Stockrosen
40. Sonnenblume
41. Weisse Rosen
42. Portrait

Manet (43-48) 6 opp.
43. Stilleben, Früchte
44. Marine
45. Der Fischer
46. Knabe mit Hund
47. Antonin Proust
48. Madame L

Monticelli (49-52) 4 opp.
Renoir (53-54) 2 opp.
F. Rops (55) 1 op.
Catalogue pages missing for the following
Theo von Brockhausen (56-65) 10 opp.
Franz von Christopher (66-95) 30 opp.
Carl Strathmann (96-107) 12 opp.
Event:
4 January 1913
Lecture: Julius Meier-Graefe, Wohin treiben wir?

January - February 1913 [4th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Max Beckmann (1-47) 47 opp.
Walter Bondy (48-63) 16 opp.
Paul Gauguin (64-77, 97) 15 opp.

Etchings and Lithographs
Lovis Corinth
August Gaul
Wilhelm Lehmbruck
Max Liebermann
Edvard Munch
Max Sevogt

19. January - 23. February 1913
Berlin Secession Exhibition Retrospective for Lovis Corinth, organized by Paul Cassirer.
Catalogue: Preface: Paul Cassirer with contribution from Max Liebermann.
This is a fairly comprehensive retrospective, although not all works which have been submitted could be accommodated. I thank German galleries and private collectors for making this exhibition possible.

Lovis Corinth

Lovis Corinth (1-228) 228 opp.

Catalogue:
Paul Baum (1-30, 37-78, 187-195) 182 opp.
Leon Bakst (31-36, 79-186) 114 opp.
Erna Frank

Event: sponsor?
17. February 1913
Lecture: Georg Viermann, El Greco

Event: Aktion
1. March 1913
Gottfried Benn, Paul Boldt, Lichtenstein, Richard Oehring, Hellmuth Wetzel, Alfred Wolfenstein read from their works.
Erich Oesterheld and Max Pfemfert speaks.
4. - 25. March 1913 [6th Exhibition]
Catalogue: Preface: E. Othon Friesz
E. Othon Friesz (1-26a) 27 opp.
Van Gogh (27-32a) 7 opp.
Auguste Renoir (33-34) 2 opp.
Adolf Holzel (35-95) 91 opp. (20 oils and 41 drawings)
Fritz Klimsch (95a) 1 op.
Wilhelm Trübner (96-105) 10 opp.
Ines Wetzel (106-108) 3 opp.
Ferdinand Hodler (109-115) 7 opp.
Fritz Rhein (116-135) 20 opp.
F. v. Knapitsch (136-142) 7 opp.
Camille Pissarro (143-144) 2 opp.
Alfred Sisley (145) 1 op.

Events: Aktion
28. March
Evening for Franz Blei
23 April
Andre Gide, Pegni, Carl Einstein and Ludwig Rubiner read their works.

27. March - 13. April 1913 [7th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Martin Bloch (1-10) 10 opp.
Heinrich Hübner (11-18a) 9 opp.
Thomas Theodor Heine (19-20) 2 opp.
El Greco (21-24) 2 opp.
Magnasco (25) 1 op.
Waldemar Rösler (26-34) 9 opp.
Clara Rilke-Westhoff (35-38) 4 opp.
Rudolf Grossman (39-61) 23 opp.
Wilhelm Trübner (62-66) 5 opp.
Fritz Westendorp (67-83) 17 opp.
Benno Berneis (84-92) 9 opp.

1. – 15. May 1913 [8th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Andre LHote (1-14) 14 opp.
Adolf Erbsloh (15-20, 22-27) 12 opp.
Edouard Vuillard (21) 1 opp.
Alfred Sisley (28-30, 32-33) 5 opp.
Gustave Courbet (31) 1 op.
Camille Pissarro (34) 1 op.
Artur Degner (35-54) 20 opp.
Rudolf Wilke (55) 1 op.
Erich Thum (56-60) 5 opp.
June 1913 [9th Exhibition]
Muslim Art, Persian Art Galleries, London.
W. Degauve de Nuncques (1-8) 8 opp.
Theo von Brockhusen (9, 12) 2 opp.
Leo Klein-Diepold (10-11) 2 opp.
Waldemar Rosier (13) 1 op.
Hans Schutz (14-28) 15 opp.
Lene Kainer (29-43) 15 opp.

Summer Exhibition 1913 [10th Exhibition]
Catalogue: (Illustrated)
Lovis Corinth (3 opp).
Camille Corot (1 op).
Gustave Courbet (3 opp)
1. Eselreiten
2. Schlafende Frau
3. Unter den Bäumen
Eugene Delacroix 2 opp.
Theodor Gericault 2 opp.
Vincent van Gogh 5 opp.
1. Mairie in Auvers
2. Die Wassermühle
3. Olivennernte
4. Alter Mann (Drawing)
5. Mann mit Schirm (Drawing)
Ferdinand Hodler 3 opp.
Ulrich Hübner 3 opp.
Walter Leistikow 2 opp.
Max Liebermann 5 opp.
Edouard Manet 7 opp.
1. Die Bar
2. Bildnis des Herrn Moreau
3. Bildnis des Musiker Chabrier
4. Ruhiger See (Aquarelle)
5. Bewegte See (Aquarelle)
6. Rue de Berne (Drawing)
7. Weiblicher Studie (Drawing)
Hans von Marees 1 op.
Adolphe Menzel 1 op. (Guache)
Claude Monet 4 opp.
1. Captain Marrin
2. Die Felsen von Voraville
3. Schnee in Vetheuil
4. Blühender Apfelbaum
Adolph Monticelli 1 op.

Camille Pissarro 3 opp.
1. Die Dorf Landschaft
2. Landschaft bei Eraguy
3. Kleine Landschaft

Auguste Renoir 3 opp.
Charles Schuch 2 opp.

Alfred Sisley 1 op.

Cézanne 6 opp.
1. Der Esel und die Diebe
2. Blick auf die Dacher
3. Harlequin (Aquarelle)
4. Landschaft (Aquarelle)
5. Landschaft (Acquarelle)
6. Alter Mann (Acquarelle)

Max Slevogt 1 op.
Wilhelm Trübner 5 opp.
Fritz von Uhde 1 op.

**YEAR 16**

**1913/14**

October 1913 [1st Exhibition]
Catalogue: no preface, Paul Cassirer Text
Carl Steffek (1-83)
E. von Freyhold (84-101) 23 opp.
Willi Oppenheimer (102-105) 4 opp.
Hermine Moos (106-113) 8 opp.
Heinrich Heuser (12 acquarelles)
also
Carl Steffek (Estate) (1-142) 142 opp.

October
Opening of Kölner Kunstverein, artistic director Paul Cassirer. Establishment of Freie Sezession, President Paul Cassirer, Honorary President Max Liebermann. Catalogue: Preface Max Liebermann and Alfred Gold

Event: sponsor?
14. October 1913

Gustav Landauer, Frank Wedekind

Catalogue
Edgar Degas (1-29) 29 opp.
1. Mary Cassatt
2. La Place de La Concorde
3 - 29. Dancers, actresses, singers, washer women, women at work
Paul Cézanne (30-35) 6 opp
30-35 landscapes
Auguste Renoir (36-45) 10 opp.
36. Young girl
37. Young girl
38. Landscape
39. Eine Strasse in Essoies
40. Young Girl
41. Obsternte
42. Young Girl
43. Villeneuve d'Avignin
44. Yong Girl
45. Teekanne und Tee Tasse
Josef Block (6-55) 10 opp.
Eva Veit Simon (56-62) 7 opp.
Camille Pissarro (63-66) 4 opp.
63. Garten in Berneval
64 Landschaft
65 Morgensonne
66 Wiese in Eraguy

Drawings:
Delacroix
Gericault
Degas
Guys
Rodin

Event:
25 November
Lecture: Julius Meier-Graefe, Delacroix

December 1913 [3rd Exhibition]
Catalogue: no preface
Hans Baluschek (1-35) 35 opp.
Catalogue:
Konrad von Kardorff (36-55) 20 opp.
also
W. Trübner
E. Feiks
E. Bracht

15 January - 2 February 1914 [4th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Benno Geiger
Alessandro Magnasco (1-68) 68 opp.
Event:
14 January
Lecture: Julius Meier-Graefe, *Kunst oder Kunstgewerbe?*

February 1914 [5th Exhibition]
Catalogue: no preface
Waldemar Rosler (1-46) 46 opp.

Catalogue: Preface: Julius Elias
Odile Redon (47-83) 37 opp.
also
Hans Adolf Heimann

? March - 29 March 1914 [6th Exhibition]
Catalogue: Preface by Julius Elias*
Camille Pissarro (1-40) 40 opp.
Elias mentions 48 works, but only 40 are listed in catalogue

* Pissarro's Anhang ist gross und verbreitet über die Erde....er hat eine 'serenité'

Pissarro was a political thinker, whose thoughts were not translated into his visual imagery: Elias found text and drawings accompanying Pissarros' reading of the journal *La revolte*, which was subsequently presented as *Les turpitudes sociales*.

Es ist die scharfste Anklageschrift die ich von einem Künstler kenne. Er musste fertigwerden mit diesen Ideen, dann aber verschloss er die Blätter im Pult. Pissarro's Bauern sind ein simples, mit der Landschaft verknüftes Menschenvolk, das von der Arbeit geplagt und erschöft, aber zugleich auch erhoben und geadelt wird.

March 1914
Catalogue: no preface
Benno Bermeis (41-74) 34 opp.
Hans Michealson (75-81) 7 opp.

March 1914
Catalogue
August Gaul (82-89) 8 opp.

Event: *Aktion*
7. March 1914
An evening with Paul Boldt, Gottfried Benn, Carl Einstein, Max Oppenheimer, Richard Oehring and Franz Pfemfert.
24. March 1914

Feindliche Bruder: Gottfried Benn, Paul Boldt, Matthias, Alfred, Wolfenstein, Egmont Seyerlen.

April 1914 [7th Exhibition]
Catalogue:
Heinrich Nauen (91-66) 66 opp.
Klaus Richter (67-82) 16 opp.
Magnus Zeller (83-89) 7 opp.
Willi Geiger (90-96) 7 opp.
Erna Frank (97-119) 23 opp.

April-May 1914 [8th Exhibition]
Karl Hofer
Adolf Struebe
Moritz Melzer

May 1914 [9th Exhibition]
Ferdinand Hodler
Augusta von Zitzewitz

May - June 1914 [10th Exhibition]
Van Gogh Exhibition* which subsequently tours to Kölnner Kunstverein

Vincent van Gogh (1-151) 151 opp. (59 out of 151 were not for sale)
* Many works on consignment from Bonger-van Gogh; other works on loan from private collectors and museums; most works have been displayed at earlier exhibitions.
The Exhibition is grouped 1) according to the locality where work was painted, 2) giving the identity of the private collector and 3) referenced by exhibition catalogue number.
By naming the private collectors, the list gives a very comprehensive list of van Gogh patrons in Germany around 1914. The names of Jewish patrons are indicated by bold.

Paris [9 opp.]
Generalkonsul Franz v. Mendelssohn, Berlin, Betender Mann (1884) drawing, Nr. 6
Theodor Behrens, Hamburg, Blumenstilleben, (1886) Nr. 21
Geheimrat Prof. C. Harries, Kiel, Blumenstilleben mit blauen Grund, (1886) Nr. 22
Paul M. Rabinow, Hamburg, Malven (1886) Nr. 23
Henry Newman, Hamburg, Blumen (1886) Nr. 25
Generaldirektor Otto Gerstenberg, Berlin, Chrisanthemen Vase, (1886) Nr. 26
Leonard Tietz, Köln, Selbstbildnis (1886-87) Nr. 28
Tilla Durieux/Paul Cassirer, Berlin, Boot auf der Seine (1886) Nr. 29
Dr. Johannes Guthman, Berlin, Torso (ca. 1887) Nr. 43

Arles and St.Remy [36 opp.]
Carl Rheininghausen, Wien, Das Schlafzimmer (1888) Nr.53
Carl Moll, Wien, *Landschaft* (1888) Nr. 54


Tilla Durieux/ **Paul Cassirer**, Berlin, *Kirchhof in St. Maries* (1888) drawing, Nr. 66

Tilla Durieux/ **Paul Cassirer**, *Garten des Irrenhauses in Arles* (1888) drawing Nr. 67

Tilla Dureux/Paul Cassirer, *Blick in den Park* (1888) aquarelle, Nr. 68

Tilla D/ Paul Cassirer *Die Eisenbahnbriicke in Arles* (1888) sketch, Nr. 69

TD/PC *Getreidefelder, Sonnen Untergang* (1888) Nr. 70

TD/PC *Kopf mit rotom Haar* (1888) Nr. 71

TD/PC *Zugbrücke* (1888) drawing Nr. 72

Carl Moll, *Bildnis der Mutter* (1888) Nr. 73

Bert Grovolt, Berlin, *Arleserin* (1888) Nr. 80

TD/PC, *Arleserin* (1888) Nr. 81

**Carl Sternheim**, München, *Arleserin* (1888) Nr.82

Carl Sternheim, *Das Paar am Waldesrand* (1888) Nr. 83

Ernst von Esche, Chemnitz, *Ernte* (1888) Nr. 87

Theodor Behrens, Hamburg, *Garten des Irrenhauses in Arles* (1888) Nr. 89

Harry Graf von Kessler, Weimar, *Ebene von Arles* (1888) Nr. 90

**Margarethe Mauthner**, Berlin, *Der Felsen* (1888) Nr. 92

Margarethe Mauthner, *Stadt mit aufgehender Sonne* (1888) drawing Nr. 93

**Margarethe Mauthner**, *Landschaft* (1888) drawing, Nr. 94

Prof C. Harries, Kiel, *Herbstlandschaft* (1888) Nr. 95

**Samuel Fischer**, Berlin, *Kastanien in Arles* (1888) Nr. 96

Dr. Joachim Zimmermann, Berlin, *Hütten in St. Maries* (1888) Nr. 97


**Dr. Hugo Cassirer**, Berlin, *Zugbrücke* (1888) Nr. 101


A. W. von Heymel, *Zypress mit Halbmond und Sternen* (1888) drawing, Nr. 103

**Alfred Cassirer**, Berlin, *Die Schlucht* (1888) Nr. 104

Landesgerichtsdirektor Gustav Schieffler, Hamburg, *Der Kanal* (ca. 1888) Nr. 105

Carl Rheininghausen, Wien, *Die Trinke* (after Dürer) (1889) Nr. 113

**Margarethe Mauthner**, Berlin, *Dorf im Herbst* (1889) Nr. 114

Geheimrat **Dr. F. Oppenheim**, Berlin, *Efeu* (1889) Nr. 116

Max Siller, Barmen, *Landschaft* (1889) Nr. 119

TD/PC *Kartoffelgräber* (after Millet) (1889) Nr. 120

**Auvers** [12 opp.]

**Max Liebermann**, Berlin, *Getreidefeld* (1890) Nr. 128

**Carl Sternheim**, München, *Hütten in Anvers, La Hulpe* (1890) Nr. 130

**Margarethe Mauthner**, Berlin, *Gebirgslandschaft* (1890) Nr. 131

**Margarethe Mauthner**, *Kornfeld* (1890) Nr. 132

Geheimrat **Dr. F. Oppenheim**, Berlin, *Rosen* (1890) Nr. 134

Generalkonsul **Franz von Mendelssohn**, Berlin, Nr. 135

Curt Hermann, Berlin, *Grüne Getreidefelder* (1890) Nr. 138

Curt Hermann, Berlin, *Dorf* (1890) Nr. 139
Landesgerichtsdirektor Gustav Schieffler, Hamburg, Blühender Garten (1890) Nr. 140
Dr. Thust, Berlin, Bauernhaus bei Auvers (1890) Nr. 142
Carl Rheininghausen, Wien, La Grenouillère, (1890) Nr. 143
Generalkonsul Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Berlin, 14 Juillet, Die Marie in Anvers (1890) Nr. 146

June 1914: Summer Exhibition 1914 [11th Exhibition]

Catalogue
Courbet (1-2) 2 opp.
Renoir (3-7) 5 opp.
Cezanne (8-16) 9 opp.
Monet (17-18) 2 opp.
Sisley (19-21) 3 opp.
Pissarro (22-24) 3 opp.
Liebermann (25-28) 3 opp.
Trubner (29-32) 4 opp.
Leistikow (33-36) 4 opp.
Slevogt (37-38) 2 opp.
Hubner (39-44) 6 opp.
Corinth (45-48) 4 opp.
George Mosson (49-50) 2 opp.
Robert Breyer (51-52) 2 opp.
Karl von Karkdorff (53-55) 3 opp.
Max Beckmann (56) 1 opp.
Waldemar Rossler (57-58) 2 opp.
Frh. von Brockhausen (59-63) 5 opp.
Ludwig Schutze (64) 1 opp.
Leo Klein-Diepold (65) 1 opp.
ADDENDUM
The Provenance of Works by Vincent van Gogh

1904
In 1904 Hugo von Tschudi, director of Nationalgalerie Berlin already owned 2 van Goghs; in 1904 he acquired Sunflowers, Farm near Auvers and Roadmenders; at first Tschudi, financed these purchases himself and later looked for sponsorship or donation of these works to his museum. In the past this plan had worked well with his Impressionists acquisitions, having found Jewish patrons in Eduard Arnold, Fritz Oppenheimer, Franz and Robert Mendelssohn and others.
In the above cases, Tschudi found no sponsors. The Emperor, taking personal interests in museum acquisitions, rejected these van Gogh purchases and thus they were not incorporated into the NG Museum. WF p.19.

On 1 April 1908, after continuous frictions with the Emperor, Tschudi was dismissed from his post, which caused a national scandal. Tschudi took Sunflowers to his new post at the Neue Pinakothek in Munich. It was only after his death in 1912 that patrons donated Sunflowers and View of Arles to the Munich Institution. In 1929, his widow Angela von Tschudi sold many paintings from her personal collection, including van Gogh’s Farm near Auvers.

Other van Gogh clients:
Robert von Mendelssohn, Wheat field with peasant
Julius Stern, Olive picking
Prof Harries, The Garden of St. Paul’s Hospital
Eduard Mauthner, The Rocks
Georg Schwarz, Vase with Carnations Employee at Kunstsalon Cassirer)
E.Thiel / Stockholm, Green Wheat
Curt Herrmann: van Gogh, Title unknown, (1904) at Cassirer who acquired it from Gaston Bernheim-Jeune.
Carl Moll, director of Miethke Gallery, Vienna. (3 opp.)
Olive Trees
Portrait of the artist’s mother
Courtyard of the Hospital at Arles.

Karl Ernst Osthaus /Hagen: 3 paintings and three drawings WF p.20.
Gustav Schiefler/Hamburg: The Garden, Washerwoman by the Rhone

Paul Cassirer signed a contract with J.von Gogh-Bogner to loan him 47 or 49 works.* (both figures mentioned in WF p.22 ) during Sept 1905 and in April 1906; Cassirer incorporating these works in a Gogh Exhibition in Hamburg and Berlin in December 1905 and thereafter intended it to tour to Dresden and Vienna. See review by H. Rosenhagen, Die Kunst 4. 1.1906, p.188 as cited by WF p.43
* 49 (!) van Gogh works reached Hamburg by early September 1905.

The Exhibition catalogues refers to 54 works; 47 of which belong to Johanna van Gogh-Bonger , 2 to Tschudi and 5 to Cassirer.
Tschudi buys further 2, *Iron Bridge at Trinquetaille* and *Vineyards at Auvers*
Oskar Schmitz/ Dresden, *The Langlois Bridge and Noon, Rest from work*
Carl Reininghaus/ Vienna, *Oleanders and The Bank of the Oise*
1 work sells in Dresden, *Siesta after Millet* (Buyer’s name unknown)
1 works sells via Dresden dealer Ernst Arnold, *Quince Pears* (Name unknown)

**1906**
Sales at the Mietke Gallery/ Vienna:
Paul Cassirer: *Chestnut Tree, Field of Green Wheat, Wheatfield with corn flowers*
Prince of Wagram refuses 3 paintings on offer to Cassirer, which, in the event, Cassirer buys from Johanna van Gogh-Bonger.

**1907**
Cassirer receives 3 van Goghs for sale on behalf of Alfred Walter von Heymel, which he had originally acquired from Gaston Bernheim-Jeune.

**1908**
Cassirer buys *Garden* and sells to Fritz Oppenheimer, *Roses* and *Irises* to Robert von Mendelssohn, *Die Kunst* . 16 July 1908. R. Schmied *Von Austellungen und Sammlern* (Date unknown)
At Cassirers one finds oneself usually in French company. Van Gogh may never again be excluded. His art is represented by two landscapes. Very impressive, a path with ghostly, threatening old willows and a portrait of a boy on green background. These pictures were from Cassirer stock.
Cassirer receives 80 van Gogh paintings on assignment from JvGB, WF p. 31.

**1910**
Cassirer receives 23 paintings and 21 drawings on consignment from JvGB, WF p.35.
Cassirer sells during the exhibition of 25 Oct-20 Nov 1910 to
Franz von Mendelssohn, *Wheatfield with Cypress*
Gustav Pauli, Bremer Kunsthalle, *Poppies in the Field*
Karl Scheffler, *Die moderne Galerie* in *Kunst und Künstler* , Sept, 1911 p.300, WF p.43

....lately Pauli had to put up with unpleasant attacks on account of acquiring a van Gogh for the Bremer Kunsthalle. Attacks turning into what seemed a planned 'Inquisition' against modern art as such. Interesting to note is the general constant outrage against the art dealer [ Paul Cassirer ]. When Pauli bought a Monet the general outcry was: How could he! Today, only a few years later, these eternal late comers start saying: Well Monet, yes, there we agree; but that insane Van Gogh? How many German works of art could one have bought instead. Could have! The final word about van Gogh is certainly not yet spoken. Since he represents a definite movement in contemporary art, he belongs in a modern museum, in which the best should be shown.'

Probably, due to high prices only 2 drawings sold, although the exhibition was a great success with the public. WF p.37

London shows the first van Goghs at the Grafton Gallery curated by Roger Fry, *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*. 
APPENDIX A) 3

KUNSTSAISON CASSIRER CLIENT LIST
A
Private Individuals
Allende, M.
Arnold, Eduard
Arnold, Ernst

B
Public Museums
Berlin Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Hugo von Tschudi
Bremer Kunsthalle, Bremen Gustav Pauli
Budapest Museum, Budapest, Hungary

Dealers- Galleries
Brakl & Thannhauser, Munich
Bernheim-Jeune, Paris
Gebrüder Buck

Private Individuals
Barney, James W.
Basch, Jenny
Behrens, Theodor
Bernstein, Carl and Felicie
Beskow, Alex
Bienert
Biermann, Leopold
Blumenreich, L.
Burhaus, Walter
Bunzeck, G.W.

C
Private Individuals
Caspari, Georg
Cassirer, Alfred
Cassirer, Hugo
Cassirer, Paul
Courtauld, Samuel

Dealers- Galleries
Commeter Gallery, Hamburg

D
Dealers- Galleries
Delbruck Schickler & Cie
Druet, Eugene, Paris
Durand-Ruel, Paris
Private Individuals
Eichenwald, Ernst
Eissler
Elfes, August
Elias, Julius
Emden, Max
Engelbrecht, G.
Esche, H.

F
Private Individuals
Falk, Sally
Fischer, Samuel
Flatow, Richard
Freudenberg, Hemann
Frey, Alexander
Friedmann, David

Dealers- Galleries
Alfred Flechtheim

G
Private Individuals
Gaul, Frau
Glaser, Curt
Goldschmidt, Ernst
Goldschmidt, Marcel
Gottschewski
Grünfeld
Gutmann, Johannes
Guttmann, Albrecht

Dealers- Galleries
Gurlitt, Fritz, Berlin
Goldschmidt & Cie, Frankfurt am Main

H
Private Individuals
Hagen, Carl
Hahn, Frau
Hancke, Frau
Harries, Frau
Hepner, S
Herrmann, Curt
Herz, Paul
Heymel, A. Walter von
Heimans, Max
Hirschland, G.
Hofmannsthal, Hugo von
Hatvany, Franz von

Dealers- Galleries
Held, Frankfurt am Main
Helbing, Hugo, Berlin

I
Individual
Adell, Arthur

J
Individual
Jacobi, Caecilie

K
Private Individuals
Kalckreuth
Kallmann, F.
Katzenellenbogen, Ludwig
Kessler, Harry Graf
Kocherthaler, Julius
Koehler, Bernard
Koenig, Leo von
Kunzli
Kuthe, Fritz

Public Museums and Institutions
Köln Kunstverein
Kunsthalle Hamburg, Alfred Lichtwark

L
Private Individuals
Levinstein, Walter
Levy, Norbert
Licht, J.G.
Liebermann, Georg
Liebermann, Max
Linde, Max
Dealer-Gallery
Ludwigs Gallery, Hamburg

M
Private Individuals
Mannheim
Marries
Matsukata, K.
Mayer, Anton
Meier-Graefe, Julius
Mendelssohn, Franz, von
Mendelssohn, Robert, von
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Paul, von
Moller, Ferdinand
Moll, Carl
Moll, Fritz
Moll, Oskar
Moll, Th. W.
Munchhausen, von
Mutzenbecher, Victor, von

Dealer-Gallery
Miethke, H.O. Vienna

N
Individuals
Nathan, Hugo
Némes, Marczell, von
Nielsen, Carl, O.
Newman, Henry

Museum
Nationalgalerie Berlin, Berlin
Neue Pinakothek, Munich
National Museum Stockholm

O
Individual
Oppenheim, Franz, von

P
Private Individuals
Paalen, Robert
Perls, Hugo
Pleininger, Th.
Purrmann, Hans
Reininger, Carl
Rathenau, Walter
Reber
Reichel, O
Reinhardt, O
Rhonheimer
Ring, Louis
Robinow, Paul
Rosenberg
Rothermundt, Adolf

S
Private Individuals
Sachs
Samuel
Schmidt, A.
Schmitz, Oskar
Schneider, Jr.
Schon, Fritz
Schonlank, Emma
Schutte, Franz
Schwarz, G.
Scott
Simolin, Baron, von
Sommerguth, Alfred
Springer
Schoukine, Serge
Steiner, Paul
Stern, Julius
Sternheim, Carl
Stoop, Frank

Museum
Städelische Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main, Georg Swarzenski

T
Private Individuals
Thannhauser, Heinrich
Tetzen-Lund, Chr.
Thiel, E.
Thomsen, Carlo
Thust
Tschudi, Hugo, von

U
Private Individual
Usener, Hans
V
Private Individual
Vollmeier, Rudolph W.

W
Private Individuals
Wagram, Alexander de
Wendland, Hans
Winter, Moritz
Wolde, Georg
Wolff, J
APPENDIX A) 4

GERMAN JEWISH COLLECTORS

and

FRENCH MODERNIST ART COLLECTIONS
MAJOR COLLECTORS AND COLLECTIONS

Eduard Arnold (1849-1925)

Bertha Arnold

Address: Berlin, Regentenstrasse 19, from 1888, Bellevuestrasse 18a; summer residence at Wannsee.¹ The Arnolds held a weekly Berlin Salon and often held an open house at their Wannsee home.

Title Geheimrat, Geheimer Kommerzienrat; he was one of first unconverted Jews to become a member of the Preussische Herrenhaus in 1913.²

Family background and profession

Eduard Arnold's family originated from Dessau. He joined the Berlin Kohlengrosshandlung Caesar Wollheim in 1875 as an employee and after the death of its founder, he the company's sole director in 1882. Originally, Wollheim had been a grain merchant who expanded his concerns to included textile, iron and scrap metal. He subsequently specialised in manufacturing and after 1865, he built his business as a coal industrialist.³ In due course, Arnold became a pre-eminent industrialist at the centre of the Industrie and Hochfinanz having raised the company's profit by 52% in ten years.

His philanthropy was legendary; in 1910 he founded the Villa Falconieri after World War I. He bought the Villa Massimo in Rome, offering German artists resident fellowships. He stipulated that after his death, the Villa Massimo should go to the Prussian State. After Böcklin's death, Arnold bought the artist's property in San Domenico near Florence in 1901 and dedicated it as a residence for artists. Arnold was also co-founder and treasurer of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence; from 1913 until his death in 1925 Arnold was the major patron to the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome. He supported the Johanna-Heim near Werncheuchen [3,5000,000 Mark]. Arnold bought the Ulfilas bible and supported the art magazine PAN⁴ [1895]. He was Honorary Senator of the Akademie der Künste.

² The first converted Jew in the Preussische Herrenhaus was Friedrich Julius Stahl in 1854. The first unconverted Jew was Karl Mayer Freiherr von Rothschild (1820-1886) admitted in 1867, one of the five bothers of the original founder of the Frankfurt Rothschild banking house.
⁴ J. Kern, p. 289.
He was also one of the first public patrons to the Nationalgalerie under Tschudi, donating a Meunier bronze, which he purchased from Paul Cassirer's first exhibition in November 1898. He was a co-sponsor for Manet's *La Serre* [1896] thus being one of the co-founders who helped to establish the Impressionists collection at the Berlin Nationalgalerie under its director Hugo von Tschudi. According to Tschudi, Arnold's private collection was artistically the most valuable of the German modern art collections. Arnold was appointed to the Berlin Nationalgalerie board in 1911. He was Paul Cassirer's first and most loyal client. However, he also bought from other sources, particularly in Paris from Bernheim Jeune and Charles Sedelmeyer and in London from Deprez & Gutekunst.

Eduard Arnold was one of the most prolific private collectors of German art and French Impressionism in Imperial Germany. Besides buying from Paul Cassirer, Arnold bought at auction sales, as the Faure and Pellerin Collection.

**PRIVATE COLLECTIONS** (comprising 59 works)

**German Artists:**

Feuerbach, *Menzel in der Japanischen Austellung* (1885) (acquired in 1885)

Knaus

Thoma

Wilhelm Trübner: *Kloster Seeon*

Arnold Böcklin (12 opp.)

*Prometheus*, 1882 (acquired in 1883)

*Venus Anadyomene*, 1872 (acquired in 1886)

*Deianira and Nessus*

Wilhelm Leibl, *Der Dorfpolitiker*

Franz von Lenbach, *Selbstbildnis*, 1871 (acquired in 1888)

*Portrait Wilhelm I* (acquired in 1890)

*Portrait of Otto von Bismarck*

Max Klinger

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6 Hugo von Tschudi, "Die Sammlung Arnold", in *Kunst und Künstler*, 7, 1908, H. 1, p. 4
8 Dorrmann, p. 37.
9 Gutbrod, p. 83.
10 Dorrmann, p. 32.
Louis Tuillon, *Amazone*

Fritz v. Uhde

*Abendmahl*

*Kinderprozession*

Walter Leistikow, *Markischer Waldsee*

Slevogt (3 opp.)

*Souper in Nymphenburg*

Corinth (2 opp.)

Gaul

Liebermann (11 opp.): *Stevenstift in Leyden*

*Park von Versailles*, 1874 (at Paul Cassirer, 15.000 Mark)

*Pferdeknechte am Strand*, 1902 (from Stern Collection, at PC, 42.350 Mark)

*Garten by Noordwijker*, 1911 (at PC 1911, 10.000 Mark)

*Altmannhaus in Amsterdam*, 1881, oil (25.000 Mark)

*Blumenstrasse im Wannseegarten, nach Nordosten*, 1916 (at PC 1916, 25.000 Mark)

*Gartenansicht in Wannsee*, 1922 (acquired for 12.000 Mark)

*Blick auf den Arnoldischen Garten in Wannsee*, 1911 (acquired in 1919, 15.000 Mark)

*Portrait Eduard Arnold*

*Alte Frau mit Katze*, 1878 (30.000 Mark)

*Tennisspieler am Meer*, 1901 (at PC)

**Dutch Art:**

Gerhard Borch, *Bildnis des Bürgermeisters*, ca 1600 (at C. Sedelmeyer)

Jan van Goyen, *Landscape*

Philips Wouvermann, *Reiterszene*

Aert de Gelder, *Woman's Portrait*

Josef Israels, *Am Meer*

Emile van Marcke de Lumen, *Rinder am Waldesrand*

Eugenio Lucas, *Überfall auf die Postkutsche*

**French Art:** (22 opp.)

**Barbizon School**

Courbet, *Badende*, 1862

Daubigny
Corot

*Teich mit Kühen*, 1850-60

*Waldrand mit Holzsammler*

Charles-François Daubigny: *Am Ufer der Oise*

**French Impressionism** (started collecting in 1896, first work being a Monet)

**Monets (4 opp.)**

*La Grenouillère*, 1869 (a version of) (at Paul Cassirer 1904)\(^{11}\)

*Maree basse a Pourville*

*Hafen von Honfleur*, 1866

*Im Garden*, 1873 (at Paul Cassirer 1900)

**Manets (7 opp.)**

*Famille Monet au Jardin*, 1874

*Le Bon Bock*, 1873\(^{12}\)

*L'artist*, 1875 (formerly Pellerin Collection, via Paul Cassirer 1910)

*Portrait Desboutin*, 1875\(^{13}\)

*A Corner of the Garden at Bellevue*. 1880 (R-Wildenstein no. 347, formerly Pertuiset Collection, Paris)

*Jeune femme couche en costume espagnol*, 1862

*Rose et Lilas*, 1882 (formerly Faure Collection, acquired 1906/07)

**Degas: (2 opp.)**

*Ballet Rehearsal*, 1876, pastel

**Renoir: (2 opp.)**

*Nude in the bath*, 1868/9

*Knabe mit Katze*, 1868-1869 (acquired in 1902)

*Sisley, Brücke von Argenteuil*, 1872 (acquired 1901, at PC)

*Pissarro, Ansicht von Marly-le-Roy*, 1870 (acquired 1900 at PC)

*Cezanne, Dans la valee de l'oise* (1873-75) (acquired 1911)

*Van Gogh, Jardin a Arles* (acquired in 1916, from Stern Collection)

\(^{11}\) Acquired in 1904 for 27.000 Mark, see Gutbrod, p. 83, based on data of Cassirer Geschäfts bücher. Wildenstein Nr. 136.

\(^{12}\) Acquired in 1907 for 110.000 Mark, see Ibid. Gutbrod's data is based on Cassirer Geschäfts bücher.

\(^{13}\) This was the most expensive work in the collection. Arnold paid 200.000 Francs, see Dorrmann, p. 28.
Spanish Art:
Goya (2 opp.)
Juan Antonio Llorente, 1809
Virgilio Narcisso Diaz de la Pena: *Motiv aus dem Wald von Fontainebleau*

English Art:
Constable
James Whisler, *Siesta zweier Mädchen*
Richard Parkes Bonnington, *Hügelige Landschaft*

Sources and Bibliography:
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Gaetghens Research Seminar Folder, Freie University Berlin, Berlin.
Tschudi, "Die Sammlung Arnold" in Kunst und Künstler, Year 7, 1908/09, Heft 1, 3 October, pp. 3-24; 3 November, pp.45-62; and 3 December, 1908, pp. 99-109.
Barbara Paul, "Drei Sammlungen französischen Kunst im Kaiserlichen Berlin -


Prof. Dr. Carl Bernstein (Odessa 1842-1894 Berlin)\textsuperscript{14}

Felicie Bernstein (née Rosenthal) (1852-1908 Berlin)

Address Berlin, In den Zelten 23; second floor apartment, art collection displayed in Musikzimmer.

Title Law Professor at Berlin University

Family background and profession

Carl Bernstein lived in St. Petersburg [1868-1872] and subsequently moved to Berlin. He studied at German universities where he graduated; in 1887, he was appointed to the Chair of Roman Law at Berlin University; he was also in private legal practice. The Bernstein held a weekly Salon on Wednesdays, where guests included the historian Mommsen, Curtius, Pernice and artists Max Liebermann, Leistikow, Tuailion and museum curators Tschudi, von Bode and Friedrich Lippmann.

The Bernsteins made numerous donations to public institutions\textsuperscript{15}.

Modernism

The Bernsteins bought their first ten to thirteen French Impressionists works chosen in consultation with their Paris cousin Charles Ephrussi, during a summer visit in 1882. Charles Ephrussi was the publisher of Gazette des Beaux-Arts [GBA] and a collector of modernism and a personal friend of many artists, including Manet, Degas and Monet.

The Bernstein Impressionist collection was enlarged with additional works on loan from Paris art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel when it was shown for the first time publicly in Berlin in 1883 at the commercial Gallery Fritz Gurlitt. The exhibition received a negative press, including Adolph Menzel's attack on Monet and Manet.\textsuperscript{16}

ART COLLECTION

German Art

Theodor Alt

Leibl

Walter Leistikow

Max Klinger

\textsuperscript{14} The majority of the information is found in Barbara Paul, "Drei Sammlungen französischer impressionistischer Kunst im kaiserlichen Berlin: Bernstein, Liebermann, Arnold", p. 11-30.

\textsuperscript{15} See Chapter IV.

\textsuperscript{16} See reviews: "Die Pariser Impressionisten in Gurlitt's Kunstsalon", in Die Gegenwart, 24, Nr. 51, Berlin 22.12.1883; also Kunstchronik, 19/20, 1884/85, p. 12, cited by Gutbrod, p. 59.
Max Liebermann: pastel
Max Liebermann, Portrait Carl Bernstein, oil (1892)

**French Art:** [13 opp.]

**Manet:**
Le depart du bateau de Folkstone, 1869
Lilas blancs dans un vase de verre, 1882
Roses, tulipes et lilas blanc dans un vase de crystal, ca. 1882
*Bouquet de Pivoines* (later acquired by Liebermann)

**Monet:** (2 opp.)
The River Seine with Boats.
L'été, Champ de coquelicots, 1875

Camille Pissarro, *Paysannes travaillant dans les champs, Pontoise, 1881*
Berthe Morisot, *Woman's Portrait*
Marie Cazin, *Woman's Portrait*
Eva Gonzales, *Child's head*
Mary Cassatt
Sisley, *La Seine à Argenteuil, 1872-3.*
Pissarro, *Paysannes travaillant dans les champs, Pontoise 1881,* guache
De Nittis, *Street scene*
Degas, title unknown

**Sources and Bibliography:**

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17 This was later acquired by Tschudi, [Rouart-Wildenstein, no. 147] formerly in Hoschede Collection and Charles Ephrussi; now Philadelphia, Museum of Art.
18 Felicie B. bequeathed the work to Nationalgalerie 1919; see Chapter V and Appendix V.
19 The painting went to Liebermann in 1892/4 after Felicie Bernstein's death; now private collection New York; see Barbara Paul, p. 14.
20 Acquired by Liebermann; [Wildenstein, no. 377] now private collection, New York; see B. Paul.
21 Now Mr & Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard Collection, New York.


Max Liebermann, "Meine Erinnerungen an die Familie Bernstein", in "Die Phantasie in der Malerei", in Gunter Busch (ed.), Schriften und Reden (Frankfurt am Main, 1978), pp. 88-95, pp. 96-102.

Carl und Felicie Bernstein, Erinnerungen ihrer Freunde, Georg Treu (Ed.) (Berlin 1914).
Julius Elias (1861-1827)

Julie Elias

Address Berlin, Matthaikirstrasse 4; art collection displayed in the Arbeitszimmer

Title Lecturer in Art History at the Technische Hochschule Berlin, Charlottenburg

Family background and profession:

Julius Elias was the son of a banker. He studied Germanistik and art history and held a post of an art historian; he was also an art critic. Elias was also the translator for Bjornson and Ibsen, becoming responsible for the latter's reputation in Germany. Julius wrote on French and German Impressionism, particularly Liebermann. Julie Elias was a popular fashion and cookery writer for women's magazine and also published cookery books. Their home was a meeting place for Berlin's artistic and intellectual circle. The Eliases were close friends of Tilla and Paul Cassirer.22

Julius moved to Paris in 1890, where he met Monet, Pissarro and Cezanne after which he started collecting their work, becoming an early supporter of the new movement in Berlin.23 He also supported contemporary German artists Käthe Kollwitz, Lesser Urn and Scandinavian Eduard Munch.

In 1892 Elias organised the second public French Impressionists Exhibition at the Berlin Hotel Kaiserhof, showing works owned by Durand-Ruel.24 Thereafter Durand-Ruel held several small French Impressionist exhibitions in Berlin at various venues [until 1895]. Elias is thus the first public and private pro-active supporter of French Impressionism in Germany, who also wrote about Durand-Ruel in Kunst und Künstler in 1911/12.25

ART COLLECTION

German Art:

Max Liebermann, Self Portrait

Portrait Julie Elias

French Art:

Cezanne: Card players (a version)

Monet: Snow landscape

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23 Pucks, p. 386.
Monet: (3opp.)
Sisley: (5)
Manet: (1)
Pissarro: (1)
Kees van Dongens
Eduard Munch Tanzgesellschaft (acquired in 1893)

Sources and Bibliography:
Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich. Kaznelson (Ed.) (Berlin 1962)
Christian Kennert, Cassirer und sein Kreis, p. 91.

Alfred Cassirer (1875-1932)

Hanna Cassirer (née Sotcheck)

Address

Berlin, Charlottenburg, Berliner Strasse 83

Title Director at family concern Dr. Cassirer & Co

Family background and profession

Alfred was the fourth son of Louis and Emilie Cassirer and the younger brother of Paul Cassirer. As a trained engineer, he joined the family firm which produced electrical and rubber cables. The firm, Dr. Cassirer & Co., was founded by his father Louis, his uncle Julius Cassirer and his brother Hugo, on 19 March 1896; it was located at Berlin Prezlauer Berg, Schönhauser Alle 62.

Alfred married Hanna Sotschek, the union producing one daughter, Eva, who was born in 1920. The Cassirer's home displayed 18th century French furniture, German and East Asian ceramics and oriental rugs, such an interior being typical for the Wilhelmine haute-bourgeoisie.26

Alfred Cassirer collected works by most contemporary German artists with a particular liking for August Gaul, Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt. However, he also owned a substantial French modernist collection which included the most significant artists of Impressionist movement with a preference for Manet and Cézanne.

Oriental Rug Collection27

Cassirer owned a substantial Oriental rug collection, part of which was loaned during his lifetime to the Islamische Museum. [It included a 16th century Persian rug with animals, another 16th century Persian Vase rug, a 18th century Caucasian rug and a ca. 1600 Royal Turkish rug]. The evidence that the rugs were only on loan was found in Alfred Cassirer's letter of 1.10.1932, which was traced to the Archives at the Islamisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin ...diese Teppiche werden Sie als Leihgabe in pflegliche Verfahrung nehmen, wobei wir die Ordnung halber bemerken, dass die jederzeitige Rücknahme und natürlich vorbehalten bleiben muss.28

After his death, most of the rug collection was continued to be offered by the family on loan to the Islamisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. In July 1936, the museum tried to acquire the right to purchase the rugs. The Institution held the

collection until 1945, although during the war much of the museum was *ausgelagert* [evacuated] to Thuringia coal mine, as were other art works from Berlin museums. On January 1946, these works were found and brought to safety by US troops to one of their military bases in Wiesbaden. Only two rugs remained at the Berlin museum during the war; these were *sichergestellt* by Soviet authorities after the Russian occupation of East Berlin. 

Alfred bought 23 art works at his brother Paul Cassirer’s gallery, seven of which were purchased between 1903-1910 and sixteen between 1914-1918. Beneke argues that there was a lack of figurative paintings in the collection which related to the contemporary. After Alfred Cassirer’s death, his art collection was itemised in a *Faltblatt der Leipzig Bächerei*, mentioning 86 art works; [without titles] and loaned for display to the city of Berlin. The *Ermelerhaus* (Breite Strasse 11) a Rococo annexe of the *Städtische Märkische Museum*, exhibited the collection in 1933. A year later, the Graupe Auction House held the Alfred Cassirer’s estate-auction for which there is a catalogue. Karl Scheffler wrote that private collectors were *Filter für die endgültige Wertung moderner Kunst [...] man könnte jeden Sammler grossen Stils etwas wie den Amateurdirektor eines Museums im Kleinen nenne.*

**ART COLLECTION**

**German Art:**
- Wilhelm Leibl
- Karl Blechen
- Ernst Barlach (4)
- Alfred Dürer (2)
- Chodowiecki (2)

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28 Georg Brühl, p. 44.
29 Ibid.
32 86 works, inc. oil paintings, drawings and sculptures, see Beneke, p. 328.
33 Ibid., p. 330.
34 Georg Brühl, p. 44.
Johann Jakob Kirtstein
Ulrich Hübner
Konrad von Kardorf
Adolf Menzel (3)
Hans Meid (1)
Johann Jacob Kirstein (1)
Georg Kolbe (2)
Max Selvogt (14 drawings and aquarelles)
Hand Purrmann
Karl Walser (1)
Augustus Gaul (19 works; 6 bronzes) see Business Accounts, April 1916 - June 1918

Max Liebermann (11/13 opp.) [Various references]

*Der Rappen* [bought in October 1907]
*Pastel without Title* [in October 1909]
*Liegender Spaniel* [in Jan. 1917]
*Flachsscheuer in Laren* [in Oct. 1917]
*Gartenausschnitt, pastel* [in Dec 1917]
*Kinderköpfechen. Studie zu den Netzflickerinnen*
*Interieur 1887*

**French Art:**

Courbet: *Woman at her Toilette*

Degas (2) titles unknown

Cézanne (3) titles unknown

**Manet**

*L’Amazon* (ca. 1870) oil, San Paolo Museu de Arte Moderna

*Femme au chapeau a brides* (1881) oil, Baltimore Museum of Art

(Another three, titles unknown)

Monet: *Le Boulevard de Pontoise, Argenteuil* (1875) oil, Kunstmuseum Basel

Renoir: *La Baigneuse au Griffon* (1870) oil, Sao Paulo, Museu de Arte Moderna

Renoir (3) titles unknown
Rodin (2) aquarelles (bought by his wife Hanna in December 1915)
Signac (1) title unknown
Sisley (2) titles unknown
Van Gogh (1) title unknown
Pissarro: La Route Saint Antoine a l'Ermitage. Pontoise (1875) oil. Kunstmuseum Basel. on loan from private collection.
Chodowiecki (2)
Constatine Guys (1)
Felicien Rops (1)

Sources and Bibliography
Gaetghens Seminar Folder, Freie University Berlin
She is citing Paul Cassirer Business Account Books, which are presently lodged at Walter Feilchenfeldt/Zurich.
Georg Brühl. Die Cassirers
Stefan Pucks, Tschudi under Kampf, p. 387.
Bruno Cassirer (1872-1941)

Else Cassirer (née Louis Cassirer)

**Address**

Berlin-Charlottenburg. Carmenstrasse 18, later Branitzerplatz 1. The business premises were Derfflinersrasse 15/16.

**Family background and profession**

Bruno was the second son of Königlicher Kommerzienrat Julius and his wife Julie Cassirer, née Siegfried Cassirer. Bruno studied art history in Berlin and Munich, but did not complete his doctoral thesis on Albrecht Dürer. In 1895, he was co-founder with Meier-Graefe and others of the association PAN Genossenschaft.

In 1898 Bruno married his cousin Else Cassirer, the sister of Paul Cassirer. He published her popular *Künstlerbriefe aus dem Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* in several editions.

Their home was interior designed by the avant-garde Henry van der Velde, some rooms painted by Karl Walser in canary yellow and others in forget-me-not blue. As to Bruno’s self-perception, he was known to have commented, *Ich habe keine Tradition, also bin ich durch und durch modern,* which implied that if you were willing to shed your traditions, you were ‘modern’.

The Cassirers also owned English antiques, Sheraton and Adams style furniture, Japanese silks, Persian bowls and eastern ceramics and bronzes, not displayed in a showcase, but dotted around the house as objects to be used and admired.

All family members played musical instruments, the Sunday afternoon chamber music concerts being regular events; Bruno Cassirer's dislike of Wagner was renowned. His publishing house often issued artists' and writers' monographs with illustrations by Max Slevogt. Karl Walser and Liebermann.

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36 Georg Brühl, p. 211.
37 They had two daughters: Martha Eva [known as Sophie] who married Richard Walzer [1927] and Agnes Olga, who married Gunther Hell [Hill] [1929]. Their marriage produced Thomas and Dorothea; the latter married Michael Kauffmann, whose family originated from Frankfurt am Main. Both families took refuge in England during World War II. See Interview with Dorothea Kaufmann and Michael Kaufmann. Appendix B) 1
38 Brühl, p. 219.
39 Ibid., p. 216.
40 Ibid., p. 216
41 See Interview with Dorothea Kauffmann and Brühl, p. 220.
42 Karl Scheffler, *Bruno Cassirer und das illustrierte Buch*, pp. 139-142.
In 1898, Bruno and Paul Cassirer established the Berlin art gallery, *Kunstsalon Cassirer*, but the cousins split in 1901. After the separation, Bruno Cassirer established *Bruno Cassirer Verlag*, an art and literature publishing house. He also founded the art journal, *Kunst und Künstler*, (1901-1932) which became the foremost German art journal supporting modern art and contemporary discourse.

Bruno Cassirer had a passion for horses and built a leading reputation for his equerry estate *Mariendorf*. His racing stable became the leader in Germany's *Trabrennsport*, with Bruno Cassirer leading this sport until 1934. From 1918 he was *President der Obersten Behörde für Traber-Zucht und Rennen* and the *Deutschen Traberzüchtervereins*. He also owned two stud farms, the estate of *Lindenhof* and *Templin* in the Untermark.

Bruno Cassirer loaned regularly to the Nationalgalerie Berlin works from his private collection; in 1911 he donated the Nationalgalerie Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s *Der Morgen* (1813). Their extensive French Impressionist art collection was in part taken into exile to England in 1938 with the help of Walter Feilchenfeldt, a family friend and business partner in the Kunstsalon Cassirer.

**ART COLLECTION**

**German Art**

Menzel
Leibl
Franz von Stuck
Max Liebermann, *Karren in den Dunen* (and other oils, drawings and sketches)

*Gartenbild*

Max Slevogt, *Studienkopf*

*Horse*, sketch, 1922

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43 Spirit of an Age Catalogue, p. 62.
44 See Interview in Appendix. B) 2
45 The information about the art collection is based on an interview with Michael Kauffmann, former director of the London Courtauld Institute, the details which were subsequently confirmed in writing. Michael Kauffmann is married to Bruno Cassirer’s granddaughter, Dorothea, nee Hill. See Interviews with Dorothea Kauffmann and Michael Kauffmann in Appendix. B) 1 and 2
Lovis Corinth
Walter Leistikow
Karl Walser, *Altes Ballhaus*
Carl Blechen, *Strasse in Italien*
Edvard Munch

**French Art:**

Cézanne: (4 opp.)

*Landscape*, oil. Ashmolean Museum 1979*

*Still Life with Fruit and a Pot of Ginger*, oil (ca.1895)*

*Landscape, Poplars*, oil, National Gallery, London* (1979)

*Fruit*, watercolour, now on loan at Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1979)

Degas

*Danseuses*, pastel, now at Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Manet (6 opp.)

Arcachon

*Mlle. Lemaire*, pastel, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

*Woman Reclining*, oil sketch

*Déjeuner sur L'Herbe*, sketch, watercolour, Ashmolean Museum* (1979)

*Hothouse*, oil sketch. Ashmolean Museum* (1979)

*Basket with Fruit*, oil sketch

Monet: (2 opp.)

*La Meuse*, oil, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (1979)*

*Grenouillère*, oil, National Gallery London, (1979)*

Pissarro: (2 opp.)*

*Railway Train at Bedford Park*, oil

*River Landscape*, oil

Renoir. *Landscape*, oil. sold c. 1950

Constantin Guys

*Carriage*, gouache. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1979)*

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*47 Kunst und Künstler. Year 20; also Brühl, p. 217.

*48 This work was sold at Christie's London Auction of 28.7.2000. Article, The Times, 29.7.2000.

*49 See Brühl, p.216*
Information kindly supplied by Michael Kauffmann.

1979* was a bequest of Sophie and Richard Walzer to the National Gallery, London and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, as the couple had no descendants; in the latter case, donated in partial settlement of death duty.

**Sources and Bibliography**

Georg Brühl, *Die Cassirers*, pp. 210-228

*Spirit of an Age. Nineteenth Century Paintings from the Nationalgalerie Berlin*  
Exh. Cat, National Gallery (London, 2001)

Interviews with Dorothea Kauffmann, nee Bruno Cassirer, and Michael Kauffmann in Appendix B) 1 and 2.
Dr. Hugo Cassirer (1869-1920)

Lotte Cassirer (née Jacobi, divorced Fürstenberg)

Address Berlin Keplerstrasse 1, later Sigismundstrasse 1

Family background and profession

Hugo was the second son of Louis and Emilie Cassirer. He studied chemistry and was apprenticed to his uncle Otto Bondy, at his cable company in Vienna. Subsequently he also spent time in Britain where he gained experience in the rubber industry.50

In 1896, he was a co-founder with his father and uncle of the Berlin Dr. Cassirer & Co. Kabelwerke.51

Hugo married Lotte Jacobi-Fürstenberg,52 who was recognised as a leading society hostess and the enfant terrible of the family.53 As the elder brother of Paul Cassirer, Hugo and his wife started collecting French art in 1908 and eventually came to own some 50 art works, mainly bought through the Cassirer gallery.54 Furthermore, Hugo and his brothers were committed to buying art at the Kunstsalon during Paul’s absence during World War I. This solidarity was expressed by all three brothers in order to safeguard Paul’s business whilst he was in temporary exile in Switzerland.

ART COLLECTION 55

German Art

Max Liebermann: (2 Portfolios with 25 drawings and pastels, May 1906)

Portfolio, 8 drawings:

Altmännerhaus, study

Stehendes Waisenmädchen

Judengasse, study

Kurpublikum in Wildbad

Polospiel

50 Brühl, p. 37.
51 The firm exported electric and rubber products to England, Holland, Norway, Russia, Egypt and further afield to Africa, Australia, India and South America. In time the firm developed into the leading cable manufacturers in the Empire. Ibid. p. 36.
52 The marriage produced Stefan Walter, who became an art dealer in Cape Town and Reinhold Hans,52 Ph.D. who also moved to South Africa, Johannesburg, where he married the writer and later Nobel Prize winner, Nadine Gordimer. This marriage produced Hugo, who became a documentary film maker/producer.
54 Georg Brühl and Stefan Pucks.
55 Im ersten Geschäftsbrief gelten 19 Eintragungen, im zweiten Buch ist er oder seine Frau Lotte insgesamt 31 Mal als Käufer angeführt, see Verena Tafel. p. 40.
Strasse in Cannes
Strasse in Mentone
Polo in Flottbeck, pastel, 1916
Akt Studie zu Simson und Delila, drawing
Landschaft bei Noordwyijk mit Bäumen, drawing
Studie zu Netzflieckerinnen, 1916
Trockene Wäsche, acquired in Nov 1916
Strasse mit Fahnen, pastel, in Jan 1917
Zwei Hunde, in Feb 1917
Allee, in Feb 1917
Dorstersse Zaandvoort, acquired Dec 1917 with Eduard Arnold
Kohlfeld II and Kohlfeld II, pastels, in March 1918
Gartenstrasse, pastel, in Nov 1918
Judengasse in Amsterdam, drawing, in Feb 1909
Kinderportrait, in Dec 1905
Selbstbildnis, Profil, in Oct 1915
Bildnisstudie Corinth, in Feb 1916
Ernst Barlach
Robert Breyer
Theo von Brockhausen
August Gaul, (11) ceramics, bronze and iron sculptures
Olaf Gulbrandsson
Th.Th. Heine
Ulrich Hübner
Konrad von Kardorff
Walter Leistokow
George Mosson
Friedrich Orse
Max Slevogt

French Art
Pissarro, Jahreszeiten Folge [1908]
Renoir (3 opp.)
Manet (2)
Cezanne (2.)
Monet (2)

**Sources and Bibliography**

Georg Brühl. pp. 211-228
Verena Tafel. p. 37, p. 44-46
Stefan Pucks, *Tschudi und der Kampf*, pp. 386-390
Paul Cassirer (1871-1926)\textsuperscript{56}

Tilla Durieux (1880-1971) (née Ottilie Godefroy, divorced Spiro).\textsuperscript{57}

**Address**

Margarethenstrasse, a few steps from his business premises at Victoriastrasse 35, in the vicinity of the Tiergarten, Berlin West. The Cassirers owned a summerhouse in Noordwijk in Holland, which they sold during World War I.

Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux were married in 1910. The couple undertook renovations to their home, with Karl Walser's decorating certain rooms. Tilla Durieux's room also served as an art reference library. The home's interior included mahogany chairs from Holland and a Renaissance walnut cabinet; much of the French Impressionist collection was displayed in the dining room.\textsuperscript{58} The Cassirers also owned many animals, such as parrots and dogs.\textsuperscript{59}

**Family background and profession**

Paul was the third son of Louis and Emilie Cassirer. Paul studied in Munich, where he did not complete his university education, but wrote his first novel, *Josef Geiger*, two versions of the comedy *Der Gelbe Frack*, and several other plays, essays, novellas and poems. Many of his writings were critical of Wilhelmine conservative institutions such as the military and student corps, both of which disadvantaged Jews.

In Munich during 1896, he was briefly editor for the newly founded Munich-based satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*.\textsuperscript{60} However, all these experiences proved relevant to his later publishing role as well as his art dealership. The *Simplicissimus* stood for

\textsuperscript{56} See Chapter III on Paul Cassirer.

\textsuperscript{57} After Cassirer's death, Tilla Durieux married Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, a prosperous spirit manufacturer, a family who were descended from Austrian Court Jews. Thus all husbands originated from an ethnic and religious minority, as was her own background, since she descended from the French Huguenots. Durieux (1954), p. 59.

\textsuperscript{58} Brühl, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{59} Apparently Maximilian Harden gave Albert Langen the name for his new satirical magazine which he founded in Munich in 1896; it was a German version of and inspired by the Paris *Gil Blas Illustré*. Very soon, it became a leading satirical magazine which became synonymous with attacks on the Wilhelmine monarchy and its rigid authoritarian class structure, with its attacks on the military and the upper classes, attacks on the student corps, the lower classes, the police and the judicial system. It also attacked the clergy, parliament and diverse political parties, and criticised imperial foreign policies and Germany's image abroad. The publication combined images and text with the sharpest of political satire and Jews were not excluded. In fact, for a period it was considered anti-Semitic in tone despite many Jewish contributors. The most significant person in shaping the visual image of the publication was the artist Thomas Theodor Heine (1867-1948).

\textsuperscript{60} Bruhl, p. 82.
"all that was new in art and literature and inviting serious and true criticism".\(^{61}\) (He retained a connection with the journal, organising a pioneering exhibition of graphic works of German satirical magazines at the Kunstsalon.)\(^{62}\)

After Munich, Paul Cassirer spent time in Brussels and Paris and came to master French fluently. On his return to Berlin in 1897, he married Lucie Oberwart, the couple divorcing around 1901/1902.\(^{63}\) Paul Cassirer married Tilla Durieux in 1910, who as an actress and French Huguenot, had great difficulty in being accepted by the extended and intermarried Jewish Cassirer family clan, particularly by the women in the family, a feud that lasted until Paul's death.\(^{64}\) Indeed, Harry Graf Kessler, speaking at Paul Cassirer's memorial service in 1926, was asked by the Cassirer brothers not to mention Tilla Durieux in his speech.

With their family financial support, Paul and Bruno, his cousin and now also brother-in-law, established the Berlin art gallery *Kunstsalon Cassirer* in 1898. This joint venture came to an end in 1901, after which Paul Cassirer became the leading pioneer and impresario of French Impressionism during a decade of opposition to French modernism, despite German modernism making its mark through the Berlin Secession, of which Paul was 'Sekretär' and briefly 'President'. As as a promoter of French modernism, he was attacked by Imperial conservatives and anti-Semites for his alleged foreign loyalties to France and French art, rather than giving preferential treatment to local art, despite his consistent marketing of contemporary German artists at his gallery. Paul Cassirer established branches in Hamburg, Cologne and Amsterdam, although none were as successful as his Berlin gallery.

The Cassirer social circle included the avant-garde world of the theatre, contemporary artists, art directors and curators, publishers, writers, poets and journalists of the day. Paul committed suicide in 1926; the artist sculptor and personal friend Georg Kolbe, took his death mask, saying of him that he was *Zum sehen geboren*.

Ottilie Godefroy was born in Vienna and trained as a concert pianist and later became a stage actress. After a brief time in Paris, she settled in Berlin, where she was subsequently engaged by Max Reinhardt, who ran the *Kleines Theater Unter den...*
Linden [est. 1902] and the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm. She established her reputation with the leading role in 'Salome' by Oscar Wilde. Soon thereafter, she married the artist Eugene Spiro; but when Tilla Durieux and Paul Cassirer met in 1903 at an evening arranged by Julius Meier-Graefe, she divorced Spiro shortly thereafter, and co-habited with Paul Cassirer; they were married in 1910. She became one of the leading actresses in Imperial Germany and was painted by most artists of the day, such as Liebermann, Kokoschka, Corinth, Slevogt, Purrmann, von Kardorff, Gulbransson and Max Oppenheimer [Mopp]. She also sat for many German sculptors, such as Barlach, Hugo Lederer and Hermann Haller.

Paul commissioned Tilla's portrait by Renoir in 1914, the couple visiting Paris the summer before the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux private art collection was extensive.

**ART COLLECTION**

**German Art**

Max Liebermann:

Aimee Cassirer, pencil drawing

Dutch Park scene, (ca. 1896) sketch, now Feilchenfeldt Collection, Zurich

Synagogue in Amsterdam (1876) oil, poss. Feilchenfeldt Collection

Two sketches from Holland, now Feilchenfeld Collection

Ernst Barlach:

Die Singenden Frauen, sculpture

August Gaul

Emil Orlik

Cranach

Kokoschka: Tilla Durieux, chalk lithograph, 1920, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Kupferstichkabinett

Hermann Haller, Bust of Tilla Durieux, ca. 1917, terracotta, Kunsthaus Zurich

Lovis Corinth, Karl Liebknecht speaks, pencil sketch

Käthe Kollwitz

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66 Ibid., p. 141.
French Art (hung in dining room with light green walls by Karl Walser)

Courbet
Manet

Der Reiter und die Reiterin
Mole mit Leuchtturm

Monet
Cézanne (7)

Die rote Frau und der Mann mit dem schiefen Hut

Chateau Noir

Renoir (1)

Zwei Kinder am Klavier

Pissarro (1)

12 van Gogh works (1914) of which some were for sale. (In total Paul Cassirer had owned or sold 110 works by van Gogh)⁶⁷

F 47 Water mill at Gennep (1914 for sale)
F 520 The Old Willows (1914 for sale)
F 584 A Field of yellow flowers (1914 for sale)
F 432 The Postman Joseph Roulin sitting at the table (1914 for sale)
F 248 Still life: vase with red gladioli (1914 for sale)
F 526 Self-portrait with straw hat
F 262 View from Montmartre
F 537 Portrait of Camille Roulin (1914 for sale)
F 282 Still life: cineraria in a flowerpot (1914 for sale)
F 547 The dance hall (1914 for sale)
F 1480 View of roofs with tower of St. Julien
F 699 The shepardess, after Millet (1914 for sale)

9 works (By 1914, Tilla Durieux owned many van Gogh works in her own right⁶⁸)

F 542: L'Arlesienne, Madame Ginoux against rose-coloured background
F 311: Bathing place on the Seine at Asnieres
F 535: The Girl with Red ruffled Hair
F 694: Peasants digging up potatoes, after Millet

⁶⁸ Ibid.
F 480 Railway bridge over Avenue Montmajour, Arles
F 737 Landscape with rising sun
F 471 Langlois bridge with woman carrying umbrella
F1479 Field with Cemetery Saintes-Maries in background
F1536 The Garden of St. Paul's Hospital in summer, aquarelle
F1545 The Park of St. Paul's Hospital at St. Remy

Sources and Bibliography:
Tilla Durieux, Eine Tür fällt ins Schloss (Hören Verlag, Berlin, 1928)
Tilla Durieux, Eine Tür steht offen, Erinnerungen (Non-Stop Bücherei, Berlin 1954)
Tilla Durieux, Meine ersten neunzig Jahre (Herbig, Munchen/Berlin 1971)
Nachlass Akademie der Künste, Berlin
Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Georg Brühl
Gutbrod
Christian Kennert
Titia Hoffmeister

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69 These references to van Gogh works are all taken from Walter Feilchenfeldt, Van Gogh and Paul Cassirer (1988).
Prof. Dr. Curt Glaser (1879-1943)

Elsa Glaser (née Kolker)

Address
Berlin, Prinz Albrecht-Strasse 8

Family background and profession
Elsa was born into a Jewish family; she married Kurt Glaser who converted to Judaism in 1914 [to fulfil his wife's wish].70 His wife Elsa played an important part in the formation of the art collection, particularly as it was Elsa's father - Hugo Kolker, a chemical industrialist and consul in Breslau - whose financial support enabled the Glasers to start collecting.71

Kurt Glaser trained as a doctor in Freiburg/Breisgau and Munich; subsequently he studied art history in Berlin, qualifying as an art historian in 1902. He worked at the Berlin Königliche Kupferstichkabinett from ca.1909-1924; in 1924 he was appointed director in of the Staatliche Kunstabibliothek where he remained until 1933.

The Glasers' weekly Salon, known as Montagabend-Empfänge included museum curators and art writers, as well as writer Robert Musil and the artists Max Beckmann and Hans Purrmann.

Kurt Glaser had a passion for works by Edvard Munch and owned some thirteen canvases by the artist, the largest collection in Germany in the 1920s.72 Glaser wrote Munch's first biography, its publication delayed because of the outbreak of the war. However, it was published in 1917 by Bruno Cassirer, being the first of several editions; a monograph followed in 1918, which was later published in second and third revised editions and in 1922 a further edition contained additional illustrations. Glaser was not only an avant-garde art collector, but also collected East Asian and late baroque art works, a similar pattern to other important modern art collectors such as Eduard Arnold and Carl Bernstein.

The Glasers were not known to donate art to public institutions.

70 Astrid Schmidt-Burkhardt, p. 70.
71 The Kolkers were related to Hugo Perls, a minor collector.
ART COLLECTION

German Art
Lovis Corinth
Max Beckmann, *Portrait Prof. Kurt Glaser*, 1929
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner
Unter Bäumen/Fehmarn, 1911, oil
Frankfurter Dom, ca.1916, oil
Frankfurt, lithograph
Erich Heckel, *Am Teich*, 1911, woodcut

French and Foreign Art
Edvard Munch:
*Das kranke Mädchen*
Elsa Glaser
Elsa and Curt Glaser
*Strasse in Kragero* (gift by Munch in 1927)
Albert Kolmann
Hafen
*An der Trave in Lubeck*
Kees van Dongens
Pablo Picasso
Matisse
*Portrait of Else Glaser* (1914)
*Seine mit Notre Dame*
*Schmetterlingsfänger*
*Geranientopf*
Van Gogh:
*Jardin a Arles* (ca. 1890) (acquired by Hugo Perls in the early 1920s.)
*La route*

72 Glaser and Munch knew each other and stayed in close touch until late in Munch's life. Their correspondences have been preserved at the Oslo Munch Museum.
Under pressure from Hans Purrmann who believed *La route* to be a fake, Glaser sold it; this opinion was later revised in the van Gogh Catalogue Raisonné by Jacob Baart de la Faille, 1928.

**Sources and Bibliography**

T. Gaetghens Seminar Folder

Robert von Hirsch (1883-1977)

Martha von Hirsch (née Dreyfus-Koch)

Address
Frankfurt am Main, Bockenheimerlandstrasse. Basel, Engelgasse. The Hirsch residence was a focal point for the art world of museum directors and specialists. They also owned an outstanding art reference library. The Hirsches were renowned for their hospitality and their luncheon parties were famous.

Title Robert Hirsch was ennobled shortly after 1913.

Family background and profession
Robert von Hirsch was born in Frankfurt am Main; he entered the leather firm of his uncle, which he built to international fame. He was ennobled after 1913, after the Grand Duke of Hesse visited his Offenbach factory.

Robert von Hirsch married the sculptress Martha Dreyfus-Koch, the daughter of the Frankfurt jeweller Louis Koch. She became an active partner in building their art collection. She also made a name for herself with her botanical garden which harbored rare trees, shrubs and alpine flora. The couple were great travellers, making yearly trips to Paris and London; in his eighties Hirsch made two visits to Kenya. In 1905 Hirsch met the newly appointed director of the Städelische Kunstinstitut, Georg Swarzenski with whom he travelled widely and its was under his guidance that Hirsch began to build his art collection. The first paintings he bought were Toulouse-Lautrec’s *La Roseau Caraco blanc* [bought in 1907 via Bernheim-Jeune, Paris] and Pablo Picasso’s *Scene de Rue* [bought in 1907 via the Frankfurt dealer Ludwig Schames].

In the 1920s and early 1930s Hirsch built his unrivalled collection of Medieval and Renaissance art bought from the the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Collection, from the Guelph Treasure and the Hermitage Sales.

In 1930 Hirsch was made administrator at the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main. However, in January 1933, with astute foresight, Hirsch applied to emigrate and take his art collection to Basel, Switzerland. This was granted on condition that he would donate *Judgement of Paris* by Cranach to the German nation. (This work was returned to Hirsch after 1945 and he subsequently bequeathed it to the Kunstmuseum.

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73 Sotheby’s Catalogue, p. 47.
74 Ibid., p. 65.
In Basel he became a member of the board of the Basel Kunstmuseum, to which he often loaned his art works.

Besides his modernist art collection, which included French Impressionists (in Basel he had a wall covered with drawings by Cézanne) and later Modigliani, Matisse and Soutine, by the 1950s his extended collection included Ottoman ivories, medieval medal enamels, early Italian and German paintings, Renaissance bronzes, Dutch, German and Italian drawings, paintings and furniture of the 18th century.

Hirsch's French modernist art collection is difficult to contextualise within this thesis as he started to buy modernist art as early as 1905 and continuing throughout his long life until his death in 1977. However, Hirsch is included in this study as he did collected modernist art during 1896-1914. It is difficult to establish which pieces were bought and when, despite the fairly comprehensive Sotheby's catalogue of the auction sale in 1978.

**ART COLLECTION**

**French and Other**

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Theodore Gericault
Eugene Delacroix
Corot
Honoré Daumier
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes
Johann-Barthold Jongkind

Cézanne
Pissarro
Renoir
Degas
Berthe Morisot
Monet
Odile Redon
August Rodin
Eduard Manet
Alfred Sisley
Georges Seurat
Theodor Rousseau
Gustav Dore
James Ensor
Paul Gauguin
Vincent Van Gogh
Henri Toulouse-Lautrec
Pierre Bonnard
Eduard Vuillard
Henri Matisse
Utrillo
Maurice Vlaminck
Chaim Soutine
Amadeo Modigliani
Georges Braque
Georges Raoul-A
tMarc Chagall
Joan Miro
Raoul Dufy
Juan Gris
Paul Klee
Jean Arp
Raoul Dufy
Marie Laurencin
Aristide Maillol
Charles Despiau
Andre Derain
Pablo Picasso
Fernand Leger
Andre Masson
Alexander Calder
Alberto Giacometti
Henri Laurens
Marino Marini
Alexander Archipenko
Alexej Jawlensky

**Bibliographical Source**
This information is based on the auction catalogue, Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., 16 and 27 June 1978, London, see Volume IV. (A great part of the items were drawings and watercolours.)
Max Liebermann (Berlin 1847 - Berlin 1935)
Martha Liebermann (née Marckwald)

Address Berlin, Brandenburg Tor, Pariser Platz 7.

His extensive art collection was displayed everywhere, but many works hung in the Musikzimmer. The Liebermanns owned a summer house in Holland. After its sale, they acquired a country house at the Wannsee, near Berlin.

Titles
Liebermann was a member of the Berliner Akademie der Künste, 75 of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum Verein, and the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst.

In 1886 Liebermann was awarded the French Legion d'Honneur; in 1898/9 he was appointed President of the Berlin Sezession; during 1920-1932 he was president and in 1933, he was appointed honorary president of the Preussische Akademie der Künste, but resigned on 7 May 1933. When the Jewish Museum Berlin opened in January 1933, Liebermann was appointed honorary president.

Family background and profession:
Max was the son of the prosperous textile industrialist Louis Liebermann of Liebermann & Co, the family business being pioneers of the German textile industry.76 Max had three siblings, Felix, Georg and Anna. He married Martha Marckwald and the couple had a daughter.

Max Liebermann trained as a professional artist; in his student years, he lived in Weimar, Paris [1873-1878] and Munich [1878-1884] and visited the Netherlands regularly, where he later owned a summer residence. He settled permanently in Berlin in 1884 and after his father's death in 1894, he inherited a substantial fortune, as well as his parents' home, where he lived until the end of his life in 1935.

After early attempts of numerous genres, he became the leader of German Impressionism. As a painter, he was compared to other Jewish artists such as Camille Pissarro in Paris, Josef Israels in the Netherlands, Ernst Josephson in Sweden and Isaac Lew than in Russia. When Kaznelson wrote about these artists, he suggested that it may have been only the arrival of Impressionist movement that gave Jewish artists the opportunity to work within western iconography.77

75 Liebermann believed the Akademie would not exclude new painting, despite its traditional history.
76 Louis Liebermann was introduced to Wilhelm I as the man der die Engländer vom Continent verdrängt haben (nämlich in der Kattunindustrie), Kaznelson, p. 792.
77 Kaznelson, p. 88.
The majority of Liebermann's early work was naturalistic-realistic, such as the images of workers in potato and turnip fields, figures of shepherds, orphans and old men and working scenes as in the paintings of the Gänserupferinnen, Konservmachenrinnen, Flachsspinnerinnen and Netzfliekerinnen. This period was followed with themes on landscapes and outdoor scenes in the manner of French Impressionist style and technique; his middle and late years produced a large body of portrait works amongst the German and German-Jewish haute bourgeoisie.

From his Paris days, the greatest influence on Max Liebermann was leading Impressionist Manet. [When Liebermann completed the portrait of Carl Bernstein in 1892, he gave him a Manet painting as a gift]. In the summer of 1896, Liebermann travelled with Tschudi to Paris, visiting art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, where the newly appointed Nationlgalerie director became fascinated with Impressionism: he particularly admired the works of Manet, pledging to introduce Manet's works to Germany. Thus Liebermann may have been a significant influence on Tschudi's choice of Manet's La Serre, as the first Impressionist work to find its way into the Nationalgalerie Berlin.

Between 1903-1910, Max Liebermann bought fifteen modernist art works mostly from Paul Cassirer's Kunstsalon and the art dealer Hermann Pachter. (During 1914-1918 Liebermann bought another thirteen works, thereby showing solidarity with his own dealer and gallerist during Paul Cassirer's absence during the war years).

### ART COLLECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German Art</th>
<th>Foreign Artists</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franz Küger</td>
<td>Frans Hals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adolph Menzel</td>
<td>Rembrandt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Gaul</td>
<td>Josef Israels</td>
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<td>Carl Blechen</td>
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<td>Wilhelm Leibl</td>
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<td>Steffeck</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Zorn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

79 In contrast to Max Slevogt and Lovis Corinth, the other artists in the Paul Cassirer stable. See V.Tafel, p. 40.
French Art

Corot, Dunkirk, drawing [Jan 1908]*
Courbet, Frauenkopf [March 1906]*
Daubigny
Rousseau, landscape
Daumier. 78 Lithographs [Jan 1908]^{80}

(Liebermann started collecting Modernists in 1892 with Degas pastel)

Edgar Degas

Le repos, ca. 1893, pastel, now private collection
Danseuses attachant leurs sandales, 1893-98 oil, Cleveland Museum of Art, USA
Danseuse avec une chaise, ca. 1895-00, oil
Danseuses avec eventails, 1898

Paul Cézanne

L'apres-midi bourgeois (Scene fantastique), 1873-75, oil, acquired 1909 probably after Tschudi was forced return it to Paul Cassirer in March 1909; now privately owned in the USA)
Prairie et ferme de Jas de Bouffan, 1885-87, oil, acquired 1916, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Edgar Manet (16-17 paintings, 2 oil sketches and 1 aquarelle) \textsuperscript{81}

Champ des Courses, Auteuil, 1863-5 oil, fragment, acquired ca. 1903, Cincinnati Art Museum, Fanny Bryce Lehmer Fund
Boulogne sur mer or Bateau de pêche, 1864/5, oil, acquired ca. 1902; Mr. & Mrs. Arnold Askin, New York. (Wildenstein Nr.77).
La Dame aux eventails, 1873, aquarelle, private collection, USA. (Wildenstein, Nr.77)
Jeune Femme assise, 1876, oil, acquired from Hermann Pachter, private collection, UK (W. Nr. 250)
Portrait de M. Arnaud a cheval, 1876 at Cassirer in 1913, Galleria d' Arte Moderna, Milan. (W. Nr. 243)

\textsuperscript{80} For dates of purchase see Tafel, p 46
\textsuperscript{81} Some scholars give the number of Manet works in Lieermann collection as 17; see Gutbrod, p. 91.
Portrait of Georges Moore au jardin, 1879, oil, Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia, USA (W. Nr.297)

Vase de jardin, 1879, oil sketch, Private collection UK (W Nr.288)

Une botte d'asperges, 1880, oil, acquired 1907, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Köln, (W. Nr. 357)

Le Melon, 1880, oil, Paul Mellon, Upperville, USA (W. Nr. 352)

Corbeilles des poires, 1880, oil sketch, private collection UK (W. Nr. 353)

Portrait de Mme Manet a Bellevue, 1880, oil, private collection, NY (W. Nr. 345)

Jeune fille dans un jardin, 1880, oil, private collection NY, USA (W. Nr. 344)

Roses, tulipes et lilas blanc dans un vase de crystal * 1881, oil, acquired from Carl Bernstein, private collection, USA (W. Nr. 381)

Coin de Jardin, 1881/82, oil, provenance unknown.

Etude pour l'evasion de Rochefort, 1881, oil study, Kunsthaus Zurich (W. Nr. 369)

Bouquet des pivoines 1882, oil, gift from Carl Bernstein, private USA (W. Nr. 426)

Claude Monet

Moulins pres de Zaandam, 1871/72, oil

Manet peignant dans le Jardin de Monet a Argenteuil, 1874, oil

L'ete, champ de coquelicots, 1875, oil, private collection

Camille Pissarro:

Au Bord de la riviere, Pontoise 1872, oil, Kunstmuseum St.Gallen, Sturzeneggersche Sammlung, Switzerland, from estate of Emile Zola

Renoir:

Nature Morte, Fleurs de printemps dans la serre, 1864, oil, Kunsthalle Hamburg

Flower Still Life

Sisley, landscape

Van Gogh, Field, 1890, acquired 1907, private collection

Toulouse-Lautrec

Genre scene

Genre scene
Sources and Bibliography:


Cella-Margaret Girardet, Jüdische Mäzene, p 182-183

Mattias Eberle, Max Liebermann 1847-1935, Werkverzeichnis, (Catalogue Raisonné, Munich 1995)
Paul Mankiewiecz

Henriette Mankiewiecz (1858-1924)

Address Berlin, Matthaikirchstrasse 2

Titles and family background and profession

Paul Mankiewiecz was a financier of international significance; he was the chairman of the Norddeutsche Lloyd and became involved with the German Handelsflotte. He entered the Deutsche Bank in 1879, becoming Deputy Director in 1891 and board member in 1898; he was also involved with the Anglo-Deutsche Bank in Hamburg. He founded the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank and Banca Commerziale; he was a board member of the Berlin Stock exchange and belonged to many other professional financial organisations.

He was a member of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and a lifelong member of the Association of Freunde der antiken Kunst. His wife Henriette was a patron of the Nationalgalerie Berlin\textsuperscript{82} and a member of the Verein für Deutsche Volkskunde.

ART COLLECTION

French Art

Courbet (1 op.)
Manet (6 opp.)
Monet (3 opp.)
Degas (1 op.)
Renoir (1 op.)

Sources and Bibliography

Girardet, Jüdische Mäzene, p. 32 and p. 185


\textsuperscript{82} See chapter V, where she donated Monet's Häuser in Argenteuil, 1899 [value 3,000 Marks].
Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1846-1909)

Address

Title Geheimer Kommerzienrat. He was ennobled in 1896 with the title ‘Kgl. Preussischer Wirklicher. Rat und Excellenz’. He was a lifelong member of the Preussischer Herrenhaus and was the Royal Danish General Consul in Germany.

Family background and profession

Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was the son of the composer, conductor and pianist Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy [Jacob Ludwig, 1809-1847] who had his children converted. He and his wife converted themselves;\(^8\) and added the name Bartholdy after the conversion, to lift the stigma of the Jewish name, although it was said that a ‘Christian Mendelssohn is an impossibility’.\(^8\) Ernst was the grandson of Abraham Mendelssohn (1776-1835) therefore the great-grandson of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786).\(^8\) Ernst’s wife was Lea, nee Salomon, the grand-daughter of Daniel Itzig, a Schutzjude. and a close associate of Moses Mendelssohn.

Since 1874, Ernst was a co-director of the family banking house of Bankhaus Mendelssohn & Co [founded in 1820] with branches in Hamburg and later Berlin; he was a member of the Zentralausschuss der Reichsbank. In 1906 he ranked as one of wealthiest men in the Empire.\(^8\)

Mendelssohn was culturally very active and donated in 1906 the Roman Villa Falconieri for the use of German artists and as a guest house for Wilhelm’s II. \(^8\) He was the co-sponsor for the first French Impressionist purchase made by Tschudi in his new post as director of the Nationalgalerie Berlin for the acquisition of Manet’s La Serre.\(^8\) Ernst also collected modernist art privately and owned autographs by great composers and made donations of compositions sheets by his father, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy to musical institutions.\(^8\)

Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy died in 1909 as one of Berlin’s wealthiest men.

\(^8\) It was said that Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy converted to improve his children’s social opportunities. He was also influenced by the vicious anti-Semitic Hep!Hep! riots in Frankfurt am Main in 1819. Encyclopaedia Judaica. vol. 11 (Jerusalem, Keter, 1971), p. 1326.\(^4\)

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 1327.

\(^5\) Abraham’s sister was Dorotha Mendelssohn, who first married the banker Simon Veith, of Bankhaus Gebruder Veith. Their two sons became the Nazarene artists Philipp and Johannes Veith. Dorothea subsequently married Friedrich Schegel. Kaznelsohn, p. 722.

\(^6\) C-M Girardet, pp. 189-90.

\(^7\) With a further donation of 500.000 Mark for redecoration of the villa, Ibid., p. 189-9.

\(^8\) See Chapter V and Appendix A 5.

\(^9\) C-M. Girardet, p. 189 ‘Schenkungen und Stiftungen der Mendelssohns’ p. 189
ART COLLECTION
Details unavailable.

Sources and Bibliography:
Encyclopaedia Judaica a (Jerusalem, 1971) vol. 11, p.1326
C.-M. Girardet. "Schenkungen und Stiftungen der Mendelssohns". p. 189
Gutbrod, p. 83-87
Paul von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1875 - 1935)

Charlotte von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy

Address: Berlin, Alsenstrasse 3 (architect Bruno Paul) and Wannsee Residence

Family Background and Profession:
Paul was the son of Ernst Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and was co-director at the family banking house of Mendelssohn & Co. He held a pre-eminent position in the financial and social world of Berlin with numerous titles and honours, being a member of the Preussische Herrenhaus. He was on the board of the Berlin Stock Exchange and was the chairman of Verwaltungsrat der Bank des Berliner Kassenvereins and a member of the Aufsichtsrat of the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, as well as a board member of the Centralverband of the Deutsche Bank und Bankiergewerbes.

His cultural philanthropies were directed towards donations to the Museum fur Völkerkunde in the Ostasiatische Kunstabteilung (1907) and in conjunction with a consortium of other Jewish patrons he made several further contributions of art objects and paintings (1909, 1912).\(^9\) He made a gift of a Persian bowls to the Museum fur Islamische Kunst (1910).\(^1\)

With Eduard Arnold, he was one of the staunchest supporters of Tschudi's acquisition programme in Berlin and Munich and sponsored many works acquired through the 'Tschudi Spende' in Munich.

Paul Mendelssohn-Bartholdy collected modernist art privately, probably in close collaboration with his wife Charlotte. Both had a strong preference for the works of van Gogh and Picasso; seine Kollektion galt als eine bedeutende private Kollektion in Berlin von vorwiegenden frühen Bildern Picassos ...\(^2\) His interest in van Gogh was shared by his cousin, Robert von Mendelssohn.

They did not collect German art.

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\(^9\) In 1909, the consortium consisted of James Simon, Eduard Simon, Eduard Arnold, Paul von Schwabach, Gustav Jacoby, Markus Kappel, Markus Steinthal, Leopold Koppel and others, see Cella-Margarete Girardet, pp. 190-91

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 191.

ART COLLECTION

French Art:
Henri Rousseau
Manet
Monet
Renoir
Degas
Cézanne
Derain
Toulouse-Lautrec
Picasso
Van Gogh (8 opp.)

Sonnenblumen
Mutter Roulin im Profil, mit ihrem Baby
St. Paul's Krankenhaus
Junges Mädchen mit Kornblume
Trunk of an old yellow tree

Sources and Bibliography
Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Stefan Pucks, in Tschudi und der Kampf, p.387 ff 18, p. 390
Walter Feilchenfeldt, Vincent van Gogh & Cassirer, (Amsterdam 1988)
C-M Girardet p. 32 and p. 190
W.E. Mosse, German-Jewish Economic Elite
Robert von Mendelssohn (1857-1917)

Address: Grünewald, Berlin, Herthastrasse 1, [also Königsallee 16]

Title: Royal Swedish General Konsul in Berlin.

Family background and profession:
Robert was the nephew of Ernst and brother of Franz. Robert was also employed by the family concern Mendelssohn & Co and after the death of his uncle, Ernst Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in 1909, he became the head of the bank. He was a member of the Preussische Herrenhaus and a member of the member of the Berlin Hagel-Assekuranz-Gesellschaft. He sat on the executive board of the Bank der Berliner Kassenvereins and was a board member of the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank in Shanghai. He was a patron of the Abteilung Christlicher Epochen and Kunstgewerbemuseum; a member and patron of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums and the Orient-Kommitte; a member of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft and Freunde Antiker Kunst. He was one of the patrons for Tschudi modernist acquisition programme at the Nationalgalerie Berlin, as one of the co-sponsors for Manet's La Serre (1879) and Daubigny's Frühlingslandschaft. In 1918 he donated – in conjunction with Margarethe Oppenheim – Max Liebermann's Gartenbank to the Nationalgalerie Berlin on the occasion of the artist's 70th birthday. Robert Mendelssohn also collected antique violins.

ART COLLECTION
He collected works by contemporary Wilhelmine artists and between 1903 and 1910 he also built an international modernist art collection, with a particular preference for works by van Gogh.

German Art
Paul Baum, Herbstsonne, 1907
Max Liebermann, Hundekarren, 1905, drawing
Holländischer Park, 1905, drawing
Max Slevogt
Der Kastanienbaum, 1904
Florenz, 1916
Kreta, 1916

93 See Chapter V and Appendix A) 5
94 Girardet, p. 188
French Art

Daumier, *Die Kinder*

Daubigny

Degas, drawing (via PC Dec 1903)

Van Gogh

*Tal in Saint Remy* (acquired May 1905)

*Iris* (acquired March 1908)

Manet, *Fourrure fond vert* (acquired ca. 1910)

Pissarro, *Stadtgarten in Pontoise* (acquired May 1907)

Chaigneau, *Schafe an der Tränke* (acquired April 1907)

Sources and Bibliography:

Gaetghens Seminar Folder

W.E. Mosse, *German-Jewish Elite*


Kern, p. 302

Verena Tafel: p. 44-45 in reference to Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich.

C-M Girardet, p. 188-189

Walter Feilchenfeldt, *Vincent van Gogh and Cassirer* (Amsterdam, 1988)
Franz von Mendelssohn (1865-1935)\textsuperscript{95}

Address: Berlin, Grünewald, Herthastrasse 5

Title: Geheimer Kommerzienrat and Belgian General Consul (1902-13)

In 1906 he was appointed to the board of the Industrie und Handelskabinett and became the Vice-President of Berliner Handelskammer in 1902. He was called to the Preussische Herrenhaus in 1913 and was a member of the Conservative Party. In 1921 he was appointed President of the Vereinigung der deutschen Handelskammern. He was a member of the Vorläufigen Reichswirtschaftsrates und des Generalrates der Reichsbank.\textsuperscript{96}

Family background and profession

Franz was the nephew of Ernst and the brother of Robert. He entered the family banking concern in 1889, becoming its senior director in 1892. After the death of his brother Robert in 1917; he founded a branch of the bank Mendelssohn & Co in Amsterdam in 1920. The Mendelssohn banking house came to hold international significance as it co-financed Russian government projects, including the Japanese-Russian War.

The Mendelssohns were great philanthropists; their musical Soirees at their home were legendary; they also supported young musicians.\textsuperscript{97} Franz contributed financially to the collected works of Moses Mendelssohn, which was begun with the first volume in 1929. (16 Volumes in all)

Franz was a co-founder and chairman of the Orient Gesellschaft; he was also a patron of the Gemäldegalerie, co-founder, board member and treasurer of the Friend's Association of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, and belonged to the Freunde der antiken Kunst. In 1893, in conjunction with James Simon, he financed the acquisition of Italian bronze placards from the Spitzer Collection, Paris, to the Skulpturen Abteilung at the Gemäldegalerie Berlin.

Between 1902-1927/8, he made five donations to the Gemäldegalerie and arranged for his banking house to extend a loan to the Ägyptisches Museum.\textsuperscript{98} Franz von

\textsuperscript{95} Girardet, p. 186-87 and Verena Tafel.
\textsuperscript{96} Kaznelson, p. 724.
\textsuperscript{97} Girardet, p. 186.
\textsuperscript{98} Girardet, p. 187.
Mendelssohn was a co-patron – with James Simon – to the ‘Haus Kinderschütz’ in Zehlendorf, a refuge for abused children.99

In 1897, in a consortium with E Veith, Dr. Georg von Siemens, Robert Warschauer, Fritz Friedländer-Fuld, Julius Bleichröder, Julius Kaufmann, Isidor Loewe, Max Steinthal and Mrs. J. Hainauer (Oskar Hainauer’s wife). He sponsored Jean-Francois Millet’s November, 1870, at the Nationalgalerie Berlin and in 1900100 he co-sponsored Daubigny’s Frühlingslandschaft.101 He became a member of the Friends of the Nationalgalerie Berlin.

ART COLLECTION

French Art:
Manet (3 opp.)
Cezanne (1 op.)
Van Gogh
Der Sähmann
Das gelbe Kornfeld
Flowering Chestnut branch
three drawings
Braque (1 op.)

Sources and Bibliography:


Gaetghens Seminar Folder

C-M Girardet
Verena Tafel

99 Kaznelson, p. 844.
100 Girardet, pp. 186-7. See also Tschudi und der Kampf, p. 392 and p. 395; this work has [OR HAD?] been lost during the War.
Hugo Nathan (1861-1921)

Address: Frankfurt am Main; the art collection was displayed in the reception rooms.

Family background and profession:
Director at Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt am Main; socially he held a significant position in the city.

ART COLLECTION

Dutch Art
Josef Israels, Alte Frau

German Art
Max Liebermann
Schreitende Bauern, 1894/95
Selbstbildnis, 1908
Reiter am Meeresstrand, 1901
Schulgang in Laren, 1899
Hodler
Aussicht vom Thunersee bei Niesen, 1876
Jungfrau, Mönch und Eiger
Mönch in Abendbeleuchtung
Trübner
Kunstpause
Brustbild einer Frau
Blick auf Kloster Seeon
Kirchgang im Kloster Seeon
Atelierecke
Waldinneres
Vorgang des Stift Neuburg
Weg am Buchenwald
Neustift bei Heidelberg
Schreinerwerkstatt
Max Slevogt
Spaziergang

101 See above.
Arbeiter im Weinberg
Fritz von Uhde, Herr sei mit uns
Fritz Boehle, Feierabend, 1890
Hans Thoma
Schwarzwald Landschaft bei Bernau, 1872
Obstgarten, 1872
Hans von Marées, Selbstbildnis, 1874
Segantini

French Art
Gustav Courbet, La pauvresse de village (1866)
Camille Corot, La Chauvriere
Daumier, In the Theatre
Confidence
Daugny
Fantin-Latour
Monet
La Phare de l’hospice, 1864/5
Le Diner, 1868, Deroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, USA
La Seine a Rouen, 1872
Sisley 1868
Renoir
Les Falaises, 1879
Femme en corsage de Chantilly, 1869
Tete de jeune fille, 1882
Gauguin, Dorfstrasse auf Tahiti, 1891
Van Gogh
Bergsee am Sonnenuntergang (probably a fake, says ReVision, p. 36)
Les becheurs, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, USA
Pissarro
La Quai pres de la Seine, 1903
Toulouse-Lautrec
Young blond Girl
Maurice Denis
Christus mit Kindern
Lasset die Kindlein zu mir kommen

Sources and Bibliography:
Georg Swarzenski, "Die Sammlung Hugo Nathan", in Kunst und Künstler. XV, 1917, pp. 105-120; also Willi Wolfradt, same, pp. 121-134. IV
Josef Kern, p. 290
ReVision, p. 20-21
Marcell von Nemes (1866-1939)

Address: Budapest and Munich

Title Königlicher Rat

Family background and professional

Marcell von Nemes was born in Hungary as Moses Klein; he was a coal merchant and became a prosperous industrialist on an international scale; he was ennobled in Germany.

His collecting pattern was eclectic, but his French Impressionist collection was very highly prized by Hugo von Tschudi. In 1911, part of his collection was exhibited for six months at the Pinakothek in Munich; the catalogue introduction was written by Hugo von Tschudi, then director at the museum.

Part of his art collection was auctioned at Frederic Muller, Amsterdam, in 1913 and in 1928; another auction of his collection was held at 'Hugo Helbing and Paul Cassirer', 'Messing & Sohn', Munich, Tonhalle in 1931.

He was the leading art patron in Hungary as well as patron of the Royal Prussian and Bavarian museums. In 1913 he donated Abraham van Beijeren's Fischstilleben and in 1914 he donated a sketch by Jacopo Tintoretto, Wunder der Hl. Agnes. In 1921 he donated two wall statues to the Abteilung der Bildwerke Christlicher Epochen at the Gemäldegalerie Berlin.

ART COLLECTION

Italian Trecento
Fra Angelico

Venetian Art
Giovanni Bellini
Titian
Tintoretto
Giovanni Battista Tiepolo
Francesco Guardi
El Greco (12)

German Art
Albrecht Dürer
Lucas Cranach
Dutch Masters
Peter Paul Rubens
Rembrandt
Frans Hals

French Art
Manet
Degas
Cezanne

Sources and Bibliography
Girardet, p. 197-8
Gabriel de Ferey, "Die Sammlung Marczell von Nèmes" in Kunst und Künstler
1914/15, p. 217
Karl Schwarz, 'Kunstsammler', in Katzenelson
Dr. Franz Oppenheim (1852-1929)

Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim (1857-1935) (née Eisner, widowed Georg Reichenheim, ca. 1905)\textsuperscript{102}

Address
Berlin, Corneliusstrasse 7; summer residence: Wannsee, Grosse Seestrasse 16.
Art works were hanging informally in their Berlin home, during the summer, art works were taken to the summer residence at the Wannsee.

Title
Family background and profession
Franz von Oppenheim was a chemical engineer, who changed from the sciences to industry at the age of 25. First he was an employee, then a member of the board and then chairman of the Treptower \textit{Actien-Gesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation} (AGFA) in due course becoming one of Germany's leading industrialists.\textsuperscript{103}
He was a committee member of \textit{I.G. Farben} and a treasurer and board member of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Instituts für Chemie. He was a board member of the Dresdner Bank.

He was a co-founder of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Gesellschaft and a member of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum-Verein and the Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst and patron of the Deutsches Museum.
He married Margarete Oppenheim-Reich, who continued her late husband Georg Reichenheim's art patronage; she donated \textit{Herkules mit Löwen} (1905) and \textit{King Heinrich of France} (1913) to the Abteilung der Bilderwerke christlicher Epochen.
She gave the most important pieces of her porcelain collection on a fifteen-year loan to the Kunstgewerbe section of the Schlossmuseum. It included such works as a porcelain table knife in 1924, a teapot in 1926 and an Italian pitcher in 1936.
She became a member of many cultural institutions in her own right, such as the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, Vereinigung Freunde antiker Kunst and Gesellschaft for Ostasiatischer Kunst.

\textsuperscript{102} see later in this Appendix on, MINOR COLLECTORS.
\textsuperscript{103} Kaznelson, p. 780.
ART COLLECTION

The Oppenheims had a significant porcelain collection as well as a modern art collection. They were the major Cezanne collectors in Germany, having bought most of their works at the Kunstsalon Cassirer. In 1936 Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim owned thirteen works by Cezanne, at a time when there were just fifty-three Cezanne works in all of Germany.104

French Art

Courbet

Manet

Degas: Eine Frau stellt eine Blumenvase auf den Tisch

Degas (1-2 opp.)

Van Gogh: (2 opp.)

Weisse Rose

Unnamed title

Manet (2 opp.)

Dame im blauweissen Kleid mit Schirm

Manet

Cezanne (13 opp.)

Non-French artists included Kokoschka

Sources and Bibliography

Gaetghens Seminar Folder

Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich. Ein Sammelwerk, Siegmund Kaznelson (Ed) (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin 1962)

W.E.Mosse, German-Jewish Elite

Stefan Pucks, Tschudi und der Kampf

M-C Girardet, pp. 33, 199-200

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**Julius Stern** (1859-1914)\(^{105}\)

**Malgonie Stern**

**Address**
Berlin. Bellevuestrasse 6a. Their summer residence was at Geltov near Potsdam

**Family background profession**
Julius Stern was a banker; he was the director of Nationalbank für Deutschland, originally Darmstadt Bank, Bank fur Handel und Industrie. After 1925 it was amalgamated into Darmstadt und National bank [NANAT]. Stern enjoyed an international reputation.

The Julius Stern art collection focused on French and German art and included more than 200 works of art. A large part of their collection was auctioned by Paul Cassirer's gallery in Berlin, Victoriastrasse 35 on 22 May 1916, and by Hugo Helbing in Munich, Liebigstrasse 21 on 23 June 1916. The Catalogue Introduction was written by Karl Scheffler, editor of *Kunst und Künstler*.

In 1897, Stern donated Dora Hitz's *Bildnis eines kleinen Mädchens* to the Nationalgalerie; in 1911 he donated five etchings and twelve lithographs by Max Liebermann; in 1912 he donated two works by R. Grossmann, three works by H. Meid and five by W. Rössler to the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

In 1912 co-sponsored with Friedrich Ludwig von Gans, Eduard Simon, Leopold Steinthal, Carl Hagen and others the graphics estate of Joseph Maria Olbrich to the Kunstgewerbemuseum und Kunsthbothek

**ART COLLECTION**

**German Art**

**Max Liebermann**

*Portrait Julius Stern*

*Gedächtnisfeier für Kaiser Friedrich in Kosen, 1888*

*Pferdeknechte am Strande, 1900*

Corinth

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\(^{105}\) He is not to be confused with Julius Stern (1820-1883) who was one of the co-founders of the Berlin Music conservatory, see Kaznelson, p. 178.
Slevogt
Paul Baum
E.R. Weiss
Linde-Walther
Karl Walser
Dora Hitz (several) a teacher of Malgonie Stern
Ludwig von Hofmann (several)
Trübner (several)
Thoma (several)
Kolbe, Japanese (sculpture)
Wrba, Europe (sculpture)

French Art
Maurice Denis
Der stille Obstgarten
Several other works
Manguin
Le Pichot
Le Baeu
Courbet, Hafenblick
Manet, Portrait (female bust portrait)
Degas, Dancing Girls, pastel
Renoir, Nude
Pissarro, Boulevard
Monet (4/5)
Van Gogh
Sonniger Garten
Olivenenernte bei grauen Himmel
Sisley (several)
Gauguin
Landschaft aus Tahiti
Study, aquarelle
Cezanne, Tulpen Stilleben
Pissarro, Dame in Reifrock
Several others
Bonnard

**Drawings**
Guys
Toulouse-Lautrec
Rodin

**Sculptures**
Rodin, *L'Idole eternel*, marble
Maillol, *La Vague*, bronze

**Sources and Bibliography**
Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Kaznelson, *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich*
W.E. Mosse, *German-Jewish Elite*
Girardet, 1997
Erich Hancke, "Die Sammlung Stern", *Kunst und Künstler*. 8, 1910, pp. 536-548
E. Waldmann, "Der Krieg und die Bilderpreise", *Kunst und Künstler*. 15. 1917 p. 383
Emil Heilbuth (1861-1921) pseudonym Herman[n] Helferich.\textsuperscript{106}  
He is often confused with Paul Herman Heilbuth (1861-1945) a wealthy Danish industrialist who was a major collector of French art after 1914/18).\textsuperscript{107} Moreover, these two men were also confused with Ferdinand Heilbuth, Emil Heilbuth's uncle, an artist who lived in Paris since the 1860s.

**Address** Hamburg, Munich, Paris (intermittently), Berlin and Montreux, where he died. In Berlin he moved many times, such as in 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1912. After 1921 there are no further Berlin records, which imply that by then he had moved to Switzerland.\textsuperscript{108}

**Family background and profession:**
Emil Heilbuth originated from a Hamburg rabbinic family. His uncle Ferdinand Heilbuth (1826-1889) lived in France where he had achieved some fame as an artist, showing since the 1850s at the Academic Salon. It was during Emil Heilbuth's first visits to Paris that his uncle introduced his nephew to the Paris art world and the art dealers Durand-Ruel and Goupil-Boussod & Valadon, where Emil Heilbuth bought his first works by Monet and Degas. Later he met the dealer Ambroise Vollard, from whom he also bought a work by Degas.\textsuperscript{109}

After early attempts in painting, Emil Heilbuth became a literary and art critic, as well as an art dealer and art collector of French Impressionism as early as 1889.\textsuperscript{110} In the 1890s he was a professor of art history in Hamburg. In 1889, he held a much noted series of lectures on French 19th century art at the Grossherzogliche Sächsische Kunstschule in Weimar. This early support for French modernism, particularly Monet, was significant on many levels, not least because it influenced local artists like Christian Rohlfs, Ludwig von Gleichen-Russwurm and Theodor Hagen.

Thus, apart from the Bernsteins, Heilbuth was the earliest private collector and certainly the earliest public patron of French Impressionism in Imperial Germany; indeed, Ziegler interprets his 1889 Weimar lectures as significant

*Aufklärungsarbeit.*\textsuperscript{111} Ziegler thus contends that Heilbuth was one of the earliest

\textsuperscript{107} Ziegler, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p. 59.
\textsuperscript{109} Although the dealer bought it back seven days later; ibid., p. 49.
\textsuperscript{110} Ziegler, p. 41 in *Die Moderne und ihre Sammler.*
\textsuperscript{111} Ziegler, p. 47
German critics around 1890 that supported French modernism in Germany, a fact which has been overlooked until recently.  

Emil Heilbuth published under the pseudonym Hermann Helferich. In 1887 he released his first monograph, *Neue Kunst*, which was a compilation of his art criticism which had appeared in *Nation*. In 1891 he wrote for the illustrated catalogue of *Die Sammlung Behrens*, a collection of the Hamburg banker Eduard Behrens. He regularly wrote for *Kunstwart, Kunst für Alle, Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, 1890, which was founded by Otto Brahm, alias Otto Abramson. He also wrote for *Der Tag, Zukunft, Neue Deutsche Rundschau* and *Neue Rundschau*. He was the first editor of *Kunst und Künstler*, which was established in 1902; at first he shared the responsibilities with Caesar Flaischlein and after 1903 he was appointed sole editor. In 1903 he wrote an extensive report on the Vienna Secession Exhibition in *Kunst und Künstler*.  

In 1906 he was succeeded by Karl Scheffler, after which Heilbuth's art criticism diminished in output and significance.

His French Impressionist private art collecting – he often paid for works in several stages – was often interpreted as a mediating and educational project, since he often sold works soon after they had fulfilled their pedagogic value. For example, after he showed three paintings by Claude Monet to illustrate his Weimar lecture, he sold these works. However, Ziegler suggests that Heilbuth also bought works in order to draw the attention of collectors and dealers; sometimes he bought works on behalf of collectors, and at times these works stayed in his possession temporarily, as for example Manet's *La Maitresse de Baudelaire* (1862-63). Indeed, during 1880-1897, Emil Heilbuth functioned as advisor to the collection of Erdwin and Antoine (nee

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112 Ziegler, p. 42-46.  
114 Emil Heilbuth, "Die Sammlung Eduard L. Behrens zu Hamburg" (München 1891-1899), 2 volumes. (Katalog und Nachtrag). This collection was one of the most significant representations of the Barbizon School in Germany, see Ziegler, p. 42  
115 Hermann Helfrich [Emil Heilbuth] on Claude Monet, in Freie Bühne für Modernes Leben 1/1890, pp. 225-230. This is possibly the first German language monograph on Monet, see Ziegler, p. 60.  
117 See remarks as to his payments to Durand-Ruel, Ziegler, p. 59.  
118 He sold two works by Monet to Durand-Ruel in 1897 and 1900; a third he sold to a private Cologne collector in 1899, Ziegler, p. 47.  
119 Ibid., p. 43.  
120 Ziegler, p. 49
Lattmann) Amsincks in Hamburg. Their collection consisted primarily of works by Rousseau, Millet, Corot, Courbet, Rossetti and Whistler and Böcklin. Until 1900 Heilbuth was a strong supporter of German contemporaries Arnold Böcklin, Fritz von Uhde and Max Liebermann, as well as many of the emerging Symbolist artists and the British Pre-Raphaelites. He wrote some of the first accounts in Germany about this British group of artists, particularly on Rossetti and Whistler. However, Heilbuth was primarily an Apologet, a 'defender' and dealer-collector of French Impressionism. He rejected the Neo-Impressionism of Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, Maximilian Luce, Henri Edmond Cross, Theo van Rysselberghe and van de Velde. He made this clear in a response to the defence of such art by Harry Graf Kessler's Über den Kunstwert des Neo-Impressionismus.

ART COLLECTION

French Art (1889-1918)

Claude Monet

Le chemin de la cavee a Pourville*, 1882, oil, private collection, France

Barque sur la Seine a Jeufosse*, 1884, oil, private collection, France

Belle-Ile, Coucher de Soleil*, 1886, oil, private collection, France

Le Moulin d'Orgemont, 1873, oil, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, USA

Eduard Manet

Degas

Arlequin et colombine, 1884, pastel (owned only very temporarily)

Danseuses, Contrabasses

Edutes Anglais

Femme se faisant coiffer devant la cheminee.

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121 See detailed information on research on this collection in Ziegler, p. 62
124 This was acquired 1890 from Durand-Ruel, as cited by Ziegler, p. 59.
125 It is unknown when he acquired it, but it was sold to Durand-Ruel in 1900, as cited ibid. p.59.
126 This was acquired on 5 December 1889 for 1800 Francs from Paris dealers Goupil-Boussod & Valadon, cited ibid.
127 This was acquired on 4 August 1893 for 3000 Francs from Goupil-Boussod & Valadon, Ziegler, p. 60.
128 Ibid., p. 49.
129 This was acquired August 1891 for 700 Francs.
130 This was acquired June 1893 for 1500 Francs.
Paul Cezanne

*Maisons sous des arbres* ** 1885-1887, National Gallery, London

*Arlequin* ** 1880-90, oil, private collection, Latin America

*Grosse pommes* ** 1891-92, oil, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York\(^{132}\)


** These works were shown at the first German Cezanne Exhibition at the Kunstsalon Cassirer in 1900.

**Sources and Bibliography**

Zentralarchiv der Staalichen Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Bode Akte, p. 2430

Josef Kern p.290

Stefan Pucks, "The Archenemy invades Germany", in *Impressionist Collections in European Museums*, pp. 55-64

Henrik Ziegler, "Emil Heilbuth, ein früher Apologet Claude Monets" in *Die Moderne und ihre Sammler*


\(^{132}\) The three Cezanne were purchsed for 6000 Francs at Ambroise Vollard.

\(^{133}\) This painting was acquired from a London dealer for 500 pounds sterling.
Carl Sternheim (1878-1942)

Thea Sternheim, (1883-1971) (née Bauer, divorced Loewenstein)

Addresses

The Sternheims lived in Munich from 1907-1912. The Sternheim Villa Bellemaison in Holllriegelskreuth, near Pullach, south of Munich, was built in 1907/8 by the engineer and architect, Gustav Hermann von Cube, Sternheim's brother-in-law. The 35-room villa was built in the style of Louis XVI. The sophisticated interior was supposed to convey the relevance of past cultures to contemporary avant-garde elite. In 1912 the Villa was sold for 650,000 Mark to Rittmeister D. Karl Theodor Lamarche. After this, the Sternheims moved to La Hulpe near Brussels and lived in the Villa Clairecolline until 1918, where they also entertained the avant-garde. The Vincent van Gogh painting L'Arlesienne was sold in 1914 to pay for the renovation of their newly acquired home in Belgium. Between 1918-1921 the Sternheims lived in Switzerland; between 1921-1924 they lived in Dresden and thereafter in Utwill/Bodensee.

Family background profession

Carl Sternheim originated from a Leipzig banking and publishing family with close connections to other Jewish financial dynasties such as the Rothschilds and the Mendelssohns, whose homes he frequented. Carl studied at Leipzig, Göttingen, Freiburg and Munich Universities, later settling in the Bavarian capital of Munich. Sternheim was still married to his first wife when he met the married Thea Loewenstein in Wiesbaden in 1902. After divorcing their respective spouses, Carl and Thea married in 1907; they divorced in 1927, after which Carl moved to Brussels where he died in 1942. After the divorce, Thea lived mainly in Paris and Basel, where she died on 5 July 1971.

Thea Loewenstein was the daughter of a wealthy Rhineland industrialist, whose financial position enabled the Sternheims to enjoy a lavish lifestyle and allowed them to collect French Impressionists works, even at rising prices.

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134 Carl's father's financial bankruptcy in 1912, which Thea's fortune was supposed to mitigate, forced their sale of the Munich Villa Bellemaison and their move to Belgium, where they lived until 1918. A large part of the art collection was auctioned in Amsterdam after WW I to ease their financial situation.
136 For the fate of this building, see Ibid. p. 264.
137 Ibid. p. 257.
138 As mentioned earlier, a large part of the art collection was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1919 to ease their continuous financial hardship.
Carl Sternheim was a comedy playwright of grotesque-expressionist, satirical works exposing naturalism and neo-romanticism, which openly caricatured the juste milieu of Wilhelmine society. His works often caused scandals: the trilogy Die Hose (1911), Snob (1913) and 13 (1914) addressed the moral collapse of the par venue and ambitious bourgeois family Maske and attracted the greatest attention. 13 was written months before the outbreak of the war and accepted by Max Reinhardt at the Deutsche Theater, although because of the war it was not performed, but the script was published in Weisse Blätter.

The Sternheims collected around them a liberal and avant-garde circle of writers, artists, museum directors, musicians and politicians such as Walter Rathenau, Harry Graf Kessler, Carl Einstein, Franz Pfemfert, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Frank and Tilly Wedekind, Heinrich Mann, Julius Meir-Graefe, Max Reinhardt, Paul Cassirer and Tilla Durieux and Hugo von Tschudi. The Sternheims and Tschudi became friends since the director's earliest days in Munich in 1909. Most of these men had connections to and sympathies for France.

In 1908 Sternheim co-founded with Franz Blei the Munich journal for fine arts, fiction and criticism, Hyperion; also in 1908, Sternheim met Munich publisher Alfred Walter Carl Heymel, whose publishing house Insel Verlag began to publish his works. The Sternheims bought art from Paul Cassirer in Berlin and Brakl & Thannhauser in Munich, as well as from Paris dealers, Bernheim-Jeune, Vollard and Stuffenecker, Ambroise Vollard and Durand-Ruel.

The Sternheims were major van Gogh collectors; some of works were bought directly from Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, Amsterdam, who held Vincent van Gogh's artistic estate. By 1919, the Sternheim Collection contained thirteen paintings by van Gogh, the largest collection in Germany. Thea in particular had a fascination for the Dutch artist and was instrumental in buying his works.

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139 Kaznelson, p. 53
140 Particularly scandalous were the plays Kassette (premiered Munich, 25 March 1912), Don Juan (premiered Berlin's Deutsches Theater, 13 September 1912) and again Kassette (Burgtheater, Wien). See Pophanken (2001), p. 254 and p. 262-63.
141 This was a critical monthly, published by E.E. Schwabach and Rene Schickele in Leipzig.
143 The journal folded in 1910.
144 Die Hose [1911], Der Snob [1914] and 1913 [1915]. This trilogy attracted the greatest public attention, the mentioned dates are the publication dates and not when the works were written.
Carl Sternheim published an essay on van Gogh and Gauguin in 1924.\textsuperscript{145} The Sternheims' interest in Gauguin was kindled by Alfred Flechtheim and Georg Swarzenski.\textsuperscript{146} The Sternheims disagreed, however, in their assessment of the art of Cezanne.\textsuperscript{147}

In 1919, part of the Sternheim Collection was auctioned by Frederik Muller & Cie in Amsterdam, where Thea re-acquired some of her own art works. The auction catalogue was entitled \textit{Madame Thea Sternheim Collection, La Hulpe}, (11 February 1919 which included paintings by Gauguin (2 opp.), Gericault (2 opp.), van Gogh (7 opp.), Renoir (2 opp.), Greuze (1 op.) and a Gericault sculpture (1 op.)

\textbf{ART COLLECTION} (in 1919)

\textbf{Van Gogh}

\textit{L'Arlesiennes}, Madame Ginoux, 1888, oil, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.\textsuperscript{148}

\textit{Les Amoureux}, 1888, oil (series \textit{Jardin du poét}) lost, declared degenerate in 1937.\textsuperscript{149}

\textit{Citronen, Milch und Kaffeekanne}, private collection

\textit{Hütten von St.Maries}, now private collection.\textsuperscript{150}

\textbf{Gauguin}


\textit{Bretonne en prière}, Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Mass.

\textbf{Renoir}

\textit{La Femme a la muette}, oil, Kunstmuseum Basel.

\textit{Clown au cirque}, Rijksmuseum Kroller-Muller Collection, Otterlo.

\textbf{La femme a la muette}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{145} Carl Sternheim, \textit{Gauguin and van Gogh} (Berlin 1924)
\item \textsuperscript{146} See remarks on the loan of their collection to the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Chapter 5.
\item \textsuperscript{147} Pophanken (2001), p. 262.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Bought in 1908 for 13.000 Marks at dealer Munich Zimmermann; see Carl Sternheim, "Vorkriegseuropa im Gleichnis meines Lebens", as cited by Pophanken, p. 251. Thea's diaries report that this work was bought from Amadee Stufennecker in Paris.
\item \textsuperscript{149} De la Faille 410.
\item \textsuperscript{150} De la Faille 420
\item \textsuperscript{151} De la Faille 752
\item \textsuperscript{152} De la Faille 380
\item \textsuperscript{153} De la Faille 428
\end{itemize}
Honore Daumier (2 opp.)
Maurice Denis, *Frauen und Kinder am Meeresstrand.*


Goya: Figurative works (4 opp.)

Francois Boucher

Theodore Géricault

*Le maréchal-ferrant flamand*

*Cuirassier chargeant*

*Satyr et nymph.* sculpture

(This work was acquired from the Ackermann Collection, Paris; Thea bought it back at the 1919 auction and donated it to Rouen, Musee des Beaux Arts, where it still is today.)

Albrecht Altdorfer, *Kreuzigung*

Van Gogh's work, *Die Hütten von St. Maries,* was exchanged at the Cassirer Kunstsalon in 1916 for the more important work of *Facteur Roulin.* The Sternheims also exchanged another van Gogh and so acquired in Paris *Les amoureux* from the series *Jardin du poète,* which had been intended as decoration for Gauguin's room.

Meier-Graefe had sold this work to Cassirer in May 1905, from where it found its way to the legendary Prince Wagram Collection.

**Sources and Bibliography**

Siegfried Kaznelson, *Juden*

Carl Sternheim, "Vorkriegseuropa im Gleichnis meines Lebens", in *Collected Works,* 10 volumes (Darmstadt 1976)


Andrea Pophanken, "Privatsammler der französischen Moderne in München", p. 242-431 in *Tschudi und der Kampf*

Andrea Pophanken, "Auf den ersten Hinblick hin. Die Sammlung Carl und Thea Sternheim in München" (p.251-267) in *Die Moderne und ihre Sammler*

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154 This work was possibly a study for *La plage au petit garçon* (Neuss, Clemens Sels-Museum) or for *Soir de Septembre.* (Nantes, Musee des Baue-Arts ) Pophanken, p. 261
Alfred Wolff

Hanna Wolff (1866-1959)

Address
München, Karolinerplatz 2, Weidenmayerstrasse and Richard Wagnerstrasse.
Alfred Wolff moved to Munich in 1904, but as a couple the Wolffs also lived briefly in Berlin in 1903 and 1908/9, when they were neighbours of Max Liebermann at 6 Pariserplatz. Both their Berlin and Munich homes were designed by their friend, Henry Van de Velde.

Family background and profession
Alfred Wolff was a trained lawyer and banker; and was an executive board member of the Bavarian branch of the Dresdner Bank in Munich.
The Wolffs collected primarily Neo-Impressionist and Pointillists

ART COLLECTION
French Art
Seurat
Van Gogh, Olivenernte
Paul Signac
Samois
Sisteron
Serona
Gauguin
Frauen unter Mangobäumen
Poemes Barbares
Nevermore O.Taiti
Maurice Denis
La treille
Grande baigneuse ou Suzanne au bain
Danses d'Alceste (paysage d'Albano)
Theo van Rysselberghe, Portrait Hanna Wolff-Josten
Xavier Roussel, Bacchantenzug
Pierre Bonnard, Interior

155 The Sternheims were one of the few German Matisse owners; Thea sold this work to Picasso in 1943.
Xavier Roussel, *Bacchantenzug*

Henri Edmond Cross, *Seegelboote*

Maximilian Luce, *Landscape*

Alexej von Jawlensky, *Winterlandschaft*

Alexander Kanoldt, *Architekturszenerie*

Curt Herrmann

*Aristide Maillol*

2 small and 2 large sculptures

**Sources and Bibliography**

Andrea Pophanken, p. 424-431

Josef Kern, p. 159
MINOR COLLECTORS AND COLLECTIONS

Philipp Freudenberg (1833-1919)

Title Kommerzienrat.

Family background and profession
Pioneeringly, Philipp Freudenberg established a textile department store in Eberfeld and moved to Berlin in 1888. He became a partner [1 January 1889] in the fashionable Mode-Kaufhaus Hermann Gerson, which subsequently became one of Berlin's most popular and elegant department stores, centralised shopping being a pioneering venture which originated in Paris, the idea having been imported from the United States.

Philipp Freudenberg had three sons, of whom at least two also collected modern art.

German Art
Max Slevogt and Max Liebermann

Dr. Julius Freudenberg (1870/1-1927)

Title Geheimer Kommerzienrat
Julius was a son of Philipp and joined his father’s concern. He was also a Handelsrichter. During the war of 1914-18, he was invited by the government to head a Bekleidungskommissariat.

ART COLLECTION

French Art
Van Gogh, Postman
Another work, title unknown
Matisse, Le Déjeuner
Monet, Harbour Scene
Pissarro, Harbour Scene
Gauguin

German Art
Max Liebermann
Max Pechstein (2 opp.)
Christian Rolfs
Max Slevogt (Portrait)
Emil Nolde
Hermann Freudenberg (1868-1924)
Son of Philipp Freudenberg

**ART COLLECTION**
Major collector of van Gogh. no details known

**German Art**
Max Liebermann
Feininger (1 op.)
Nolde (1 op.)
Rolfe (1 op.)

Albert Freudenberg
Son of Phillip Freudenberg

**ART COLLECTION**
Liebermann (1 op.)

**Sources and Bibliography**
Donath, 1929, p. 209
T Gaetghens, Seminar Folder
Baronin Anne-Marie Goldschmidt-Rothschild
She fled at the end of the 1930s to Paris and her art collection was auctioned by Cassirer & Helbig.

ART COLLECTION

French Art
Gauguin (1 op.)
Renoir (1 op.)
Cezanne (3 opp.)
Van Gogh (1 op.)

Sources and Bibliography
T. Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Beschreibung der Rothschild Sammlung (Pantheon 1905)
Alfred Gold
ART COLLECTION
French Art
Manet (2 opp.)
Monet (3 opp.)
Cezanne (5/6 opp.)
Gauguin (4 opp.)
Derain (3 opp.)
Van Gogh (2 opp.)

Sources and Bibliography
T.Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Hugo Perls
Käthe Perls
ART COLLECTION
French Art
Cezanne
Derain
Picasso
Matisse
Munch
and other modernists

Sources and Bibliography
T. Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Max Emil Meierowski (1876-?)

Address

Family and professional background
It is unclear whether this is the same as Emil Meierowsky who was a dermatologist.\textsuperscript{156}

ART COLLECTION

French Art
Manet (1 op.)
Pissarro (1 op.)
Renoir (2 opp.)
Cezanne (1 op.)
Gauguin (2 opp.)
Van Gogh (1 op.)

Sources and Bibliography
T. Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Kaznelson, p. 521

\textsuperscript{156} See Kaznelson, p. 521.
Dr. Friedrich Flersheim

Address Frankfurt am Main

Family background and profession
Flersheim was a banker at Dreyfus & Co. Frankfurt am Main and established a branch in Berlin in 1868.

ART COLLECTION

German Art
Max Liebermann
Lovis Corinth
Slevogt
Trübner
Uhde
Zugel

French Art
Sisley
Toulouse-Lautrec

Dutch Art
Thorup

Sources and Bibliography:
T. Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Kaznelson, p. 754
Hugo Oppenheim (1847-1921)

Address
Berlin, Matthaikirchstrasse 3b. he was a neighbour of Julius Elias.

Title Geheimer Königlicher Kommerzienrat

Family background and profession
The Oppenheim family originated from Königsberg. Hugo Oppenheim was the brother of Franz Oppenheim, who was a major modernist collector (see Chapter IV and earlier this Appendix). Hugo was also the nephew of Ernst Mendelssohn and a cousin of the brothers Robert and Franz von Mendelssohn who were also leading art private collectors and major public art patrons.

Hugo Oppenheim was a director at the Berlin branch of the banking house Robert Warschauer & Co. which was taken over by the Darmstädter Bank in 1905. He founded the banking house Hugo Oppenheim & Sohn, which became a leading financial institution for the export trade. For 43 years he was a member of the Berliner Kassenverein and held the position of chairman from 1915-1921.157

He was one of the four Jewish co-sponsors of Manet's La Serre, making a contribution of ca. 18,000 Mark in 1896.

ART COLLECTION
French Art
Manet, Monsieur Pertuiset (Der Löwenjäger)

Sources and Bibliography
Kaznelson, p. 730
Girardet, p.198

157 Kaznelson, p. 730.
Samuel Fischer (1859-1934)

Address Berlin-Grünewald, Erdnerstrasse 8.

Family background and profession
Fischer was born in the Hungarian part of Slovakia and was apprenticed to a bookstore in Vienna. He moved to Berlin in 1880-81 and became a partner at Hugo Steinitz & Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung some three years later. Here he gained experience in the management of a publishing company at a time when authors were invited to finance some of their own publications until incoming royalties would allow them to be reimbursed. At this point, the house published works which were easy to sell, such as travelogues, travel timetables and specialised journals.

Samuel Fischer established his own company, *S. Fischer Verlag* which started with literature of a post-naturalist genre. Within four years, Fischer published a political-cultural periodical that aimed at small intellectual elite. The journal, *Die Rundschau*, appeared under various guises and had a significant influence on contemporary intellectual discourse. The editors of the journal were outstanding names such as Otto Brahm, Oscar Bie, Alfred Kerr and Samuel Saenger. The Verlag list of contributors included major European writers, many of the avant-garde, such as Henrik Ibsen (whom he enticed away from the Reclam Verlag), Don Passos, Bernard Shaw, Thomas Mann, Gerhard Hauptman, Theodor Fontane, Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig and Sigmund Freud. Samuel Fischer was also a committed supporter of modern German drama and published (and co-founded) in 1890 its magazine, *Freie Bühne*, which sought to revitalise the German theatre. He added another platform in 1904 by publishing a new mouthpiece, named *Neue Rundschau*.

The Verlag general list was mainly determined by Moritz Heimann, who was later succeeded as literary advisor by the poet Oskar Loerke. In due course the house acquired the right to represent the existing oeuvres of Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Jakob Wassermann and Joseph Conrad. Fischer persuaded writers to join his house by promising to make them famous, and in due course, more often than not, he did just that. Beneficiaries of his support included Robert Musil, Réné Schickele, Annette 

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158 During the National Socialist period, S. Fischer Verlag was forced to split into a Berlin and Amsterdam branch. The two companies were reunited after 1950 and continue to this day under the original name of *S. Fischer Verlag*. Salamander, p. 197.
Kolb and Alfred Döblin. He also published the Swiss writer Hermann Hesse and the English writer Lytton Strachey.

In the S. Fischer diverse list, Jewish writers played a relatively minor role. This group was mainly championed by Ruetten & Loening in Frankfurt and the Cassirer Verlag in Berlin and by other German non-Jewish publishing houses, such as Ernst Rohwolt. Gustav Kiepenhauer and Georg Müller in Munich and the Insel Verlag in Leipzig. Arnold Zweig remembered in 1934, that many [of the Jewish writers] were advised by Jewish publishers, Jewish readers or Jewish writer friends who were often keen leaders of the avant-garde, whereas Fischer himself was more hesitant about leftist intellectual ideas. In retrospect, Zweig's recollections seem strange, considering that many Jewish authors whom Fischer published – such as Freud, Wassermann, and Schnitzler and Döblin – were indeed breaking new ground.

The contact which was sought between business and intellectual circles was exemplified in Samuel Fischer's household. It is compelling to note Fischer's daughter's comments about the household of her parents and her mother in particular, proving once more the significance of German-Jewish women in their cultural and intellectual life. In this case, the reference to previous Salon women is made very clear.

Durch viele Jahre hindurch stand sie als Herz des grossen Verlags im Zentrum des geistigen und künstlerischen Lebens in Berlin. Ihr Wirken und ihre persönliche Ausstrahlung mag den berühmten Frauen der Romantik die für sie vorbildlich lebendig waren, ähnlich gewesen sein. Unser Haus in der Erdenerstrasse wurde so die Heimstatt der Autorenfamilie.

Samuel Fischer's editor Oscar Bie was closely involved with several of Fischer newspaper publications and advised him on his art purchases.

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160 The S.Fischer Verlag was forced to move to Vienna in 1936, to Stockholm in 1938 and finally to New York in 1940. Fischer's son-in-law, Gottfried Bermann-Fischer (born in 1897) had assumed control in 1934 and led the company through the turbulent years abroad. After World War II, the Verlag resumed publication in Frankfurt in 1950. In 1952 it founded the highly successful paperback department Fischer Bücherei, which to this day is one of the most important paperback publishers in Germany. See JE, Keter, vol. 6, p. 1323.
**ART COLLECTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>German Art</strong></th>
<th><strong>French Art:</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corinth</td>
<td>Cézanne: <em>Stilleben</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Van Gogh: <em>Die Kastanienbaum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pissarro: <em>Quai d'Orsay</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Kaznelson


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161 Brigitte B. Fischer, *Sie schrieben mir oder was aus meinem Poesiealbum wurde* (Stuttgart-Zurich, 1978) p. 48 as cited by Augustine, p. 238
Walter Levinstein (1864-1937)

Address

Family background and profession
Walter was the son of Eduard Levinstein and his mother was an aunt of Max Liebermann. Walter Levinstein was a doctor who became the director of the renowned psychiatric Clinic Maison de Sante in Berlin-Schönberg. Walter inherited his love of art from his father, but may also have been predisposed towards art through his maternal side.

ART COLLECTION

French Art
Cezanne: Stilleben mit Brot und Eiern.

German Art
Secession artists and later

Sources and bibliography
T.Gaetghens Seminar Folder
Walter Rathenau (1867-1922)

Address
He owned a house in Berlin Grünewald, Victoriastrasse 3/4, where he was a
neighbour of Paul Cassirer. In 1909, Walter Rathenau acquired for 262,500 Marks a
small royal castle in Bad Freienwalde,162 a two-storey building dating from 1798/99.
Extensive renovation was undertaken under Rathenau’s ownership, and completed in
1910. Much was retained of the pre-Biedermeier style and furniture; Rathenau
commissioned contemporary artist Karl Walser to paint frescoes in a Rococo style.163

Titles
Various; Rathenau was appointed in February 1922 the first Jewish Foreign Minister
in German history, but was assassinated four months later on June 24, 1922.

Family background and profession
He was the son of Emil and Mathilde Rathenau, and the family was related to the
Liebermanns. Emil was founder of the German branch of Edison, the US electric
company; it was later named Allgemeine Elektrizität’s Gesellschaft (AEG). Emil
became the director of the German company, which Walter joined at various stages in
his working life.

Walter Rathenau studied electrical engineering and after an eleven-year sojourn in
Switzerland he joined the board of the AEG, and led a drive for diversification and
expansion, particularly through finance banking. He became head of AEG after his
father’s death in 1915.164

Walter was also a writer of eclectic philosophy of some influence, whose writings
were translated into many languages; he was also an artist of considerable talent.

Rathenau had relationships with many famous contemporaries, such as artists Lesser
Ury and Edvard Munch and particularly Harry Graf Kessler. Rathenau was apparently
the inspiration for Robert Musil’s famous novel, Mann ohne Schatten. Despite
Rathenau’s social position and large artistic and intellectual circle, he was often
perceived by many as a solitary figure.

162 The house was one hour from Berlin.
163 Stefan Pucks p.305-310 in Walter Rathenau, die Extreme berühren sich.
Er stand meistens schweigsam abseits. Wenn er die tiefe Stimme erhob, verstummte das sanfte Hin und Her der Gespräche und dunkle Ahnungen schienen sich zu verbreiten, die er in Zukunft verfolgen würde und deren Last er allein jetzt trug.165

His correspondence of some 1,500 letters included exchanges with leading writers of the day, such as Gide, Hesse, Rilke, Stefan Zweig and Gerhardt Hauptman.166 Numerous contemporary artists painted Rathenau's portrait, such as the three drawings by Max Liebermann and Hans-August Zierngiebl, paintings by Clara Kauffmann-Mellin, Edvard Munch and Hans Lesser Ury. The neo-classical sculptor Herman Hahn from Munich,167 created three versions of a bust in 1923. Furthermore Emil Orlik did a drawing of Rathenau in early 1917 and painted two post-humus portraits, based on photographs by Nikola Perscheids taken in 1917. Rathenau himself produced many self-portraits.

After Walter Rathenau's assassination, his mother donated his art collection to the Frankfurt Städelische Kunstinstitut and his Schloss Freienwalde to the county of Oberbarnim.168

ART COLLECTION

French and Foreign Art

Edmond Amand-Jean, Dame mit Fächer (ca. 1900), oil/canvas

Edouard Vuillard

La partie de dames (before 1903), oil/wood

Interior (acquired on 22 Dec 1903 at Cassirer for 1500 Marks)

Fernand Khnopff

Jagdaufseher 1883 (probably acquired in 1896 at the Munich Secession Exhibition, where it was exhibited under the title Der Wächter in Erwartung)

Sassoferatto,169 Madonna mit dem Kinde (1685)

Edvard Munch

Portrait Walter Rathenau

Regenwetter in Kristiana, 1892

165 Frau von Nostitz, as cited by Kaznelson, p. 913s.
166 See Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. 13, p. 1570.
167 Hans Wilderotter, pp. 294 -95.
168 Kaznelson, p. 125.
**German Art**

Max Klinger, *Frau auf dem Dach, Römerin*, 1891 (probably acquired 5.12.1899 at Amsler & Ruthardt auction)

Max Liebermann, *Zwei holländische Bäuerinnen*, 1898

(The only Liebermann in Rathenau's collection and probably a gift by the artist)

Gari Melchers.\(^{170}\) *Holländerinnen in der Kirche*, pre-1895

Wilhelm Leibl, *Drei Frauen in der Kirche* (1878/82)

Max Pechstein, *Märzenschnee*, 1909 (acquired on the first day of the Berlin Secession Exhibition of 1909)

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\(^{169}\) He was also known as Giovanni Battista Salvi.

\(^{170}\) Melchers was an American artist.
Siegfried Kramarsky

German and French Works

Van Gogh
Leopold Sonnenmann
Frankfurt citizen-publisher of Frankfurter Zeitung.

Great Patron of Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main. Head of the Freunde des Städelische Kunstinstitut.

German and French works

No further details available
Harry Fuld

No details available
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APPENDIX A) 5

GERMAN-JEWSH BENEFACTORS

to

NATIONALGALERIE BERLIN

STÄDELSCHE KUNSTINSTITUT, FRANKFURT AM MAIN
JEWISH SPONSORS OF FOREIGN ART

A: German-Jewish Dealers
Feilchenfeldt, Walter, Berlin
Goldschmidt, Marcel, Frankfurt am Main.
Schames, Ludwig, Frankfurt am Main.
Thannhauser, Heinrich, München.

B: Foreign Jewish Patron and Dealer-Sponsors
Beit. Alfred, London
Bernhein-Jeune, Gaston and Joseph, Paris
Hessel, Jos, Paris
Reisinger, Hugo, New York.
Roth, Emy, Zürich.
Nèmes, von, Marczell, Budapest, post-1923 Munich. (German or foreign)

C: German-Jewish Patrons to Nationalgalerie Berlin, Pinakothek München
and Städelische Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.
1. Eduard Arnold, Berlin
2. Felicie Bernstein, Berlin
3. Julius Bleichröder, Berlin
4. Georg von Bleichröder, Berlin
5. Fritz Friedländer, Berlin
6. Robert Guthmann, Berlin
7. Karl Hagen, Berlin
8. Julie Hainauer, Berlin
9. Oskar Huldschinsky, Berlin
10. Julius Kaufmann, Berlin
11. Marcus and Mathilde Kappel, Berlin
12. Max Liebermann, Berlin
13. Carl Levi
14. Isidor Loewe, ?
15. Dr. August L. Mayer, ?
16. Henriette Mankiewicz, Berlin
17. Freiherr Paul von Merling, ?
18. Ernst von Mendelssohn, Berlin
19. Robert von Mendelssohn, Berlin
20. Franz von Mendelssohn, Berlin
22. Hugo Oppenheim, Berlin
23. Ludwig Prager, Munich
24. James Simon, Berlin
25. Arnold Simon, Berlin
26. Karl Steinbart, Berlin
27. Max Steinthal, ?
28. Leopold Steinthal, ?
29. Carl and Thea Sternheim, Munich
30. Robert Veith, Berlin
31. Robert Warschauer, Berlin
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Nachlass Wilhelm Bode: Correspondence Hugo von Tschudi-Wilhelm Bode (1883-1907)


Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
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(abbreviation Cat. HT)

All the article contributions below are taken from the above catalogue:
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(abbr. CK)

(abbr. AP)

(abbr. AW)

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(abbr. CI)

(abbr. GR)
(abbr. PB)
incl. Barbara Paul Appendix (abbr. App.) Each picture has number and provenance. research Nr.
NATIONALGALERIE BERLIN, BERLIN

1896

FRENCH ART


In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. NG. AI 550 (Im Treibhaus)

Work bought at Durand-Ruel, Paris. The first Manet to be bought by any public gallery. Manet had tried to sell it to the French State, but was not successful, although the work had been exhibited at Salon, 1879. The *Paris la Chronique des Arts*, a supplement of *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, reported the acquisition by the Nationalgalerie Berlin from Paris dealer Paul Durand-Ruel.

Opera tenor Jean-Baptiste Faure had bought the work in January 1883, a year before Manet's death, adding to his Manet collection of sixty-seven other works. In 1896, he sold it to Durand-Ruel, where Tschudi saw work in June during Paris visit; he bought in August for 22,000 Francs. Application submission 30 November, acceptance 4 December 1896.

Purchase facilitated through a consortium of trustees consisting of Eduard Arnold, Ernst von Mendelsohn, Robert von Mendelsohn and Hugo Oppenheim, Berlin.

(Geschenk Berliner Kunstfreunde Alte Nationalgalerie)

Berlin Archival. Generalien vol.V. 1288/96 and 1362/96

Cat. HT. Nr. 19. p.80 CK and BP. App.Nr.31. p. 356-7


In 1997 at NG Berlin Inv. Nr. A 1552. (Die Unterhaltung)

Durand-Ruel bought it from Degas in April 1885 and sold it to art critic Theodor Duret, who sold his collection in 1894 through Durand-Ruel. Tschudi bought work on 6. November for 15,000 Francs. Application 6 November, acceptance 4 December 1896.

Trust Oskar Huldschinsky, Berlin

Archival Reference: GEN 10, Band 14/418/29 in Erwerbungsakte

Cat. HT. Nr. 39 p.120 CK and BP. App. Nr. 33, p. 357.


In 1997 at Nationalgalerie Berlin Inv. Nr. A 1549

Bought at Durand-Ruel, application in November. acceptance in December 1896.

Trust James Simon, Berlin.

Simon had previously collected traditional art under the guidance of Wilhelm von Bode. his collection estimated at 1045 Million Mark. Once Tschudi was director of the Nationalgalerie from 1896 onwards. Simon was influenced by his modernist taste and became one of Tschudi's staunchest patrons; Simon was particularly supportive during the Tschudi Affair in 1908. In 1904 at the opening of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum. Simon donated (as had been expected of him) a large part of his collection, which was exhibited on the 2nd floor of the Nationalgalerie. the Cornelius Saal.

Cat HT. Nr. 7 p.56. AW and BP App. Nr. 22, p.353.

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1 This Appendix is arranged chronologically.

2 Models for this painting were the couple Guillemets, friends of Manet: see Colin Eisler, “Meisterwerke in Berlin. Die Gemälde vom Mittelalter zur Moderne.”

3 By 1896, the Metropolitan Museum, New York had been donated two works by Manet. Also, controversially, the Caillebotte Collection was bequeathed to the Musée du Luxembourg, which included Manet's *Olympia*.

NG Archival reference: AI 551


Gift of Karl von der Heydt. Berlin


In 1997 at NG Berlin. Inv. Nr. B 1 108

Tschudi ordered a second casting from 'Verein bildender Künstler der Münchner's Sezession' on 17 August 1896 at a price of 1500 Mark

Tschudi application 6 November. acceptance 30 November 1896.

Donation Max Liebermann

Cat. HT. Nr. 65. p.172 BM. and BP Appendix Nr. 28. p. 355.

OTHER FOREIGN ART:


In 1993 at NG Berlin. Inv. Nr. 691

Tschudi application 6 November. acceptance 30 November 1896 for 2.500 Mark

(bought with other Constable, unspecified sketch)


In 1993 at NG Berlin. Inv. Nr. A 1 533

Tschudi bought on 29. October for 2.888 Mark. Verein bildender Künstler München’s Sezession. Tschudi application 6 November. acceptance 30 November.


In 1993. Kupferstichkabinett Berlin. Sammlung der Zeichnungen-Druckgraphik Nr. 1

Tschudi bought 29 November (together with two other Segantini drawings, *La Portatrice d’acqua* and *Amore alla Fontana*). Verein bildender Künstler München’s Sezession for 1.050 Mark. 6 November application. acceptance 4 December 1896.

Value of three drawings: 4000 Mark.

Donation Robert Guthmann.


Giovanni Segantini, *La Portatrice d’acqua*, 1892. pencil & colour drawing

In 1993: present location unidentified. [1926 sold to Dr. Wenland, Berlin.]

Tschudi bought 29 November. Verein bildender Künstler München’s Sezession for 1.050 Mark. 6 November application. acceptance 4 December 1896.

Donation Robert Guthmann.


Since 1925 in various Milan private collections; in 1924 sold to Dr. Wenland, Berlin.

Tschudi bought 29 November. Verein bildender Künstler München’s Sezession for 1.050 Mark. 6 November application. acceptance 4 December 1896


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Dalou had been active during the Paris Commune in 1871 and took refuge in England, returning to Paris thereafter
In 1993 at NG Berlin, Inv Nr. NG 693.
Tschudi bought 29 October 1896, Verein bildender Künstler München’s Sezession for 400 Mark. Application 6 November, acceptance 30 November 1896.
Donation Max Liebermann, Berlin

Constantin Meunier, *Title unknown*
NG Berlin, Nr. 110
Donor unknown, value 500 Mark
It is recorded that there were fifteen works acquired in 1896 at an estimated value of 64,545 Mark.

1897

**FRENCH ART**

Location unknown since WW II (in 1993)
Tschudi bought at Durand-Ruel for 55,000 Francs. Application 13 April, acceptance 17 May 1897.
Donation: Robert Veith, Franz von Mendelssohn, Robert Warschauer, Fritz Friedländer, Julius Bleichröder, Julius Kaufmann, Isidor Loewe, Max Steinthal and Julie Hainauer, this Jewish group was ‘headed up’ by German Dr. Georg von Siemens
BP. App. Nr. 34, p. 357.

Jean-Charles Cazin, *Abendlandschaft mit Maria Magdalena*. ca. 1890s, oil.
Location unknown since WW II (in 1993)
Work exhibited at Eduard Schulte, Berlin; Tschudi bought for 20,000 Francs; application 5 June, acceptance 19 August 1897.
Donation Carl Levi

Alfred Sisley, *Premiere neiges a Louveciennes, Rue de Voisins*. ca. 1870/1, oil.
In 1997, at Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA., USA.
Tschudi bought it at Durand-Ruel 30. July 1897 for 4,000 Francs (together with Cézanne's *Moulin at Pontoise*). Application 30 July, acceptance 4 September 1897
Trust Karl von der Heydt and Georg von Bleichröder.

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5 December 1897, the Nationalgalerie Collection was re-hung to allow space for modern art on the middle floors near the Cornelius Saal, a room which occupied a prominent position.
Originally offered by Julien Tanguy; Tschudi bought at Durand-Ruel, 30 July 1897 (together with Sisley's *Premier neiges a Louveciennes*) for 3,000 Francs; application 30 July, acceptance 4 September 1897. This was the first Cezanne to be bought by any public museum.
Donation by German Wilhelm Staudt, Berlin. (Cat HT. Nr. 59 p.160 CK and BP App. Nr. 40, p. 359)
In 1936, this work and four others were exchanged at the Dr. Fritz Nathan Gallery, St. Gallen, for David-Caspar Friedrich's *Mann und Frau in Betrachtung des Mondes*. 7

Trust Oskar Huldschinsky.


**OTHER FOREIGN ART**


1898

**1899**

**NO ACQUISITIONS**

**1899**

**FRENCH ART**


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In 1936 this work and four others (6000 Mark) were exchanged at the Dr. Fritz Nathan Gallery, St. Gallen for C. David Friedrich: *Mann und Frau in Betrachtung des Mondes*, ca. 1824; today at NG, Berlin.

Press coverage was extensive for the re-hanging, causing a controversy, although art writer Meier-Graefe welcomes the re-hanging. The issue is debated on 15/16 March 1899 in the Abgeordnetenhaus des Preussischen Landestages, ending with a resolution to 'clean' the Nationalgalerie of foreign art. After 11 April 1899, Wilhelm II ordains that the old hanging order must be re-installed and all new acquisitions, (previously it was only applicable for works over 3000 Mark) even if donated, will require the Emperor's personal approval, although this decree was not entirely new, it was now re-stated more forcefully. Tschudi's first year activities were seen by conservative factions, as the actions of a foreigner, an Austrian-Swiss national, who introduced art of the Erzfeind (arch enemy) into the temple of German nationhood (p. 27). After April, Tschudi has to move the French Impressionist collection to the third floor, a space, renovated and lit by a skylight with *Jugendstil* chairs, designed by Otto Eckmann, which were added on the recommendation of Julius Meier-Graefe, who advocated a 'modern environment' (p. 28).
1900

FRENCH ART

Charles-Francois Daubigny, *Le Printemps*, 1862, oil.\(^{10}\)
In 1997 at Berlin, NG, Inv. Nr. NG 807
Tschudi bought at Boussod, Valadon & Cie. Paris for 57,000 Francs.
Application 16 June, acceptance 30 July 1900. Two trust foundations involved in finance: Trust Fund 7,000 Francs: former owners art dealers Manzi, Joyant & Cie, Paris (formerly Goupil & Cie). Trust Fund of 50,000 Francs, which was headed by Fürst Guido Henckel von Donnersmarck and included Ernst von Mendelssohn, Robert von Mendelssohn, Eduard Arnold and Isidor Loewe.
Cat. HT, Nr. 9, p. 60 BW and BP App. Nr. 47, p. 361.

Charles-Francois Daubigny, *Herbstlandschaft/ Landschaft mit Staffage*, 1871, oil.\(^{11}\)
Location unknown in 1993. The work returned to Koenigs family in 1932.
Tschudi application 20 December 1900, acceptance 16 January 1901.
Bequest Berlin banker Felix Koenigs 11 December 1900.

Auguste Rodin, *L'homme et sa pensee*, sculpture, 1899-1900, marble.
In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. B 1158
Koenigs travelled to 1900 Paris World Fair and visited the Rodin Retrospective, ordering a dozen sculptures from the artist. This is the only one which found its way into the NG, Berlin. Tschudi application 20 December 1900, acceptance 16 January 1901. Bequest of banker Felix Koenigs 11 December 1900.
Cat. HT, Nr. 67, p. 176 BM and BP App. Nr. 58, p. 364.

Emile Claus, *Fevrier, givre*, 1895, oil
NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. A 1695
Tschudi application 20 December, acceptance 16 January 1901.
Bequest Berlin banker Felix Koenigs 11. December 1900
BP. App. Nr. 54 p, 363.

Anders Zorn, *Maja*, 1900, oil.
NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. A 1698
Tschudi application, 20 December 1900, acceptance 16 January 1901.
Bequest Berlin banker Felix Koenigs Berlin 11. December 1900

OTHER FOREIGN ART

Giacomo Favretto, *Der eingeschlafene Diener*, 1887, oil.
Location unknown in 1993. Returned to Koenigs family in 1932.
Tschudi application 20 December, acceptance 16 January 1901.
Bequest Felix Koenigs 11 December 1900

\(^{10}\) The German aristocrat Fürst Guido Henckel von Donnersmarck, is invited to 'head up' the four Jewish patrons, in order to facilitate acceptance by the Kaiser.

\(^{11}\) The following eleven donations were part of one bequest by German patron Felix Koenigs.
1993 NG Berlin. Inv. Nr. B I 152
Tschudi application, 20 December 1900, acceptance, 16 January 1901.
Bequest Felix Koenigs, 11 December 1900
BP. App Nr. 60, p. 365.

Pawel Troubetzkoy, *Weidende Kuh*, no date, bronze statue.
In 1993, location unknown; returned to Koenigs family in 1932
Tschudi application, 20 December, acceptance, 16 January 1901.
Bequest Felix Koenigs 11 December 1900

Pawel Troubetzkoy, *Weibliche Figur*, no date, silver statue.
Returned to family in 1932, location unknown in 1993.
Tschudi application, 20 December 1900, acceptance, 16 January 1901;
Bequest Felix Koenigs 11 December 1900

1902

**NO ACQUISITIONS**

1903

Edouard Manet, *Un coin de Jardin a Bellevue*, 1880, oil.12
In 1997, Stiftung, E.G. Bührle Collection, Zurich.
Tschudi probably saw work at Wiener Sezession Exhibition, early 1903. He purchases it from Paul Cassirer for 44.000 Francs in May 1903.
Donor Eduard Arnold who put up 30.000 Marks, but as no other co-sponsors were forthcoming, Arnold paid the outstanding sum and acquired the work for his personal collection in February 1904.
This work could have potentially been the second Manet to enter the Nationalgalerie.
Cat. HT. Nr. 20, p.82 AW.

1904

In 1993 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. A I 964
Tschudi bought at Paul Cassirer 6 April 1904 for 10.000 Francs, value 814.000 Mark.
Paid 20 April 1904.
BP App. Nr. 72, pp. 368-369.

1905

In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. 210
Tschudi bought from Rodin for 4.000 Francs; application 25 January 1905,
acceptance 25 February 1905.

12 In 1908, Tschudi described the work in detail as part of the Arnold Collection. Eventually work reached the Bührle Collection through the Walter Feilchenfeldt Gallery in Zurich.
1906

**Edouard Manet**, *La Maison a Rueil/La Maison de Manet*, 1882, oil.
In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. 970 (Rouart/Wildenstein 1975 Nr. 407)
From Durand-Ruel sold to Edward Arnold 1904/5, Berlin. Tschudi bought at Paul Cassirer in June for 50,000 Mark, paid for on 17 June 1905. Tschudi application in 5/12 June, acceptance, 6 December 1906.
It is the second Manet in the Nationalgalerie.
Trust **Karl Hagen**, Berlin.
Cat HT, Nr 21, p. 84 AW, and BP App. NR. 68, p.367.

**Auguste Renoir**, *L'après-midi des enfants a Wargemont*, 1884, oil.
In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. 1008/969
Banker and diplomat Paul Berard sold his collection at an auction at Georges Petit.
Paris in May 1905, where Paris dealers Bernheim-Jeune and Jos Hessel bought work.
Tschudi bought at Paul Cassirer on 24 June 1905 for 26,000 Francs, value 2151.00 Mark. Financed from Geschenkfond. Tschudi application 5/12 June 1906, acceptance 6 December 1906. Donation **Karl Hagen**.
Cat. HT, Nr. 37, p.116 CK and BP App. Nr. 70, p. 368.

**Auguste Renoir**, *En ete/ La bohemienne, Lise Trehot*, 1868, oil.
In 1997 at NG Berlin Inv. Nr. A 1 1014
This was the first Renoir that Tschudi saw since 1873 in Collection Theodor Druet. It was auctioned at Georges Petit in 1906, bought by Bernheim Jeune and then Durand-Ruel, then Paul Rosenberg & Cie, Paris. Tschudi bought at Cassirer in November 1906. Gift of **Mathilde Kappel** June 1907, Berlin.
Cat. HT Nr. 33. p. 108 CK.

In 1997 at NG Berlin Inv. Nr. A 1 965
Bernheim-Jeune sells to Cassirer; Tschudi bought for 8,000 Mark; application 5/12 June, acceptance 6 December 1906.
Cat. HT, Nr 61, p. 164 CK and BP App. Nr.73, p. 369.

**Gustave Courbet**, *Chat-huant depecant un chevreuil mort*, ca.1860, oil.
Location unknown, probably lost since WWI, last located at Flakturm Berlin-Zoo.
Tschudi bought at Paul Cassirer 14 April 1906 for 30,000 Mark; Application 5/12 June 1906, acceptance 6 December 1906. Funds of 20,000 Mark from Geschenkfond 17 April 1906, the rest of 10,000 Mark on 29 June 1906. Donation **Paul Freiherr von Merling**, Generalkonsul for Siam,1906.
BP. App. Nr. 64, p. 366.

**Claude Monet**, *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, 1867, oil.
In 1997 at NG Berlin,Inv. Nr A 1 984
In August 1906, Tschudi reserved work at Durand-Ruel; Paul Cassirer presents Faure Collection Exhibition in Germany (see Catalogue Paul Cassirer, Berlin 1906, Nr.26; see also Catalogue Collection Faure, Durand-Ruel, Paris 1906, Nr.2).
Tschudi put in application in 1906, accepted in December 1906.
Foundation **Karl Hagen** and **Karl Steinbart**, Berlin.
Cat. HT Nr. 25, p. 90-92 AW.
In 1997 at NG, Berlin, Inv. Nr. A I 964
Probably bought at Cassirer (80,000 Mark) at Ambroise Vollard, Paris 1899.
In December 1906 application and acceptance.
Trust **Eduard Arnold-Robert von Mendelssohn**.
Cat. HT Nr. 56, p. 154 CK.

Auguste Renoir, *Le chataignier*, 1881, oil.$^{13}$
In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv Nr. 1007/975
Tschudi bought at Durand-Ruel on 8 November 1906 for 150,000 Francs; value
12,000 Mark; Tschudi application 5/12 June 1906, acceptance 6 December 1906; paid
for 6 June 1907.
Donation Elise Koenigs (Felix Koenings’ donation had included three works by
Rodin: *Kiss*, 1886; *Eva*, ca. 1881; *Balsac*, 1897)

1907$^{14}$
NG Inv Nr. 1146
In Collection Faure 1876, shown at Rodin Exhibition in 1889, Durand-Ruel bought it
in 1906. Tschudi bought at Durand-Ruel for 40,000 Francs (confirming sale in letter
to Tschudi, 22 January 1907. Durand-Ruel receipt, 22 February 1907).
Gift by **Karl Hagen & Karl Steinbart**.
PB, p. 370 Venturi 1939.

Claude Monet, *St Germain l'Auxerrois*, 1866, oil.
No details available NG archives.
Tschudi bought at Durand-Ruel; receipted 28 January 1907.

1908
Tschudi on forced leave.

1909
Manet, *Vase de fleurs, lilas blancs*, 1882, oil.
In 1997, NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. A II 379
Originally bought in Paris, forming part of Collection Bernstein.
Bequest Felicie **Bernstein** to NG, Berlin 1908/9.
Cat. HT Nr. 22, p. 86 AW.

1910
Gustave Courbet: *Der Steinbruch von Optevoz*
No details available.

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$^{13}$ This was another German donor, Elise Koenigs, Berlin, sister of the banker Felix Koenigs.
$^{14}$ Paul Cézanne, *L'apres-midi du Dimanche/ La journée de juillet/ Le pêcheurs/ Scene fantastique*,
1873-75, oil are now all in private collection, but on loan to Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
The above work never actually entered Nationalgalerie as Tschudi bought it at Cassirer in December
1907 and was obliged to return it to Cassirer in March 1908, a few days before his enforced departure
from Berlin. Max Liebermann purchased work in January 1909 (Cat. HT. Nr. 57, p. 156 AW).
NEUE PINAKOTHEK, MÜNCHEN

1911

Edouard Manet, *Le dejeuner dans l'atelier*, 1868/69, oil.
In 1997: NP Munich. Inv. Nr. 8638
Exhibited at Salon 1869; bought by tenor and great Manet collector, Jean-Baptiste Faure, in 1873. Durand-Ruel acquired work in 1894; four years later, 1898, sold it to margarine manufacturer-industrialist and great collector Auguste Pellerin in 1910.\(^{15}\) In 1910, Tschudi bought it at the Pellerin Sale organised by Cassirer.\(^{16}\)
Braun application at NP accepted in 1911.
Donation by German patron Georg Ernst Schmidt-Reissig, Starnberg.
Cat. HT. Nr. 17, p. 74-76 CL.

In 1997 NP Munich, Inv. Nr 8759
Bemheim-Jeune acquired work at the auction of Choquet Sale in 1899, subsequently it found its way into the Pellerin Collection. Paul Cassirer handled the Pellerin Sale in Germany, at which Tschudi reserved the work and put it on the 1911 List. Braune and Stadler application only granted in 1914 for NP, Munich. Donor unknown.
Cat. HT Nr. 18, p.78 CL.

In 1997 Munich, NP Inv. Nr 8623
Donation Marzell von Némes, Munich in June 1911.
Application granted in July 1911.
Cat. HT Nr. 8, p.58, AP.

Gustave Courbet, *Portrait de femme*, ca. 1850, oil.
In 1997 NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8622
Donation Marzell von Némes, application granted in July 1911.
Cat. HT Nr. 3, p. 48 AP.

1912

In 1997 NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8672
In May 1905, Tschudi bought at Cassirer for 3.200 Mark. Not on 1906 application list; Tschudi took it to Munich in 1909. Work is bought from Tschudi’s widow in 1912 for 20.000 Mark, after Braune's application is granted.
Donor unknown.
Cat. HT, Nr. 44, p.130 CL.

Theo von Rysselberghe, *Fountain in the Park of Sanssouci in Potsdam*, 1903, oil.
In 1997 at NP, Munich, Inv. Nr. 8662
Tschudi considers putting in for application in 1906. Took it to Munich. Accepted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn, Berlin.
Cat. HT. Nr. 98 p.216 AP.

\(^{15}\) Apparently, it was owned for a period by American sugar king and great patron and collector Havemeyer, dates unknown

\(^{16}\) See inventory of Pellerin Sale at the back on this Appendix.
Gustave Courbet, *Portrait d'Emilie Ollivier* ca. 1860, oil.\(^{17}\)
In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8650
Braune's application granted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT Nr. 5, p. 52 AP.

In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8667
Tschudi bought through Heymel at Paris dealer Pellet; in 1910 Heymel donated work to Staatlichen Galerien, München. Grant application of 1911 accepted in 1912 through Braune's application.
Donation by German patron Alfred Walter Heymel.
Cat. HT, Nr.100, p. 220 CL.

Aristide Maillol, *Le cycliste*, 1907/08, life size sculpture, bronze
In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. B 53.
On 1911 list, Braune's application granted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT, Nr. 120, p.250 AP.

In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. B 52.
Tschudi bought from Rodin in 1911 for 2.000 Francs. On Tschudi list, acceptance in 1912 through Braune's application.
Individual donor unknown, but financed as part of the *zinsfreien Darlehen* (interest-free loan) from the Dresdner Bank, where Dr. Franz Oppenheim (AGFA) was a board member and Hugo Oppenheim a director.
Cat. HT Nr. 68, p.178 AP.

In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8671
Temporarily reserved by Tschudi in April 1903 at Johanna van Gogh-Bonger. Bought at Cassirer in May 1905 for 4.000 Mark. Tschudi cancelled it on his 1906 application list and took it to Munich in 1909.
Emy Roth wanted to donate it through the Tschudi Spende, but the gift was rejected. 1912 Braune bought it for 25.000 Mark; application accepted in 1912.
Cat. HT Nr. 45, p. 132 CL.

In 1997 at Munich Neue Pinakothek, Inv. Nr. 8649
Tschudi bought at Durand-Ruel in 1905 for 3.245 Francs (2950 Francs and 10% commission at 3.245 Francs); not requested for NG Berlin, but taken to Munich; work on loan for XI Berlin Secession Exhibition. Braune's application accepted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn. At first loan was raised through Kur & Neumarkische Ritterschaftliche Dahrlehn-Kasse.
ANG Archives. Cat. HT, Nr. 6, p. 54 AP.

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\(^{17}\) Emilie Ollivier (1825-1913) was a Marseilles lawyer who led the liberal opposition to Napoleon III; despite this, he was later appointed minister under Napoleon III.
Paul Cézanne, *La tranchée*, ca. 1870, oil.
In 1997 NP Munich Inv. Nr. 8646
Tschudi bought at Bernheim-Jeune, Paris; loaned it the same year to the Exhibition of Munich Secession and to Berlin Secession in 1910, following year on Spende List.
Braune application accepted 1912 as part of the Tschudi Spende.
Donor unknown.
Cat. HT Nr. 55, p.152, CL.

Paul Signac, *La Seine a Samois, quatre édutes*, ca. 1899, oil.
In 1997 at NP Munich. Inv. Nr. 8658-8661
Probably Tschudi bought from Signac directly in 1902 for 150 Francs; requested in 1911 as part of Tschudi Spende. application granted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT, Nr. 80-83, p. 200 AP.

Aristide Maillol, *Madame Denis*, ca 1908, bust, terracotta.
In 1997, NP Munich, Inv. Nr. B 54
Tschudi bought directly from artist in 1908 for 1.000 Francs; Braune's application granted 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT, Nr. 121, p. 252 AP.

Maurice Denis, *Cortona*, 1898, oil.
In 1997 NP Munich Inv. Nr. 8656
Tschudi bought from artist directly in Paris in May 1902; on 1911 list, application granted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT, Nr. 113, p. 238 AP.

Maurice Denis, *Epona*, 1901, oil.
NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8654
Originally in Druet Collection; Tschudi took work to Munich in 1909; on 1911 list; granted in 1912 through Braune application.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT, Nr. 115, p. 242 AP.

Maurice Denis, *Vue des environs de Fiesole*, 1897/98, oil.
In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8655
Tschudi bought directly from artists in May 1902; on 1911 list; acceptance in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat HT, Nr. 114, p. 240 AP.

In 1997 at NP Munich Inv. Nr. 8653
Tschudi bought July 8 1904 at Paul Cassirer for 2,477.200 Mark. Exhibited at XI Berlin Secession; not on 1906 NG application list and Tschudi takes work to Munich. On 1911 the Tschudi Spende list, Braune application accepted in 1912.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn
Cat. HT, Nr. 41, p. 124 CL.
In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8665
Tschudi bought in 1904 from Eduard Druet for 475 Francs. On list 1911; Braune application and grant in 1912. At first, a loan was raised from Kur-Neumarkische Ritterschaftliche Dahrlehnkasse.
Donation *Arnold-Mendelssohn*.
Cat HT, Nr. 106, p. 226 AP.

1913
Armand Guillaumin, *Pontgibaud, le Hameau de Peschadoire* ca. 1895, oil.
In 1997 NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8700
In 1912 on Tschudi List; Braune's application granted in 1913.
Donation *Ludwig Prager*, Munich.
Cat. HT, Nr. 112, p. 236 AP.

In 1997, NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8701
Tschudi takes work to Munich; Braune applied as part of Tschudi Spende in 1912 and granted in *Emy Roth*, Zurich.
Cat. HT, Nr. 40, p. 122 CL.

Camille Pissarro, *Route de Upper Norwood, avec voiture, temps gris*, 1871, oil.
In 1997 NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8699
On Tschudi List. Braun application granted in 1913.
Donation *Ludwig Prager*, Munich.
Cat. HT, Nr. 30, p. 102 AP.

Honoré Daumier, *Don Quichotte*, ca 1868-70, oil.
In 1997, NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8698
On Tschudi Spende List; 1912 Braun application, granted in 1913.
Originally in collection of art historian and collector Wilhelm Uhde.
Donation *Carl and Thea Sternheim*.
Cat. HT, Nr. 12, p. 66 AP.

1997 at NP Munich Inv. Nr. 8697
Bought at Paul Cassirer via Durand-Ruel for 28.839 Mark for NG, Berlin, but application refused by Wilhelm in 1908. In 1909 Tschudi took work to Munich. It was offered to NP through sponsorship by Hermann Nabel. Application not submitted by Braune and collector *Carl Sternheim* purchased work. However, it was sold and accepted at the NP as a gift from Freiherr von Cramer-Klett, Munich in 1913.
Cat. HT, Nr.10, p. 62 AP.

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MODERNIST ART SPONSORED AFTER TSCHUDI's DEATH
and THROUGH TSCHUDI SPENDE

1911

Vincent van Gogh, Jardin des fleurs, 1888, drawing.
Both drawings in private collections, Zurich.
Both of these drawings purchased at Cassirer, December 1906. After Tschudi's death, his widow put these drawings to art market in 1911. Donation?
Cat. HT, p. 142 GR.

1915
Vincent van Gogh, Enclos 1888, drawing.
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich Inv. Nr. 44336
Tschudi bought at Cassirer for 1.000 Mark; takes it to Munich; Braune applies and has work accepted by Staatliche Galerien in 1915.
Donation Arnold-Mendelssohn.
Cat. HT, Nr. 53, p. 148 CL

Vincent van Gogh, L'usine a gaz au bord de la Roubine du Roi, le Rhone. 1888, drawing. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. Nr. 44330
Tschudi bought at Cassirer Kunstsalon, This being one of four drawings for 2.900 Mark. (invoice/letter 13 December 1906, signed by Stoperan). Tschudi takes them to Munich in 1909. Braune presents them to Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung in 1915.
Donation?

1916
Auguste Renoir, Les jardins de Montmartre donnant vue a Sacre-Coeurs en chantier, 1896, oil. In 1997 at NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8880
Braune and Stadler’s application through Tschudi Spende in 1914; acceptance in 1916.
Donation Dr. August L. Mayer, Munich.
Cat. HT, Nr. 38, p. 118 AP.

1919
Vincent van Gogh, Portrait de l'artiste, dédie a Gauguin, 1888, oil.
Auctioned in 1939, Alfred Frankfurter buys work for the Maurice Wertheim Collection (Harvard class of 1906) who bequeathed it in 1949 to the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, M.A., USA.
Work given to Gauguin by van Gogh in 1888; Tschudi bought it at Eduard Jones, Paris. (letter 1 January 1907, Boulevard de Capucines) price 5.000 Francs, funded through Geschenkfonds and loan by Kur & Neumarkische Ritterschaftliches Dahrlehnkasse. Tschudi had taken work to Munich in 1909. In 1919 Dornhoffner's application to purchase from Tschudi’s widow, which was accepted. In 1939 classified and confiscated as entartet.
Vincent van Gogh, *Café a Arles*, 1888, drawing.
In 1997 at Wendy and Emery Reves Collection at Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas, Texas, USA.
Tschudi bought it at Cassirer in December 1906, as part of four drawing acquisition payment in June 1907. Took it to Munich; after his death drawing offered as part of the Tschudi Spende to the NPM. No further details known.
Cat. HT Nr. 54, p. 150 AW.

Private US collection.
Purchased at Cassirer in November 1905; Tschudi took both works to Munich in 1909. After his death his widow puts them up for sale. Both above works paid through Tschudi Geschenkfonds. No further details known.
Cat HT. p. 134 CL.
STÄDELSCHE KUNSTINSTITUT, FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Some of these public patrons were also private collectors; however, details of each donation is unavailable.

DONORS
Dr. Hugo Nathan
Ernst Flersheim and Martin Flersheim (brothers)
Anne-Marie and Rudolf Goldschmidt-Rothschild
Robert von Hirsch
Louis Koch (Hirsch’s father-in-law)
Sidney Posen
Dr. Heinrich Simon
Eduard Simon-Wolfskehl

Jewish Members of the Städelsche Kunst Verein (Census taken 31 March 1901)¹⁸
Leopold Sonnemann (Chairman)
Family Bonn
Consul Otto Braunsfels
Rudolf Kann and other family members
Baron von Erlanger, London
Family Schnapper
Anton Hahn
Generalkonsul Max Beer
Isaak Leopold Beer
Wilhelm Bonn
Eduard Beit (since 1810. Beit von Speyer)
Eduard Cohen
Leo Ellinger
Martin Flersheim
Robert Flersheim
Louis Flersheim, London
Adolf Gans
Dr. Leo Gans
Generalkonsul Jakob Gerson
Benedikt Moritz Goldschmidt
Commerzienrat Marcus M. Goldschmidt
Charles Hallgarten
Zacharie Hochschild
Hermann Kahn
Rosetta Merton, née Stern
Wilhelm Merton
Stadtrat and Generalkonsul von Metzler
Richard Nestle
Sidney Posen
Justizrath Paul Reiss
Eduard Riesser

¹⁸ Not all of these patrons were modernist supporters; see Andreas Hansert (ed.) Städelischer Museums-Verein Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt am Main, 1994)
Mathilde Freifrau von Rothschild (widow of Wilhelm Carl Freiherr von Rothschild, d. 1901)
Minna and Maximilian Goldschmidt-Rothschild (daughter of the above)
Jakob H. Schiff. New York
Georg and Fransiska Speyer (Bankhouse Lazar Speyer-Ellison)
Eduard Beit (a Hamburg Lutheran who married into the Speyer family, since 1810
Beit von Speyer)
Johanna Stern (widow of Theodor Stern)
Emil Sulzbach
Dr. Friedrich Stiebel
Albert Ullmann
Carl Weinberg
Dr. Arthur Weinberg
Alfred Weinschenk
Ernst Wertheimer
Julius Wertheimer
PELLERIN COLLECTION SALE (23 March - 24 April 1910)

Eduoard Manet (1832-1883)

Oils
1. Marcellin Desboutin, 1875 (Rejected at Salon 1876)
2. Un bar à la Folies Bergère, 1882 (Salon 1882)
3. Die Barke, Bildnis Claude Monet, 1874
4. Die Promenade, 1879
5. Madame Martin, La dame en rose, 1880
6. Argenteuil, 1974 (Salon 1875)
7. Die Modistin, 1880
8. Claude Monet und seine Frau, 1874
9. Nana, 1877 (rejected at Salon 1877)
10. Das Frühstück im Atelier, 1868/9 (Salon 1869)
11. La brioche, 1877
12. Selbstdbildnis, 1978
13. Im Café, 1978
14. Mademoiselle Lemonier, 1877
15. Aki
16. Frau in rosa Schuhen, 1869
16. Le skating, 1877
17. Faure als Hamlet, 1877 (Salon 1877)
18. Die Amazone, 1877
19. Selbstitmörder, 1877
20. La Rue de Berne, 14 Juillet, 1878
21. Palette Manet
22. Mademoiselle Lemonier, sketch, 1877
23. Kinderbildnis, sketch, 1879

Pastels
24. Frau im Pelzmantel
26. Madame Guillemet
27. Herrenbildnis
28. Frau sich das Strumpfband bindend.
29. Akt Studie
30. Edamenbildnis
31. Madame Martin
32. Mademoiselle Campbell
33. Madame Isabelle Columbier
34. Mary Laurent mit Hund
35. Frau mit schwarzen Hut

Aquarelles
36. Fächer
37. Zwei Katzen
APPENDIX B)

INTERVIEWS

With

1. DOROTHEA KAUFFMANN
2. MICHAEL KAUFFMANN
3. RENATE MORRISON
4. IRENE SYCHRAVA
APPENDIX B) 1


Dorothea Kauffmann is Bruno Cassirer's grand-daughter.

"My grandfather had two daughters: Sophie married Richard Walzer and Agnes married Günther Hell, later George Hill who were my parents; I have a brother Thomas.

My family had a wonderful life in Berlin, we played chamber music every Sunday afternoon, when many other Cassirer family members and musicians were invited.

Bruno -my grandfather- and his two daughters fled to England in September 1938 and settled in Oxford. My grandmother and her parents followed two months later. The family was sponsored by Lady Hobsbawm. During the war the men in the family hid in shelters.

The two Cassirer daughters inherited the art collection; much of it was saved in London before the war.

My mother Agnes died in 1957, aged 51 years old. My father died in 1994, aged 89 years old.

I married Michael Kauffmann, who originated from an orthodox family from Frankfurt am Main. His father was an employee at Huber & Helbig, the auction house in Frankfurt.

As an art historian, he became the director of the Court auld Institute in London, but he is now retired.
APPENDIX B) 2


Michael Kauffmann, who is married to Dorothea, née Hell kindly gave me the following information on the art collection saved by Bruno Cassirer to England.

"The list is probably incomplete and no data is available as to when some works were sold, but the following information is as accurate as I can verify. Besides an extensive French Impressionist collection, Bruno Cassirer also had a large number of German art works, particularly of Max Liebermann, who was a close friend; he also collected works by other German contemporaries such as Corinth and Slevogt.

Edouard Manet

_Mlle Lemair_, Pastel, on loan at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

_Déjeuner sur l’herbe_, water colour, same as above 1979

_Woman reclining_ oil sketch, probably unfinished

_Hot House_, oil sketch, Ashmolean Museum

Camille Pissarro

_Railway Train at Bedford Park_, oil

_River Landscape_ oil, SOLD

Claude Monet

_La Grenouillere_, oil, on loan at National Gallery London

_La Meuse_, oil, on loan at Ashmolean, Oxford.

Edgar Degas

_Danseuses_, pastel, on loan to Ashmolean, Oxford.

Auguste Renoir

_Landscape_, oil, SOLD, ca. 1950

Paul Cézanne

_Landscape_, oil, on loan at Ashmolean, Oxford

_Landscape with Poplars_, oil, National Gallery, London

_Still Fruit Life_, oil, SOLD at Christie’s on 28.7.2000

_Fruit_, water colour, on loan at Ashmolean, Oxford

Constantin Guys

_Gouache_, on loan Ashmolean, Oxford.
APPENDIX B) 3

RENATE MORRISON.

Renate Morrison is the granddaughter of Paul Cassirer. Her mother was Paul Cassirer’s only daughter and surviving child. Paul Cassirer’s son committed suicide in 1919. Renate Morrison’s brother is the historian Peter Paret.

Los Angeles, California, 7 February 1999.

My Life Story

“Paul Cassirer's father Louis was one of 12 children, of whom 11 had children in turn. Many of them were kept Jewish by anti-Semitism.

Paul Cassirer was married to my grandmother, Lucie Oberwart, probably in 1896 and they must have divorced around 1901/02. They had two children together, Suzanne Aimée (she was known as Suse) and Peter, who committed suicide in 1919 at the age of 19, probably on a bench in the Tiergarten. My mother Suse was born in Ixelle near Brussels. After the divorce, my mother went to live with her father (and a housekeeper) and her brother Peter went to live with their mother. There was a scandal about the divorce, but everybody tried to keep it as private as possible.

My grandmother Lucie (Oberwart) remarried after her divorce; she married the Italian dentist Enrico Cicione and moved to Munich. There was anti-Semitism in the air. However, during World War I, in Munich people continued with their lives and Enrico continued with his dental practice, unperturbed by the fact that he was an Italian, although Italy was at war with Germany and Austro-Hungary.

My mother converted to Christianity to facilitate her entering University, probably before her marriage to Dr. Hans Paret, around 1920-22. They named their first born son, Hans Peter, after Suse’s lost brother. I was born in Berlin in 1926. My brother and I were baptised as children. My mother continued her studies in Berlin, where she studied philosophy under Ernst Cassirer and in Heidelberg under Hermann Cohen.

My parent’s marriage was bad and they divorced; my mother left Berlin with me and my brother for Vienna in 1932-1933/4, possibly walking over the Grüne Grenze into Austria.
As her father, Paul Cassirer, committed suicide in 1926, Suse was the natural heir - not counting his second wife Tilla Durieux - and she inherited his estate. She commuted between Berlin and Vienna to prove that she was not a Reichsflüchtling. On these regular trips my mother managed to get out a wagon of furniture and art works to Vienna.

In Vienna, my mother married the psychoanalyst Siegfried Bernfeld in 1934; he was known as Brassi, der Riesenzwerg. She re-converted to Judaism in order to marry him; they married in a religious ceremony, as there was no civil marriage in Austria before World War II. In 1934, shortly after their marriage, we all left for Menton in the South of France, although my mother continued to go back and forth between Berlin and Menton. On one of her visits she was beaten up the Gestapo during one of her many interrogations; after this occasion she did not return to Germany. From then onwards she had two damaged knees, although one she got after a bicycle accident. After her beatings, she turned to a local Menton doctor, who was puzzled, because she said she fell down the stairs, which he did not believe. He neither believed that her husband would have beaten her. He kept saying: 'He is just not strong enough... I do not understand this...'

Nobody had any idea what the war would be like, as we only had the comparisons to the World War I and that did not seem too bad. (from our perspective) When the Germans marched into the Rhineland in March 1936, we realised we needed to leave Europe, but we needed two things, which we did not have: one was a passport and the other was money. My mother contacted the US ambassador to France, Bullitt William - who wrote to Woodrow Wilson - but this proved a mistake. The application should have been addressed to the American Consul instead. My mother bribed the Austrian Consul to put both her children on her passport. Later my mother often quoted her now famous

"What other function does an Austrian Consul have in Marseilles?"

Thomas Mann and other German exiles were in Menton too; Thomas Mann sent his daughter Erika back to Berlin to collect his manuscripts. W. H. Auden married Erika Mann to secure her a British passport.
Walter Feilchenfeldt, who had been a partner in my grand-father’s gallery (Paul Cassirer) came to Menton and brought art works which we sold for money that bought us passports and left enough cash to leave. We left Menton in 1937 and went to London; I went to boarding school and was classified as an ‘enemy alien’ - this is how we had to sign in at school. I contracted flu and a light case of polio and was allowed home, where my mother nursed me.

We tried to get visas or working permits for the USA or Canada. We left Liverpool in August 1937 on the ship SS Britannica for New York; we had managed to get visas for the USA, which included Bernfeld's two daughters. When we arrived in New York, Bernfeld was told that there were already too many psychoanalysts there, and that we should go to the West coast, to Los Angeles, as there were already too many in San Francisco as well.

Bernfeld had two daughters, Ruth and Roseanne. Roseanne married an architect, Hans Oswald. Ruth has a daughter (Goldberg) the historian, whom you met and who made our introduction.

My brother Peter worried about having to go into the American army; in fact, he joined the army from 1943-46.

9 February 1999

**Family Stories and Anecdotes.**

Suse always said her father (Paul Cassirer) was a writer and *artiste manqué*.

Suse used to say that she liked going to the synagogue on the High Holidays with her grandmother (Ida Oberwart) whom she dearly loved, no one else wanted to go.

Her husband Fritz Oberwart had invented a strong hook to attach a horse to a field-gun, which the Prussian army used and that is how he made his money. (He had it patented) The Oberwarts were known as a wealthy intellectual family of high social status. Lucie had been brought back by her brothers Fritz and Friedrich Wilhelm from travelling in Europe, as she had the reputation of being ‘wild’. The proposed match between Lucie and Paul, the *bon viveur* and also a free spirit, was considered very suitable. They were married in 1896.
My mother met her future husband Hans Paret at a university lecture, where he studied philology, which was then based on philosophy, dealing with the Enlightenment of Voltaire, Diderot and Kant, at a time when humanism was in the air, which was everybody’s goal and aim. Yet Jews continued to marry Jews. They were suspicious of Gentiles. The Cassirers always tried to marry within the family; this was encouraged so as to keep the wealth in the family and keep ‘undesirable’ members out. There was a Cassirer Stiftungen, a foundation which was established to help less fortunate family members, such as widows and to pay for poor children’s education, brides’ dowries etc. The Cassirers believed charity begins at home.

There was a story in the family that my grandfather (Paul Cassirer) tried to persuade his mother-in-law Ida Oberwart to buy a work by Renoir, which she did. When she planned to flee Germany for London, she took it out of its frame and sewed it into her coat and managed to bring it to London. (She had not managed to transfer any monies) Here she sold it and for the money she bought a boarding house, transformed it into a ‘Bed and Breakfast’, in Buckland Crescent in Swiss Cottage, North London. Not only did it become a regular income, but she put her son through medical school. He eventually became a ship doctor and married a woman in New Foundland; their two sons went into the Canadian ‘Black Watch’.

I remember that French Impressionist exhibitions were seen as scandalous; a Renoir portrait, even if it was only a bust was considered ‘indecent. ‘Many French Impressionist clients were second and third generation of wealthy middle class Jews, such as the Wertheimers etc.

When my grandfather’s gallery exhibited French Impressionists ca.1900, the Kaiser would send Wilhelm Bode, who was the director-curator of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum to inspect what was being sold. After the inspection, Paul Cassirer would wine and dine Bode in his private apartment and servants were told to remove Cézanne and other art works quickly into the bathroom as he was still highly controversial.

When Suse went with her grand-father Louis Cassirer for a walk in the Tiergarten one day, bananas were offered for sale; when she asked to have one, she was told it was
too expensive. Next week she found a banana branch in her bedroom, the moral of the story being that it was cheaper to buy wholesale.

Suse had to take housekeeping and cookery lessons with Paul Cassirer's housekeeper, Frau Linke. It was a question of principle.

Berlin during the Weimar Republic was hard on everyone. The Cassirer Stiftung was almost penniless. During the collapse of German economy, inflation had dissipated money and all savings, but the 'things' were still there, factories and all the other possessions. There were revolutionary groupings everywhere, all around Germany, including Berlin. It was an unstable world.

In 1926 my grandfather shot himself in the divorce lawyer's office, with Tilla Durieux and the lawyer sitting in the adjacent room. He died two days later. He was buried at the Berlin Jewish cemetery in Heerstrasse.

**On Jewish Identity**

One's Jewishness was heavily determined by Gentile anti-Semitism, which was pervasive; although I was only seven when I moved to Vienna, (with my mother and brother) I was very aware that we were 'running away' from something, although I thought it was personal rather than political. I saw the book *Das Braune Netz* lying around in early 1930's and knew it was somehow threatening.

My mother, my brother and I were baptised in Berlin by a priest called Martin Luther; we had a Christmas tree. But the Cassirers were always encouraged to marry amongst themselves, which many did.

My mother was very fond of her mother-in-law (Hans Paret’s mother) who was converted and loved going to church. Hans, her second husband, did not like conversions, as they were meant to be humanists after all. Humanist education in Germany had an enormous effect on educated German Jews. However, concept of *Vaterland* and patriotism was taken very seriously.

It would be interesting to study the effects of humanism on Germans, because it seemed to have had a greater effect on Jews.

I had been baptised, so when I wanted to marry Ray Morrison in Los Angeles in 1952 I was supposed to re-convert to Judaism. Rabbi Sonderling was supposed to perform the conversion, but when he heard that I was the grand-daughter of Paul Cassirer he did not deem it necessary.”

Irene Sychrava is the granddaughter of Ernst Cassirer. (1874-1945)

"My grand-father was a philosopher, receiving his doctorate under Hermann Cohen at the University of Marburg. He begun his teaching career at the University of Berlin in 1906, but had to wait to receive his full professorship at the University in Hamburg until 1919, as Jews still had difficulty being accepted into the German academia. In Hamburg he was appointed rector from 1929 to 1930. He lost his position in 1933 and followed an invitation to Oxford in 1933, where he remained until 1935. Thereafter he taught at the University of Göteborg in Sweden until 1941, when he finally left for America. He taught at Yale University from 1941-44 and subsequently at Columbia University until his death in 1945.

'Cassirer's starting point was and remained the neo-Kantianism of Hermann Cohen'; He also published extensively on Leibniz, Hegel, Descartes and the Enlightenment. In his last work Essays on Man (1944) Ernst Cassirer developed the original thesis 'that language, mythology and science does not represent different realms of real objects, but rather vitally different symbolic expressions for understanding the world in which man lives, thinks and feels'.

Irene Sychrava insists that the following recollections were no more than her impressions of her grandfather's views.

"My grandfather was a scholar of the Enlightenment; he was against any religion, as he felt society had outgrown the need to be part of a religious doctrine. He felt that religion of any kind was an early stage in the development of human nature. However, the family had a Christmas tree, probably because the children wanted it. He no ambition to be part of German society. He felt different- no more than that. He was very conscious of his relationship to Hermann Cohen, another Jew. My grandfather was against the assimilation of German Jews, he felt they would sell their self-respect. He felt that liberalism was close to Judaism and Jewishness. He was very proud of being a Jew and was very conscious of it."