

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 Munich and the Städelsche 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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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.³ 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

³ See Selma Stern, *The Court Jew. A Contribution to the History of Absolutism in Europe* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1985) and Vera Grodzinski, *The Court Jews of the 17th and 18th Centuries in the German Speaking Lands of the Holy Roman Empire* (M.A.Thesis, University College London. 1986)

⁴ Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York, 1981).

'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.⁶ 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 Städelsche 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.⁷ In addition, this work has

⁵ Peter Gay, Freud, Jews and other Germans. Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture (Oxford, 1978), pp. 93-168; and Peter Gay, Weimar Culture. The Outsider as Insider (London, 1968).

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.

⁷ Five important publications focus on various aspects of Paul Cassirer's modernist activities: Eva Caspers, Paul Cassirer und die Pan-Presse. Ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Buchillustration und Graphik im 20. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt/Main, 1986), Walter Feilchenfeldt, Vincent van Gogh and Paul Cassirer, Berlin. The Reception of Van Gogh in Germany from 1901-1914. (Zwolle, 1988) Titia Hoffmeister, Der Berliner Kunsthändler Paul Cassirer. Seine Verdienste um die Förderung der Künste und um wichtige Erwerbungen der Museen. (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Martin Luther University, Halle, Wittenberg, 1991) Georg Brühl Die Cassirers. Streiter für den Impressionismus. (Leipzig 1991), and Christian Kennert, Paul Cassirer und sein Kreis. Ein Wegbereiter der Moderne (Frankfurt/Main, 1996). Directly related is a study which focuses on Bruno Cassirer's avant-garde art and literary journal by Sigrun Pass, Kunst und Künstler, 1902-1933 (Doctoral dissertation, Ruprecht-Karl-Universität Heidelberg, 1975/6).

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 19th century. Examples include such exhibitions as those on Maurycy Gottlieb,⁹ Max Liebermann,¹⁰ Chaim Soutine¹¹ 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

⁸ Emily D. Bilski (ed.) Berlin Metropolis, Jews and the New Culture 1890-1918. Exh. Cat., Jewish Museum New York. (University of California Press, Jewish Museum New York, 1999) and Susan Tumarkin Goodmann (ed.) The Emergence of Jewish Artists in Nineteenth Century Europe, Exh. Cat., Jewish Museum, (Jewish Museum New York, New York, 2001).

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

¹⁰ Max Liebermann in seiner Zeit, Exh. Cat., Nationalgalerie Berlin (Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1979); G. Tobias Natter and Julius Schoeps (eds.), Max Liebermann, und die Französischen Impressionisten, Jüdisches Museum Wien; (Dumont, Wien 1997); Angelika Wesenberg (ed.) Max Liebermann Jahrhundertwende. Exh. Cat Nationalgalerie Berlin; (Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ars Nicolai, 1997) Angelika Wesenberg and Ruth Langenberg (eds.), Im Streit um die Moderne . Max Liebermann. Der Kaiser. Die Nationalgalerie; Exh. Cat., Max Liebermann Haus am Brandenburger Tor, Pariser Platz, Berlin, (Berlin, 2001).

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.

¹² Georg Heuberger and Anton Merk (eds.), Moritz Daniel Oppenheim. Jewish Identity in 19th Century Art, Exh. Cat., Jewish Museum Frankfurt am Main (Köln, 1999).

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.

¹⁴ Catherine M. Soussloff (ed.), Jewish Identity in Modern Art History (Los Angeles /London, 1999). Soussloff's anthology is a multi-cultural inquiry into the role of Jewishness in art-historical discourse.

¹⁵ Kalman P. Bland, The Artless Jew (Princeton University Press, Princeton / Oxford, 2000).

The socio-economic context of the lives of German Jews¹⁸ which made their receptivity to modernity possible has received definitive treatment by Shulamith Volkov,¹⁹ Monika Richarz,²⁰ Derek Penslar,²¹ Marion Kaplan²² and W. E. Mosse,²³ 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,²⁴ George L. Mosse,²⁵ Steven Beller,²⁶ and Michael Brenner,²⁷ 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

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.

²¹ Derek J. Penslar, Shylock's Children. Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe (Los Angeles/ London, 2001).

²² Marion Kaplan, The Making of the Jewish Middle Class. Women, Family and Identity in Imperial Germany (New York/ Oxford, 1991).

²³ W. E. Mosse, The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820-1935. A Socio-Cultural Profile (Oxford, 1989).

²⁴ David Sorkin, Ideology and Identity: Political Emancipation and the Emergence of a Jewish Sub-Culture in Germany. 1800-1948 (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1983) and David Sorkin, The Transformation of German Jewry 1780-1840 (Oxford, 1987).

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

²⁶ Steven Beller, Vienna and the Jews , 1867-1938. A Cultural History. (Cambridge M.A., 1989).

²⁷ Michael Brenner, The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany (New Haven/London, 1996).

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

²⁸ Peter Paret, 'Bemerkungen zu dem Thema: Jüdische Kunstsammler, Stifter und Kunsthändler', pp. 173-185 in Ekkehard Mai and Peter Paret (eds.), Sammler, Stifter & Museen. Kunstförderung in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Böhlau Verlag, Köln 1993). Paret focused for the first time on Jewish art collectors, sponsors and dealers. See also Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession. Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany, (Cambridge MA., 1980); also Peter Paret, Art as History. Episodes in the Culture and Politics of Nineteenth-Century Germany (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1988). Olaf Matthes, James Simon. Mäzen im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter (Berlin, 2000).

²⁹ Edward Timms, Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist (Yale University Press, 1986), and "Freud's Imagined Audience: Dream Text and Cultural Context", in Psychoanalysis and History 3 (1), 2001.

³⁰ Charlotte Schoell-Glass, Aby Warburg und der Antisemitismus. Kulturwissenschaft als Geistesgeschichte (Frankfurt am Main, 1998).

³¹ Michael Steinberg, The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival, (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Aby Warburg, Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indian of North America, translated by and introduced with an interpretative essay by Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1995)

³² Cella-Margaretha Girardet, Jüdische Mäzene für die Preussischen Museen zu Berlin. Eine Studie zum Mäzenatentum im Deutschen Kaiserreich und in der Weimar Republik (Engelsbach, 1997). Originally a doctoral dissertation, Freie Universität, Berlin 1993.

³³ Henrik Junke (ed.), Avantgarde und Publikum (Böhlau Verlag, Köln, 1992); and Elisabeth Kraus, "Jüdische Mäzenatentum im Kaiserreich: Befunde-Motive-Hypothesen", in Jürgen Kocka and Manuel Frey (eds.), Bürgertum und Mäzenatentum in 19. Jahrhundert (Fannei & Walz Verlag, 1998). Also see Andrea Pophanken and Felix Billeter (eds.), Die Moderne und ihre Sammler. Französische Kunst in deutschen Privatbesitz vom Kaiserreich zur Weimarer Republik (Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2001).

³⁴ Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb (eds.), The Jew in the Text. Modernity and the Construction of Identity (London 1995).

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 collections³⁵ (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 élite 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'.³⁶

³⁵ The material available is limited and uneven.

³⁶ See also Laurence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn (eds.), The Other in Jewish Thought and History. The Construction of Jewish Culture and History (New York, 1994) and Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin (eds.), Jews and other Differences. The New Jewish Cultural Studies (University of Minnesota Press, 1997); David A. Brenner, Marketing Identities. The Invention of Jewish Ethnicity in Ost und West (Detroit 1998). Sander Gilman's studies explore the 'difference' of Jews, such as Jewish Self-Hatred. Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews (Baltimore/London, 1986); The Jew's Body (New York/London, 1991) and Smart Jews. The Construction of the Image of Jewish Superior Intelligence (Lincoln, USA, 1996).

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

³⁷ For a more closely examined exploration of these difficult terms, see Introduction in (eds.) Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, *Art in Theory.1900-2000. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. (Blackwell , Oxford 1992, 1997, 2000, 2003).

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’)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 its almost ‘mythic status as an index of freedom’ at a time when modernist art was still on the margins of German establishment society.⁴³

Modernisation, Modernity.

Convention distinguishes three related moments in the dynamic of the modern: modernisation, modernity and modernism. *Modernisation* denotes those processes of industrialisation, scientific and technological advances which manifested themselves differently than it had hitherto. *Modernisation* refers to the growing impact of the machine, to engineering developments and chemical industries. *Modernity* refers to the social and cultural conditions of objective change: ‘the character of life under changed circumstances.’ *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. *Modernity* exists in a shifting, symbiotic relationship with *Modernism*: the deliberate reflection upon and distillation of – in a word, the *representation* of – that inchoate experience of the new.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.⁴⁵ The

⁴² *Art in Theory*, p. 5

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 6

⁴⁴ *Art in Theory*, p. 128

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.⁴⁵ 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*.⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷ The label *impression* had already circulated amongst artists referring to rapid notations of atmospheric effects. Monet’s work,

‘The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,’ (1930) where he addresses the constraints of modern culture by the heritage of Puritanism, pp.136-137. See also Georg Simmel (1858-1918) ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’, pp. 133-136; both references in *Art and Theory* (2003).

⁴⁵ *Art in Theory* (2003) p. 129.

⁴⁶ For the general treatment of this particular German Jewish generation, see M. Meyer and M. Brenner (eds.), *German-Jewish History in Modern Times* (1997) vol III.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, Introduction, p.11.

Impression, Sunrise, shown at the 1874 first Independent Exhibition, added to this concept after which the critic Leroy satirically named their group the *Impressionists*.⁴⁸ The terms of ‘French Impressionism’, *La nouvelle peinture* and ‘painting of modern life’ are used throughout this study interchangeably. Manet’s followers⁴⁹ were identified as Gustave Caillebotte, Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, Camille Pissarro, Marie Quiverson-Braquemond, Mary Cassatt, Eva Gonzales, Marie Cazin, Berthe Marie-Pauline Morisot and the sculptors Pierre Auguste Rodin and Aristide Maillol.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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,⁵² 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

⁴⁸ See John House, ‘Impressionism and its Contexts’, in J. House (ed.), *Impressionism for England: Samuel Courtauld as Patron and Collector*, (London: Courtauld Institute Galleries) pp.1-7

⁴⁹ As grouped by T. J. Clark in his study, entitled *The Painting of Modern Life. Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, (Thames & Hudson, London, 1999).

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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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.

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*.⁵⁵ Furthermore, it was executed in a new style and technique as well as in a new political and cultural environment.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Edmond Duranty, "The New Painting: Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel Galleries 1876", in Impressionism and Post-Impressionism 1874-1904: Sources and Documents, (ed.) Linda Nochlin (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 3-7.

⁵⁶ 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 Milner, Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-71: Myth, Reportage and Reality. (Yale University Press, 2000).

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 Impressionist artists and Jews as their dealers and patron-collectors in the context of social and cultural transformations of late 19th century France.⁵⁷ 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

⁵⁷ As to the French artists, apart from Camille Pissarro, 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'.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Meyer Shapiro, Impressionism, Reflections and Perceptions, (George Braziller, New York, 1997). Also see references to Shapiro in T. J. Clark, 'The Painting of Modern Life', pp. 40-50 in Art in Modern Culture. An Anthology of Critical Texts, (eds.) Jonathan Harris et al (Open University, Phaidon, London 1999)

Man comes in the end to look like his ideal image of himself

Charles Baudelaire⁵⁹

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

⁵⁹ Charles Baudelaire, ‘The Painter of Modern Life’, in Selected Writing on Art and Literature (London, Penguin Books, 1972), p. 391.

⁶⁰ Griselda Pollock, Mary Cassatt: Painter of Modern Women (London, Thames & Hudson, 1998), p. 33.

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).

⁶² See Patricia Mainardi, The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994).

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 Quiverson-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-Impressionists⁶⁵: they included Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903),

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 Dictionary of Art, (Basingstoke, Macmillan Reference Limited, 2000), pp. 56-57.

⁶⁵ Besides the standard works on Post-Impressionism, see also *Beyond the Easel: Decorative Painting by Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis and Roussel, 1890-1930*. (Yale University Press, New Haven 2001).

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 Griselda Pollock

⁶⁶ See Chapter III and the section on Paul Cassirer and Van Gogh.

⁶⁷ John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* (London, Secker & Warburg, 1973).

⁶⁸ Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, & Paris Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 9.

⁶⁹ Philip Nord, *Impressionists and Politics*, p.3.

⁷⁰ John House, *Impressionism for England. Samuel Courtauld as Patron and Collector*, Courtauld Institute Galleries London. (Yale University Press, London 1994) pp. 1-7.

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’.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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 Duranty, (1833-1890)

⁷¹ Griselda Pollock, *Cassatt. Painter of Modern Women*. (Thames and Hudson, London, 1998) p. 23.

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.⁷⁴ 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 Edouard 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’.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

⁷³ Nord, p. 6.

⁷⁴ See Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁷⁵ Nord, p. 7.

⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 7-8.

A New French System of 'Dealer-Critic-Patron'.⁷⁷

Hand in hand with these changes came cultural transformations that brought about the fundamental reconstruction of the French art market.⁷⁸ 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-Ruel⁷⁹ who, despite his dyed-in-the-wool royalist convictions, emerged as the major representative of the French Impressionists and post-Impressionists.⁸⁰

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.⁸¹ 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

⁷⁷ H. White and C. White, Canvas and Careers. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 10-11, 94-97, 150-51.

⁷⁸ Nicholas Green, "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", Art History vol. 10, no. 1 (1987) pp. 59-78. Green argues for the analysis of the art market in economic and cultural terms. (p.75). For the life and significance of Paul Durand-Ruel, see Linda Whiteley, Painters and Dealers in Nineteenth-Century France 1820-1878 with Special References to the Firm of Durand-Ruel (Ph.D. thesis Oxford: Oxford University) also Pierre Assouline, Grace lui soient rendues Paul Durand-Ruel, le marchand des impressionists (Paris, 2002).

⁷⁹ Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922).

⁸⁰ In the words of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *'Il y a eu Durand-Ruel pour les impressionists, il y a eu Vollard pour tous ceux qui ont suivi: Cézanne, Gauguin, ensuite les Nabis et bien d'autres peintres puisque Vollard, malgré tout, a été le premier à montrer des choses de Picasso.'* Cited by Albert Boime in 'Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France', in (eds.) Edward C. Carter, Robert Forster and John N. Moody Enterprise and Entrepreneurs (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 171.

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-Siècle 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.⁸² 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.⁸³

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.⁸⁴ 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*.⁸⁵ 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

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.

⁸⁴ Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910-1930*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1977).

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.

⁸⁸ For details on ‘modernist’ art dealers such as Boussod & Valladon see Chris Stolwijk and Richard Thomson, *Theo van Gogh 1857-1891: Art dealer, collector and brother of Vincent*, Exh. Cat. (Amsterdam/Zwolle: Van Gogh Museum/Waanders Publishers, 1999). also Ambroise Vollard, *Erinnerungen eines Kunsthändlers* (Berlin: Ullstein Bücher, 1957). The other dealers were the Bernheim-Jeune brothers and Georges Petit. See also Stephan von Wiese, ‘Der Kunsthändler als Überzeugungstäter: Daniel Henry Kahnweiler und Alfred Flechtheim’, in *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler. Kunsthändler. Verleger*. Exh. Cat. (Düsseldorf: Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1987), pp. 45-58. All these dealers held regular exhibitions of their artists whom they mostly supported financially in advance of delivered work.

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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ Furthermore,

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 Kunsthändler. 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.

⁹¹ 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 1789.⁹²

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 1922.⁹³ 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).⁹⁴

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 innovative 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

Milner, Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-71: Myth, Reportage and Reality (Yale University Press, 2000).

⁹² For one of the most authoritative accounts of French Jewry see Paula E. Hyman The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace: Acculturation and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century, (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1991)

⁹³ See Caroline Durand-Ruel Godfroy, 'Durand-Ruel's Influence on the Impressionist Collections of European Museums' Impressionism: Paintings Collected by European Museums, exh. cat., (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999) p. 29.

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 *Indépendance 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).

⁹⁶ Nord, p. 24.

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 Duranty. Duranty 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

⁹⁷ Nochlin, *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 Impressionistes* (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.

¹⁰⁰ John House, 'Impressionism and its Contexts', p. 4 in John House, *Impressionism for England*. Samuel Courtauld (1994).

'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.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, supports 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-restaurantier, Eugene Mürer, *Portrait of Eugene Mürer*, 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.¹⁰⁶ In 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'.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, this circle provided more widely and generously for larger numbers of artists than the Academic arrangements had ever done previously.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵The most supportive of all patrons was fellow artist Gustave Caillebotte, whose large collection bequest to the French nation was rejected on several occasions.

¹⁰⁶ Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism*.

¹⁰⁷ White and White, p.150.

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 *Révue 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.

¹¹⁰ As Durand-Ruel did in the case of the Edwards Collection. Also see Nicholas Green, 'Dealing in Temperaments in *Art History*, vol.10, Nr.1, March 1987.

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.¹¹² Durand-Ruel's London and Glasgow exhibitions continued until 1914, although exhibitions must not be mistaken for actual sales.¹¹³ Durand-Ruel also exhibited several times in Brussels, where "new painting" was supported by the Secessionist groups, *Les Vingts* and its successor, *La Libre Esthétique*. Although Durand-Ruel did not

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.

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 Kunstutstillingen acquired its first Impressionist work in 1890, Monet's *Rainy Weather* (1886). In 1896 the Nationalmuseum 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.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶

evidence that modern foreign art collecting in Britain started earlier and in far greater numbers than was previously recognised.

¹¹⁴ T. Albert Kostenevich, *Bourguereau to Matisse. French Art at the Hermitage* (Booth-Clibborn, London, 1999).

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.¹¹⁷

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’.¹¹⁸

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.

¹¹⁸ Linda Nochlin, The Politics of Vision, p. 149.

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-

¹¹⁹ Albert Boime, 'Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France', (1976) p. 139.

¹²⁰ Boime, p. 139.

¹²¹ Boime cites the Péreire biographer, (p. 143) M.Castille, Les frères Pereires, p.41 (Paris, 1861)

cum-politician Thoré-Burger.¹²³ Indeed, their extensive art collection encompassed all the major French artists, such as Delacroix, Ingres, Rousseau, Diaz, Meissonier, Decamps, Chasseriau, Tissot, Gérôme, Scheffer and Delaroche. The latter was a close family friend who painted the portrait of Emile Péreire.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ 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’.¹²⁶ 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’.¹²⁷ 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’.¹²⁸

¹²² Art bought in England in 1850s. For a rich literature on the brothers Péreires, see M.Castille's biography V. Fond, *Pantheon des illustrations française au xixe siècle* (Paris, 1869), vol.1, cited by Boime, pp. 142, 145 and 192.

¹²³ Thore-Bürger, “Les cabinets d’amateurs a Paris”, *Galerie de MM Preiere*”, ‘GBA 16’ (1864), pp. 193-213, pp. 297-317, as cited by Boime, p. 143.

¹²⁴ Emile Péreire contributed to the painter’s posthumous retrospective at *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in 1857; see Boime, p. 145.

¹²⁵ Boime, 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.¹²⁹ 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, Eduard 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*.¹³⁰ 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).¹³¹

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.¹³² Their social circle included Jews like Alfred Reitlinger, a supporter of the *Consistoire Israélite*,¹³³ Carel Dreyfus, a conservationist at the Louvre, Ernest Reyer, the music critic for *Le Journal des debates* and Charles Ephrussi, the founder of the *Gazette des beaux-arts*.¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

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

¹²⁹ See Emil Waldmann, *Der Sammler und ihresgleichen* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1920), p.31 and J.Guiffrey, 'Le Legs Thomy-Thiery au Musée du Louvre', in *Révue de l'art ancien et moderne* 11 (1902), pp.113-114, as cited by Boime, pp. 147 and 165.

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.

¹³¹ Kay Hailbronner, 'Citizenship and Nationhood in Germany', pp.67-80 in William Rogers Brubaker, *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*, (Lanham and London, 1989)

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*. Genevieve 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 Israelite* 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.¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸

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'.¹³⁹ 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 *A 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.¹⁴⁰ Before the rise of anti-Semitism, Degas had mixed socially with Ludovic Halévy and Ernest May, a

¹³⁸ For the affect of the Dreyfus Affair on French Jewry, see Aaron Rodrigue, 'Rearticulations of French Jewish Identities after the Dreyfus Affair', in *Jewish Social Studies, History, Culture, Society*. Vol.2.Nr.3 Spring/Summer 1996, pp. 1-24

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.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 19th century.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 Halévy (1834-1908).¹⁴³ Indeed, the two men collaborated on the series of the *Famille Cardinal* with Degas contributing the illustrations such as *Ludovic Halévy meeting Mme Cardinal backstage 1877*, (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Stuttgart, Germany) (Plate 25).¹⁴⁴ Degas also painted *Ludovic*

¹⁴⁰ Linda Nochlin, 'Degas and the Dreyfus Affair. A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite' pp.96-16 in *The Dreyfus Affair, Art, Truth and Justice*, Exh.Cat. ed Norman Kleeblatt; (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) this essay also appeared subsequently in Linda Nochlin, *Politics of Vision*.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146-148;

¹⁴² For a detailed analysis, see Nochlin, *Politics of Vision* (1989), pp. 141-169. This appeared originally as 'Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite', in *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice*, exh. cat. (ed.) Norman L. Kleeblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) pp. 96-116.

¹⁴³ Linda Nochlin, 'A House is not a Home: Degas and the Subversion of the Family', in Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock (eds.), *Dealing with Degas. Representation of Women and the Politics of Vision* (London: Pandora Press, 1992) p. 53 and Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision*, p.142. Halévy wrote in collaboration with Crémieux the libretto for Jacques Offenbach's opera, *Orphée aux enfers* (1858). Later he collaborated with Henri Meilhac on the libretto for Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) and Offenbach's operas, *La Belle Hélène* (1865), *La Vie Parisienne* (1866), *Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (1867) and *La Périchole* (1868). Halévy's own successful operas were *La belle Juive*, and the play *Le Réveillon* (1872), later adapted for Johann Strauss's *Fledermaus*. Halévy was awarded the *Légion d'honneur* and was the first Jew to be admitted to the Académie Française in 1884; see Nochlin, *Politics of Vision*, p. 164.

¹⁴⁴ The first series was entitled *Madame Cardinal* and the second, *Monsieur Cardinal*; the series recounting the adventures of two young dancers, Pauline and Virginie Cardinal. For an analysis see Nochlin's

Halévy 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 Halévy who had introduced Degas to the exclusive world of opera. However, the close relationship between Degas and Halévy changed as a result of the Dreyfus Affair. Although Halévy's Jewish origins seemed to have had no significance previously, in December 1897, after the trial, Degas broke off his long friendship with Halévy. Their friendship ended because of Degas' open anti-Semitic stance and Halévy's belief in the innocence of the accused. Halévy, despite his Catholic conversion and his marriage to a Protestant wife, nonetheless considered himself to be 'irrevocably, a Jew'.¹⁴⁵ Degas became rabid anti-Semite and anti-Dreyfusard, who only paid his last respects to his friend at Ludovic's death in 1908.¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, many members of the Halévy 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.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, before the Dreyfus era, Degas had often painted *salonnière*

"A House is not a Home", pp. 53-60.

¹⁴⁵ Nochlin, *Politics of Vision*, p. 151. Halévy 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."

¹⁴⁶ Nochlin, p. 163.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁸ 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*.¹⁴⁹ Hayem was also an art collector with a particular liking for Gustave Moreau, who was Degas' former teacher.¹⁵⁰ 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.¹⁵¹ 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.¹⁵² Degas remained unforgiving and did not attend Pissarro's funeral in 1903, pleading illness in a letter to Pissarro's son.¹⁵³

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."

¹⁵¹ Nochlin, *Politics of Vision*, p. 160; but according to Richard Thomson, Degas's two paintings *Suzannah and the Elders* and *Diana and Callisto*, were "narratives of espionage and exposure, secrecy and betrayal", subjects very much in the air during Dreyfus trial. See Richard Thomson, 'On Narrative and Metamorphosis', in Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock (eds.), *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision* (London: Pandora Press, 1991), p. 156. Degas stance towards Jews was comparable to Richard Wagner's well publicised anti-Semitism, which did not prevent Wagner's music from being immensely popular with German and French Jewish audiences.

¹⁵² Nochlin, *Politics of Vision*, p. 163.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

Auguste Renoir (1841-1919) ¹⁵⁴

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'. ¹⁵⁵

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'. ¹⁵⁶

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. ¹⁵⁷ 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

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.

¹⁵⁷ Arthur Gold and Robert Fildale, Misia. La Vie de Misia Sert (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1981), originally Misia - The life of Misia Sert (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1980).

Henri Cahen d'Anvers. After the portraits of *Irène 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.)

¹⁵⁸ Nord, p. 60.

¹⁵⁹ Jean Renoir, *Renoir, my Father* (Little, Brown and Co. Boston and Toronto, 1962) p. 444

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,

¹⁶² Linda Nochlin, *The Body in Pieces. The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity*, (Thames & Hudson, London, 2001)

Washington, D.C.) (Plate 35).¹⁶³ 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).¹⁶⁴ As for the Dreyfus Affair, Manet did not brake 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'.¹⁶⁵

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.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 103. Nord's sources are letters from Monet to his go-between, Geffroy, dated 15 December 1899 and 30 December 1899, printed in Wildenstein (ed.) *Claude Monet, biographie et catalogue raisonnée* (Lausanne Bibliotheque des Arts, 1985), vol 4, pp. 339-40.

¹⁶⁴ Nord, p. 103

¹⁶⁴ Timothy Hyman, *Bonnard* (Thames and Hudson, London 1998), p. 28 and p. 80.

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.¹⁶⁶ *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, Valéry, 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

decapitated¹⁶⁷ Many years later, he also commemorated their relationship in *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 1940.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, Vuillard had often painted members of the Hessel family, such as *Madame Lucie Hessel avec chapeau vert*, 1905 (Private Collection) (Plate 42). On another occasion Madame Hessel appeared in a painting entitled *Intérieur avec femme*, 1905 (Neue Pinakothek, Munich) (Plate 43), which shows her in the corner of a room. He also painted Misia in *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

¹⁶⁶ Timothy Hyman, *Bonnard* (Thames and Hudson, London 1998), p. 28 and p. 80.

¹⁶⁷ Tomothy Hyman, p. 74

¹⁶⁸ Vuillard was fleeing from German troops in 1940 on the way to the Hessels' home in La Baule when he died; see 'Die Sammlung Tschudis', in *Hugo von Tschudi und der Kampf* p. 228. See also Guy Cogeval, *Vuillard. Master of the Intimate Interior* (Thames and Hudson, London 2002) Alyse Gaultier, *The Little Book of Vuillard* (Falmmarion, Paris 2002) and *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’.¹⁶⁹ 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".¹⁷⁰

Despite his well known political views, Pissarro focused primarily on Impressionist land- 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.¹⁷¹ However, Pissarro's satirical series was intended as an

¹⁶⁹ Nochlin, p 149.

¹⁷⁰ “From Monet to Cézanne: Late 19th-century French Artists”, Jane Turner (ed.), The Grove Dictionary of Art, p. 328.

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

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.

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 1899¹⁷⁹

Wilhelm II and German Art:

Anton von Werner, Adolph von Menzel and Max Liebermann¹⁸⁰

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.¹⁸¹ 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.¹⁸² 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.¹⁸³ During his reign, historicism, an obsession with large-scale historical and mythological subjects against which German

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. Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court. Wilhelm II and the German Government of Germany* (Cambridge, 1994). Hereafter Röhl, *Kaiser*. Röhl's chapter on the 'Kaiser and German anti-Semitism' addresses the novel notion that the Kaiser was an anti-Semite, which Röhl 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).

¹⁸¹ Volker R. Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, Economy, Society, Culture and Politics 1871-1914*. (Providence and Oxford, 1994) Hereafter Berghahn, *Imperial*

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, ¹⁸⁴ was still the favourite project of Wilhelmine art establishment. ¹⁸⁵ (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. ¹⁸⁶

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'. ¹⁸⁷ More critical is Malachi Haim Hacoen'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

¹⁸⁴The 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

¹⁸⁵ *Das Traum vom Glück: Die Kunst des Historismus in Europa*, (ed.) Hermann Fillitz, Vienna Exhibition Catalogue, 2 vol., 1997. (I am indebted to Edward Timms for this reference).

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

¹⁸⁷ Peter Gay, *Weimar Germany: The Outsider as Insider* (London, 1992), p. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Malachi Haim Hacoen, addresses 'Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism: Karl Popper, Jewish Identity, and Central European Culture' *The Journal of Modern History*, 71, no. 1 (1999), p. 148.

¹⁸⁹ (Eds.) David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, *The German*, pp.7-9, Routledge, London, 1993.

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 milieu¹⁹¹ – 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.¹⁹² 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.¹⁹³ Werner's relationship to

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 9-10

¹⁹¹ Dolores Augustine, 'Arriving in the upper class: the wealthy business élite in Wilhelmine Germany', pp. 46-84 in *The German Bourgeoisie* (1993) For a full length study on this theme, see Dolores Augustine, *Patricians and Parvenues. Wealth and High Society in Wilhelmine Germany*, Oxford, USA, 1994.

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.¹⁹⁴ 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 *Chateau de Brunoy*. The French housekeeper and her daughter look on bewildered and the house boy is made to light the fire in the grate.¹⁹⁵ 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.¹⁹⁶ In truth, official conservative anti-French attitudes

Emily Bilski (ed.), *Berlin Metropolis: Jews and the New Culture 1890-1918* (New York, 1999), pp. 55-56. For a narrative and analysis of the Mosse family, see Elisabeth Kraus, *Die Familie Mosse. Deutsch-jüdisches Bürgertum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (C.H.Beck, München, 1999)

¹⁹⁴ See Françoise Forster-Hahn, Claude Keisch, Peter-Klaus Schuster, and Angelika Wesenberg, (eds.) *Spirit of an Age: Nineteenth-Century Paintings from the Nationalgalerie Berlin* (London, 2001), p. 30, p.140. Hereafter Forster-Hahn et al *Spirit of an Age*. Besides *Im Etappenquartier*, there were other patriotic paintings such as the *Proclamation of the Empire at Versailles 1871* (painted 1877), *Berlin Congress 1878* (painted 1881), *Battle of Sedan 1871* (painted 1883), *Coronation of Frederick I*, two versions of *The Proclamation of the German Empire*, *William I receiving Napoleon's Emissary*, and finally, *William II Congratulating Moltke on his Ninetieth Birthday*.

¹⁹⁵ Werner witnessed this scene on 24 October 1870 when German troops retreated after the four-month siege of Paris of 1871. See Angelika Wesenberg and Eve Förtschl (eds.), *Nationalgalerie Berlin. Das XIX. Jahrhundert. Katalog der Ausgestellten Werke* (Leipzig, 2001), pp. 172-173. Hereafter Wesenberg and Förtschl, *Nationalgalerie Berlin*. The song is Robert Schumann's *Das Meer erglänzt weit hinaus*; this reference is inscribed on a small plaque on the picture frame. Werner recalled this painting as being very popular. See Wesenberg and Förtschl, *Nationalgalerie*, p. 457, and Forster-Hahn, etc., *Spirit* p. 140.

¹⁹⁶ In a recent lecture, Peter Pulzer argued that in contrast to other western countries, Germany grounded its chief political institutions (monarchy and military) on idealism and romanticism, characteristics based on

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.¹⁹⁷

Meanwhile, 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.¹⁹⁸

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'.¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹

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).

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Nipperday, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie* (Göttingen, 1976), p.142. See Paret, *Berlin Secession*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁸ By 1895 the image *Im Etappenquartier* 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.

¹⁹⁹ Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, p. 135

²⁰⁰ Sebastian Müller, "Official support and bourgeois opposition in Wilhelminian culture", in Irit Rogoff (ed.), *The Divided Heritage. Themes and Problems in German Modernism* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 169.

²⁰¹ 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*.²⁰² 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*, 1850-52.²⁰³ 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.²⁰⁴ 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 Aufbahrung der Märzgefallenen*, 1848, a canvas that depicted the crowds commemorating three hundred revolutionaries who died in the uprising.²⁰⁵ This image and its theme hinted that Menzel 'may have harboured more liberal

²⁰² Forster-Hahn, etc., *Spirit of a Nation*, pp. 105-114. On the occasion of Menzel's death in 1905, the Kaiser asked Hugo von Tschudi to give a retrospective exhibition in 1906 at the Nationalgalerie in the Cornelius Saal, which was dubbed the 'Menzelmuseum'. It showed the *Flötenkonzert*, *König Friedrichs II. Tafelrunde in Sanssouci*, *Ansprache Friedrich des Grossen an seine Generale vor der Schlacht bei Leuthen*, *Das Eisenwalzwerk* and *Chdowiecki auf der Jannowitzbrücke zu Berlin*. See Jörn Grabowski, "Euer Excellenz zur gfl. Kenntnisnahme...Hugo von Tschudi und der Kaiser", in Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern and Peter-Klaus Schuster (eds.), *Manet bis van Gogh: Hugo von Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne* (München, 1997), pp. 391-395, hereafter *Tschudi und der Kampf* and Wesenberg and Förstl, *Nationalgalerie*, pp. 277-279, pp.296-7, p.300.

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 Förstl, *Nationalgalerie* p. 277.

²⁰⁴ Françoise Forster-Hahn and Kurt W. Forster, "Art and the course of Empire in Nineteenth-century Berlin", in *Art in Berlin 1815-1989* (Atlanta, 1989), p. 51.

²⁰⁵ *Die Aufbahrung der Märzgefallenen*, 1848, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. See Forster-Hahn, etc., *Spirit*, p.129.

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'.²⁰⁶ 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*, 1878.²⁰⁷ 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 Cyklopen)*, 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.²⁰⁸ 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

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 Förschl, *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.

plant was part of the *Vereinigte Königs-und Laurahütte AG*, which was co-financed by Berlin's leading Jewish banker, Gerson Bleichröder.²⁰⁹ The site was noted both for its highly advanced technology and the acute social tension to which it gave rise.²¹⁰ 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.²¹¹ 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.²¹² The painting was indeed the most 'modern' work displayed at the opening of the Nationalgalerie in March 1876.²¹³ 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.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Bleichröder was also Bismarck's banker. See Fritz Stern, Gold and Iron. Bismarck, Bleichröder and the Building of the German Empire (London, 1977).

²¹⁰ Menzel's large painting centres on men working, eating and washing; the canvas is dominated by the human focus, rather than the industrial flames of the central foundry fire, although that too takes a central place. Hence, the painting addresses a technical novelty as a transformation of social relations. See Wesenberg and Förschl, Nationalgalerie, p. 298.

²¹¹ It sold for 30.000 Talers, having originally been purchased directly from Menzel for 11.000 Talers. *Ibid* p. 298.

²¹² Forster-Hahn, Spirit of a Nation, p.133. Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, his wife Princess Victoria, and son Wilhelm, visited the Liebermann household in the Tiergartenstrasse 16, expressly to view the *Eisenwalzwerk*, showing an unexpected interest in realist art.

²¹³ "Menzel was generally still relatively unappreciated", see Peter-Klaus Schuster, 'The Birth of a Nation from the Spirit of Art: The Nationalgalerie in Berlin on its 125th Anniversary', in Forster-Hahn, etc., Spirit, p. 14.

²¹⁴ Thus Adolph von Liebermann is comparable – even if he was unable to continue with the purchase of modernist art works – to French Jewish entrepreneurial art patrons such as Isaac de Camondo and James de

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'.²¹⁵ 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 elite, 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

Rothschild and non-Jewish French collectors Casimir Perier fils, Achille Seillière, François Delessert and Eugène Schneider. See Albert Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France", in E.C. Carter, R. Forster and J. N. Moody (eds.), *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs* (Baltimore, 1976), pp. 139-141.

²¹⁵ *Art in Theory*, 1900-2000. p. 30-31

the opposite.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.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.²¹⁸ According to Irit Rogoff, Max Liebermann was the paradigm for the German Jew's 'divided heritage'.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.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.

²¹⁶ Hans Ostwald (ed.), Das Liebermann Buch (Berlin, 1930), cited by Paret in 'Modernism and the "Alien Element"', p.48.

²¹⁷ Liebermann's family made its fortune in the textile industry. See Miriam A. Dytman, "Zur Geschichte der Familie Liebermann", in Hermann Simon (ed.), Was vom Leben übrig bleibt, sind Bilder und Geschichten. Max Liebermann zum 150. Geburtstag. Rekonstruktion der Gedächtnisausstellung des Berliner Jüdischen Museums von 1936 (Berlin, 1997), p. 49.

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 19th-century art, see exh.cat. Georg Heuberger and Anton Merk (eds.), Moritz Daniel Oppenheim. Die Entdeckung des jüdischen Selbstbewußtseins in der Kunst (Frankfurt am Main, 1999).

²¹⁹ Irit Rogoff, "The anxious artist, ideological mobilisations of the self in German Modernism", in Rogoff, Divided Heritage, pp. 116-147.

²²⁰ See G. Tobias Natter and Julius H. Schoeps (eds.), 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 Rübenfeld*, 1876, were ridiculed because of their representation of poverty executed in sombre colours.²²¹ 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.²²² These two canvases earned for Liebermann the title of *Apostel des Hässlichen*.²²³ 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,

²²¹ *Gänserupferinnen*, Nationalgalerie, (acquired 1894), *Arbeiter im Rübenfeld*, Landesgalerie Hannover (acquired 1926)

²²² 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.

²²³ A hostile critic wrote "the most repulsive ugliness reigns in naked loathsomeness, 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

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.²²⁴

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),²²⁵ 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.²²⁶

»Manet der Deutschen«, in G. Tobias Natter and Julius H. Schoeps (eds.), Max Liebermann und die französischen Impressionisten (Köln, 1997), pp. 35-42.

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.

²²⁵ See Ed. Angelika Wesenberg, 'Max Liebermann, der Kaiser, die Nationalgalerie' and Marion Deschmukh, 'Max Liebermann, ein Berliner Jude', in Angelika Wesenberg (ed.), Max Liebermann Jahrhundertwende, p. 59-64 (here p. 62 and illustration of the revised version p. 108.)

²²⁶ Katrin Boskamp, "Studien zum Frühwerk von Max Liebermann", pp. 78-85, cited by Chana G. Schütz in an essay contribution, "Max Liebermann as a 'Jewish' Painter: The Artist's Reception in His Time", in Emily D. Bilski (ed.), Berlin Metropolis, p. 155.

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.

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 Zerstörer ästhetischer und religiöser Tafeln.*²²⁹ 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.²³⁰ 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.²³¹ Increasingly he turned to a lighter 'plein-air' palette and chose subjects and interpretations of and for the

²²⁹ Max J. Friedländer, *Max Liebermann* (Berlin, 1924), pp. 55-60.

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.²³² 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.²³³ 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).

²³¹ See chapter IV and Appendix A 4.

²³² Thomas W. Gaetghens, "Liebermann und der Impressionismus", in Wesenberg, *Max Liebermann Jahrhundertwende*, p. 145.

²³³ Theodor Fontane (1896) apparently enjoyed his sittings, despite the fact that during the same period, he confessed in a letter from Karlsbad to his daughter Meta: "*Das beständige Voraugenhaben von Massenjudenschaft aus allen Weltgegenden kann einen natürlich mit dieser schrecklichen Sippe nicht versöhnen, aber inmitten seiner Antipathie kommt man doch immer wieder ins Schwanken, weil sie – auch die, die einem durchaus missfallen – doch immer noch Kulturträger sind und immer all ihrer Schädigkeit und Geschmacklosigkeiten Trägers geistiger Interessen. Wenn auch nur auf ihre Art... Und sucht man sich nun gar die guten Namen heraus oder lernt man Damen kennen, wie die oberen zitierten, die nichts sind als guter Judentumsdurchschnitt und doch unserem Durchschnitt gegenüber eine gesellschaftliche Überlegenheit zeigen. Das Schlussgefühl ist dann immer, dass man Gott schließlich noch danken muss, dem Berliner Judentum in die Hände gefallen zu sein.*" See T. Fontane: *Briefe*, (Berlin 1969) Vol. 2, p. 245, as cited by Dietrich Gronau, *Max Liebermann. Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt/Main, 2001), p. 255.

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.²³⁴ 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*.²³⁵ 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.

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, *Grünwaldsee*, 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.²³⁶ 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.²³⁷ After seven weeks of renovating the building, the first Secession Exhibition opened 19 May 1899.²³⁸

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.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 *Grünwaldsee*, 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.

(Berlin). The Secession opening hours were daily 9-7, Sundays 10-7. See 1st Berlin Secession Catalogue (1899/6).

²³⁹ Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Die Herausforderung der bürgerlichen Kultur durch die künstlerische Avantgarde. Zum Verhältnis von Kultur und Politik im Wilhelminischen 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, 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

²⁴⁰ Probably Reber first encountered French Impressionism at the Bernstein Salon (See Chapter IV and Appendix A 4). Reber’s most important publications was Geschichte der neueren deutschen Kunst, Nebst Exkursen über die parallele Kunstentwicklung der übrigen Länder germanischen und romanischen Stammes, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1876). Volume 4 dealt specifically with French modernism. *Die Gegenwart* was published also in Leipzig in 1876, as cited in Barbara Paul, Hugo von Tschudi und die moderne französische Kunst im Deutschen Kaiserreich (Mainz, 1993), p. 38. Hereafter Paul, Hugo.

²⁴¹ Rebers, 1876, reprint 1887, Vol. II, pp.45-46 as cited by Paul, 1993 pp.38-39.

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.Noehlin, 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 I.

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 Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs Sezession* (Wien 1902/03)

²⁴⁹ Muther, *Geschichte*. See also Paul, *Hugo*, pp. 45-46.

²⁵⁰ Paul, *Hugo*, pp. 45-46.

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.²⁵¹

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.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Paul, p.58.

²⁵² 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.²⁵³ 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 1904.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Meier-Graefe contributed to the Wiener Secession Exhibition in 1903 by introducing French Impressionist art to the Austro-Hungarian capital. See Lolja Kramer, "An Eternal Triangle for French Impressionism. The 1903 Impressionist Exhibition in the Viennese Secession", *Belvedere Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 2 (2001), pp. 101-112.

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.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.²⁵⁶ Meier-Graefe believed that growing industrialisation

monographs on Impressionism and post-Impressionism. Meier-Graefe's earlier publications include Julius Meier-Graefe, 'Beiträge zur modernen Ästhetik', in *Die Insel* (Oct. 1899 and May 1900); also 'Die Stellung Manets' *Die Kunst für Alle* (November 1899), and 'Die Kunst auf der Weltausstellung', published as *Die Weltausstellung in Paris 1900* (Paris/Leipzig 1900); 'Eduard Manet und sein Kreis' and 'Der moderne Impressionismus' in *Die Kunst*, (Berlin, 1902) as cited by Paul, p. 164. Meier-Graefe also published monographs on 'Hans von Marees', 'Gustav Courbet', 'Edgar Degas', 'Paul Cézanne und sein Kreis' (München, 1922) and a two-volume monograph on Vincent van Gogh (München, 1922). Meier-Graefe was also associated with *Ganymed* (1921), an annual art and literary journal containing original graphics, inspired by the earlier *PAN*, a publication that Meier-Graefe helped to establish in 1895.

²⁵⁵ See Julius Meier-Graefe, 'The Mediums of Art, Past and Present' in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory, 1900-1990. An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 53-60. See also Kenworth Moffett, *Meier-Graefe as Art Critic* (München, 1973).

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.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 *Art Nouveau* objects.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 *Weltanschauung*, which sought out contemporary themes, whilst applying new techniques.²⁵⁹

Meier-Graefe's ideas underwent many changes and his writings subsequently expanded to five volumes. In his *Praktische Ästhetik*, he criticizes Germans for their propensity for 'thinking about art' (*Kunst zu denken*) instead of 'looking at art' (*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 *fin-de-siècle* Wilhelmine Germany, a

²⁵⁷ Meier-Graefe, *Beiträge zu einer modernen Ästhetik* (1899/1900).

²⁵⁸ Meier-Graefe, 1902, book Nr 1, p. 1 ff. See his lecture at the Kunstsalon Cassirer on Delacroix and *Jugendstil*, Appendix A 3) and 4).

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.

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.²⁶⁰

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.²⁶¹ 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 phantasmagoria, 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.²⁶²

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)

²⁶⁴ Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton, 1994), p. 7.

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.²⁶⁶ He subsequently moved to Paris, where he became involved with Siegfried Bing's leading gallery of *Art Nouveau*.²⁶⁷ By 1899, Meier-Graefe opened his own Paris gallery, *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.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.²⁶⁹ There, in 1913, he lectured on a theme first addressed by Siegfried Bing 16 years earlier in Paris, entitled *Wohin treiben wir?* He also gave lectures on Delacroix and the topic, *Kunst oder Kunstgewerbe?*²⁷⁰

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, *Meier Graefe as Art Critic*, p. 157.

²⁶⁷ Despite his French modernist activities, Meier-Graefe continued to contribute to German publications such as Maximilian Harden's *Die Zukunft* and to Hans Rosenhagen's *Das Atelier*, an art and design journal. In 1897, Meier-Graefe established *Dekorative Kunst*, an applied arts journal, which was modelled on the English periodical *Studio* and the French publication of *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 *Art Nouveau* designed objects. For the relationship between Siegfried Bing, van de Velde and Meier-Graefe, see Nancy Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France* (New Haven, 1991).

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

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 1914.²⁷¹ 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.²⁷²

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 Blossie-Lynch, who kept a fashionable Salon in Paris. Born in Paris in 1868, Harry Kessler spent his early childhood in France and

²⁷⁰ S. Bing, “Wohin treiben wir?” *Dekorative Kunst* (Berlin, 1897-98), pp.1-3, 68-71, 173-177. Meier-Graefe’s own version is “Wohin treiben wir?” *Kultur und Kunst* (Berlin, 1913).

²⁷¹ See Peter Grupp, *Harry Graf Kessler 1868-1937 - Eine Biographie* (München, 1995). Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli, ‘Introduction’ (pp.5-8) in *Harry Graf Kessler Aus den Tagebüchern 1918-1937* (München, 1965), pp. 5-8; also *The Dairies of a Cosmopolitan Count Harry Graf Kessler 1918-1937*, ‘Intro. by Otto Friedrich (London, 1971).

²⁷² Based on the Marbacher Archive, Hans-Ulrich Simon published in 1978 the correspondence between Eberhard von Bodenhausen 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.²⁷³ At home in France, England and Germany and trilingual, he was inevitably influenced by three major European cultures.²⁷⁴ 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.²⁷⁵ Like other modernists, Kessler was a keen traveller, during a period when travelling was seen as a remedy for a tired and worn

²⁷³ Kessler's 1894 doctorate was on 'High Treason'. See Thomas Föhl, "Ein Museum der Moderne. Harry Graf Kessler und das Neue Weimar", in Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern and Peter-Klaus Schuster (eds.), *Manet bis van Gogh: Hugo von Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne*, (München, 1997), p. 290.

²⁷⁴ Beatrice von Bismarck, "Harry Graf Kessler und die französische Kunst um die Jahrhundertwende", in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, Sammler der frühen Moderne* 42, no. 3 (1988), p. 47.

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 constraints, allowing them to act independently, at least for part of their lives.

spirit.²⁷⁶ 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'.²⁷⁷ He also became a staunch supporter of the *League of Nations*, which he believed reflected his cosmopolitan values.²⁷⁸

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.²⁷⁹ 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:²⁸⁰

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.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ See Kessler's *Notizen über Mexico* (Berlin, 1898). See Ulrich Ott (ed.), *Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch eines Weltmannes*. Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Marbach am Neckar (Marbach am Neckar, 1988), p.39. Hereafter, Ott, *Tagebuch eines Weltmannes*.

²⁷⁷ Harry Graf Kessler, *The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan, Count Harry Kessler, 1918-1937* (London, 1971), p. xii. Hereafter, Kessler, *Diaries*. During the war years in Switzerland, Kessler supported and protected Paul Cassirer and his wife Tilla Durieux, see Epilogue. Kessler collaborated with Cassirer on art exhibitions by German soldiers on active duty. See Christian Kennert, *Paul Cassirer und sein Kreis* (1996).

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.

²⁷⁹ Harry Graf Kessler's "Kunst und Religion" as cited by Thomas Föhl, 'Ein Museum der Moderne. Harry Graf Kessler und das Neue Weimar', in *Tschudi und der Kampf*, p. 290.

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.”²⁸² 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’.²⁸³

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 verlogenen Rassen-Selbstwunderung und Unzucht teilzunehmen, 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.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Kessler, *Geschichte meines Lebens*, p.165, as cited in Ott, *Tagebuch eines Weltmannes*, p.80.

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 Kunstgewerbeausstellungen werden van 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.*”

²⁸³ Amos Elon, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler* (Berkeley, 2002), pp. 18- 21.

²⁸⁴ Nietzsche, Aphorismus 377, ‘Wir Heimatlosen’, p. 324f, as cited by Ott, *Kessler*, p. 89.

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, Maximilian 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.²⁸⁵ 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.²⁸⁶ 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

²⁸⁵ The works included Seurat's *Le chaland, Samois* (1901), Maximilian 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 foret 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 ravin* (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.²⁸⁷ Kessler's other art contacts were the Parisian dealers Paul Durand-Ruel, Ambroise Vollard, the brothers Bernheim-Jeune and the writer-critic Félix Fénéon.²⁸⁸ 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.²⁸⁹

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.²⁹⁰ 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-Eisennach, a town of 30,000, into a centre of modernist culture for a brief period of some three years.²⁹¹ It was the second Rodin exhibition at the

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, Pissarro 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.

²⁸⁹ H. White and C. White, *Canvas and Careers* (Chicago, 1993), p. 120; and also J.U. Halperin, *Félix Fénéon. Aesthete & Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (New Haven, 1988) as cited by Jensen, p. 267.

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

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.

²⁹³ Volker Wahl, 'Die Jenaer Ehrenpromotion von Auguste Rodin und der Rodin Skandal zu Weimar 1905/06' in *Jena als Kunststadt. Begegnungen mit der modernen Kunst in der Thüringischen Universitätsstadt zwischen 1900-1933* (Leipzig, 1988), pp. 56-77, as cited in Ott, *Kessler*, p. 135.

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 Föhl, 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 *Rosenkavalir*, 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.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.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 *Kunst und Religion* in the journal PAN in February 1899.³⁰¹ 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'.

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 Württembergischer 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, *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 Minister in 1922, see earlier remarks.

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.

³⁰¹ H. Graf Kessler, *Kunst als Religion*, PAN, February 1899. PAN was a monthly journal for book illustrations and graphics edited by Otto Julius Bierbaum, Alfred Heymel and Alexander Schreider.

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.³⁰²

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.³⁰³ 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 Question³⁰⁴

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.³⁰⁵ As to the 'issues' surrounding German-Jewish marginality, commentators interpreted it as a useful indicator of the cultural crisis of

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

³⁰⁵ For an expansion of this theme, see David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (eds.) The German : Essays on the Social history of the middle class from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth Century, (Routledge, London and New York, 1991, 1993) See Blackbourn's introductory essay, 'The Germans: An Introduction', pp. 1-45 and Dolores L. Augustine, 'Arriving in the upper class: the wealthy business élite of Wilhelmine Germany', pp. 46-86. For the leading study on the differences in middle and upper-class German *Bürgertum*, see Dolores Augustine, Patricians and Parvenues. Wealth and High Society in Wilhelmine Germany, (Oxford, Prov., Ri, USA, 1994).

intellectuals between 1910 and 1920.³⁰⁶ 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.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 *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, which was reprinted in numerous editions throughout the 1890s.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.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]

³⁰⁶ John Milfull, ‘Marginalität und Messianismus. Die Situation der deutsch-jüdischen Intellektuellen als Paradigma für die Kulturkrise 1910-1920’, in Bernd Hüppauf, *Expressionistische Kulturkrise, Beiträge zur Literatur und Sprachwissenschaft*, vol.42, Heidelberg, 1983, pp.147-157. (I am indebted to Shulamith Behr for this reference).

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 19th 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 and Wartburgfest’, (Leipzig, 1867) pp.111-12 as cited by Amos Elon, *The Pity of it all. A Portrait of Jews in Germany 1743-1933* (Allen Lane, London, 2003) p. 119

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, *The Rise*, p. 233 and p. 237.

³⁰⁹ Peter Paret, *Berlin Secession*, p. 178; and Pulzer, *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 elite 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 Hohenzollern 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.

literalness and allegory, often combined with fleshy eroticism, represented no great problem to the average bourgeois. See Paret, Berlin Secession, pp. 171-173.

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.

³¹⁵ Letter in *Berlin Börsen Courier*, 20.8.1902, cited by Titia Hoffmeister, Der Berliner Kunsthändler Paul Cassirer. Seine Verdienste um die Förderung der Künste und um wichtige Erwerbungen der Museen, (Unpublished Doctorate, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1991) p. 69.

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.

³¹⁷ Cynthia Salzman, *Portrait of Dr. Gachet. The Story of a van Gogh Masterpiece*. (Penguin, London, 1998) p. 109.

In 1904, Julius Meier-Graefe stepped up the polemic by attacking Böcklin as well as German idealism in his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst* (1904).³¹⁸ 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.³¹⁹

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.³²⁰

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.³²¹

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.

³¹⁹ Kenworth Moffett, *Meier Graefe as Art Critic*, p.52.

³²⁰ Will Pastor, 'Zwei deutsche Kunst Ausstellungen', in *Kunstwart* 19, no. 2, (1905-06) pp. 112-113.

³²¹ Letter in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 10 July 1905.

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.³²² Thode announced a series of eight public lectures specifically in response to Meier-Graefe's arguments, in the summer of 1905.³²³ 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 arealso a protest against that one-sided view of art, proclaimed by foreigners, which Berlin in particular is trying to foist on Germany.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

³²² Paret, Berlin Secession, p. 175

³²³ Henry Thode was Richard Wagner's son-in-law.

³²⁴ Paret, Berlin Secession, pp. 174-75.

tradition and their massive exhibitions of thousands of art works. Indeed, modernist art writers, 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'.³²⁶ Indeed, in an article published a few years later Meier-Graefe's writings were referred to as *Französeln und Judeln*.³²⁷

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.³²⁸ 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.³²⁹ However, as the reference of *Französeln 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.³³⁰

Max Liebermann in particular was the target for intense anti-Semitic attacks such as anti-Semitic caricatures, which appeared regularly in the satirical press.³³¹ 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

³²⁶ Thoma, *Briefwechsel*, p. 247 as cited by Paret, p. 180.

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.

³²⁸ Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism*, p. 236 and Larry Silver, 'Between Tradition and Acculturation: Jewish Painters in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in Susan Tumarin Goodman (ed.), *The Emergence of Jewish Artists in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 2001), p. 133.

³²⁹ See Jensen, pp. 235-63; Paret, *Berlin Secession*, pp. 170-82; Larry Silver, p. 133.

³³⁰ Angelika Wesenberg, 'Das Leben Max Liebermanns. Die Entwicklung der Nationalgalerie. Eine Chronik' p. 13.

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.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.³³³ Liebermann was, Bode wrote:

...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.³³⁴

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'.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*.³³⁶

³³² Liebermann was more appreciated in French and Italian European art circles, illustrated by the invitation to submit a self-portrait to the Florence Uffizi Gallery in 1902.

³³³ Bruno Cassirer established in 1902/3 *Kunst und Künstler*, the journal becoming the leading literary, art and cultural magazine. See next chapters.

³³⁴ "Wilhelm von Bode: Max Liebermann zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag", in *Kunst und Künstler*, Year 5, 1907, p. 382.

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.

³³⁶ Cella-Margaretha Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene für die Preußischen Museen zu Berlin. Eine Studie zum Mäzenatentum im Deutschen Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Doctoral Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1993, Verlag Dr. Hänsel-Hohenhausen, Egelsbach, Germany, 1997) p. 77. Girardet cites Inv. Nr. A I 966 and SMPK/Zentralarchiv, NGB, Acta Gen. 37, VII, Nr. 1247/1906. The value of the Amsterdam painting was 10.000 Mark; see Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene*, p. 77 (Inv. Nr. II 183).

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.³³⁷ 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'.³³⁸ The *Protest* was signed by some hundred and forty critics, as well as twenty museum directors and artists.³³⁹ It openly attacked French Impressionism and particularly the art dealer Paul Cassirer.³⁴⁰

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'.³⁴¹ Vinnen claimed that these pictures were inferior, that they were 'leftovers' and 'old studio remnants'

³³⁷ Worpswede is near Bremen.

³³⁸ Salzman, pp. 141-144.

³³⁹ Surprisingly, Käthe 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.³⁴² 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.³⁴³

In summary, the manifesto proffered stereotypical perceptions of Jews closely involved with high finance, speculation, capitalism and the stock market.³⁴⁴ 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.³⁴⁵ The signatories represented a cross section of the German art

³⁴¹ Vinnen, *Ein Protest deutscher Künstler*, pp. 2, 3-5, 6. Cited in Paret, *Berlin Secession*, p. 184.

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*

included Fritz Stahl, the Mosse-owned *Berliner Tagesblatt* art critic, who was also a key advisor to Jewish art patron Rudolf Mosse’s private, albeit traditional, art collection. By 1910, the Berlin Secession’s foreign associate members came from Germany, Russia (St. Petersburg, Moscow), Holland, England, France, Belgium and Switzerland. See 19th Secession Catalogue, 27 Nov-9 Jan 1910 (Leipzig, 1911), p.32.

³⁴⁶ Paret, p. 187.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Philipp Stauff (ed.), *Semi-Kürschner oder Literarisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1913). See chapter III: the addendum consisted of *Maler, Bildhauer, Kunsthändler, Kritiker, Musiker, Schauspieler. Judaographisches. Nachtrag* with a section on “*Das Fremdentum in Deutschlands bildender Kunst, oder Paul Cassirer, Max Liebermann usw.*” pp. I – XI.

denotes the 'Semite' element. Indeed, the cover features a swastika, and the text itself focuses on the 'infiltration of the Jewish race'.³⁴⁹ The encyclopaedia included an addendum on *Judaographisches; Das Fremdentum in Deutschlands bildender Kunst oder Paul Cassirer, Max Liebermann, usw.*³⁵⁰ 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*).

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.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.³⁵²

ammunition and as reference works by the National Socialist Government during 1939-1945. Furthermore, they also used it arguably as evidence for historical precedent.

³⁵¹ See Appendix A 1.

³⁵² 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.

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 inter-linked, 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 bi-monthly 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.

³⁵⁴ See Eva Caspers, Paul Cassirer und die Pan-Presse.

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 Galerieleitern 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, 1926³⁵⁵

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’.³⁵⁶

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.³⁵⁷ Nor would Franz Kafka, the Jew in Prague, be the same man and writer had he been a Gentile.³⁵⁸ 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.³⁵⁹

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

Englewood, N.J. 1962) Marthe Robert, *Einsam wie Kafka* (Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1979) and Sander Gilman, *Franz Kafka. The Jewish Patient* (Routledge, London, 1995). To cite other examples, see Aby Warburg and Hamburg in *Aby Warburg Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*, Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca, 1995) and Charlotte Schoell-Glass, *Aby Warburg und der Antisemitismus. Kulturwissenschaft als Geisteswissenschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998).

³⁵⁹ 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.

unsettling and revolutionary, although compared to Britain and France, Germany experienced industrialization relatively late.³⁶⁰ 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;³⁶¹ at the top was an élite of Jewish bankers, businessmen and industrial entrepreneurs.³⁶² 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.³⁶³ Stefan Zweig observed astutely in his *Memoirs*:

³⁶⁰ See *Poet of Expressionist Berlin. The Life and Work of Georg Heym*, Patrick Bridgewater (Libris, London, 1991).

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 élite 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....³⁶⁴

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.³⁶⁵ However, almost all sections stressed their patriotism to Imperial Germany during times of peace and war.³⁶⁶ 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.³⁶⁷ 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*.³⁶⁸ 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

³⁶⁴ Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern, Erinnerungen 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 Adlerorden 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 *Kommerzienrat*; 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 Brühl, 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.

³⁶⁷ Peter Pulzer, 'Legal Equality and Public Life', *Integration in Dispute*, p. 162.

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).

³⁷² Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst*, vol. 2, 3rd edition, Munich, 1920, pp. 324-326.

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'.³⁷³ Berlin's 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'.³⁷⁴ The contemporary art historian Cynthia Saltzman 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.³⁷⁵

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

³⁷³ Alfred Lichtwark, 'Briefe an die Kommission für Verwaltung der Kunsthalle', (20 vol.), Hamburg 1896-1920, XIV, p. 11 (3.11.1906) as cited by Angelika Wesenberg, "Constructing and Reconstructing a Tradition: Twentieth-century Interpretations of the Development of Nineteenth-Century German Art", in exh.cat. *Spirit of an Age*: p. 53.

³⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 53.

³⁷⁵ Cynthia Saltzman, *Portrait of Dr. Gachet, The Story of a van Gogh Masterpiece. Money, Politics, Collectors, Greed and Loss* (London, 1998), p. 100. Hereafter Saltzman, *Portrait*.

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.³⁷⁸ 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.³⁷⁹ Paul's two older brothers were Richard and Hugo, and his younger siblings were Alfred and Else.³⁸⁰ 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

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.*³⁸¹ 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.³⁸² Paul Cassirer, like several of his male cousins, was university educated.³⁸³ 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.³⁸⁴ In 1893, Paul moved to Munich where he started to contribute to

³⁸¹ Hoffmeister, *Kunsthändler*, p.223. The expansion of electrical devices, besides the chemical and optical industries, was a significant component of Imperial Germany's industrialisation and included the establishment of such leading concerns such as *Deutsche Telefon und Kabelwerke AG*, *Akkumulatorenfabrik AG* and the SIEMENS group of companies. After Alfred Cassirer's death in 1932, the original Cassirer firm was nationalised in 1933 under the umbrella of *Elektrische Licht und Kraftanlagen*, AB Berlin, a branch of the SIEMENS group. After 1942, this division continued under the name of Markische Kabelwerke. See Kennert Christian,

³⁸² Else Cassirer was closely involved with the Bruno Cassirer Verlag; she edited for example *Künstlerbriefe aus dem 19. Jahrhundert'* (1914) which were published in several editions; see Heinz Sarkowski, "Bruno Cassirer. Ein Deutscher Verlag 1898-1938", in *Imprimatur*, New Series, no. 7 (1972) p. 112.

³⁸³ Paul Cassirer enrolled on 22 April 1892 and was expelled due to laziness (*Unfleiss*) on 1 July 1893. See Hoffmeister, *Kunsthändler* p.20. Paul, Bruno and Ernst Cassirer all studied during the same period. Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) was a student of the philosopher Herman Cohen. He began his teaching career in 1906 and was only granted a full philosophy professorship in 1919 at the University of Hamburg, where he was appointed Rector in 1929. Deprived of his position by the Nazis, he taught in Oxford during 1933-35 and then in Goteburg in Sweden until 1941, when he immigrated to America. There he taught at Yale University (1941-44) and later at Columbia University until his death in 1945.

³⁸⁴ Despite the fact that legal restrictions had been lifted in 1871, Jews continued to be excluded from most state schools, national youth movements, and university fraternities and from most careers in the army, the civil service, secondary education, academia, government judiciary and the diplomatic service. These

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.³⁸⁵ 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.³⁸⁶ 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.³⁸⁷ Indeed, it would have been difficult to do so, as the Cassirer extended family enjoyed a high profile in public life.³⁸⁸

conditions resulted in the popularity of the free professions resulting in fierce competitions among one's own ethnic peer group. This was a both a burden and responsibility, as well as a motivation for achievement.

³⁸⁵ He also wrote a four-act drama *Fritz Reiner der Maler, Studie nach dem Leben*, (Dresden/Leipzig 1894), as well as *Nachtstück* 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 illustré*. *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.³⁸⁹ The couple settled in the West Berlin suburb of Charlottenburg in close proximity to other Jews, an area known as the élitist 'Tiergarten Ghetto'.³⁹⁰ 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':

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 Neureichs, 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 Lubitschs, die aus diesem Milieu stammten, Verbindung aufzunehmen³⁹¹.

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 Rysselberghe 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. Susanne 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.

Lotte Eisener, *Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland. Memoirs* (Munich, 1988), p. 41. See also references to internationalism and liberalism earlier in this chapter.

³⁹¹ Lotte Eisner, *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.³⁹⁴ 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.³⁹⁵ 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.³⁹⁶ 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’.³⁹⁷ 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.

³⁹⁴ On the stigma of divorce, see Tilla Durieux’s two autobiographies: Tilla Durieux, *Eine Tür steht offen. Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1954) and Tilla Durieux, *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre* (München, 1971) Hereafter, Durieux, *Meine ersten Jahre*. Durieux’s novel, *Eine Tür fällt ins Schloss*, (Berlin-Grünewald: Horen Verlag, 1928) is presented as fiction, but was later recognised as a Memoir. For a more objective view of the Cassirer-Durieux relationship, see Renate Möhrmann, *Tilla Durieux und Paul Cassirer. Bühnenglück und Liebestod* (Berlin, 1999). Hereafter Renate Möhrmann, *Tilla Durieux*.

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 Kunsthändler*, 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 Kunsthändler muß gleichzeitig auch ein aufgeklärter Kunstliebhaber sein, der, wenn nötig, bereit ist, 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

⁴⁰² As cited by Pierre Cabanne, 'Paul Durand-Ruel. Der Kunsthändler der Impressionisten' in *Die Geschichte großer Sammler*, Bern und Stuttgart (no date) p. 102.

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.⁴⁰⁶ Furthermore, he pioneered the separate exhibitions for graphic works and introduced sales of entire private collections.⁴⁰⁷ 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 Kunsthändler: Wandlungen eines Berufes*, (Hirmer Verlag, München, 1994.)

⁴⁰⁸ Alfred Lichtwark: Briefe an die Kommission zur Verwaltung der Kunsthalle Hamburg. Gustav Pauli (ed.) Introduction, vol.2 (Hamburg 1923) p. 427 as cited by Brühl, *Die Cassirers*, p. 106.

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 tadellos.*⁴¹⁰

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.*⁴¹¹

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.⁴¹² 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

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 Cassirer'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)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 Manet⁴¹⁶ 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 *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: *nur zur Hälfte modern, zur Hälfte voller Tradition ... ein wahres Wunder an überlegener Technik.*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 *Danae*,

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.

⁴¹⁶ See polemic involving Thoma, see chapter II and later this chapter.

⁴¹⁷ *Berliner Börsen Courier*, 22.10. 1899 see Hoffmeister, *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.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 Vuillar and of course, Vincent van Gogh.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.⁴²³ The pattern of a varied exhibition programme continued, as for example, the gallery exhibiting the extensive Sammlung Reber, comprising French realist and

⁴²¹ *Berliner Börsen Courrier* 11. November 1900, see Hoffmeister, *Kunsthändler*, p.58.

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.

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) I

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.⁴²⁴ 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.⁴²⁵ In particular, he emphasised the openness of modernist art collecting and recommended and praised public access to private collections:

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 zubewegen, dass sie ihre Sammlungen für Berlin herzuleihen, so glaube ich, daß diese Art der Amateure mancherlei Gutes hat. Diese Amateure zeigen einen nicht unwesentlichen Zweig kultureller Arbeit, sie lassen schöne Bilder aus dem schwer zugänglichen provinziellen Preussischen Staat an das Licht der Öffentlichkeit kommen und sie geben zugleich dem Besitzer die 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 zu entbehren und sie einer öffentlichen Ausstellung zu überlassen, so ist wohl auch ein gewisser Egoismus vorhanden, der Egoismus des Gefühls bei dieser ernsthaften Art des Sammelns nicht allein seiner Leidenschaft nachgegangen zu sein, sondern auch für die Gesamtheit gearbeitet zu haben. Diese Art des Sammelns und diese Tätigkeit des Sammlers, die Tätigkeit eines Museums Direktors sehr nahekommt, zeigt einen neuen Typ des Sammlers. Die alte Art was es seine Schätze zu verstecken und sie vor der Kritik zu hüten, die neue demokratische ist es, seinen Besitz vor der Welt und der Kritik aus zubereiten.

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.⁴²⁶ 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'.⁴²⁷

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 wellenhafte 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*.⁴²⁸ 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 schärfste Anklageschrift die ich von einem Künstler kenne. Er mußte fertig werden mit den Ideen, dann aber verschloss er die Blätter im Pult.⁴²⁹

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

⁴²⁶ Pissarro had died in 1903.

⁴²⁷ Elias was comparing Pissarro's sincerity with that of Corot.

⁴²⁸ See earlier in this chapter.

⁴²⁹ This account confirms that the series was not intended for the general public, but was meant for the educational purposes for his nieces; see Chapter I.

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

⁴³⁰ See chapter IV and Eduard Arnold's hanging policies for his private collections.

⁴³¹ See Walter Feilchenfeldt, *Vincent van Gogh and Paul Cassirer, Berlin. The Reception of van Gogh in Germany from 1901-1914* (Zwolle, 1988), p. 40. Hereafter Feilchenfeldt, *van Gogh and Cassirer*.

⁴³² See Peter Springer, 'Alfred Flechtheim: Ein Kunsthändler neuen Typus', pp. 79-92 in Junge, *Avantgarde und Publikum*. (Köln, 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 1913.⁴³³ 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.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:⁴³⁵

Der Kunsthändler 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.⁴³⁶Seine 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."⁴³⁷

See Stephan von Wiese, "Der Kunsthändler als *Überzeugungstäter*: Daniel Henry Kahnweiler und Alfred Flechtheimer", in exh.cat. *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler. Kunsthändler. Verleger*. (Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, 1987), p. 46.

⁴³³ Cassirer also helped Flechtheim to re-establish himself after World War I, when he offered him in 1921 his premises and its facilities. See von Wiese, p. 51. See also Alfred Flechtheim, "Zehn Jahre Kunsthändler", *Querschnitt*, no. 3 (1923), p. 153. He also published catalogues, regular bulletins, and later the art journal *Querschnitt*.

⁴³⁴ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler opened his gallery in Paris in 1907, representing Picasso, Braque, Léger, Gris and Dérain. For a comprehensive account of the German Jewish art dealer and publisher, see *Daniel Henry Kahnweiler. Kunsthändler, Verleger, Schriftsteller* (Paris, 1984 and Stuttgart, 1986). For a distinction between commercial and ideological dealers, also see the Robert Jensen and Stephan von Wiese.

⁴³⁵ Whilst Cassirer was still the target of conservative Wilhelmine art policies before 1914, Flechtheim and his stable of modernist French and German artists were targets of the *Entartete Kunst* policies from the late 1920s onwards. Both periods incorporated ideologies which were nationalistic, anti-Semitic and xenophobic, bringing evidence for the ideological component of the art they represented. Henrike Junge (ed.), *Avantgarde und Publikum. Zur Rezeption avantgardistischer Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1933* (Köln, 1992).

⁴³⁶ Stephan von Wiese, 'Der Kunsthändler als *Überzeugungstäter*: Daniel Henry Kahnweiler und Alfred Flechtheim, pp. 45-58 in exh.cat. *Alfred Flechtheim. Sammler* (Düsseldorf, 1987).

⁴³⁷ Von Wiese p. 45 cites Hermann von Wedderkop, "Publikum und Kunsthändler" in *Beiträge zur Kunst des XIX. Jahrhunderts und unserer Zeit* (Düsseldorf, no date), pp. 17-28.

Art and Literary Events at the Cassirer Kunstsalon.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: *Wohin treiben wir?* (4 January 1913), on the art of Delacroix (25 November 1913) and on *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 *Der Wandervogel* and a Maurice Maeterlinck reading on January 12. On 19 January 1906, Alfred Mombart read from his writings and recited songs by Konrad Ansorge, Elsa Gregory and Herwarth Walden. On 17 February, the theatre and literary-cultural critic Alfred Kerr spoke on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Heinrich Heine. On 9 March, Rainer Maria Rilke spoke on Rodin,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,

⁴³⁸ See Appendix A) 2 for full details of sponsors, events and dates.

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*.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, René 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)⁴⁴¹ and the Viennese architect Alfred Loos gave two lectures, one on *Das sogenannte angewandte Kunstgewerbe* and *Ornament und Verbrechen*.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.⁴⁴³

wrote on the works of Cézanne, see letter, October 10, 1907, where he reports on a Cassirer exhibition, where he was highly impressed with Cézanne's paintings, see *Art and Theory* (2003) p. 37.

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.

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.

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

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 1899.⁴⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁴⁶ 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 Ohff (Berlin, 1989), p. 27.

Kunstsalon.⁴⁴⁷ Both the Cassirer gallery and the Cassirer art journal introduced modernist German and foreign ideas to Berlin. 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.⁴⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁴⁹ 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.⁴⁵⁰ 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*.⁴⁵¹ On one hand, Max Reinhardt advocated modernist realist

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 Alltagsmisere 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.

⁴⁵² Max Reinhardt, Ich bin nichts als ein Theatermann. Briefe, Reden, Aufsätze, Interviews, Gespräche, Auszüge aus Regiebüchern (Berlin, 1989), p. 73.

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 “Monatsschrift 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.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 uneigennützigsten 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 bedeutendsten 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:

⁴⁵⁵ Arsène Alexander, “Durand-Ruel. Bild und Geschichte eines Kunsthändlers”, PAN 2 (1911), pp. 115-122.

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.

Die Judenfrage besteht darin, daß alle unmöglichen Leute Antwort geben auf Fragen, die sie sich nie vorgelegt hatten. Was wäre sie, wenn sie nichts wäre als eine Frage der Juden, eine der tausend Nationalität -und Länderfragen? Sie ist aber eine Frage des Fortlebens einer Denkform und Weltanschauung... Der Judengeist ist eine Geburtshelfer der Gedanken, wie er ein Totengräber ist... Toleranz ist beschämender als Haß und Feindschaft... Hierzulande wird ihnen bloss unter die Nase gerieben dass sie Gäste sind... Auch der Antisemitismus hat sein Gutes. Er bewahrt die Juden vor Verblödung. Zu Staatsruheposten werden sie nicht zugelassen.⁴⁵⁷

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.⁴⁵⁸ 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.⁴⁵⁹ However, now Jagow had privately disregarded the moral values that he

⁴⁵⁷ 'Juden (Apothegmata)', 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 Grünspach; 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 Maximilian 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.

⁴⁶¹ Paul Cassirer, 'Erklärung', PAN 1,(1911) p. 320.

⁴⁶² Jagow participated in the Kapp-Putsch of 1921 and chose the Jewish Fritz Grünsbach 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 Gogh⁴⁶⁴

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 1890.⁴⁶⁵ 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.⁴⁶⁶ Paul Cassirer's 1904 German publication of the correspondence between Vincent and his brother Theo further extended the artist's impact.⁴⁶⁷ Bruno Cassirer's art journal *Kunst und Künstler* carried the serialisation of the correspondence during 1904-1905.⁴⁶⁸ 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-Graefe, Vincent. A Life of Vincent van Gogh Transl. Holroyd-Reece (London, John Lehman, 1922). Holroyd-Reece praised Julius Meier-Graefe 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.

⁴⁶⁸ Van Gogh letters, in Kunst und Künstler, 2. (1904) pp. 364-68, 417-19, 462, 493-95; 3, (1905) pp. 39-40-86, 120-22, 169-70, 214-17, 261-62, 298-300, 391-92, 479-80, 528, see also Zemel, Van Gogh Criticism, p. 228

re-interpreted his art to a growing German-language public, a publication which followed his numerous articles on various Impressionists, including van Gogh.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'.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.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'.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;⁴⁷³ others saw his vision fired by private fantasy and personal torment;⁴⁷⁴ for others still, the artist was a genius who risked his sanity and his life,⁴⁷⁵ whilst others saw him as a betrayed idealist, a victim of modern

⁴⁶⁹ Julius Meier Graefe, Vincent van Gogh. A Biographical Study, transl. J.H.Reece, London, The Medici Society, 1928.

⁴⁷⁰ Carol Zemel, Van Gogh Criticism, p.21

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.57-58

⁴⁷³ Critics Fontainas, Mirbeau, Leblonds , *Ibid.*, p. 102

Julius Meier Graefe, Vincent van Gogh. A biographical study by JMG, transl. J.H.Reece (London , The Medici Society, 1928)

⁴⁷⁴ Fontainas, Mirbeau, Leblonds , *Ibid.*, p. 102

⁴⁷⁵ van Bever, *Ibid.*, p.102

alienation and cultural decadence.⁴⁷⁶ 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.⁴⁷⁷ 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'.⁴⁷⁸ 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 critics, as the following section will show.⁴⁷⁹ 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.⁴⁸⁰ 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 wondrous works of van Gogh'.⁴⁸¹ 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

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’.⁴⁸² 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 1901.⁴⁸³ 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 1901.⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, Cassirer arranged the loan of two further works from private collectors Harry Graf Kessler’s *The Plain of*

⁴⁸² See also Zemel’s Conclusion, in Zemel, *van Gogh Criticism*.

⁴⁸³ Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, *Exposition d’Oeuvres de Vincent van Gogh*, Preface by de Julien Leclerq, (15-31 March 1901). See reference by Feilchenfeldt *Van Gogh and Paul Cassirer*, p. 152.

⁴⁸⁴ Five paintings were listed in the catalogue.

Auvers 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 an diese Bilder verlor, und mächtig wieder zurückbekam, und wieder verlor!

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.

Wie aber konnte ich etwas so Unfassliches in Worte bringen, etwas so Plötzliches, so Starkes, so Unzerlegbares!....ein Geheimnis zwischen meinem Schicksal, den Bildern und mir. Ein Sturzacker, eine mächtige Allee gegen den Abendhimmel, ein Hohlweg mit krummen Föhren, ein Stück Garten mit der Hinterwand eines Hauses, Baurnwagen mit mageren Pferden auf einer Hutweide, ein kupfernes Becken und ein irdener Krug, ein paar Bauern um einen Tisch, Kartoffel essend, aber was nutzt dir das!

....Was soll ich Dir von Farben reden? Da ist ein unblaubliches, stärkstes Blau, das kommt immer wieder, ein Grün wie von geschmolzenen Smaragden, ein Gelb bis zum Orange.

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:

Wie kann ich es dir nahebringen, daß hier jedes Wesen – ein Wesen jeder Baum, jeder Streifen gelben oder grünlichen Feldes, jeder Zaun, jeder in den Steinhügel gerissene Hohlweg, ein Wesen der zinnerne Krug, die irdene Schüssel, der Tisch, der plumbe Sessel, sich mir wie neugeboren aus dem furchtbaren Chaos des Nichtlebens, aus dem Abgrund der Wesenlosigkeit entgegenghob, dass ich fühlte, nein, dass ich wusste, wie jedes dieser Dinge, dieser Geschöpfe aus einem fürchterlichen Zeifel an der Welt herausgeboren war und nun mit seinem Dasein einen grässlichen Schlund, gähnendes Nichts, für immer verdeckte!..... wie mir diese Sprache in die Seele redete, die mir die gigantischen Rechtfertigungen der seltsamsten unauflösbarsten Zustände meines Innern hinwarf, mich mit eins begreifen machte, was ich in unerträglicher Dumpfheit zu fühlen, kaum ertragen konnte, und was ich doch, wie sehr fühlte ich das, aus mir nicht mehr herausresissen konnte – und hier gab eine unbekannte Seele von unfassbarer Stärke mir Antwort, mit einer Welt mir Antwort. Mir war zumute wie einem, der nach ungemessenem Taumel festen Boden unter den Füßen fühlt und um den ein Sturm rast....Und nun konnte ich, von Bild zu Bild, ein etwas fühlen, wie ihr innerstes Leben in der Farbe vorbrach und wie die Farben eine um anderen willen lebten und wie eine, geheimnisvoll-mächtig, die andern alle trug, und konnte in dem allem ein Herz

⁴⁸⁷ 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 Starrkrampf 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 abgehoben ist.

Es schwebt mir um diese Dinge etwas mir selbst Unerklärliches, etwas wie Liebe – kann es Liebe geben 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 prisonniers*. See Patrick Bridgwater, *Poet of Expressionist Berlin - the Life and Work of Georg Heym*. Libris, London 1991.

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.⁴⁹¹ 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 hurtles 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.'⁴⁹² 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'.⁴⁹³ 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.⁴⁹⁴ 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.⁴⁹⁵ Zemel investigates several projects to exemplify van Gogh's utopian impulse,⁴⁹⁶ 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.

⁴⁹² Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History,' pp. 257-58 in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, New York, 1969.

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',⁴⁹⁷ including van Gogh's portraits⁴⁹⁸ and self-portraits, not least because of the psychological strain of painting the self as the 'other'.⁴⁹⁹ 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 Hofmannsthal'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.⁵⁰⁰ 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.⁵⁰¹ (A year later Osthaus bought another van Gogh, *Portrait of Armand Roulin*, from the dealer Vollard in Paris.) Thus

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 Bongers-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,⁵⁰² the work being accepted into an independent, progressive and publicly accessible institution that was privately founded and privately run and funded.⁵⁰³ 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.⁵⁰⁴ This is somewhat surprising since van Gogh was increasingly interpreted as a follower of Rembrandt, an artist greatly revered in Germany for centuries.⁵⁰⁵ 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.

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.

⁵⁰⁴ The Exhibition originated in Berlin and toured to Munich, Krefeld, Wiesbaden, Hamburg, Dresden, Hagen, Bremen, Mannheim, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne, Stuttgart and Darmstadt. For van Gogh's representation of sites in the modernising city, see Griselda Pollock, 'Stark Encounters: Modern Life and Urban Work in van Gogh's Drawings of the Hague, 1881-1883' *Art History*, 6, September 1983 pp.330-38

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:

Leistikow und... Paul Cassirer gingen aber noch weiter. Sie brachten nun die teils verpönten, teils unbekanntern modernen Künstler des Auslandes dem Publikum vor Augen: Manet und Monet, die bereits berühmten Pariser; der bis dahin unbekannte Cézanne, welcher in Paris plötzlich noch lebend zur grössten Anerkennung ausgegraben worden war, und Gauguin, in dem man das Vorbild des früheren umstrittenen Norwegers Munch erkannte; ferner einen Holländer, von dem noch nie irgendeiner ein Sterbenswörtchen gehört hatte; van Gogh... die van Gogh'schen Bilder verblüfften ganz Berlin zuerst in solcher Weise. Dass überall ironisches Gelächter und Achselzucken war. Aber die Secession brachte alljährlich immer wieder neue Werke von diesem Holländer und heute wird van Gogh zu den besten und teuersten gezählt.⁵⁰⁶

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.

⁵⁰⁶ Lovis Corinth, Das Leben Walter Leistikows: Ein Stück Berliner Kulturgeschichte (Berlin 1910), p. 55

supported van Gogh, an artist who was on the whole derided by most Europeans.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’.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’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’.⁵¹⁰ None the less, the huge Paris exhibition of van Gogh’s work in 1908, *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 *Cypresses* and *Pietà after Delacroix*, both purchased by the same collector, Gustave Fayet.⁵¹¹ However, in France, it was the dealer Bernheim-Jeune who was able to place van Gogh works most successfully; probably in no small

⁵⁰⁷ See comprehensive concluding chapter by Zemel, *Van Gogh Criticism*.

⁵⁰⁸ Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley 1996), p. 296.

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

⁵¹⁰ Feilchenfeldt, *His Collectors and Dealers*, p. 43-44

⁵¹¹ Feilchenfeldt, *His Collectors and Dealers*, p. 44.

measure because they employed Félix Fénéon as their manager, who secured several German clients such as Bernhard Koehler and Walter Alfred von Heymel.⁵¹²

Paul Cassirer and Vincent van Gogh Collectors.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.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.⁵¹⁵

By 1914, Paul Cassirer, both in his capacity as an art dealer and as a private collector, owned 110.⁵¹⁶ (Berlin) Hugo von Tschudi owned fourteen works privately.⁵¹⁷ (Berlin and

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, *The Postman Joseph Roulin* and *The Smoker*. In 1910-11, the Grafton Gallery in London included twenty-two works by van Gogh in the Exhibition, *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. Van Gogh and the Modern Movement. (Museum Folkwang Essen, 1990).

⁵¹³ Julius Meier-Graefe's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1904), pp. 119-120, gives a list of Van Gogh collectors up to 1903/4. See Feilchenfeldt, 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

⁵¹⁴ See Chapter V on sponsors to public German institutions.

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.

⁵¹⁹ C. Saltzman, *Portrait of Dr. Gachet. The Story of a van Gogh Masterpiece*. (Penguin, London 1998)

in 1890.⁵²⁰ 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 1897⁵²¹ to a young Jewish woman artist from Copenhagen, Alice Ruben.⁵²² Subsequently, Ruben sold it to her friend, another Danish Jewish painter-designer from Copenhagen, Mogens Ballin.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.⁵²⁴ Indeed, Leclerq wrote the foreword for the seventeen page

⁵²⁰ Vollard exhibited Van Gogh in June 1895 and in November 1896.

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.

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.

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.

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 Bongers-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 Rochefoucauld, 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.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.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.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 Städelsche Kunstinstitut.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.⁵²⁹ Mössinger purchased the portrait on 20 February 1911 for 20,000 Mark, almost double

⁵²⁵ Ibid., p. 42.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

⁵²⁷ Kessler also bought works directly from Paris sources.

⁵²⁸ Swarzenski came from the educated Frankfurt Jewish and thus was part of Frankfurt's liberal upper middle class. In 1901 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.

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-Graefe 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 Bongers-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.

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 Clients⁵³²

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 Folkswang Museum (Karl Osthaus), the Frankfurter Städelsche 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 Nemes, who also lived part of the year in Munich.⁵³³ 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 clientèle. 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 Städelsche Kunstinstitut who were willing to take such art on board and a devoted local clientèle, many developments that most towns outside the major metropolis centres did not offer.⁵³⁴

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*.⁵³⁵

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

⁵³⁴ Cassirer established branches in Dresden, Hamburg and Amsterdam, and planned to show in New York.

⁵³⁵ Thomas Alt, 'Die Herabwertung der deutschen Kunst durch die Parteigänger des Impressionismus', (Mannheim, 1911). Alt also attacked Fritz Wichert, the director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim. See Stefan Pucks, "The Archenemy Invades Germany: French Impressionist Pictures in the Museums of the German

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*.⁵³⁶ 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 Städelsche 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

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:

Ich habe im letzten Jahre in Paris bei Kunsthändlern Bilder junger Franzosen erworben, Werke von Braque, Dérain, Girieud, Laurencien, Picasso, Vlaminck und anderen. Keines dieser Bilder kostete 400 Franken. Für Arbeiten hiesiger Akademieschüler wird mindestens soviel verlangt. Bilder bekannter hiesiger Landschaftler kosten das Dreifache und Vierfache... Ich habe noch nie gehört, dass sich deutsche staatliche oder städtische Galerien Bilder von Bonnard oder Renoir, Picasso oder Rousseau oder Seurat angeschafft hätten. Die bleiben bei van Gogh stehen, wenn sie überhaupt so weit kommen. Vielleicht tut es ihnen später mal leid, Gelegenheiten verpasst zu haben.⁵³⁷

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

⁵³⁷ As cited by Alex Vomel, “Alfred Flechtheim, Kunsthändler und Verleger”, in *Imprimatur*, 1967.

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

⁵³⁹ *Deutsche und französischer Kunst*, pp. 32, 42, 83, as cited by Paret, *Berlin Secession*, pp. 193-194.

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 *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.⁵⁴⁵ 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 geldverdienended Kunsthändler noch der Rate erteilender Kunstgelehrte noch der alles Schöne beschmutzende Kritiker.⁵⁴⁶

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, präziöser, 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.⁵⁴⁷

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.

⁵⁴⁶ Paul Cassirer, 'Kunst und Kunsthandel', in *PAN* (1911), p. 559.

⁵⁴⁷ *PAN*, (1911), p. 567.

Furthermore, Cassirer confirmed that the traditional role of the French and German Salon academies had been superseded 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*.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.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.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.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.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 573.

⁵⁵¹ Reicke, 'Mein Austritt aus der Kunstdeputation' in *Gesammelte Schriften* (1922) as cited by Löhneysen, 'Paul Cassirer und Kreis', p. 156.

⁵⁵² See *PAN*, 13 May 1914, where the incident is re-examined.

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 clientèle 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*.⁵⁵⁴

Man hat aus dem verjudeten Berlin West einen Kunstmarkt ersten Ranges gemacht und man hat es verstanden diesen Markt ganz in seine Hände zu bringen. Der Salon Cassirer, den man ebenso Salon Liebermann nennen kann, ist die Secession in deren Hände in den geschickten 'Kassierer' Händen liegen, im kleinen.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ K. Scheffler, Die fetten und die mageren Jahre. Ein Arbeits und Lebensbericht (München 1946) p.121

⁵⁵⁵ "Die Berliner Kunstausstellungen", in Hochland I (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 angesehenener, international erfolgreicher Kunsthändler war, doch eben auch ‘nur’ als Kunsthändler 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 fürchterlichen 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 cynicism 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 multi-faceted 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 clientèle, the populist press linked Cassirer, art and power, which made him and his Jewish patron-peers into targets for anti-Semitic polemics.⁵⁵⁹ 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 gentile 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.⁵⁶⁰

has never been clearly established why he resorted to a suicide attempt, which went tragically wrong or succeeded, depending on an interpretative perspective. See Epilogue.

⁵⁵⁹ See Leora Auslander's argument regarding the link between taste and power in, *Taste and Power. Furnishing Modern France* (University of California Press, Berkeley, London , 1996)

⁵⁶⁰ Arnold Zweig, *Juden auf der Deutschen Bühne* (Berlin, 1928), pp.101-2. as cited by Peter Jelavich, "Performing High and Low: Jews in Modern Theater, Cabaret, Revue, and Film", in Emily D. Bilski (ed.), *Berlin Metropolis*: p. 213.

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*.⁵⁶¹ 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:⁵⁶²

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 wie 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 Pffiffigkeit für die Konjunktur zugeschrieben wurden: das war im dauernd ein Stachel...⁵⁶³

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.

⁵⁶² *Kunst und Künstler XXIV*, 1925/6 pp. 175-77, 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.⁵⁶⁴ 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.⁵⁶⁵ 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, Kalckreuth, 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*.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁶ Er verhalf erstklassige moderne Werke die Durchbruchsschlacht in Berlin die in der ganzen Welt zwischen lebendiger Qualitätskunst und qualitätslosen Epigonentum war. Denn das war das Einigende zwischen Allen, die unter dem Namen 'Impressionisten' in den 90er Jahren zusammengefasst wurden. Das, was sie von der Akademischen und offiziellen Kunst unterschied: die hohe künstlerische Qualität des Lebens. Und daher hatte der Kampf zwischen beiden Richtungen eine weit über das Gebiet der Kunst hinausgehende Bedeutung; es war eine Auflehnung des Menschen, des jungen und lebensdurstigen Menschen gegen den Tod überhaupt. Erst Paul Cassirer hat in Berlin für diese Armee des Lebens die Stellung und die Rüstung geschaffen, die sie den Sieg ermöglichten.Jeder Gebildete in Berlin kannte aus den Ausstellungen im Kunstsalon Cassirer Max Liebermann, Manet, Monet, Degas, Renoir, Cézanne, Van Gogh zu einer Zeit wo der Wert und Ruhm dieser grossen Künstler in Paris und erst recht in England und Amerika, noch das Geheimnis weniger Sammler und Kunsthistoriker waren.
...Während der Ruhm der 'Meister' die die sogenannte 'Grosse' Lehrter Bahnhofs-Ausstellungen beherrschten, der von Anton von Werner, Begas, Meyerheim, Aschenbach verblasste, wurden in der Berliner Sezession junge Künstler wie Corinth, Slevogt, Kalkreuth, Trübner, Leistikow zu den anerkannten

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

Vertretern der deutschen Malerei. Nur so, gestützt auf den immer fester in diese Richtung drängenden öffentlichen Geschmack konnten Tschudi, Lichtwark und die Leiter vieler anderen grossen deutschen Museen ihren Kampf gegen die rückständigen Kultusministerien und den mächtigen und rücksichtslos eingesetzten Einfluss Wilhelms II aufnehmen und durchführen, moderne Werke von bleibenden Wert ankaufen, den deutschen Sammlungen zu einer Zeit, wo das noch mit geringen Mitteln möglich war, eine Reihe der bedeutendsten Werke zeitgenössischer Kunst einreihen.

...Denn wenn man das Wesen Paul Cassirers in einem Wort zusammen fassen will, so gibt es keines das ihn treffender kennzeichnet als das des 'Revolutionär'. Er war Revolutionär schlecht hin, ... von Zweifel zu Zweifel jagte, nicht bloss mit unbeirrbar Instinkt das Überlebte und daneben das kommende neue Leben witterte, sondern auch ihm zwang, rücksichtslos gegen sich selbst und gegen andere Hand anzulegen, um die Brandfackel in das Vermoderte zu werfen und Stein auf Stein zu einem neuen Bau heranzuschleppen. Die Auflehnung der 90er Jahre und des ersten Jahre dieses Jahrhunderts gegen die Wilhelminische Kunst war in Wirklichkeit der Anfang der Revolution. Das Brüchige des kaiserlichen Systems ist in der Kunst und Literatur viel früher gespürt und angegriffen worden als in der Politik. So war es nur natürlich dass der geborene Revolutionär Paul Cassirer eine Führerrolle übernahm. Das war seine historische Rolle...

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 Walter H. Sokel, *The Writer in Extremis*, Stanford University Press, 1959.

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.

⁵⁶⁸ For comprehensive data, see Appendix A 4. Also see Andrea Pophanken and Felix Billeter (eds.), Die Moderne und ihre Sammler. Französische Kunst in Deutschem Privatbesitz vom Kaiserreich zur Weimar Republik (Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2001). Hereafter Pophanken, Die Moderne und ihre Sammler. Also see Henrike Junge (ed.), Avantgarde und Publikum. Zur Rezeption avantgardistischer Kunst in Deutschland 1905-1933 (Böhlau Verlag, Köln, 1992).

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.

Sammeln und kaufen, kaufen und sammeln ist heute die wirksamste Förderung von Kunst und Künstlern ... was daraus wird ist ebenso unklar wie das ganze Schicksal der modernen Malerei überhaupt. Emil Waldmann⁵⁷²

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.⁵⁷³ 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.⁵⁷⁴ 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 Städelsche 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

⁵⁷¹ The chapter refers to collections rather than collectors, as often there were two partners involved.

⁵⁷² Emil Waldmann, Der Sammler und ihresgleichen, p. 72. Hereafter Waldmann, Der Sammler.

⁵⁷³ Werner Sombart, The Jews and Modern Capitalism (1913), p. 153.

⁵⁷⁴ A small group of German Jews during the 19th century had been great private collectors of all art; as to their public patronage see Cella-Margaretha Girardet, Jüdische Mäzene für die Preußischen Museen zu Berlin (1997) Hereafter Girardet, Jüdische Mäzene.

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.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, *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.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

⁵⁷⁵ Georg Swarzenski, 'Die Sammlung Hugo Nathan in Frankfurt am Main', *Kunst und Künstler*, no. XV (1917) pp. 105-120.

⁵⁷⁶ Karl Scheffler, Catalogue Preface, 'Sammlung Stern Berlin', Cassirer Kunstsalon, 22 May 1916,

*Alte Kunst oder moderne Kunst.*⁵⁷⁷ 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.⁵⁷⁸ 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.⁵⁷⁹

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 *contemporanéité* 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.⁵⁸⁰

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

⁵⁷⁷ Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 13.

⁵⁷⁸ Emil Waldmann, *Arme und reiche Sammler*, in series: *Almanach des Verlages Bruno Cassirer* (Berlin, Verlag Bruno Cassirer, 1920), p. 155.

⁵⁷⁹ The best known modernist French and German collections among (non-Jewish) German patrons were assembled by Adolf Rothermundt, Oscar Schmitz, Dr. Max Linde, Fritz Kuh, Otto Gerstenberg, Oskar and Greta Moll, Bernhard and Elisabeth Koehler, Harry Graf Kessler, Curt and Sophie Herrmann, Gottlieb Friedrich Reber and Alfred Heymel. These eleven collections have been examined in other studies and do not form part of this thesis. See Braun and Braun (eds.) *Mäzenatentum in Berlin*, also Jürgen Kocka and Manuel Frey (eds.), *Bürgerkultur und Mäzenatentum* (1998) also Pophanken, *Die Moderne*.

⁵⁸⁰ Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 14. Girardet's study has shown in numerous cases that Jewish collectors of classic, Renaissance and later art were often industrialists, businessmen and scientists; in many instances they developed into lay experts in their chosen field.

collectors of the German bourgeoisie.⁵⁸¹ 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.⁵⁸² 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.⁵⁸³ He believed that a modernist collection was characterised by a specialisation, an *Einseitigkeit* – a one sidedness, a focus.⁵⁸⁴ 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.⁵⁸⁵ He believed that there was a covert interdependent alliance between a private collector and a

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 life time , which would also house his bequest after his death. Waldmann, p. 21-22.

museum, a relationship that benefited both parties.⁵⁸⁶ 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.⁵⁸⁷

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.⁵⁸⁸ 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.⁵⁸⁹ Waldmann suggests that Fontane had observed that the Jewish business and banking élite provided the new type of collector who responded to contemporary new art dealers and artists.⁵⁹⁰ 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:

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 *Krönung König Wilhelms I zu Königberg* (1861), now at the Alte Nationalgalerie Berlin, see its new Catalogue, p. 294.

⁵⁸⁹ Wolfgang Paulsen, 'Theodor Fontane, the Philosemitic Antisemite', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, no. 26 (1981), pp. 303-322.

⁵⁹⁰ Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 25-26.

Denn macht bracht doch einen Menschen nicht zu verachten, bloss weil er Bankier ist oder Margarine fabriziert.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.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.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.⁵⁹⁴

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.

⁵⁹² Waldmann, *Der Sammler*, p. 26.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 130.

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 *Mensch* and a *Jude*, regardless of whether he collected traditional or modern art, whether he chose to be a militarist or pacifist.⁵⁹⁸

Collecting against the Grain: Jewish Collectors and French Impressionism.

A small élite of late 19th-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 *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 *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Berlin Judischer Verlag, Berlin, 1928), p. 41.

⁵⁹⁷ Adolph Donath published several anthologies and several monographs, such as *Lesser Uri. Seine Stellung in der Welt* (Berlin: Max Perl Verlag, 1921). He was on the staff of *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 élite 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

⁵⁹⁸ Adolph Donath *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Berlin Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1928), p. 39.

⁵⁹⁹ Hermann Cohen, *Jüdische Schriften*, vol. II (Berlin: 1924), pp. 233-4.

⁶⁰⁰ Peter Pulzer, '*Emancipation and its Discontents: The German-Jewish Dilemma*', (1997), p. 1.

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*⁶⁰² (See Chapter I). 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.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰² See Malachi Haim Hacoen, 'Dilemmas of Cosmopolitanism: Karl Popper, Jewish Identity, and Central European Culture', in The Journal of Modern History 71, no. 1 (1999): pp. 105-149.

⁶⁰³ Hacoen 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. Hacoen argues that 'cosmopolitanism' must be studied in the context of multi-culturalism and ethno-nationalism. Hacoen, p. 107.

Wilhelmine Jewish Collectors and French Modernist Collections.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.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'.⁶⁰⁶

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.

⁶⁰⁵ See Appendix A 4.

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 Bernstein⁶⁰⁷

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 *Gazette-des-Beaux-Arts*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.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷ Carl Bernstein (1842-1894) and Felicie Bernstein (née Rosenthal) (1852-1908)

⁶⁰⁸ See chapter I.

⁶⁰⁹ Jules Laforgue, who had been an assistant 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 *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 *L'été, Champs de coquelicots*), one by Camille Pissarro (Labourers in a Field), one by Sisley (*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 Mankiewicz⁶¹⁰

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 1899.⁶¹¹

⁶¹⁰ Paul Mankiewicz (no dates known) Henritte Mankiewicz (1858-1924)

⁶¹¹ Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene*, p. 69.

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-Bartholdy⁶¹²

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.⁶¹³ 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.

⁶¹² Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1846-1909)

⁶¹³ 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.⁶¹⁴

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.⁶¹⁵ 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-Bartholdy⁶¹⁶

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 Wilhelmine art and cultural institutions.

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.⁶¹⁷ Indeed they also became the staunchest financial supporters of the acquisition programme of the 'Tschudi Spende', a foundation set up in Tschudi's memory.⁶¹⁸ 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 1902.⁶¹⁹ 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.⁶²⁰ 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

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.

⁶²⁰ Stefan Pucks, 'Von Manet zu Matisse. Die Sammler der französischen Moderne in Berlin', in Manet bis Van Gogh (München: Prestel, 1997). p. 387, footnote 18, p. 390.

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 Mendelessohn⁶²¹

Robert von Mendelssohn shared his passion for van Gogh with other Mendelssohns.⁶²²

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

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.⁶²³ 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 70th 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.⁶²⁴ 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 Mendelssohn⁶²⁵

Franz Mendelssohn was also involved in the family banking concern; he was a brother of Robert.⁶²⁶ He too was a member of numerous financial professional institutions, the

⁶²³ See John C.G. Röhl, *Der Kaiser* -

⁶²⁴ Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene*, 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).

⁶²⁵ Franz von Mendelssohn (1865-1935)

⁶²⁶ 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.⁶²⁷ 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.⁶²⁸ 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

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.⁶²⁹ 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 exhibitors 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 Stern⁶³⁰

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 Walsch, Wilhelm Trübner and Hans Thoma. The sculptural works included Anette Kolbe, Wrba and works by Dora Hitz, who was also Malgonie's art tutor.

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. Röhl, *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

⁶³¹ Karl Scheffler, *Die Sammlung Stern* (Berlin: 1922).

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 Boehle, 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).

⁶³⁴ Georg Swarzenski, 'Sammlung Hugo Nathan', *Kunst und Künstler*, no. XV (1917), p. 116.

contemporary masters.⁶³⁵ As a citizen of Frankfurt, Nathan was probably closely guided by Georg Swarzenski, the director of the Städelsche 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.⁶³⁶ Indeed, he considered Nathan's collection as one of the best and judged almost each work as a treasure.

Alfred and Hanna Wolff 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.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

⁶³⁵ Swarzenski, p. 116.

⁶³⁶ Ibid. p. 116

⁶³⁷ Alfred Wolff (1866-1959) Hanna Wolff (dates unknown)

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.⁶⁴⁰

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).

⁶³⁹ See Chapter V.

⁶⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that both PAN and *Kunst und Künstler* were published by Berlin Jews.

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 Nemes; 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 Nemes, 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 Arnold⁶⁴¹

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.⁶⁴² 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 co-existence 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,

⁶⁴³ Michael Dormann, 'Unser Bedeutender und glücklichster Sammler von neuen Bildern.' Die Entstehung und Präsentation der Sammlung Arnhold in Berlin', in Pophanken, Die Moderne, pp. 30, 39. Hereafter, Dormann, "Unser Bedeutender", in Pophanken, Die Moderne.

⁶⁴⁴ Richard Muther, Geschichte der Malerei mentions thirteen paintings; Julius Meier-Graefe, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst mentions eight paintings; also Emil Waldmann, Kunst unter Realismus und Impressionismus in 19. Jahrhunderts, vol. 15 (Berlin: Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, 1927) mentions seven paintings. Also see Dormann, "Unser Bedeutender", p. 34.

⁶⁴⁵ Titia Hoffmeister, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁴⁶ Italian cultural ventures were greatly respected philanthropic projects since J.W. Goethe's days when he had become infatuated with the 'Land wo die Zitronen blühen'. See earlier references to the Mendelessohn's Italian projects.

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 lies, 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

⁶⁴⁷ See Appendix A) 2 Kunstsalon Exhibition Programme 1898-1914.

⁶⁴⁸ Paul Cassirer, 'Die Sammlung Arnold', in *Kunst und Künstler* 7 (1909), pp. 3-34, 45-62, 99-109.

⁶⁴⁹ Paul Cassirer, 'Die Sammlung Arnold', in *Kunst und Künstler* 7 (1909), pp. 3-34, 45-62, 99-109.

⁶⁵⁰ Dormann, "Unser Bedeutender", in Pophanken, *Die Moderne*, p. 30 and p.39.

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 Dormmann 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.

⁶⁵² Dormmann, "Unser Bedeutender", in Pophanken, *Die Moderne*, p. 29.

only art-historical but also cultural-political interpretations.⁶⁵³ In his 'Rote Saal' he hung Lenbach portraits of Bismarck and Wilhelm I, separated by Böcklin's *Prometheus*. According to Dorrman, 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*?⁶⁵⁴ 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.⁶⁵⁵ 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.⁶⁵⁶

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

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.⁶⁵⁷ Indeed, on these occasions collectors would bid for the same works and thus began to push up prices and strengthen the art market.⁶⁵⁸ As to the strongest influence on Arnold, Dormmann 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.⁶⁵⁹

Dr. Franz and Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim⁶⁶⁰

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 *Herkules mit Löwen* (1905) and *King Heinrich of France* (1913) to the Abteilung der Bilderwerke christlicher Epochen. She gave the most important pieces of her

⁶⁵⁷ Dormmann, “Unser Bedeutender”, p. 28 and Evelyn Gutbrod, ‘Die Rezeption des Impressionismus in Deutschland 1880-1910’, (Doctoral Dissertation , München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München, 1980), p. 83.

⁶⁵⁸ Dormmann, “Unser Bedeutender”, p. 27.

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 Kunstsalon 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.⁶⁶¹

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.⁶⁶³ 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.

⁶⁶⁰ Franz Oppenheim (1852-1929) Margarete Oppenheim-Reichenheim, (1857-1935) nee Eisner, widow of Georg Reichenheim, who died in ca. 1905. Franz Oppenheim completed his studies with a doctoral dissertation.

⁶⁶¹ Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene*, p. 33. Girardet cites Lionel Venturi, *Cézanne*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1936), p. 391. At least part of the collection was auctioned at J.Bohler, Munich, on 18-22 May 1936.

⁶⁶² Stefan Pucks, 'Von Manet zu Matisse', p. 387 in *Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne*.

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 Nemes⁶⁶⁴

Marzell von Nemes, the third member in this category, was originally from Budapest, but also spent considerable time in Munich. Little is known about Nemes'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 Nemes, 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.⁶⁶⁵

Nemes'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.⁶⁶⁶

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

⁶⁶⁴ Marzell von Nemes (1866-1939).

⁶⁶⁵ For private and public collections in Hungary, see Judit Geskó, *Collecting for the Nation and Not only for the Nation: Impressionism in Hungary, 1907-1918* pp. 77 -90. in exh.cat. *Impressionism. Paintings collected by European Museums* (Harry Abrams, 1999)

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. Nêmes 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 Nêmes’ 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-Fürstenberg (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.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.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):

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 Kunsthandlung weitgehend ermöglichte, wird noch Gegenstand weiterer Untersuchungen sein müssen. Erste Preisvergleiche ergeben, dass Paul Cassirer seinen Brüdern keineswegs Nachlasse gewährte; für Abgüsse des kleinen Eselreiter von August Gaul zahlten sowohl Hugo Cassirer wie auch Eduard Arnold beispielsweise jeweils 400 Mark.⁶⁷²

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 Leistokow, George Mosson, Friedrich Orse and Max Slevogt. Their French Impressionist collection included Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Manet and Cézanne.

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 Cassirer⁶⁷³ (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,

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)

Chodowiecki, Johann Jakob Kirtstein, Ulrich Hubner, Konrad von Kardorf, Adolf Menzel, Hans Meid, Johann Jacob Kirstein, Georg Kolbe, Hans Purrmann and Karl Walser.

The couple also owned a substantial French collection, which included Constantin 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 Kunstsalon 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

⁶⁷⁴ See details in Appendix A) 4.

⁶⁷⁵ Robert von Hirsch (1883- 1977) Martha Hirsch, née Dreyfus-Koch (no dates known).

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.⁶⁷⁶

In 1905, Hirsch met the newly appointed director of the Städelsche 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 Bernheim-Jeune in 1907. That same year he purchased Pablo Picasso's *Scène de Rue* from the Frankfurt dealer-gallerist, Ludwig Schames.⁶⁷⁷ (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 Städelsche Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt am Main. Despite his numerous social and cultural positions in the city, Hirsch was disturbed

⁶⁷⁶ After the couple's wedding, the Hirsch collection of a Meissen dinner service was replaced by the *faillence* 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.⁶⁷⁸

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 18th-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.⁶⁷⁹ The auctioned works included Ingres, Géricault, Delacroix, Corot, Daumier, Chavannes,

⁶⁷⁷ Sotheby's Catalogue, pp. 47, 65.

⁶⁷⁸ 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.

⁶⁷⁹ 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).

Jongkind and the modernists Cézanne, Pissarro, Renoir, Degas, Morisot, Monet, Redon, Rodin, Manet, Sisley, Seurat, Rousseau, Doré, Ensor, Gauguin, van Gogh, Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard, Vuillard, Matisse, Utrillo, Maurice Vlaminck, Soutine, Amadeo Modigliani, Braque, Raoult, Chagall, Miro, Dufy, Gris, Klee, Arp, Dufy, Laurencin, Maillol, Despiau, Derain, Picasso, Leger, Masson, Calder, Giacometti, Laurens, Marini, Archipenko and Alexej von Jawlensky.⁶⁸⁰

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.⁶⁸¹

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.⁶⁸² 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)

⁶⁸² Tilla Durieux, Eine Tür steht offen. Erinnerungen (Berlin-Grunewald, Non Stop-Bücherei, 1954), p. 65.

works.⁶⁸³ 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.⁶⁸⁴

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 than 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

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 Durieux⁶⁸⁵

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.⁶⁸⁶ 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

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.

⁶⁸⁶ Durieux, *Eine Tür steht Offen*, p. 59.

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.

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.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 *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.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.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 *Künstlerbriefe aus dem Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, issued by her husband's publishing house.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.

⁶⁸⁸ Bruno Cassirer (1872-1941) Else Cassirer , nee Louis Cassirer (no dates known)

⁶⁸⁹ K.Scheffler, *Die impressionistische Buchillustration in Deutschland* (Berliner Bibliophilen-Abend, Berlin 1931).

⁶⁹⁰ Brühl, *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.⁶⁹²

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

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., p. 219. See Interview with Dorothea and Michael Kaufmann, Appendix B 1 and 2.

⁶⁹² Brühl, *Die Cassirers*, p. 216.

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.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 *Der Morgen* in 1911.⁶⁹⁶ 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.

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.

⁶⁹⁵ See Interview in Appendix. B) 1 and 2.

⁶⁹⁶ Françoise Forster-Hahn, Claude Keisch, Peter-Klaus Schuster, and Angelika Wesenberg (eds.), exh.cat., *Spirit of an Age: Nineteenth-Century Paintings from the Nationalgalerie Berlin* (London, National Gallery Company, 2001), p.62.

Prof. Dr. Kurt and Elsa Glaser⁶⁹⁷

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.⁶⁹⁸ 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 Kupferstichkabinet and was later appointed director at the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek. 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 1917.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ Kurt Glaser (1879-1943) Elsa Glaser (née Kolker) (no dates known)

⁶⁹⁸ The Kolkers were related to Hugo Perls, another collector.

⁶⁹⁹ Glaser's monograph of the artist followed in 1918. Glaser also wrote, 'Die Geschichte der Berliner Sezession', in *Kunst und Künstler*, 26, October 1927, pp. 14-20, 66-71

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.⁷⁰⁰ 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 1908.⁷⁰¹

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.⁷⁰²

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 1914.⁷⁰³ 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.⁷⁰⁴

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

⁷⁰² Expressionismus und Exil. Die Sammlung Ludwig und Rosy Fischer, Frankfurt am Main; exh.cat.

(Prestel Verlag, München, 1990) see also Cordula Frohwein, 'Die Sammlung Rosy und Ludwig Fischer in Frankfurt am Main, Henrike Jung, Avantgarde und Publikum, Böhlau Verlag Köln, 1992.

⁷⁰³ 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, (Böhlau, 1992) also Shulamith Behr, Supporters and Collectors of Expressionism, pp. 45-58 in Exh. cat. German Expressionism (London, 1997) also T. Gaetghens, 'Vom Inhalt zur Form. Deutsche Sammler und Französische Moderne', pp. 1-10 in Die Moderne und ihre Sammler (2001).

⁷⁰⁴ For two recent English-language short studies on Expressionism, see Shulamith Behr, Expressionism (Tate Gallery Publishing, London, 1999) and Wolf-Dieter Dube The Expressionists (Thames & Hudson, London, 1998) also see Expressionismus und Exil. Die Sammlung Ludwig und Rosy Fischer, Frankfurt am Main, exh.cat. (Prestel Verlag, München, 1990).

Max Liebermann⁷⁰⁵

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 *bon mot*,

'Ich war erstens Jude, zweitens reich und drittens hatte ich Talent'.⁷⁰⁶

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.⁷⁰⁷ 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.⁷⁰⁸ Between 1903 and 1910, Max Liebermann bought fifteen modernist art works, mostly from Paul Cassirer's Kunstsalon and art dealer Hermann Pächter. During the war years 1914-1918 Liebermann bought thirteen further works from the Cassirer gallery, thereby showing solidarity with his own dealer during Cassirer's absence during the war.⁷⁰⁹

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

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.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.

⁷¹⁰ See the exh.cat. Max Liebermann und Impressionisten (1997).

Emil Heilbut.⁷¹¹

The sixth collection in this category was built by Emil Heilbut, who originated from a Hamburg rabbinical family.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 1885-9.⁷¹³ Heilbut held a professorship of art history in Hamburg, and in 1889 he gave a highly regarded series of lectures on 19th-century French art at the Grossherzogliche Sächsische Kunstschule 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.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 Rohlf, Ludwig von Gleichen-Russwurm and Theodor Hagen. Besides the Bernsteins, Heilbut was the earliest private collector and supportive critic of French Impressionism. German scholar Henrik Ziegler regards Heilbut's Weimar lectures in 1889 as significant *Aufklärungsarbeit*.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹¹ Emil Heilbut (1861-1921), alias Herman[n] Helferich. For more information, see Hendrik Ziegler, *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.

⁷¹² See also Hendrik Ziegler, 'Emil Heilbut, ein früher Apologet Claude Monets', in Pophanken, *Die Moderne* p. 50.

⁷¹³ Emil Heilbut was often confused with Paul Heilbut 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, *Die Kunst der Weimarer Malerschule* p. 49, Ziegler, p. 47.

⁷¹⁴ Ferdinand Heilbut (1826-1889).

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.

⁷¹⁸ Hermann Helferich (Emil Heilbut), 'Claude Monet', in *Freie Bühne für Modernes Leben* (1887) pp. 225-230. This is possibly the first German language monograph on Monet. Ziegler, p. 60.

⁷¹⁹ Emil Heilbut, 'Die Impressionisten - Ausstellung der Wiener Secession', *Kunst und Künstler* 1 (1902-3), pp. 169-207.

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.⁷²¹ 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.⁷²²

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. Heilbut 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.

⁷²¹ See detailed research on this collection, Ziegler, p. 62.

⁷²² He made this known in an article written in 1903 in response to Harry Graf Kessler's essay, *Über den Kunstwert des Neo-Impressionismus*; Emil Heilbut, 'Eine Streitfrage' in *Kunst und Künstler*, 1 (1903), pp. 481-485. Cited by Ziegler, pp. 56.

Carl and Thea Sternheim (divorced Loewenstein, née Bauer)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.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.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 *L'Arlésienne*. During World War I they moved temporarily to the vicinity of Frankfurt am Main.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

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

⁷²⁴ The villa was located in Hollriegelskreuth, 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.

⁷²⁵ Andrea Pophanken, "Auf den ersten Kennerblick hin. Die Sammlung Carl und Thea Sternheim in München" Pophanken, *Die Moderne*, p. 255.

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.⁷²⁷ The play *Nineteenthirteen* 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*.⁷²⁸

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.

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 Städelsche 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.⁷²⁹ 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 1924.⁷³⁰ The Sternheims' interest in Gauguin was kindled by Düsseldorf art dealer Alfred Flechtheim and Frankfurt's director and curator of the Städtelsche 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, Nêmes, 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 Marzell von Nêmes, 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.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 Oragmatic 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.⁷³⁵ 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 ungetrübter 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.⁷³⁶

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

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 ant-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.

⁷³⁷ This was the overall impression ideology, despite the misgivings of some artists such as Degas and Renoir (see Chapter I).

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.

⁷³⁸ See Griselda Pollock, *Vision & Difference. Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988) also essays in Richard Kendall and Griselda Pollock, eds., *Dealing with Degas* (London: Pandora, 1992) also Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon* (London: Routledge, 1999).

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 Städelsche 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.⁷⁴² 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.⁷⁴³ 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 Städelsche 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.

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.

In der Geschichte der Berliner Museen steht das Wilhelminische Kaiserreich für einen Zeitraum, der durch das bedeutende Mäzenatentum privater Kunstsammler geprägt war. Die meist grossbürgerlichen Sammler und Mäzen dieser Zeit lassen sich vor dem Hintergrund des Wandels der Stadt zur modernen Industrie- und Handelsmetropole als Typus einer neuen 'kulturellen Elite' beschreiben. Jenseits individueller Motivationen der Sammlermäzen widmet sich dieser Beitrag gruppenspezifischen Verhaltensweise.

Sven Kuhrau⁷⁴⁴

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 1896.⁷⁴⁵ 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.⁷⁴⁶ His controversial modernist commitment was unexpected by his superiors, but should not be seen as surprising in the

⁷⁴⁴ Sven Kuhrau, 'Der Kunstsammler als Mäzen. Sammeln und Stiften als Praxis der "kulturellen Elite" im Wilhelminischen Berlin', in Mäzenatisches Handeln. Studien zur Kultur des Bürgertumsinns in der Gesellschaft. (Berlin: Fannei & Walz 1998), p.39.

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.

⁷⁴⁶ Eds. J. G. Prinz von Hohenzollern, 'Hugo von Tschudi als Persönlichkeit', in Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne p.13.

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 Ottilie Schnorr von Carolsfeld.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.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.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

⁷⁴⁷ Ottilie'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.

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 Hohenzollern, 'Hugo von Tschudi als Persönlichkeit', pp. 10-11. See also Babette Warncke, 'Biographie'; in *Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne* p. 452.

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.⁷⁵⁰ 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.⁷⁵¹

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 1882.⁷⁵² 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.⁷⁵³ 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.⁷⁵⁴ Thus Berlin Jewish patrons learned to choose between Bode - promoter of mainly traditional projects - and Tschudi who advocated the French avant-garde, but until

⁷⁵⁰ 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.*'

⁷⁵¹ The group included Graf Kessler, Julius Meier-Graefe and Henry van de Velde, see Chapter II

⁷⁵² See Chapter IV and Appendix A 4

⁷⁵³ See Kessler's diary entry for 7.2.1909 in Ulrich Ott, ed., *Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch eines Weltmannes*. Exhibition at the Deutsche Literaturarchiv 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.

⁷⁵⁴ See Kessler's diary entry for 7.2.1909 in Ulrich Ott, ed., *Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch eines Weltmannes*. Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchiv im Schiller-Nationalmuseum Exh. Cat. (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1988); Claude Keisch, 'Adonis', in *Tschudi unter Kampf um die Moderne*, p.354.

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 Huldshinsky, 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.⁷⁵⁶ 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.⁷⁵⁷

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

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 Königl. Akademie der Künste, 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. Röhl, *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 Hohenzollern, pp.10-11.

Secession in May 1899.⁷⁶¹ 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.⁷⁶² Gaetghens 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:

... dieWahrnehmung der Masse und den ‘Wenigen, die fähig sind, das Beste zu empfinden.
 [...]so bleibt doch die Grundfrage des Konflikts zwischen rückwartsgewandte
 Kulturidentifikation und Gegenwartserneuerung erhalten.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶⁰ Tschudi, ‘Kunst und Publikum’, (1912) pp. 56-75 as cited by Thomas W. Gaetghens, ‘Tschudis Impressionismusverständnis: Historienmalerei als Darstellung erlebten Lebens’, in Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne, p. 363.

⁷⁶¹ Gaetghens, ‘Tschudis Impressionismusverständnis’, p. 362.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 362-63.

However, Tschudi declared openly his identification with ‘new painting’ and a new *Zeitgeist*,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:

Zugleich bestimme ich, dass kunftig zu allen Erwerbungen für die Nationalgalerie, sei es durch Ankauf, sei es durch Schenkung, zunächst meine Genehmigung eingeholt werde...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.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’.⁷⁶⁷ Tschudi – like his major Jewish supporters, however patriotic they may

⁷⁶³ Tschudi, 1912, p.75.

⁷⁶⁴ Gaetghens, 1993, p.363

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.

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.

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 Tschudi, Acc. NF 20/1966. See also Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession*: pp. 2-3.

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 Huldshinsky 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'.⁷⁶⁸

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.

⁷⁶⁸ Julius Meier-Graefe, 'Wilhelm II und die Museen', in Julius Meier-Graefe. *Kunst-Schreiberei, Essays und Kunstkritik*, ed. Henry Schumann (Leipzig and Weimar: Gustav Kiepenhauer, 1987), p. 222.

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

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’.⁷⁷⁴

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 Huldshinsky, 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 Huldshinsky was not a private collector - from the German Jewish haute-bourgeoisie.⁷⁷⁵ Further acquisitions were one Constable oil painting and one Constable Sketchbook, both donated to the Nationalgalerie by the Jewish Paris art dealer Charles Sedelmeyer.⁷⁷⁶ Another Berlin Jewish donor, Robert Guthman, funded a John Lavery oil painting and three pencil colour drawings by Giovanni Segantini.

⁷⁷³ The models were the department store owner Jules Guillemet and his American wife; they sat for Manet from September 1878 to February 1879. See ‘Die Sammlung Tschudis’, in *Manet bis Van Gogh*, p. 80.

⁷⁷⁴ It would be interesting to speculate whether Wilhelm II was aware of the high level of education and independence 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 Munkaczky, 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 Sedelmeyer’, at the Getty Conference, March 2004: ‘Beauty and Truth for Sale: the Art of the Dealer.’

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 Coulevre 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 études*, 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’.⁷⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁷⁸ 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-Bonington by Huldshinsky, Karl von der Heydt being the only non-Jewish

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.⁷⁷⁹ The partial financing for the Cézanne, Sisley and Pissarro, was subsidised by the funds in the *Geschenkfond*.⁷⁸⁰

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.⁷⁸¹ 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.⁷⁸²

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.

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 *Schenkungs fonds*; 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.⁷⁸³ 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.

⁷⁸² Schuster, p.26.

⁷⁸³ “Zu heilig, als dass dort fremdländische Bilder aufgehängt werden sollen, an der Stätte eines deutschen Nationalheiligtums... 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 Girardet, p. 69.

⁷⁸⁴ Ludwig Justi, *Memoiren*, p.282 as cited by Girardet, 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.⁷⁸⁷ 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*.⁷⁸⁸ 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.⁷⁸⁹ 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

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.

⁷⁸⁹ See Girardet, p. 70. Also B. Paul, *Hugo von Tschudi und die moderne französische Kunst im Deutschen Kaiserreich*, pp. 253-276; also P. Paret, 'Die Tschudi-Affäre', *Tschudi und der Kampf*, pp. 396-401.

found their way into the museum.⁷⁹⁰ Alternatively, this barren period could also be interpreted as a time when the Kaiser was even more hostile to Tschudi's choices than 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.⁷⁹¹ 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 pensiez pouvoir intéresser à cette souscription, de nous inscrire nous mêmes pour la somme de 7000 fr. qui vous manque. Nous considérons comme une compensation d'honneur de voir notre nom figurer à côté de ceux qui ont contribué à doter le Musée d'une œuvre capitale de l'un des plus grands paysagistes français.⁷⁹²

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.⁷⁹³ 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.⁷⁹⁴ Cella-Margaretha

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.⁷⁹⁵ 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.⁷⁹⁶ 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

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, I/NG, 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 Kunstssalon, 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

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 Huldshinsky 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 Huldshinsky 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 I/NG Acta Gen. 37 VII, 146/1905 also Girardet, p.72.

⁸⁰⁹ 21.151 Mark, SMPK/ZA i/NG Acta 37 VII 1704/1905, Girardet, p.72.

⁸¹⁰ 500 Sterling;1704/1905 also Girardet p. 72.

⁸¹¹ Girardet, pp.72, 74-75.

⁸¹² Ibid., p.73.

⁸¹³ 'Die Sammlung Tschudis' catalogue *Manet bis van Gogh*, ed. Hohenzollern, p. 202.

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-Ausstellung deutscher Kunst'.⁸¹⁴ Tschudi had organised the project, - it was financed by Eduard Arnold - and earned the Emperor's approval through its popular success.⁸¹⁵ 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.⁸¹⁶ 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.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.

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.

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.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.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:⁸²⁰

Die ganze Marées 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.⁸²¹

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.

⁸¹⁹ See Nationalgalerie inventory, p. 251, Angelika Wesenberg and Eve Förschl, eds., *Nationalgalerie Berlin. Das XIX. Jahrhundert. Katalog der Ausgestellten Werke* (Leipzig: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz und E.A. Seemann Verlag, 2001).

⁸²⁰ Girardet, p. 74.

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 Toucques 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:

.....auf den riesigen Troyon mit den fast lebensgrossen Kühen. Ich redete nach Kräften dagegen, denn es war für eine Galerie zu viel Rindvieh auf einmal und kostete ein Heldengeld, aber Tschudi behauptete, nur im Schatten der Kühe liessen sich die anderen Meister durch drücken, und die 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 Fontainebleau. Their leaders were Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Charles-Francois Daubigny and Jean Francois 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.⁸²⁵ 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.⁸²⁶ 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.⁸²⁷

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 Giradet, pp.75-76.

⁸²⁷ Meier-Graefe, 'Wilhelm II und die Museen,' p. 225.

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.⁸²⁸ 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.⁸²⁹ 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.⁸³⁰ A few Jewish patrons remained on the museum's board, such as Arnold, who was also appointed to the *Sachverständigenkommission* at the Nationalgalerie and Paul Freiherr von Merling, who

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 wäre 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 *Staatgalerie* 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 Zeugist 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 Mendlesohn, Paul Mankiewicz, Herbert Gutmann, Henry Nathan, Willy Dreyfus, Jacob Goldschmidt, Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, Carl Furstenberg, Siegfried Buber, Paul von Mendlesohn, 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.⁸³⁷ 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.⁸³⁸ 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 name, the *Tschudi Spende*, which was committed to his modernist legacy.⁸³⁹ 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

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 under 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.

⁸³⁹ See catalogue, Kurt Martin, Die Tschudi-Spende: Hugo von Tschudi zum Gedächtnis (München: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1962).

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'.⁸⁴⁰

The trust was administered by Tschudi's assistant Dr. Heinz Braune who held the interim post until the director of the Vienna Staatsgalerien Friedrich Dornhoffer was appointed successor to Tschudi three years later, on 1 January 1914.⁸⁴¹ 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.⁸⁴²

The Vinnen Manifesto, published in April 1911 (See Chapters II and III) had attacked modern artists, patrons and museum director Tschudi and his followers.⁸⁴³ 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.⁸⁴⁴ 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.

⁸⁴⁰ Kurt Martin in *Die Tschudi-Spende*, p.12, see Hermann Uhde-Bernays, 'Die Tschudi Spende', in *Kunst und Künstler*, Year X, Berlin 1912 p.379.

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 Nemes, 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 Nemes 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,

⁸⁴³ 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 müsse man zum Verständnis der alten Kunst vordringen, und nicht, wie bisher, umgekehrt; er wusste, dass, wer nichts von neuer Kunst versteht (deren Verständnis uns um so viel näher steht) auch nichts von alter Kunst verstehen könne, 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.⁸⁴⁹ 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.⁸⁵⁰ A Renoir painting, *Les Jardins de Montmartre donnant vue de Sacre-Coeur*, (1896) (Neue Pinakothek München) (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

⁸⁴⁹See 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, dédié a Gauguin*, 1888 (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge (MA) (Plate 10)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-Mendlessohn 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 Bildniss 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*),⁸⁵² by Oskar Moll (Purrmann's

Landschaft von Collioure) and Dr. Bley (T. Rysselberghe's *Tänzerin*). Of the three

⁸⁵⁰ See chapter IV

⁸⁵¹ Bequest of Collection Maurice Wertheim, class of 1906.

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-siecle* museum was celebrated as a precious temple of modernity which they believed was the essence of Tschudi's *Museum-Romanticism*.⁸⁵³ 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 *Bürgertum* thus subscribed to 'an élitist 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

⁸⁵³ Thomas Nipperdey, *Wie das Bürgertum die Moderne fand!* (Berlin 1988) p.16 and Robin Lenman, *Die Kunst, die Macht und das Geld. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Kaiserlichen Deutschland 1871 -1918* (Frankfurt a.M. 1994) p.59ff. Robin Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany 1850-1914*, (Manchester University Press, 1997).

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.⁸⁵⁴ 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-Semitic flavoured criticism - for their far reaching international and *immer dichter verknüft*, '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'.⁸⁵⁵ 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*,⁸⁵⁶ 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.⁸⁵⁷ 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

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'.⁸⁶⁰ 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'.

.....berüchtigte Erlass Kaiser Wilhelms II vom 29 August 1899 markiert in der Geschichte der Nationalgalerie ein Ereignis, das die Erwerbungs politik 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.⁸⁶² 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 *völkish-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'.⁸⁶³ 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.⁸⁶⁴ By 1923,

⁸⁶² Helge Siefert, *Ibid* p.402-407 (p.404) .

⁸⁶³ Meier-Graefe *Diaries*, 1898 pp.590-594, cited by P-K Schuster, *Tschudi un 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 unternehmend war, was Bildung und (oder) Vermögen und internationale Kontakte hatte, war künstlerisch gegen den Kaiser. Das jüdische Grossbürgertum zumal, das mit beträchtlichen 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 Wilhelm II as a figure head. Moreover, wealth was not the motivating factor, as the

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.⁸⁶⁸ 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.⁸⁶⁹ 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 Maximilian 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'.⁸⁷⁰ 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':⁸⁷¹

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...⁸⁷²

⁸⁷⁰ Max Liebermann's speech in *Kunst und Künstler*, Year X, Berlin 1912 pp.179-182.

⁸⁷¹ Tschudi Biography, Babette Warnecke in *Tschudi und der Kampf*, cat.p.45.

⁸⁷² Harry Graf Kessler, Tagebuch, 27.11. 1911.

Georg Swarzenski and the Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main⁸⁷³

(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 establish 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-

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 *amtsenthoben* (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)

⁸⁷⁵ See Conference Paper: Mark Meadow (University of California, Santa Barbara, Getty Scholar) 'The Fugger Factor: The Agency of German Merchant-Bankers in Early Modern Collecting', at Getty Conference, March 2004, 'Beauty and Truth for Sale: The Art of the Dealer.'

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 Städelsche 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 in der Macht der Probleme, in der Erschliessung künstlerischer Möglichkeiten.....Kunst ein Korrelat der sichtbaren Wirklichkeit zu sein habe.⁸⁸¹

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 Visiting 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 Städelsche 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 (Städelsche 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 (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 14);⁸⁸⁵ Claude Monet, *Le Déjeuner* 1868 (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 15)⁸⁸⁶ and two works by Auguste Renoir, *La Fin du Déjeuner* 1879 (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 16)⁸⁸⁷ and *Jeune Fille Lisant*, 1886. (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 17), works which are still in the Städel to this day.

⁸⁸⁰ Markus Kersting, 'Stete Intensivierung. Sammlungsideen im Städelschen Kunstinstitut', in exh. cat *ReVision. Die Moderne im Städel 1906-1937*, Frankfurt, 1991, pp.11-30.

⁸⁸¹ Swarzenski, *Deutsche und Französische Kunst*, pp.19-20, cited by Gutbrod, p.104

⁸⁸² For data on all 19th century acquisitions, see *Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, Katalog der Gemälde des 19. Jahrhunderts, Textband und Bildband* (2 Vols) Verlag G.Schute-Bulmke, Frankfurt am Main, 1972.

⁸⁸³ Klaus Gallwitz, 'Die Zukunft im Rücken', *ReVision, Exh Cat* (1991) p.79.

⁸⁸⁴ Archive of the Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Daily Minutes, June 1905; the works by Monet and Sisley were given by Victor Mössinger 'in the same way', Swarzenski to Karl Ernst Osthaus, 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 Déjeuner*, 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 (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 19)⁸⁹⁰ and Edouard Manet, *La Partie de croquet*, 1873 (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 20)⁸⁹¹ and Henri-Edmond Cross, *L'après-midi au jardin*, 1905 (Städelsche Kunstinstitut) (Plate 21).⁸⁹²

These eleven works came to represent the core of the French modernist collection at the municipal Städelsche 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

⁸⁸⁷ This was acquired 1910 see Wilfried Wiegand, Auguste Renoir, *La Fin du déjeuner*, Ibid., pp. 85- 101 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.

⁸⁸⁸ It was acquired in 1912, see Markus Kersting, 'Stete Intensivierung- Sammlungsideen im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, pp. 11- 30 (here p. 23-25) in ReVision (1991)

⁸⁸⁹ Letter to Wilhelmine van Gogh, 23 June 1890, as cited by Orten and Pollock, 1978, p. 77.

⁸⁹⁰ 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 Städel on 12 December 1912 for 125.000 Francs, 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.⁸⁹³ 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:

Frankfurt hat recht getan. Es hat nach der Berliner Galerie die umfassendste [Sammlung] in Deutschland. Von allem das Beste. Und nicht zu viel.⁸⁹⁴

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.⁸⁹⁵ This stance is particularly

⁸⁹¹ This work was acquired in 1912, see James Rubin, 'Eduard Manet, "Croquer le croquet, Manet's 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

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.⁸⁹⁶

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.⁸⁹⁷

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.⁸⁹⁸ 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.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁵ Bismarck, p.32

⁸⁹⁶ See Bernhard Maaz, in Tschudi und der Kampf, p.130

⁸⁹⁷ J.Kern, Impressionismus im Wilhelminischen Deutschland (Würzburg, 1989) also 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;⁹⁰⁰ 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.⁹⁰¹

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, Städel's 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* s (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.

⁹⁰² See previous chapter III.

⁹⁰³ *Die klassische Malerei Frankreichs im 19. Jahrhunderts*, also *Frankfurter Kunstschatze. Eine Auswahl der schönsten und wertvollsten Gemälde des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Frankfurter Privatbesitz*, Exh.Cat. Frankfurter Kunstvere in, Frankfurt/Main, 1913, as cited by Bismarck, p.34

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.⁹⁰⁴ 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 1999.⁹⁰⁵ Furthermore, there were also numerous works by Manet in Frankfurt private collections.⁹⁰⁶

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,⁹⁰⁷ Monet, Toulouse-Lautrec and Sisley.⁹⁰⁸ 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.⁹⁰⁹ These collectors not only owned the most significant private collections, but also supported the modernist acquisitions at the Städel Kunstinstitut.⁹¹⁰

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

⁹⁰⁴ Josef Kern, p.290.

⁹⁰⁵ *Six chefs-d'oeuvre français prêtés par Francfort*, exh. cat. Musée d'Orsay Paris. French and German language version in same catalogue, Frankfurt/Main, 1999.

⁹⁰⁶ See previous chapter

⁹⁰⁷ Feilchenfeldt, p. 149

⁹⁰⁸ Josef Kern, p.290

⁹⁰⁹ See chapter III and Appendix 1 4

⁹¹⁰ No details were available regarding individual sponsorship besides those recorded above.

acquisitions, the two being interrelated and mutually beneficial.⁹¹¹ 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.⁹¹²

Städelsche Museums-Verein, Leopold Sonnemann and Jewish Art Patrons⁹¹³

In 1899, Leopold Sonnemann re-established the Städelsche Museums-Verein.⁹¹⁴

He personally contacted and co-opted friends and acquaintances from the Frankfurt *Grossbürgertum* and the Frankfurt Jewish bourgeoisie, some already committed private collectors.⁹¹⁵ 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.

⁹¹¹ See also Paul Arnsberg *Die Geschichte der Frankfurter Juden seit der Französischen Revolution*, vol.3, (Frankfurt, 1993) also, 'Die Gründung des Städelschen Museums-Vereins', pp.31-36 and 'Von Sonnemann zu Swarzenski', pp.79-84, in (ed.) Andrea Hansert, *Geschichte des Städelschen Museum-Vereins Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt, 1994.

⁹¹² 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.

⁹¹³ For a full history of the museum and its 'Verein der Freunde' up to the 1970s, see *Geschichte des Städelschen 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).

⁹¹⁴ The original 'Städel 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 Städelschen Museums-Vereins', pp.31-35 in *Städelsche Museums-Verein*. (Frankfurt am Main, 1994)

⁹¹⁵ *Städelscher Museums-Verein*, pp. 37-38.

The newly revitalised Association - *Verein* - aimed at extending its membership and facilitate new acquisitions.⁹¹⁶ 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.⁹¹⁷

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.⁹¹⁸ 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.⁹¹⁹ Furthermore, Swarzenski wrote critical reviews and essays on private collections, such as the Harry Fuld Sammlung and the Hugo von Nathan Sammlung.⁹²⁰ Swarzenski also wrote the text for the auction catalogue in 1914 for the

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.

⁹¹⁷ 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 See full membership list with names of Friends of the Verein, as of 31 March 1901 p. 37-38.

Städelscher Museums-Verein Frankfurt am Main 1994 (Vorstand des Städel'sche Museums-Verein Frankfurt 1994) pp. 37-38.

⁹¹⁹ 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;⁹²¹ 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 1915-17.⁹²²

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.⁹²³

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, Swarzenski 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'.⁹²⁴

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

⁹²¹ Preface for Kunstsammlung Eduard Schnapper. Auction Cat. Frankfurt Kunstverein 21. April 1914, as cited by Bismarck, p.35.

⁹²² During the war years of 1915-17, Carl and Thea Sternheim moved from Munich to the vicinity of Frankfurt. Swarzenski 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 Swarzenski totally altruistic in offering the collection shelter during the war? See chapter IV and Appendix A 4.

⁹²³ Bismarck, p .36 and Josef Kern, p. 321

⁹²⁴ 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 werden, weil 'in den Meisterwerken der bildenden Kunst der schöpferische Menscheng Geist 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 Erlebnisherausgeht.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:

Ein neues, ursprüngliches, ein wesentlich modernes Lebensgefühl ist es...das ihren Stil bestimmt. Denn dieses Lebensgefühl fasst auch den Menschen nicht als Reservat der Natur, sondern als Teil des Kosmos, in seiner Ambiente, stellt ihn in Luft und Licht, stellt ihn malerisch da..... die Tendenz der französischen Malerei überhaupt, [ist] Leben zu schaffen, gelebtes Leben, nicht erdachtes, nicht Ideen.⁹²⁷

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.

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 Städtischen 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 1914.⁹²⁸ 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.⁹²⁹ 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.⁹³⁰

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.⁹³¹

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.

⁹³¹ Sabine Schulze, 'Die Impressionisten im Städel', p. 715 (here, p. 10) citing Georg Swarzenski, *Museumsfragen. Ein Beitrag zur Neugestaltung des Städtischen Kunstbesitzes in Frankfurt am Main, in Frankfurter Bibliophilen Gesellschaft*, (1929) p. 14.

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 Städtische 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.⁹³² 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.⁹³³ 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 1914.⁹³⁴ Paul Cassirer's enthusiasm was short lived; he became depressed and

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.⁹³⁵ 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.⁹³⁶ 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 1917.⁹³⁷

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.⁹³⁸ 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.⁹³⁹

⁹³⁵ 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

⁹³⁶ The house published amongst others the writings by Rosa Luxemburg; see Kennert, p. 129.

⁹³⁷ 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.

⁹³⁸ 22 May 1916, see Brühl, p. 170.

⁹³⁹ 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.⁹⁴⁰ 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.⁹⁴¹ 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.⁹⁴²

However, once again, psychiatric testimonies confirmed that Cassirer was psychologically and physically unsuitable for army service.⁹⁴³

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 élite

⁹⁴⁰ Brühl, 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, Brühl, p. 89. He had given an officer a gift of a Liebermann work; see Brühl, p. 89, also Durieux, p. 258 and Kennert, p. 132.

⁹⁴³ Brühl, 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

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.

⁹⁴⁶ Evidence for this assertion is found in a letter dated 8 November 1918 and addressed to the military attaché of the *Kaiserlich Deutschen Gesandtschaft* in Bern, with a copy sent to the *Königliche Kriegssministerium* in Berlin and to the deputy of the *Generalstab* of the Army III of the *Abwehr* in Berlin. See Brühl, p. 166, and Kennert, p. 145. In an essay of 1914, Schickele wrote *Einmal müssen wir Ernst machen mit der Utopie. Heute, sage ich. Sofort*. See Rene Schickele, "Die Genfer Reise", Berlin, 1919, p. 178, as cited by Kennert, p. 226.

Kampf um die geistige Brüderschaft. 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 Vorgewitterschwüle, die wahrscheinlich in einer noch furchtbareren Explosion als der Weltkrieg enden wird. Bei uns sind alle Anzeichen für ein fortgesetztes 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 Gedanke*.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 Wahnwitz, 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

⁹⁴⁷ Kessler Tagbücher 1918-1937, p. 210; cited by Kennert, p. 150.

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, René Schickele, Rudolf Hilferding, Rudolf Breitscheid and Hugo Simon. See Brühl, 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

branch was founded in order to publish pacifist writers who were censored in Germany. See Tilla Durieux *Meine ersten neunzig Jahre*, p. 263, and also Caspers, p. 21.

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 Kraustsky, 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.

Handbuch der Judenfrage.⁹⁵⁹ 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.

⁹⁵⁹ Kennert, p. 168.

⁹⁶⁰ Theodor Fritsch (1852-1933), (ed.), *Handbuch der Judenfrage. Eine Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten Tatsachen zur Beurteilung des jüdischen Volkes*, p. 25, (Leipzig, 1913). The *Handbuch* had originally been published in 1886 and went into 39 editions by 1935. Fritsch had founded in Leipzig the *Deutsche Antisemitische Vereinigung* in 1885.

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.⁹⁶² The expulsion and physical destruction of modernist art and its patrons had now become a national priority.⁹⁶³ Ironically, however, some modernist art was confiscated and found its way into the private collections of senior Nazi officials.⁹⁶⁴ 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.⁹⁶⁵ 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.

⁹⁶² 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.

⁹⁶³ S.Barron (ed.) *Entartete Kunst*. (1991) and S.Barron (ed.), *Exil. Flucht und Emigration europäischer Künstler 1933-1945* (1997).

⁹⁶⁴ 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'.

⁹⁶⁵ 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. Petropoulos, *The Faustian Bargain, The Art World in Nazi Germany* (London, 2000).

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UK

LONDON

Courtauld Institute Library

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Leo Baeck College Library

German Historical Institute

University College Libraries

University of London Library, Senate House

National Art Library

Wiener Library

Warburg Institute Library

VOLUME TWO

ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATIONS/PLATES
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2. Claude Monet

La Rue Montorgeuil, Fete du 30 Juin 1878, 1878, oil,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris .



3. Edouard Manet

Rue Mosnier, Paris, 1878, oil,

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California, USA.



4 Edgar Degas

Henri Rouart, 1875, oil,

Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art Pittsburgh, USA



5. Edouard Manet

Georges Clemenceau, 1879-80, oil,
Kimberwell Art Museum, Forth Worth, Texas, USA.



6. Edouard Manet

Henri Rochefort, 1881, oil,
Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg



7. Paul Cézanne

Ambroise Vollard, 1899, oil,
Musée de la Ville de Paris, Paris.



8. Auguste Renoir

Paul Durand-Ruel, 1910, oil,
Private Collection, Paris.

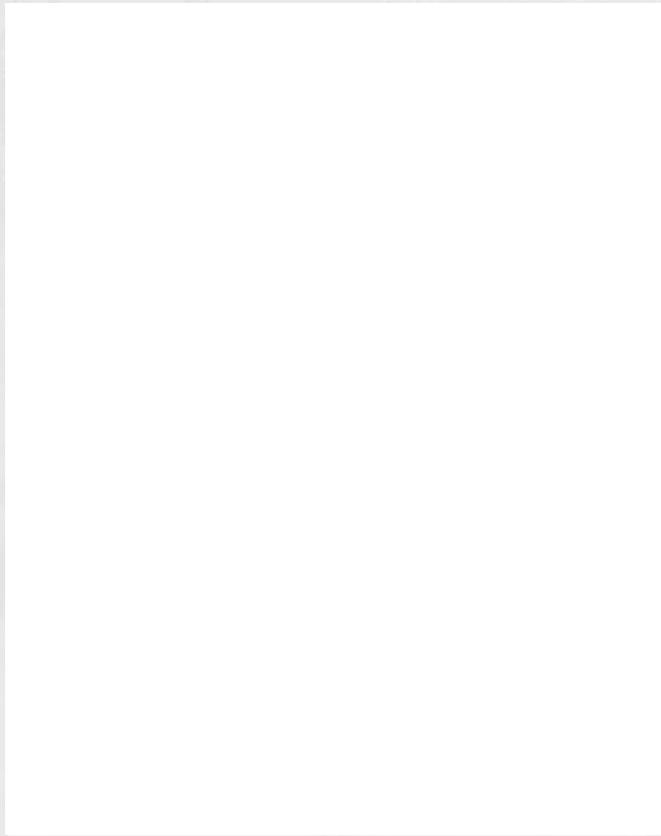


9. Pierre Bonnard
Frères Bernheim, 1920, oil,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



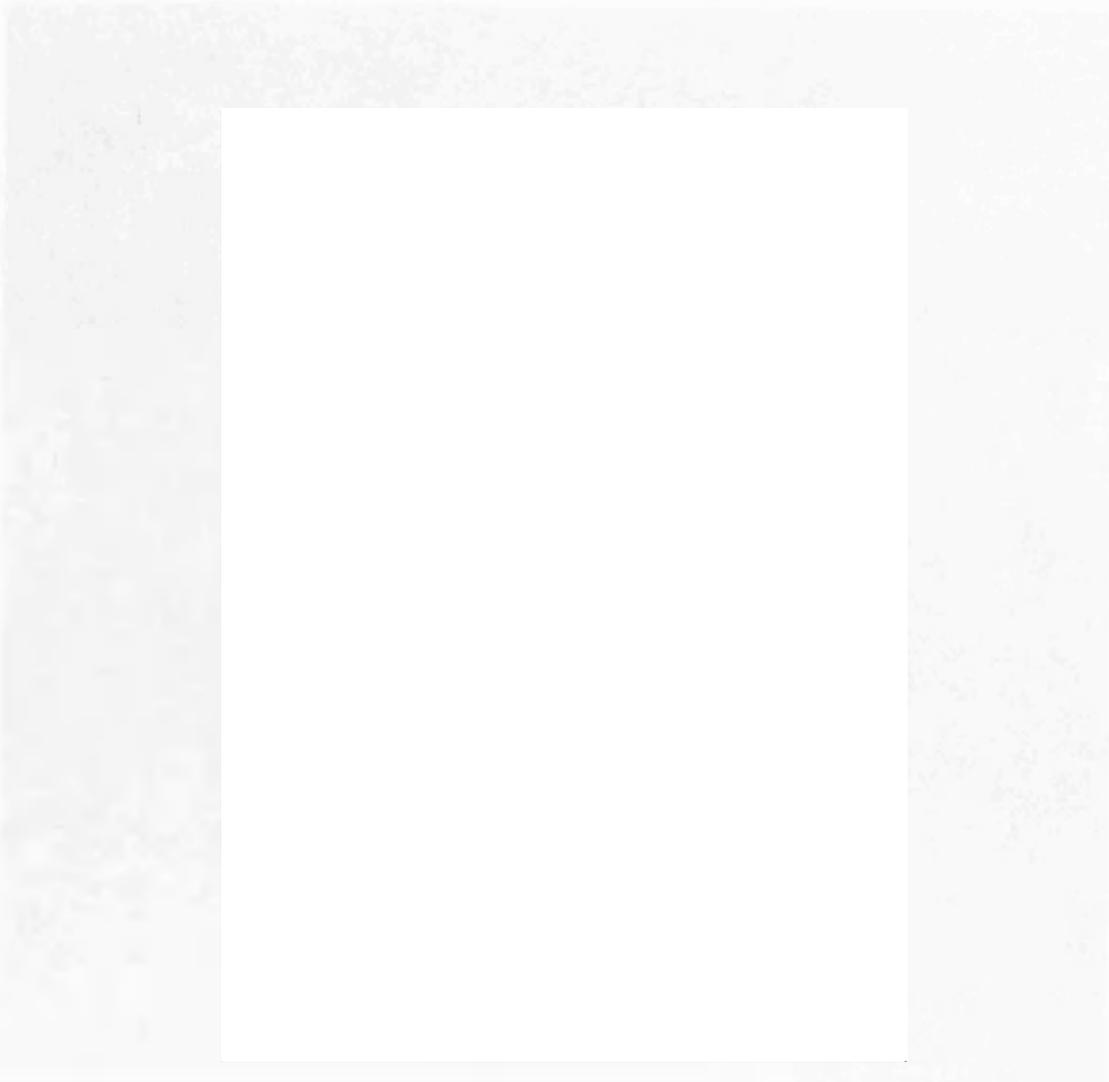
10. Eduoard Manet

Zacharie Astruc, 1863, oil,
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11. Eduoard Manet

Emile Zola, 1868/9, oil,
Musée de Louvre, Paris.



12. Edouard Manet

Théodore Duret, 1868, oil,

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13. Edgar Degas

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14. Edouard Manet

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15. Auguste Renoir

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16. Auguste Renoir

Victor Choquet, 1876 oil,

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17. Auguste Renoir

Madame Charpentier and ses enfants, 1878, oil,
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18. Auguste Renoir

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19. Paul Cézanne

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20. Vincent van Gogh

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21. Vincent van Gogh

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22. Edgar Degas

Rabbi Elie-Aristide Astruc et General Mellinet, ca.1871, oil,
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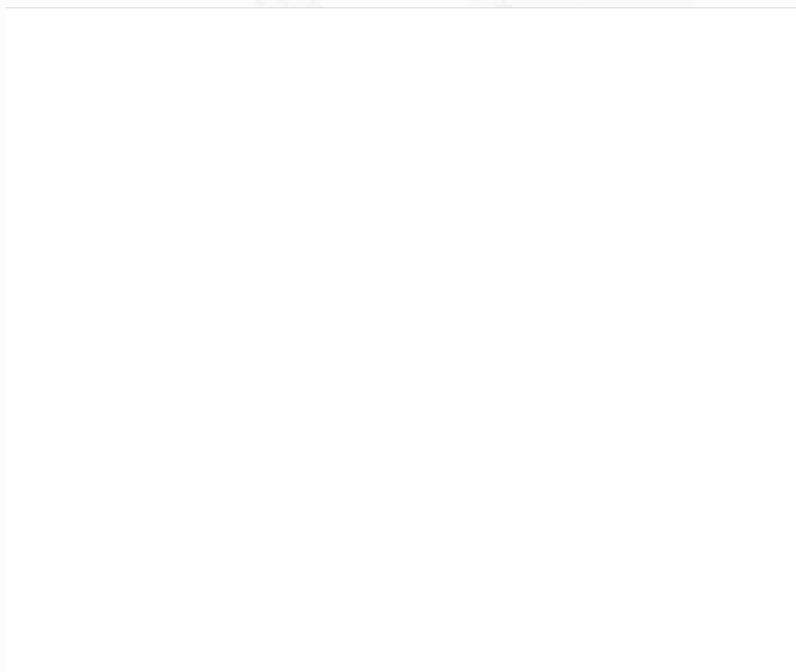
23. Edgar Degas

Henri-Michel Levy, 1878, oil,

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24. Edgar Degas
A la Bourse, 1878-79, oil,
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25 Edgar Degas,

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26. Edgar Degas

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27. Edgar Degas

Six friends at Dieppe, 1885, pastel/ black chalk on paper,
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28. Auguste Renoir

Irene Cahen d'Anvers, 1880, oil,
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29. Auguste Renoir

Alice and Elisabeth Cahen d'Anvers, 1881,

Museo de Arte de Sao Paulo, Brazil



30. Auguste Renoir

Madame Gaston Bernheim, 1901, oil

Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



31. Auguste Renoir

Madame Josse Bernhein-Jeune and son Henry, 1910, oil,
Musée d'Orsay, Paris



32. August Renoir

Monsieur et Madame Bernheim de Villers, 1910, oil

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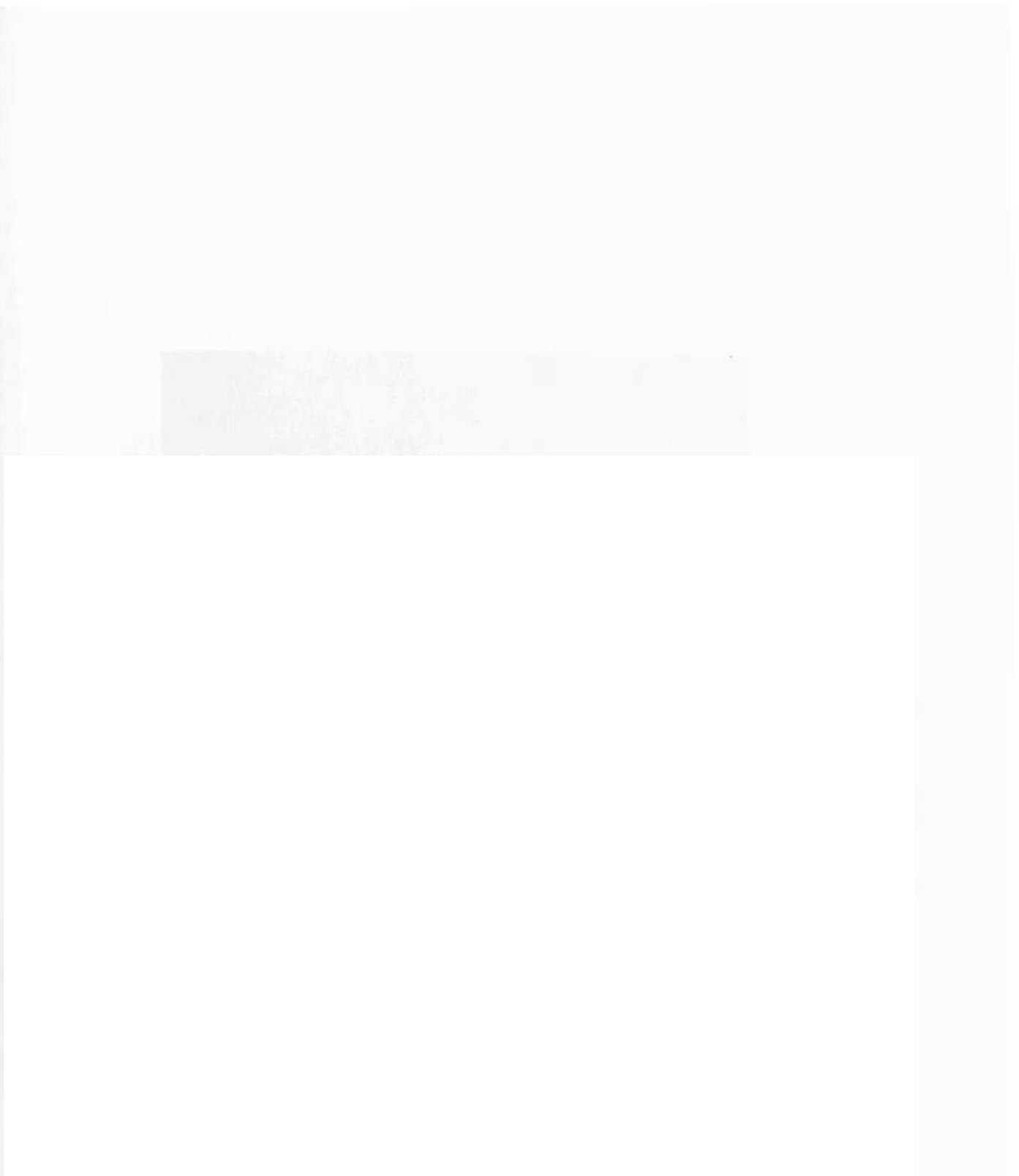
33. August Renoir

Luncheon of the boating party, 1881, oil,
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34. Edouard Manet

The Old Musician, 1862, oil,
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35. Edouard Manet

Gare St.Lazare, Chémin de Fer, 1872-3, oil ,
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36. Edouard Manet

Henri Bernstein as a child, 1881, oil,

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37. Pierre Bonnard

Thadée Natanson, 1878, oil,

Private Collection

Le musée de la Ville de Paris



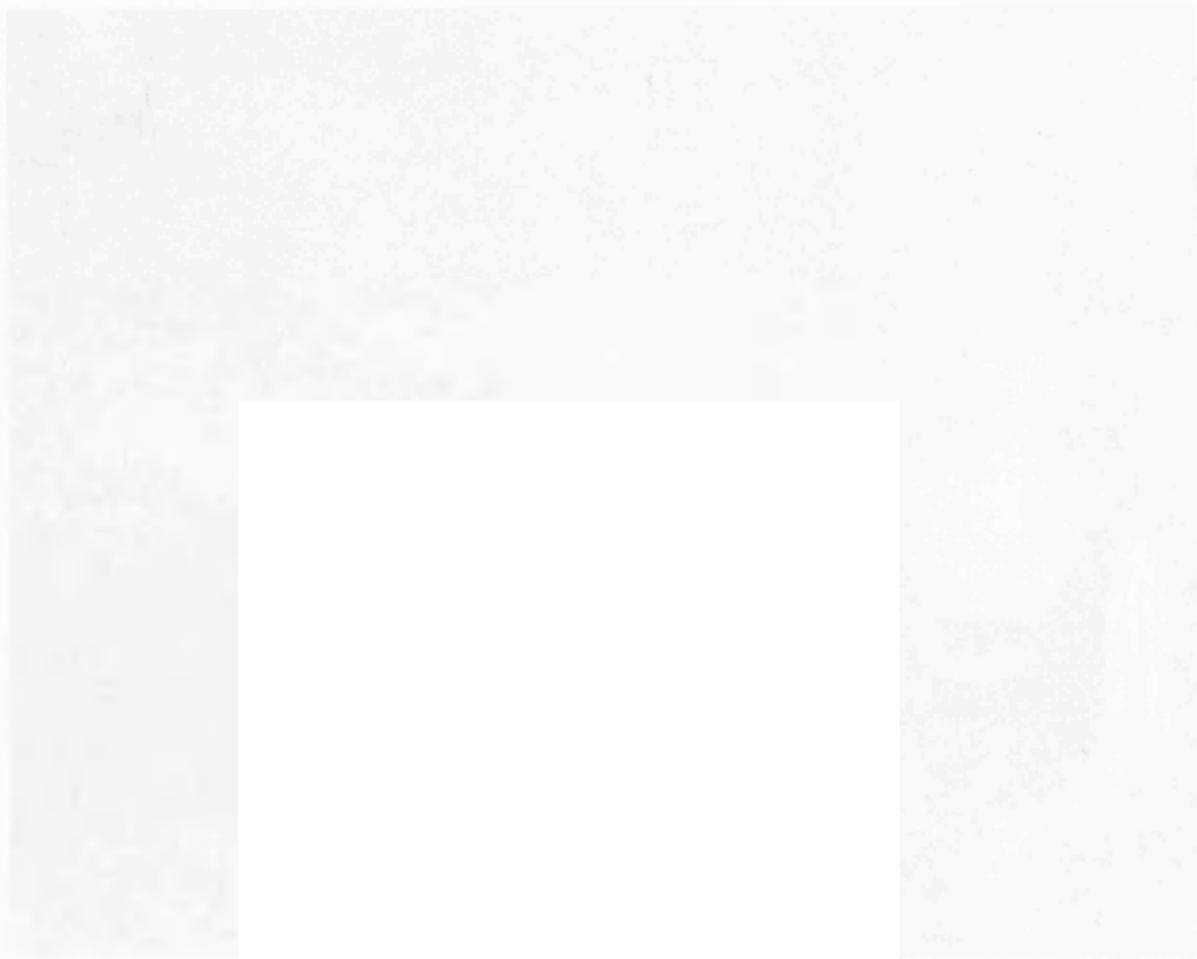
38. Pierre Bonnard

La Revue Blanche 1894, poster, color lithograph

39. Pierre Bonnard

Misia's Breakfast, 1896, oil,

Private Collection



40. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec

Misia at the piano, 1897, oil

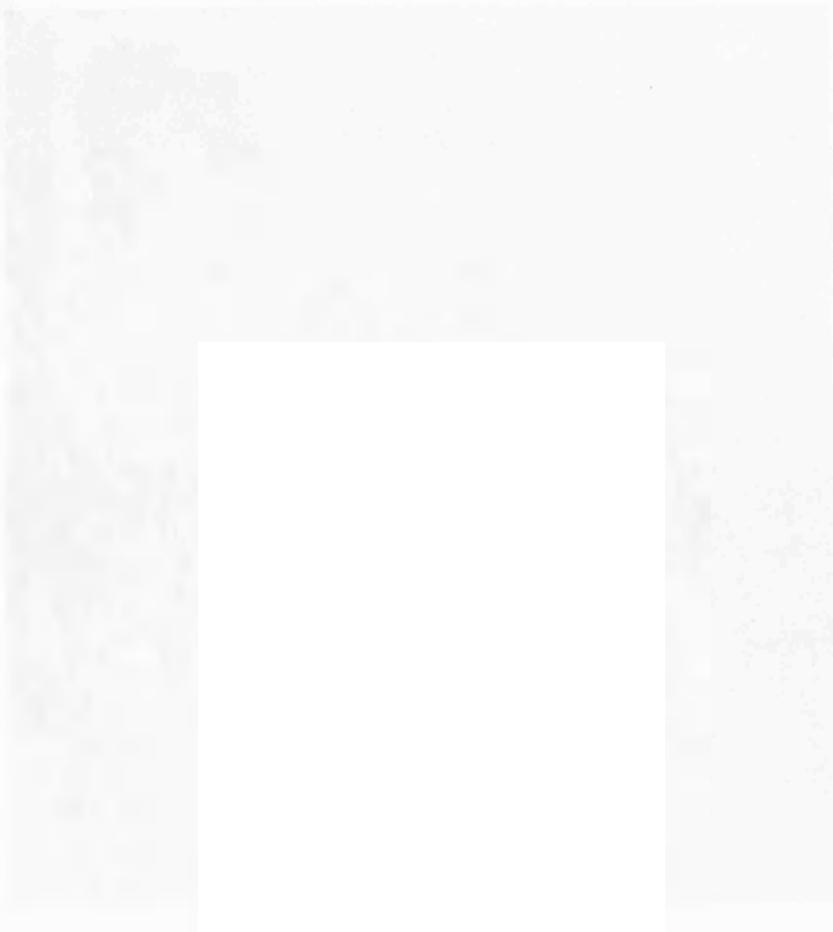


41. Pierre Bonnard

La Loge, 1908, oil,

(Brothers Gaston and Josse Bernheim Josse and wives Mathilde and Suzanne)

Musée d'Orsay, Paris



42. Edouard Vuillard

Madame Lucie Hesse avec chapeau vert ca 1905, oil,

Neuchâtel Private Collection. [View image](#)



43. Edouard Vuillard

Interior avec femme, ca. 1905, oil,

Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Germany



44. Edouard Vuillard

Misia et Cipa Godebski, oil, ca 1897,
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45. Camille Pissarro

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CHAPTER II



1. Anton von Werner

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2. Adolph von Menzel

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3. Max Liebermann

Christus im Tempel, 1878, drawing,

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4. Max Liebermann

Der zwölfjährige Jesus im Tempel (unter den Schriftgelehrten) 1879, oil,
Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.



5. Max Liebermann

Portrait Theodor Fontane, 1896, lithograph,
Kunsthalle Bremen, Bremen.



6. Max Liebermann

Portrait Richard Strauss, 1918, oil,
Nationalgalerie Berlin.



7. Max Liebermann

Portrait Paul von Hindenburg, 1912, oil,
Staatliches Museum Schwerin.



8. Max Liebermann

Portrait Gerhart Hauptmann, 1912, oil,
Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.



9. Max Liebermann

Portrait Emil Warburg, 1923, oil,
Stadtmuseum Berlin, Berlin

10. Max Liebermann

Portrait Albert Einstein, 1925, oil,
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11. Walter Leistikow
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1. Auguste Renoir

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CHAPTER V



1. Edouard Manet
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2. Gustave Courbet
L'écluse de la Loue, 1886, oil,
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3. Auguste Rodin

Jules Dalou, 1883, bronze

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4. Paul Cézanne

Le Moulin sur la Coulevre a Pontoise, 1882, oil,

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5. Paul Cézanne

Nature Morte, Fleurs et Fruits, 1888/90, oil,

Nationalgalerie Berlin

6. Paul Signac

La Seine a Samois, 1895-19 (Quatre Etudes)

Kupferstichkabinett Berlin

7. Paul Gauguin

Les quatres bretonnes, 1886, oil,

Neue Pinakothek Munich

8. Auguste Renoir

Les jardins de Montmatre donnant vue de Sacre Coeur, 1896, oil,

Neue Pinakothek Munich.



9. Paul Gauguin

Te Tamari No Artua (L'enfin dieu) 1896, oil,

Neue Pinakothek Munich



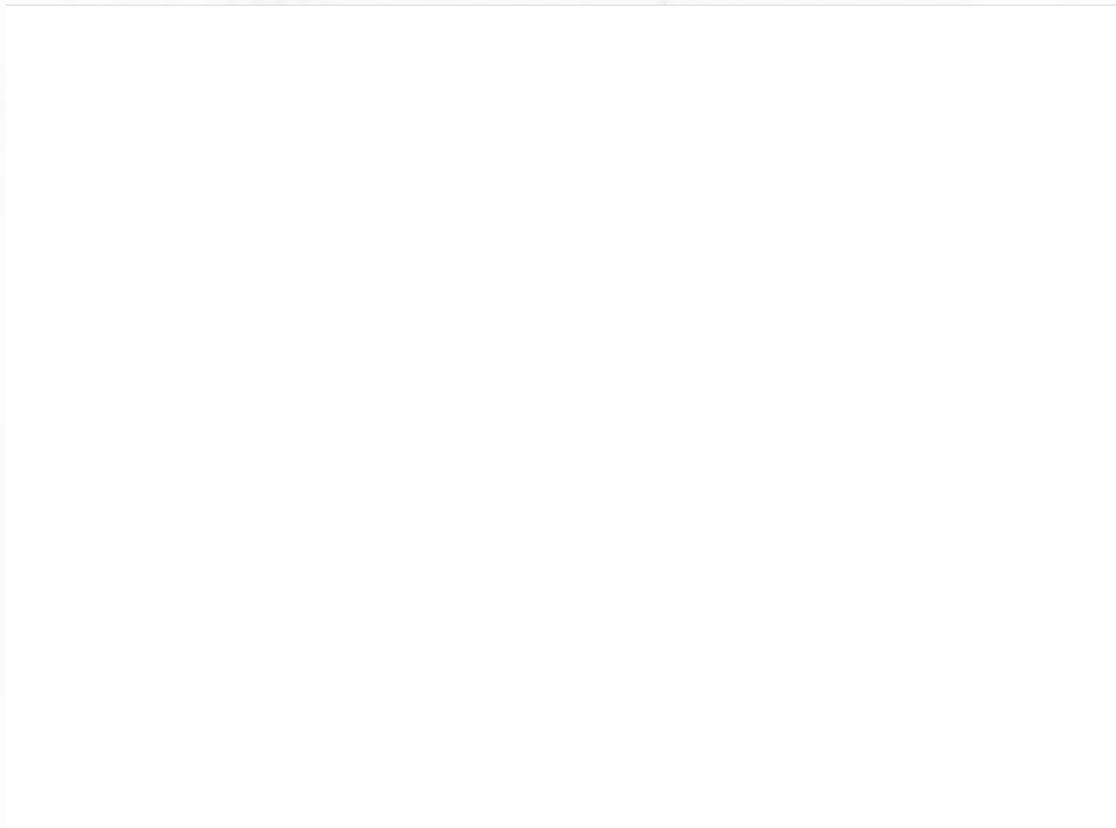
10. Vincent van Gogh

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

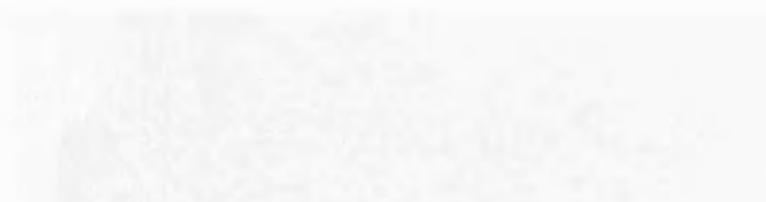
Femme assise, 1897, oil,

Neue Pinakothek Munich



14.Claude Monet

Maisons au bord de la Zaan, 1871, oil,
Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main



15. Gustave Courbet

La mer orageuse, la vague, 1896, oil,
Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main



16. Claude Monet

Le déjeuner, 1868, oil,

Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main



17. Auguste Renoir

La fin de déjeuner, 1879, oil

Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main



18. Auguste Renoir

Jeune fille lisant, 1886, oil,

Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main



19. Edgar Degas

Musiciens et l'orchestre, 1870-74, oil,
Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main



20. Edouard Manet

La partie de croquer, 1873, oil,

Städelsche Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main



21. Henri-Edmond Cross

L'après-midi au jardin, 1905, oil,
Städelsche 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 Grossherzogliche 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'.⁶ 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.⁷

In 1905 (June) Kessler held a Monet exhibition with loans from private collectors.⁸ 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*.⁹ 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 1913.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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.¹² Indeed, Kessler resigned under pressure on 13 July, but his diaries speak of 'freedom regained'.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.

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.

¹² Volker Wahl, "Die Jenaer Ehrenpromotion von Auguste Rodin und der Rodin Skandal zu Weimar 1905/06" in *Jena als Kunststadt. Begegnungen mit der modernen Kunst in der Thüringischen Universitätsstadt zwischen 1900-1933*, (Leipzig, 1988), pp. 56-77; see Kessler Cat., p. 135.

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-Rottloff, 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 Werkstätte* 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 Werkstätte* which was completed in 1911.

¹⁶ *Kunst für Alle*, 1898/99, p. 252, Ausstellungsbericht o.V. See also Gutbrod, p. 105.

¹⁷ Gutbrod, p. 106 and P. Fechter's "Sammlung Schmitz", in *Kunst und Künstler*, VIII, 1910, p. 15-25; Oskar Schmitz had begun to collect art in Paris through the guidance of Durand-Ruel; his collection included Delacroix, Daumier, Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, Manet, Degas, Renoir, van Gogh and Cézanne. Also P. Fechter, "Sammlung Rothermundt", in *Kunst und Künstler*, III, 1910, pp. 346-355. Rothermundt was Schmitz's brother-in-law and his collection also included French works and art by Max Liebermann.

MUNICH¹⁸

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 Delaunay, 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, Corot, Cézanne, Monet, Pissarro, Sisley and van Gogh, and the Germans, Liebermann, Corinth, Slevogt, Uhde, Feuerbach and Böcklin and the Austrian Kokoschka. Wichert broke new

¹⁸ Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siecle Europe*, Princeton University Press, 1993 and Serge Sabarsky, *Modernism's German Roots: The Birth and Survival of Expressionism in New Worlds* (Yale, 2001), pp.214-217.

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.²⁵

In his first year, Wichert acquired the politically and artistically controversial painting by Manet, *Die Erschiessung des Kaiser Maximillians*, 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.²⁶ Another French modernist purchase, Cézanne's *Raucher mit aufgestürztem 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, *Die Herabwertung der deutschen Kunst durch die Parteigänger des Impressionismus* (1911).²⁷ However, by 1914 Wichert's modernist acquisitions and educational programme had attracted some 12,000 members to the museum's association of *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 *Schwabengalerie*, a collection of 148 British works.²⁸ Alfred Lichtwark was appointed director in 1886;²⁹ he became a renowned art and cultural critic,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.³¹

²⁵ Alfred Fath, p 315-16.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 315.

²⁷ See Chapter II and Stefan Pucks, "The Archenemy invades Germany 1896-1918", pp. 58-63 in Exh.Cat. *Impressionism, Paintings Collected by European Museums*, Abrams, New York, 1999.

²⁸ This is based on the catalogue *Katalog der Meister des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Kunsthalle Hamburg*; see Gutbrod, p. 96.

²⁹ Alfred Lichtwark (1852-1914).

³⁰ Lichtwark wrote on art and culture; he wrote on architecture, interiors, crafts, gardens, public memorials and photography in *Educating the Bourgeoisie: Alfred Lichtwark and Modern Art in Hamburg 1886-1914*. Carolyn Helen Kray (Originally Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University Press, 1994).

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*,³² 1880; he persuaded the 'Verein der Kunstfreunde' (est.1870) to purchase the work and donate it to the museum.³³ 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 years³⁴ before he acquired Manet's *Faure as Hamlet*³⁵ 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!...³⁶

...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...³⁷

BREMEN³⁸

Gustav Pauli³⁹ was appointed director of the Kunsthalle Bremen in 1899 and brought international modernism to an Imperial provincial town.⁴⁰ In 1903 Pauli accepted the Degas drawing, *Dancer* as a donation of art patron Alfred Walter Heymel.⁴¹ 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,

³² Acquired through Durand-Ruel from the Delius Collection, see Gutbrod, p. 96.

³³ Lichtwark was close to Max Liebermann and was influenced by the artist, his work and Liebermann's own French Impressionist Collection, see Gutbrod, p. 97.

³⁴ Lichtwark acquired this through Paul Cassirer, [20.000 Mark] from the Faure Collection, as cited by Gutbrod, p. 96 and p. 98.

³⁵ From the Pellerin Collection, see Gutbrod, p. 98.

³⁶ Lichtwark, 'Reisebriefe,' see Gutbrod, p. 97.

³⁷ Lichtwark to Liebermann, letter 26.11.1910, Ibid.

³⁸ Pauli was at the Bremer Kunsthalle 1899-1914.

³⁹ Gustav Pauli (1866-1938).

⁴⁰ Karl Scheffler, *Kunst und Künstler*, 11, 1913, p.85-103; see also Gustav Pauli's 'Memoirs' (1936, p. 32) as cited by Gutbrod, p. 102.

⁴¹ Heymel had been collecting French modernist works under the guidance of Meier-Graefe since 1890.

including a Pissarro *Landscape*⁴², Monet's *Camille*⁴³, Monet's *Park*⁴⁴, Manet's *Zacharie Astruc*⁴⁵ and van Gogh's *Poppy Field*.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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 1902.⁴⁸ 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;⁴⁹ its Art Nouveau architecture setting a significant precedent for other modernist museums,⁵⁰ 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

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.

⁴⁵ Acquired from the Collection Faure in 1908 [21.000 Mark] Cassirer Business Accounts, see 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.⁵¹ 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.⁵² Osthaus owned works by Munch and also bought Expressionist works by Hodler, Nolde, Rohlf, 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 1913.⁵³ 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

**KUNSTSALON CASSIRER EXHIBITION PROGRAMME
1898- 1914**

**also
CULTURAL EVENTS
at
KUNSTSALON 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, Victoriastasse 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, Victoriastasse 35

Social and cultural events taking place at the Cassirer Kunstsalon Berlin Victoriastasse 35 premises are listed in chronological order, giving details of the sponsor/organizer of the event, if known.

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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

5. December 1898 - ? [2nd Exhibition] KA, 14, 1898/99, p.124

Kollektivausstellung, Part II

Felicien Rops

Jean Francois Rafaelli

James Paterson

9. December 1898-29. January 1899 [3rd Exhibition] KA, 14, 1898/99, p. 155

Kollektivausstellung, Part III

Wilhelm Trübner

Dutch School:

Jozef Israels

Jacob Maris

Wilhelm Maris

Georg Hendrik Breitner

Anton Rudolf Mauve

Johannes Bosboom

28. January 1899 - 1.March 1899 [4th Exhibition] KA , 14, 1898/99, p. 171;
also KW 11, 1899, p. 390.

Kollektivausstellung, Part IV

Hans Thoma

March 1899 [5th Exhibition] KA 14, 1898/99, p.216

Kollektivaustellung, Part V

Claude Monet

Edouard Manet

Giovanni Segantini.

April 1899 [6th Exhibition] KA 14, 1898/99, p. 268.

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

15. October -1.December 1899 [1st Exhibition] KA 15, 1899/1900 1. Nov. 1899,
pp. 58 -64, p.94 (see Meier-Graefe, *Die Stellung Eduard Manet.*)

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

? - 23. February 1900 [4th Exhibition] letter Alfred Lichtwark [22.2. 1900] cited by
Brühl, p. 154

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 Trübner

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 Stoffenecker and the writers Mirabeau, Julien Leclercq, Duret and dealers Vollard, Eugene Blot, Josse Hessel, 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 achieved [WF, p.13- 14].

? October – 2. November 1900 [1st Exhibition] KA 16, 1900/1901, p. 100

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

2. November - early December 1900 [2nd Exhibition] KA 16 (1900/1901) p.193

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

December 1900 - January 1901 [3rd Exhibition] WF p.144 and p.151.

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

Honoré de Daumier

Mid -end February 1901 [5th Exhibition] KA 16, 1900/1901, 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 *Simplicissimus*

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 Tuillon
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 Tuillon

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 erotischen Kunst und des Sittenbildes*. [WB] pp. 249-284, here p.250.

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 Mauve

Jacob Maris
Theophile de Bock

Collection Siegfried Bing: Japanese woodcuts
Utamaro
Harunobu
Hokusai

? November - ? December 1902 [2nd Exhibition] KA 18, 1902/03 p.191

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

14. December 1902 - ? January 1903 [3rd Exhibition]
Exhibition of Berlin Secession Artists

Martin Brandenburg
Robert Breyer
Max Slevogt
Lovis Corinth
Ulrich Hübner
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

End February - ? March 1903 [5th Exhibition] KA I, 1902/03, p.313 and p.229,
also HGK, Über den Kunstwert des Neo-Impressionismus, Berlin 1905.

Neo-Impressionists

Theo von Rysselberghe

Christian Rohlf

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. Tombolagerwinne der Sezession

Max Liebermann

Walter Leistikow

Ludwig von Hofman

Max Slevogt

Wilhelm Trübner

Hans Thoma

Ulrich Hübner

George Mosson

August Gaul

and others

? March 1903 [6th Exhibition] KA 18, 1902/03 p.356

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

? May 1903 [8th Exhibition] KK, I 1902/03, p.459

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 Klimsch

Nikolaus Friedrich

YEAR 6

1903/1904

? October - 2 November 1903 [1st Exhibition] K A, 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 Tuailon (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 Tuailon

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) 44opp.

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)

? 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) "Cezanne 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 Tuillon
Caspar David Friedrich

YEAR 7

1904/05

? October - 20. November 1904 [1st Exhibition] KA, 20, 1904/05, p.93.

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.

22. November - Early December 1904 [2nd Exhibition] KA 20, 1904/05 p.164

Hans Rosenhagen, "Von Ausstellungen und Sammlungen", KA, 1. Jan.1905. pp.164-66,
and 20. Feb.1905, p.210.

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

Mid December – 19. January 1905 [3rd Exhibition] K A, 20, 1904/05 p.210, also

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.

? March - 23. March 1905 [5th Exhibition]

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 König

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) 3opp.
H.Burkel (4) 1op.
J. Constable (5) 1 op.
Honoré 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 op.
Maillol (60-66) 7 opp.

Event: Verein für Kunst

3. Nov. 1905, Paul Ernst reads his poetry.

? November – 8. December 1905 [2nd Exhibition] KA, 21, 1905/06, p. 165 and KK IV 1905/06 p.178 with reference to Max Liebermann's *Judengasse in Amsterdam*.

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) 1op.
Kurt Tuch (92-98) 7 opp.

10. December 1905 - ? [3rd Exhibition] KA, 21, 1905/06 p.188, K, 1.4.1906.

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*

18. January 1906 -18. February 1906 [4th Exhibition] KA, 21 1905/06 p.314

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 Mundlek (52) 1 op.

Mid - End March 1906 [6th Exhibition] K A, 21, 1905/06, p.334

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

22. September -22. October 1906 [1st Exhibition] KA, 22, 1906/07 p.72

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

November 1906 [2nd Exhibition] KA 22, 1906 p.170 , KK V, 1906 p.173

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.

Tocque (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*

December 1906 [3rd Exhibition] KK V, p.177 [incl. Review by Julius Elias]
12th Berlin Secession Exhibition: Schwarz-Weiss Ausstellung (Zeichnende Künste)
Catalogue ?

Early January - 22 January 1907 [4th Exhibition] KA, 22, 1906/07, p.248 and KK, V,
1906/07 p.211, 220, 291

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

24 January - 18 February 1907 [5th Exhibition] KA, 22, 1906/07, p.288 and KK, V, p.240

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.

21 February - 19 (?) March 1907 [6th Exhibition] KA, 22, 1906/07, p.388

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.

23 March - ? 1907 [7th Exhibition] KA, 22 , 1906/07, p.412

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

10 May 1907- ? [9th Exhibition] KA 22, 1906/07, p.464

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

29. September-18. October 1907 [1st Exhibition] KA 23, 1907/08 p.90, KK VI 1907/08, p.86

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.

19. October-3. November 1907 [2nd Exhibition] KA, 23 1907/08 p.138

Catalogue:

El Greco (1-2) 2 opp.

Edouard Manet (3) 1 op.

Claude Monet (4) 1 op.

Philipp Franck (5-9) 5 opp.

Ferninand Hodler (10-33) 24 opp.

Walter Leistikow (34 -45) 12 opp.

Jacob Nussbaum (46-49) 4 opp.

Karl Walser (50 -53) 4 opp.

Honore 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.

4. November-1. December 1907 [3rd Exhibition] KA 23 1907/08 p.138 and KK VI 1907/08 p.130

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

4. December 1907- 5. January 1908] [4th Exhibition] KK, VI, 1907/08 p.172
14th Berliner Secession Exhibition: *Schwarz-Weiss Ausstellung* (graphics)
Catalogue

Events: Verein für Kunst

5. December

Gertrude Barrison reads Altenberg (Repeat)

28. December

Hermann Bang reads from his works

? 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 Schocken (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

23. February 1908 [6th Exhibition] KA 23, p.284 and KK, VI, 1907/08

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 Tuailon (68) 1 op.

Gustave Courbet (69-70) 2 opp.

Auguste Renoir (71) 1 op.

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 Rohlf's (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

15. October- 8. November 1908 [2nd Exhibition] KA 24,1908 p.122, KK VII, 1908 p.142

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 Gauguin (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*

14. November-13. December 1908 [3rd Exhibition] KA, 24, 1908/09, p.188; KK, VII, 1908/09, pp. 168-176

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.

December 1908-January 1909 [4th Exhibition] KA, 24, 1908/09, p. 218.

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

René Schickele reads his work

21. January

Herwath Walden, *Gesänge*

January- February 1909 [6th Exhibition] KA, 24, 1908/09, p. 289.

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)

February - March 1909 [7th Exhibition] KA. 24, 1908/09 p. 361, KK, VII, 1908/09, p. 326

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

Ludwig Hardt reads Rudolf Frank, *Von Einfältigen, Weisen und fahrendem Volk.*

March - April 1909 [8th Exhibition] KA 24 p.387.

Catalogue:

Auguste Renoir (1-33) 33 opp.

Heinrich E.Linde-Walther (34-36) 3opp.

Emil Pottner (37-59) 23 opp.

Karl Walser (separate catalogue)

Event Verein für Kunst

4. April

Lecture: Andreas Aubert, *Runge und die Romantik.*

May 1909 [9th Exhibition] KA 24, p. 434 and KK VII, p. 427.

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 opp.
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

22. October - 11. November 1909 [2nd Exhibition] KA, 25, 1909/10, p. 116; KK, VIII, p. 178.

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*

17. November -12. December 1909 [3rd Exhibition] KA 25, p. 190

Catalogue:

Paul Cézanne* (1-42) 42. opp.

Catalogue: ... *In Deutschland ist Cézanne völlig unbekannt. Die jetztige 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, Goethe and Jacobson (Repeat)

December 1909- January 1910 [4th Exhibition] KA, p.25, 1909/ 1910, p. 262.

Catalogue:

Josef Block (1-5) 5 opp.
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 verständigen Kunsthändler Gebrüder Lepke, denen es die Kunstsammler jener Tage zu danken hatten, dass sie die herrlichen Werke der grossen Blütezeit französischer Kunst in Deutschland einführten.
.... In jener Zeit gehörte es zum guten Ton, dass die Wohlhabenden bei dem Bau ihres Hauses darauf Bedacht nahmen, einen schönen Raum für eine Bildergalerie ins Auge fassten, der bei Gesellschaftlichkeiten zugleich anregenden Festsaal diehte

Andreas Aschenbach (1-3) 3 opp.
Oswald Aschenbach (4-5) 2 opp.
Arnold Böcklin (6) 1 op.
Baldoni (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 Duprè (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'Hermitte (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).

11. -24. February 1910 [6th Exhibition] KA, 251909/10, p. 309 KKKU, VIII, p. 373.

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.

3. - 20. March 1910 [7th Exhibition] KA, 25, 1909/10, p.356, KK, VII, 1909/1910, p. 373

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*

24. March- 24. April 1910 [8th Exhibition] KA 25 p.378 and KK VIII pp. 387- 398

Sale: Collection Pellerin, Paris

Catalogue:

Edouard Manet (1-37) 37 opp.

April-May 1910 [9th Exhibition] KA, 25, 1909/10 p. 431, KK, VIII, pp. 469 and 473.

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.

Hans Hofmann, Paris (50-67) 18 opp.

12. July - ? 1910 [11th Exhibition] KA, 25, 1909/10 , p552.

Summer Exhibition:

Max Liebermann

Konrad von Kardorff

Robert Breyer

Georges Mosson

Lovis Corinth

Max Beckmann

Max Slevogt

Theo vonBrockhusen

Auguste Renoir

1910/011

YEAR 13

September 1910 [1st Exhibition] KK, IX, 1910/11, p.63.

Catalogue:

Preface: Hans Mackowsky

Johann Sperl (1-69) 69 opp.

September - October 1910 [2nd Exhibition] KA, 26, 1910/11, p.88.

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 Rohlf
Emil Nolde
Max Pechstein
Georg Tappert
Claus Richter
Otto Mueller

18. October 1910 KA, 26, 1910/11, p. 88

Norwegian Art:

Carl Hofer

25. October - 20. November 1910 [3rd Exhibition] KK IX p.153, KA 26 p.142

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

December 1910 [4th Exhibition] KA 26 p.21, KK IX p.210

Catalogue:

Pierre Bonnard (1-23) 23 opp.

Ulrich Hübner (24-43) 20 opp.

Leo Klein-Diebold (44-53) 10 opp.

Hedwig Moos (54-65) 12 opp.

Arnold Schönberg

5. -16. January 1911 [5th Exhibition] KK IX p.255

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 Kardforff (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.

January - February 1910 [6th Exhibition] KK, IX, 1910/11, p.308.

Berlin Exhibition originated by *Neue Künstlervereinigung*, München.

Catalogue (layout and order as per catalogue)

Von Bechtejeff, 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 Rosler (29-47) 19 opp.

Hedwig Ruetz (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 Uhde (31-36) 6 opp.

Maurice H. Sterne (37-47) 11 opp.

Event: Pan-Gesellschaft

Lectuer: 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 Kovezhazi-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.

May 1911 [11th Exhibition] KK, IX, 1910/11, p.555

Catalogue:

Vally Friedmann (1-14) 14 opp.

Carl Strathmann

Ines Wetzel (45-52) 8 opp.

4. July – 4. August 1911 [12th Exhibition] KK, IX, 1910/11, p.648

Sale: Collection Dikran Kelekian, Paris.

Catalogue: (1-261) 265 opp.

Egyptian and Islamic Art, Oriental and Persian Miniatures.

YEAR 14

1911/12

16. October - 12. November 1911 [1st Exhibition]

Catalogue

Ferninand 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 Tuailon (45) 1 op.

alos

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 Tuailon (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.

Adolph Ed. Herstein (42-53) 12 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 Rosler (56-63) 8opp.

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.

Claude Monet (4-5) 1 op.
Adolphe Monticelli (6) 1 op.
Camille Pissarro (7-9) 3 opp.
Alfred Sisley (10-11) 2 op.
Theo von Bruckhausen (12) 1 op.
Lovis Corinth (13-16) 4 opp.
Ulrich Hübner (17-18) 2 opp.
Konrad von Kardorff (19) 1 opp.
Leo Klein-Diepold (20) 1 op.
Walter Leistikow (21-22)
Max Liebermann (23-30) 8 opp.
Waldemar Rosler (31) 1 op.
Max Slevogt (32) 1 op.
Wilhelm Trübner (33-34) 2 opp.
Fritz von Uhde (35) 1 op.
Auguste Gaul (36-37) 2 opp.
Georg Kolbe (38) 1 op.

YEAR 15

1912/13

24. October- 2. Dec.1912 [1st Exhibition]

15th Anniversary Exhibition (total 108 opp.)

Catalogue: Preface: Paul Cassirer ** Catalogue Preface (Extract)

Mit dieser Ausstellung eröffne ich den 15 Jahr meines Hauses. Man wird beim ersten Blick sehen, dass diese Ausstellung sich der ganzen Tendenz von allen Ausstellungen unterscheidet, die ich bisher gemacht habe. Zum ersten Male hängen Werke von Deutschen und Franzosen, von Künstlern die leben und die schon gestorben sind, von Jungen und Alten nebeneinander. Die Aufgabe die ich im Jahre 1898 vorfand war eine Anzahl grosser Künstlerpersönlichkeiten, die in Deutschland unbekannt waren, bekannt zu machen, dem Liebhaber wie dem Kritiker Gelegenheit zu geben, die Persönlichkeit 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 Ausstellens grosse Gefahren mit sich bringt, namentlich bei uns Deutschen, and die wir so sehr zum Theoretischen neigen.....

Meinen Salon nennen Freund und Feind den Impressionistische, 1898 bedeutet dieses Schimpfwort REVOLUTION. 1912 ist es wieder ein Schimpfwort und bedeutet REAKTION. Aber wie in der Kunst das einzelne Werk die Entwicklung Lügen straft, so kann eine Ausstellung - und ich hoffe, dass diese es tut - zeigen, dass die Theorie, die meinen Salon einen impressionistischen nennt, weder das der einen noch der anderen Seite wahr ist. Die Ausstellungen wird, den alten Feinden, hoffe ich zeigen, das es nicht um eine Revolution gehandelt hat, den neuen Feinden beweisen, dass es ebensowenig eine Reaktion ist.

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.
Honoré Daumier (5,61.63.65, 67, 69, 70) 7 opp.
Edgar Degas (42) 1 op.1
Eugene Delacroix (31, 71) 2 opp.
 Nikolaus Friedrich (57) 1 op.
 August Gaul (55) 1 op.
Theodoré 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 Lehmbruck (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 Tuillon (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 Exhibtion]

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 Ausstellungen zeigen einen nicht unwesentlichen Zweig kultureller Arbeit, sie lassen schöne Bilder aus dem schwer zugänglichen provinziellen Preussen an das 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 zu entbehren und sie einer öffentlichen Ausstellung zu überlassen, so ist wohl auch ein gewisser Egoismus vorhanden, der Einem das Gefühl bei dieser ernsthaften Art des Sammlens nicht allein seiner Leidenschaft nachgegangen zu sein, sondern auch für die Gesamtheit gearbeitet zu haben. Diese Art des Sammlens und diese Tätigkeit des Sammelns die der Tätigkeit eines Museumsdirektors sehr nahekommt, zeigt einen neuen Typ des Sammlers. 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 auszubreiten.

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 Beyerens (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.

Adolphe Monticelli (78-96, 98-101) 23 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

Ich habe das Gefühl, eine Übersicht meines Schaffens, die anderen höchstens an der Schwelle des Greiseinalters zuteil wird, schon in der verhältnismässigen jungen Jahren zu erhalten. Dass danke ich in erster Linie Herrn Paul Cassirer, welcher jahrelang dem Vermittler machte zu mir ob ich zu den 'Modernen' gehöre? Die Geschichte der Kunst beruht auf einem Aufbauen der

Gegenwart auf den Vorbildern der Vergangenheit und ich bleibe der meinigen treu....

Lovis Corinth (1-228) 228 opp.

16. February- 2. March 1913[5th Exhibition]

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.

Catalogue: Preface: R.Meyer-Riefenstahl (1-431) 431 opp.

W.Degaube de Nuncques (1-8) 8 opp.

Theo von Brockhusen (9, 12) 2 opp.

Leo Klein-Diepold (10-11) 2 opp.

Waldemar Rosler (13) 1 op.

Hans Schutz (14-28) 15 opp.

Lene Kainer (29-43) 15 opp.

Summer Exhibition 1913 [10th Exhibition]

Catalogue: (Illustrated)

Louis 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. *Olivenernte*

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 Veteuil*

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 aquarelles)

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*

1. November - ? 1913 [2nd Exhibition] KK, XII, 11913/14 p. 176

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 Essoyes*

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- ?February 1914 [4th Exhibtion]

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'
[Corot hat eine 'sincerity'] Pissarro, ein Jude, wandelte herrlich wie der Erzvater Abraham. Er war voll Gute, Mitleid und Weissheit und hatte wahrhaft eine Künstlerseele. Er liebte die Landschaft südlich von Eraguy, Moret, Auvers, Rouen, Dieppe und Le Havre ... aber er war der Entdecker der Landschaft von innersten Paris. *Le fourmillant* das Wimmelnde die zitternde Massenbewegung, der wellenhafte belebende Pulsschalg des Menschentreibens ist das Merkmal dieser Arbeiten.

Pissarro was a political thinker, whose thoughts were not translated into his visual imagery: Elias found text and drawings accompanying Pissarro's reading of the journal *La revolté*, which was subsequently presented as *Les turpitudes sociales*.

Es ist die schärfste 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 erschöpft, aber zugleich auch erhoben und geadelt wird.

March 1914

Catalogue; no preface

Benno Berneis (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 *Kölner Kunstverein*

Illustrated Catalogue: Preface and Text: Paul Cassirer, WF p.40 (Cover: van Gogh self-portrait)

Vincent van Gogh (1-151) 151 opp. (59 out of 151 were not for sale)

* Many works on consignment from Bongers-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
Carl Sternheim, München, *Hütten in Saintes-Maries, La Hulpe* (1888) Nr. 57
 Generalkonsul **Paul von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy**, Berlin, *Garten in Irrenhaus in Arles* (1888) Nr. 65
 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 Eisenbahnbrücke in Arles* (1888) sketch, Nr. 69
 TD/PC *Getreidefelder, Sonnen Untergang* (1888) Nr. 70
 TD/PC *Kopf mit rotem 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 Maunthner, *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
 G.F.Reber, Barmen, *Bildnis eines jungen Mannes mit Mütze* (1888) Nr. 99
Dr. Hugo Cassirer, Berlin, *Zugbrücke* (1888) Nr. 101
 A.W. von Heymel, Berlin, *Aussicht auf Mont-Majour* (1888) drawing, Nr. 1888
 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
 Generalknosul **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 Grenouillllliere*, (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 Schtutz (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*

Gertrud Muller/Solothurn, Switzerland: no title, WF p.26.

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 *Iris*es to Robert von Mendelssohn, *Die Kunst* , 16 July 1908. R. Schmied *Von Ausstellungen und Sammlern* (Date unknown)

At Cassirer's 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

KUNSTSALON 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

E

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

Guthmann, Johannes

Guttman, 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.

Purmann, 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

Städelsche 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 include 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.

¹ Donath (1929) pp. 255-259, pp. 284-288 and Dorrman, p. 37.

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 others of the original founder of the Frankfurt Rothschild banking house.

³ Wollheim recognised the need of the growing city of Berlin and with extending railway connections in place, he assured delivery of coal from Upper Silesia, thereby breaking the monopoly of British coal imports into Germany. See Konrad Fuchs, "Jüdische Unternehmer im deutschen Gross und Einzelhandel" in W. E. Mosse and H. Pohl (Eds) (1992), p. 181.

⁴ J. Kern, p. 289.

He was also one of the first public patrons to the Nationalgalerie under Tschudi, donating a Meunier bronze,⁵ 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.⁶ Arnold was appointed to the Berlin Nationalgalerie board in 1911. He was Paul Cassirer's first and most loyal client.⁷ However, he also bought from other sources, particularly in Paris from Bernheim Jeune and Charles Sedelmeyer and in London from Deprez & Gutekunst.⁸

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.⁹

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS (comprising 59 works)¹⁰

German Artists:

Feuerbach, *Menzel in der Japanischen Ausstellung* (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

⁵ Titia Hoffmeister, p. 38-39.

⁶ Hugo von Tschudi, "Die Sammlung Arnold", in *Kunst und Künstler*, 7, 1908, H.1, p. 4

⁷ See Chapter III and Stefan Pucks, *Tschudi und der Kampf*, p.387, and Cella-Margaretha Girardet, p. 144-147. See also Paul Cassirer letter to Arnold's widow on 3.9.1925: Josef Kern, p. 155 and p. 289.

⁸ Dorrman, p. 37.

⁹ Gutbrod, p. 83.

¹⁰ Dorrman, p. 32.

Louis Tuailon, *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 Noordwijk, 1911 (at PC 1911, 10.000 Mark)

Altmannerhaus 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 Arnoldschen Garten in Wannsee, 1911 (acquired in 1919, 15.000 Mark)

Portrait Eduard Arnold

Alte Frau mit Katze, 1878 (30.000 Mark)

Tennispieler 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-Francois Daubigny: *Am Ufer der Oise*

French Impressionism (started collecting in 1896, first work being a Monet)

Monets (4 opp.)

La Grenouillere, 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, 1873¹²

L'artist, 1875 (formerly Pellerin Collection, via Paul Cassirer 1910)

Portrait Desboutin, 1875¹³

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.)

Horse Races

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 vallee 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 Geschäftsbücher. Wildenstein Nr. 136.

¹² Acquired in 1907 for 110.000 Mark, see Ibid. Gutbrod's data is based on Cassirer Geschäftsbücher.

¹³ This was the most expensive work in the collection. Arnold paid 200.000 Francs, see Dormmann, 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:

Zentral Archiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode Nachlass, Akte 528 and other folders [Akten].

Gaetghens Research Seminar Folder, Freie University Berlin, Berlin.

Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich . Ein Sammelwerk, (Ed) Siegmund Kaznelson.

Johanna Arnold: Eduard Arnold Ein Gedenkbuch (Berlin Selbstverlag 1929).

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.

Adolph Donath, "Der Berliner Kaufmann als Kunstfreund", in Max Osborn (Ed), Berlin's Austieg zur Weltstadt (Berlin 1929) p. 255-259 and pp. 284-288.

Josef Kern, Impressionismus im Wilhelminischen Deutschland. Studien zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (Würzburg 1989), pp.155, 289.

Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Drei Berliner Portraits: Wilhelm von Bode, Eduard Arnold, Harry Graf Kessler. Museumsman, Mäzen und Kunstvermittler - drei herausragende Beispiele", in Mäzenatentum in Berlin. Bürgersinn und kulturelle Kompetenz unter sich verändernden Bedingungen (de Gruyter Berlin, 1993), pp. 39-72.

Stefan Pucks, "Von Manet zu Matisse. Die Sammlung der französischen Moderne in Berlin um 1900" in Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne, (Exh. Cat.Berlin Nationalgalerie 1997), p. 386-387.

Cella-Margaretha Giradet, Jüdische Mazene für Preussische Museen zu Berlin. Eine Studie zum Mäzenatentum im Deutschen Kaiserreich und in der Weimar Republik (Verlag Hansel-Hohenhausen,1997), pp. 144-147.

Barbara Paul, "Drei Sammlungen französischer Kunst im Kaiserlichen Berlin -

Bernstein, Liebermann, Arnold", pp. 11- 30, in Zeitschrift der frühen Moderne in Berlin (Band 42, Heft 1, Berlin 1988).

Stefan Pucks, "Ein kleiner Kreis der Feinschmecker unter den Kunstfreunden Liebermann, Cassirer und die Berliner Sammler", in Max Liebermann Jahrhundertwende, Exh. Cat. Nationalgalerie Berlin, 1997, p. 237-238.

Michael Dormann, "Unser bedeutendster und glücklichster Sammler von neuen Bildern. Die Entstehung und Presentation der Sammlung Arnold in Berlin" in Andrea Pophanken und Felix Billeter (eds.), Die Moderne und ihre Sammler. Französische Kunst in Deutschem Privatbesitz von Kaiserreich zur Weimarer Republik, (Akademie, 2001) pp. 23-40.

Emil Waldmann, Sammler und ihresgleichen, (Paul Cassirer Verlag, Berlin 1920).

Prof. Dr. Carl Bernstein (Odessa 1842-1894 Berlin)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 back ground 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, Tuailon and museum curators Tschudi, von Bode and Friedrich Lippmann.

The Bernsteins made numerous donations to public institutions¹⁵.

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.¹⁶

ART COLLECTION

German Art

Theodor Alt

Leibl

Walter Leistikow

Max Klinger

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.

¹⁵ See Chapter IV.

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, 1869¹⁷

Lilas blancs dans un vase de verre, 1882¹⁸

Roses, tulipes et lilas blanc dans un vase de crystal, ca. 1882¹⁹

Bouquet de Pivoines (later acquired by Liebermann)

Monet: (2 opp.)

The River Seine with Boats.

L'été, Champ de coquelicots, 1875²⁰

Camille Pissarro, *Paysannes travaillant dans les champs, Pointoise*, 1881

Berthe Morisot, *Woman's Portrait*

Marie Cazin, *Woman's Portrait*

Eva Gonzales, *Child's head*

Mary Cassatt

Sisley, *La Seine á Argenteuil*, 1872-3.²¹

Pissarro, *Paysannes travaillant dans les champs, Pontoise* 1881, guache

De Nittis, *Street scene*

Degas, title unknown

Sources and Bibliography:

Evelyn Gutbrod, *Die Rezeption des Impressionismus in Deutschland 1880-1910*

(Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1980) pp. 56-57.

Cilla-Margaretha Girardet, *Jüdische Mazene*, pp. 151-152.

S. Pucks, *Kampf um die Kunst* (1997) pp. 386-90.

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.

B. Paul, "Drei Sammlungen französischer Kunst im Kaiserlichen Berlin: Bernstein , Liebermann, Arnold", in Thomas Gaetghens, (ed.), Sammler der frühen Moderne in Berlin (Berlin 1989), pp. 11-27.

Max Liebermann: Memoirs of the Bernsteins, as cited Peter Krieger in Max Liebermann Exhibition Catalogue 1979, p.62.

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 Bjornsons 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*

²² Tilla Durieux (1954), p. 65.

²³ Pucks, p. 386.

²⁴ H. Uhde-Bernays, Errinerungen aus den Jahren 1880-1914 (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 346.

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)

Evelyn Gutbrod, Die Rezeption des Impressionismus in Deutschland 1880-1910
(1980) p 59

Stefan Pucks, "Von Manet zu Matisse. Die Sammler der Moderne in Berlin um 1900",
in Tschudi und der Kampf, (1996/7) pp. 386-390.

Christian Kennert, Cassirer und sein Kreis, p. 91.

²⁵ Julius Elias: "Paul Durand-Ruel. Aus dem Leben eines modernen Kunsthändlers", as cited by Gunter Feist (ed.), Kunst und Künstler. Aus 32 Jahrgängen einer Zeitschrift (Mainz 1972). This is a facsimile of the entire publication of *Kunst und Künstler*.

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 Verfahrnung 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

²⁶ Beneke, p. 329.

²⁷ Ernst Kuhnel, "Die Orientteppiche der Sammlung Cassirer" in *Kunst und Künstler* 28/1929-1930, pp. 461-466.

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.²⁹

Alfred bought 23 art works at his brother Paul Cassirer's gallery, seven of which were purchased between 1903-1910 and sixteen between 1914-1918.³⁰ Beneke argues that there was a lack of figurative paintings in the collection which related to the contemporary.³¹

After Alfred Cassirer's death, his art collection was itemised in a *Faltblatt der Leipzig Bücherei*, mentioning 86 art works;³² [without titles] and loaned for display to the city of Berlin.³³ 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.³⁴ [14.4.1934]

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 nennen.*³⁵

ART COLLECTION

German Art:

Wilhelm Leibl

Karl Blechen

Ernst Barlach (4)

Alfred Dürer (2)

Chodowiecki (2)

²⁸ Georg Brühl, p. 44.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Pucks, *Tschudi und der Kampf*, p. 387 and Sabine Beneke, p. 329.

³¹ Beneke, p. 330.

³² 86 works, incl. oil paintings, drawings and sculptures, see Beneke, p. 328.

³³ Ibid., p. 330.

³⁴ Georg Brühl, p. 44.

³⁵ Karl Scheffler, "Kunst als Ware", in *Kunst und Künstler* 28/ 1929-30, pp. 439-449, writing on Kurt Glaser.

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]

Kinderköpfchen, Studie zu den Netzflickerinnen

Interieur 1887

French Art:

Courbert: *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

Verena Tafel, "Paul Cassirer als Vermittler Deutscher Impressionistischer Malerei in Berlin. Zum Stand der Forschung", pp. 31-46, in Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft. Sammler der frühen Moderne, Band 42, Heft 3 (Berlin 1988)

She is citing Paul Cassirer Business Account Books, which are presently lodged at Walter Feilchenfeldt/Zurich.

Georg Brühl. Die Cassirers

Sabine Beneke, "Ausklang einer Epoche. Die Sammlung Alfred Cassirer", pp.327-346, in Die Moderne und ihre Sammler (Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2001)

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 Derfflinertstrasse 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.³⁶ 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.³⁷ He published her popular *Künstlerbriefe aus dem Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* in several editions.³⁸

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*,³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

All family members played musical instruments, the Sunday afternoon chamber music concerts being regular events; Bruno Cassirer's dislike of Wagner was renowned.⁴¹ His publishing house often issued artists' and writers' monographs with illustrations by Max Slevogt, Karl Walser and Liebermann.⁴²

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 Kauffmann. Appendix B) I

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).⁴³

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*.⁴⁴

ART COLLECTION⁴⁵

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, 1922⁴⁶

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*⁴⁷

Edvard Munch

French Art:

Cezanne: (4 opp.)

Landscape, oil, Ashmolean Museum 1979*

Still Life with Fruit and a Pot of Ginger, oil (ca.1895)⁴⁸

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)*

Grenouillere, oil, National Gallery London, (1979)*

Pissarro: (2 opp.)⁴⁹

Railway Train at Bedford Park, oil

River landscape, oil

Renoir, *Landscape*, oil, sold c. 1950

Constantin Guys

Carriage, gouache, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1979)*

⁴⁶ Kunst und Verleger. Festschrift zum 50. Geburtstag Bruno Cassirer (Privatdruck, Berlin 1922) as cited by Brühl, p. 219.

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 COLLECTION⁵⁵

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.

⁵³ Tilla Durieux (1954), p. 61.

⁵⁴ Georg Brühl and Stefan Pucks.

⁵⁵ *Im ersten Geschäftsbuch 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 Noordwijjk mit Bäumen, drawing

Studie zu Netzflickerinnen, 1916

Trockene Wäsche, acquired in Nov 1916

Strasse mit Fahnen, pastel, in Jan 1917

Zwei Hunde, in Feb 1917

Allee, in Feb 1917

Dorstarsse 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)⁵⁶

Tilla Durieux (1880-1971) (née Ottilie Godefroy, divorced Spiro).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 Walsler'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.⁵⁸ The Cassirers also owned many animals, such as parrots and dogs.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*;⁶⁰ ⁶⁰ however, all these experiences proved relevant to his later publishing role as well as his art dealership. The *Simplicissimus* stood for

⁵⁶ See Chapter III on Paul Cassirer.

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.

⁵⁸ Brühl, p. 82.

⁵⁸ 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 Illustre*. 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).

⁵⁹ Brühl, p. 82.

⁶⁰ Bruhl, p. 82-83.

"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 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*.

Otilie 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*

⁶¹ Gerdi Stewart, *Das literarische Anliegen des Simplicissimus*, pp. 110-112, in Exh.Cat. *Simplicissimus* (Verlag Haus der Kunst, München 1977).

⁶² See Appendix A) 3

⁶³ The marriage produced a daughter, Aimee Suzanne, and a son, Peter.

⁶⁴ Tilla Durieux (1954), p. 60-61.

Linden [est. 1902] and the *Theater am Schiffbauerdamm*. She established her reputation with the leading role in 'Salome' by Oscar Wilde.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

Paul commissioned Tilla's portrait by Renoir in 1914, the couple visting 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 Liebnecht speaks*, pencil sketch

Käthe Kollwitz

⁶⁵ Tilla Durieux (1954), p. 25.

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*

⁶⁷ Walter Feilchenfeldt (1988), p. 155.

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*⁶⁹

Sources and Bibliography:

Walter Feilchenfeldt, Vincent van Gogh and Paul Cassirer, Berlin (1988)
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

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 Kunstbibliothek* 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

Astrid Schmidt-Burkhardt, "Curt Glaser – Skizze eines Munch Sammlers", in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaften. Sammler der frühen Moderne*, Band 42, Heft 3 Berlin 1988, pp. 63 -75

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 Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Georg Swarzenski with whom he travelled widely and it was under his guidance that Hirsch began to build his art collection. The first paintings he bought were Toulouse-Lautrec's *La Rousee au Caraco blanc* [bought in 1907 via Bernhiem-Jeune, Paris]⁷³ and Pablo Picasso's *Scene de Rue* [bought in 1907 via the Frankfurt dealer Ludwig Schames].⁷⁴

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 Städelsche 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

⁷³ Sotheby's Catalogue, p. 47.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

Basel). 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 Cezanne) 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 collect 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 Raoult
Marc 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 Lewithan 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*, *Konservemachenrinnen*, *Flachsspinnerinnen* and *Netzflickerinnen*. 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 Nationalgalerie director became fascinated with Impressionism; he particularly admired the works of Manet, pledging to introduce Manet's works to Germany.⁷⁸ 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).⁷⁹

ART COLLECTION

German Art

Franz Küger
Adolph Menzel
August Gaul
Carl Blechen
Wilhelm Leibl
Steffeck
A. Zorn

Foreign Artists

Frans Hals
Rembrandt
Josef Israels

⁷⁸ P.Krieger, p. 62, in *Max Liebermann und seine Zeit*, Exh.Cat.

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 éventails, 1898

Paul Cézanne

L'après-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)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 éventails, 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)

⁸⁰ For dates of purchase see Tafel, p 46

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 pivoinies 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:

Karl-Heinz and Annegret Janda, "Max Liebermann als Kunstsammler", in Forschungen und Berichte, p.105 (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Band 15, Berlin 1973). This report gives all works in the collection, including relevant bibliography and exhibition details, incl. small reproductions.

Juden im Deutschen Kulturbereich. Ein Sammelwerk, Siegmund Kaznelson (ed.) (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin 1962, first edition 1935)

Max Liebermann und die Französischen Impressionisten, Exh.Cat. Jewish Museum Wien, Nov 1997 - Jan 1998. Tobias Natter and Julius H.Schoeops (eds.) Dumont Buchverlag, Wien 1997)

Peter Krieger, "Max Liebermanns Impressionisten Sammlung und ihre Bedeutung für sein Werk", pp. 61-71 in Max Liebermann in seiner Zeit, Exh. Cat.

Max Liebermann Jahrhundertwende, Exh.Cat. Angelika Wesenberg (ed.)

Nationalgalerie Berlin Berlin, 1997

Was vom Leben übrig bleibt, sind Bilder und Geschichten. Max Liebermann zum 50. Geburtstag. Eine Rekonstruktion der Gedächtnisausstellung der Berliner Jüdischen Museums von 1936 (Exh.Cat. 1997)

Verena Tafel, "Paul Cassirer. Zum Stand der Forschung", in Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft. Sammler der frühen Moderne (Berlin, 1988)

Cella-Margaret Girardet, Jüdische Mäzene, p 182- 183

Mattias Eberle, Max Liebermann 1847-1935, Werkverzeichnis, (Catalogue Raisonné, Munich 1995)

Paul Mankiewicz

Henriette Mankiewicz (1858-1924)

Address Berlin, Matthaikirchstrasse 2

Titles and family background and profession

Paul Mankiewicz 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 Commerciale; 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 Berlin⁸² 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

W.E. Mosse, The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820-1935. A Socio-Cultural Profile, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989

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;⁸³ 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'.⁸⁴ Ernst was the grandson of Abraham Mendelssohn (1776-1835) therefore the great-grandson of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786).⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷ 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*.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹

Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy died in 1909 as one of Berlin's wealthiest men.

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 1327.

⁸⁵ Abraham's sister was Dorothea Mendelssohn, who first married the banker Simon Veith, of Bankhaus Gebrüder Veith. Their two sons became the Nazarene artists Philipp and Johannes Veith. Dorothea subsequently married Friedrich Schegel. Kaznelsohn, p. 722.

⁸⁶ C-M Girardet, pp. 189-90.

⁸⁷ With a further donation of 500.000 Mark for redecoration of the villa, Ibid., p. 189-9.

⁸⁸ See Chapter V and Appendix A) 5.

⁸⁹ C-M.Girardet, p. 189 'Schenkungen und Stiftungen der Mendelssohns' p. 189

ART COLLECTION

Details unavailable.

Sources and Bibliography:

Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1971) vol. 11, p.1326

C-M.Girardet, "Schenkungen und Stiftungen der Mendelssohns", p. 189

Gutbrod, p. 83-87

Wilhelm Treue, "Das Bankhaus Mendelssohn als Beispiel einer Privatbank im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", in Mendelssohn Studien. Vol. 1 (Berlin1972) pp.29-80

Paul von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1875 - 1935)

Charlotte von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy

Address: Berlin, Alsenstarsse 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 für 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).⁹⁰ He made a gift of a Persian bowls to the Museum für Islamische Kunst (1910).⁹¹

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 ...*⁹² His interest in van Gogh was shared by his cousin, Robert von Mendelssohn.

They did not collect German art.

⁹⁰ 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

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 191.

⁹² Stefan Pucks, *Tschudi und der Kampf*, p. 387, footnote 18, p. 390.

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 f 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-Komitee; 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*.⁹³

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.⁹⁴

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 Pointoise* (acquired May 1907)

Chaigneau, *Schäfe an der Tränke* (acquired April 1907)

Sources and Bibliography:

Gaetghens Seminar Folder

W.E. Mosse, German- Jewish Elite

Rudolf Elvers, 'Schenkungen und Stiftungen der Mendelssohns', in Die Mendelssohns in Berlin. Eine Familie und ihre Stadt, Rudolf Elvers and Hans-Günter Klein (Eds.)

Exh. Cat. (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kultur, Berlin und Wiesbaden, 1983)

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)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.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.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 Agyptisches Museum.⁹⁸ Franz von

⁹⁵ Girardet, p. 186- 87 and Verena Tafel.

⁹⁶ Kaznelson, p. 724.

⁹⁷ Girardet, p. 186.

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 Sämann

Das gelbe Kornfeld

Flowering Chestnut branch

three drawings

Braque (1 op.)

Sources and Bibliography:

Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich. Ein Sammelwerk, Siegmund Kaznelson (Ed)

(Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin, 1962)

Gaetghens Seminar Folder

Wilhelm Treu, "Das Bankhaus Mendelssohn als Beispiel einer Privatbank im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", pp. 55-66, in Mendelssohn Studien (Vol. 1, Berlin 1972) and Cecilie Löwenthal-Hensel, Franz von Mendelssohn zum 50. Todesstag am 13 Juni 1985, pp. 251-265, in Mendelssohn Studien

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 Seon

Kirchengang 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 pauvre de village* (1866)

Camille Corot, *La Chauvrière*

Daumier, *In the Theatre*

Confidence

Daubigny

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 Nêmes" in Kunst und Künstler
1914/15, p. 217

Karl Schwarz, 'Kunstsammler', in Katznelson

Dr. Franz Oppenheim (1852-1929)

Margarete Oppenheim- Reichenheim (1857-1935) (née Eisner, widowed Georg Reichenheim, ca. 1905)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 *Actien-Gesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation* (AGFA) in due course becoming one of Germany's leading industrialists.¹⁰³

He was a committee member of *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 *Herkules mit Löwen* (1905) and *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.

¹⁰² see later in this Appendix on, MINOR COLLECTORS.

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

¹⁰⁴ Lionel Venturi, Cezanne, Paris 1936, vol 1, p. 391 as cited by Girardet, p. 33. Part of the collection was auctioned in 1936 at J.Bohler, München,(18, 19, 20 and 22 May 1936) Catalogue, Altes Kunstgewerbe, Weinmuller, München 1936.

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 für 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 Steintal, Carl Hagen and others the graphics estate of Joseph Maria Olbrich to the Kunstgewerbemuseum und Kunstbibliothek

ART COLLECTION

German Art

Max Liebermann

Portrait Julius Stern

Gedächtnisfeier für Kaiser Friedrich in Kosen, 1888

Pferdeknechte am Strande, 1900

Corinth

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

Olivenernte 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 eternal*, marble

Maillol, *La Vague*, bronze

Sources and Bibliography

Gaetghens Seminar Folder

Kaznelson, Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich

W.E. Mosse, German-Jewish Elite

Karl Scheffler, Introduction in Auction Catalogue, Sammlung Julius Stern, Berlin,

May 1916

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.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).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.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.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 1889.¹¹⁰ 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 Rohlf, 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.¹¹¹ Ziegler thus contends that Heilbuth was one of the earliest

¹⁰⁶ See Hendrik Ziegler, Die Kunst der Weimarer Malerschule. Von der Pleinmaerei zum Impressionismus. Doctoral Dissertation Freie Universität Berlin, 1999. (Published Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2001). Ziegler mentions that the name is sometimes written with one n, at other times with two n's.

¹⁰⁷ Ziegler, p. 41.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁹ Although the dealer bought it back seven days later; *ibid.*, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ Ziegler, p. 41 in Die Moderne und ihre Sammler.

¹¹¹ Ziegler, p. 47

German critics around 1890 that supported French modernism in Germany, a fact which has been overlooked until recently.¹¹²

Emil Heilbuth published under the pseudonym Hermann Helferich. In 1887 he released his first monograph, *Neue Kunst*,¹¹³ 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*,¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ 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 Fleischlein and after 1903 he was appointed sole editor. In 1903 he wrote an extensive report on the Vienna Secession Exhibition in *Kunst und Künstler*.¹¹⁶

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 stages¹¹⁷ – was often interpreted as a mediating and educational project, since he often sold works soon after they had fulfilled their pedagogic value.¹¹⁸ For example, after he showed three paintings by Claude Monet* to illustrate his Weimar lecture, he sold these works.¹¹⁹ However, Ziegler suggests that Heilbuth also bought works in order to draw the attention of collectors and dealers;¹²⁰ 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

¹¹² Ziegler, p. 42-46.

¹¹³ Hermann Helferich [Emil Heilbuth]: *Neue Kunst*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig 1887, see Ziegler, p. 58.

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 Helferich [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.

¹¹⁶ Emil Heilbuth, "Die Impressionisten – Ausstellung der Wiener Secession", in *Kunst und Künstler* 1/1002-103, pp. 169-207.

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.¹²¹

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.¹²² He made this clear in a response to the defence of such art by Harry Graf Kessler's *Über den Kunstwert des Neo-Impressionismus*.¹²³

ART COLLECTION

French Art (1889-1918)

Claude Monet

*Le chemin de la cavee a Pourville**, 1882, oil, private collection, France¹²⁴

*Barque sur la Seine a Jeufosse**, 1884, oil, private collection, France¹²⁵

*Belle-Ile, Coucher de Soleil**, 1886, oil, private collection, France¹²⁶

Le Moulin d'Orgemont, 1873, oil, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, USA¹²⁷

Eduard Manet

Degas

Arlequin et colombine, 1884, pastel (owned only very temporarily)¹²⁸

*Danseuses, Contrabasses*¹²⁹

*Edutes Anglais*¹³⁰

Femme se faisant coiffer devant la cheminee.¹³¹

¹²¹ See detailed information on research on this collection in Ziegler, p. 62

¹²² H. [Emil Heilbut] "Eine Streitfrage", in *Kunst und Künstler*, 1/1903. See Ziegler, p. 481-485.

¹²³ Harry Graf Kessler, *Über den Wert des Neo-Impressionismus. Eine Erwiderung*. [1902]

(Ed) Cornelia Blasberg and Gerahrd Schuster (Frankfurt am Main, 1988).

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 York¹³²

James McNeill Wistler, *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*, 1860, oil, Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, USA¹³³

** These works were shown at the first German Cezanne Exhibition at the Kunstsalon Cassirer in 1900.

Sources and Bibliography

Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen 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

Karl Scheffler, "Obituary: Emil Heilbuth" in Kunst und Künstler 19, 1920-21, p. 235

¹³¹ See Stefan Pucks, "The Archenemy Invades Germany". French Impressionist Pictures in the Museums of the German Empire from 1896-1918. In Impressionism: Paintings Collected by European Museums. Exhibition Catalogue (Denver 1999).

¹³² The three Cezanne were purchased 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 1907-1912.¹³⁴ The Sternheim Villa Bellemaison in Hollriegelskreuth, 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.¹³⁵ In 1912 the Villa was sold for 650.000 Mark to Rittmeister D. Karl Theodor Lamarche.¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷

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 Lowenstein 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.¹³⁸

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.

¹³⁵ Pophanken (2001), p. 255.

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,¹³⁹ which openly caricatured the *juste milieu* of Wilhelmine society. His works often caused scandals:¹⁴⁰ the trilogy *Die Hose* (1911), *Snob* (1913) and *13* (1914) addressed the moral collapse of the parvenue 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*.¹⁴¹

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.¹⁴²

In 1908 Sternheim co-founded with Franz Blei the Munich journal for fine arts, fiction and criticism, *Hyperion*;¹⁴³ also in 1908, Sternheim met Munich publisher Alfred Walter Carl Heymel, whose publishing house Insel Verlag began to publish his works.¹⁴⁴

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.

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.

¹⁴² Pophanken (2001), p. 254.

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 1924.¹⁴⁵

The Sternheims' interest in Gauguin was kindled by Alfred Flechtheim and Georg Swarzenski.¹⁴⁶ The Sternheims disagreed, however, in their assessment of the art of Cezanne.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 *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.)

ART COLLECTION (in 1919)

Van Gogh

L'Arlesiennes, Madame Ginoux, 1888, oil, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.¹⁴⁸

Les Amoureux, 1888, oil (series *Jardin du poète*) lost, declared degenerate in 1937.¹⁴⁹

Citronen, Milch und Kaffeekanne, private collection

Hütten von St. Maries, now private collection.¹⁵⁰

Kastanienbaum (HB, 1909) Rijksmuseum Kroller-Muller Collection, Otterlo.¹⁵¹

The Postman Roulin sitting at the table, Museum of Fine Art, Boston, USA.

Self-Portrait (JB, 1909), Rijksmuseum Kroller-Muller Collection.¹⁵²

Landscapes 1, Landscape 2, Landscape 3

Pelouse ensoleillee,¹⁵³ private collection

Gauguin

Nature morte avec trois petit chiens, oil, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Bretonne en priere, Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Mass.

Renoir

La Femme a la muette, oil, Kunstmuseum Basel.

Clown au cirque, Rijksmuseum Kroller-Muller Collection, Otterlo.

La femme a la muette

¹⁴⁵ Carl Sternheim, *Gauguin and van Gogh* (Berlin 1924)

¹⁴⁶ See remarks on the loan of their collection to the Städelsche Kunstinstitut in Chapter 5.

¹⁴⁷ Pophanken (2001), p. 262.

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 Amadée Stoffenecker in Paris.

¹⁴⁹ De la Faille 410.

¹⁵⁰ De la Faille 420

¹⁵¹ De la Faille 752

¹⁵² De la Faille 380

¹⁵³ De la Faille 428

Honoré Daumier (2 opp.)

Maurice Denis, *Frauen und Kinder am Meeresstrand*.¹⁵⁴

H. Matisse: *Corbeille d' oranges*, Musee Picasso, Paris.¹⁵⁵

Goya: Figurative works (4 opp.)

Francois Boucher

Jean Baptiste Greuze, *Mädchenkopf mit blauen Haarband, Rückenansicht*.

Theodore Géricault

Le marechal-ferrant flamand

Cuirassier chargeant

Satyr et nymphe, 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 poete*, 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)

Thea Sternheim, Tagebücher 1905-1927. Die Jahre mit Carl Sternheim, Bernhard Zeller and Heidemarie Gruppe, (Ed.) (Mainz, 1996)

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

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 Baeux-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

Stefan Pucks, Jahrhundertwende Cat, pp. 237 - 38

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.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

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)

Wife ?

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.¹⁵⁸ 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, René Schickele, Annette

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 1934,¹⁵⁹ 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.¹⁶⁰

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.¹⁶¹

Samuel Fischer's editor Oscar Bie was closely involved with several of Fischer newspaper publications and advised him on his art purchases.

¹⁵⁹ Arnold Zweig, *Bilanz der deutschen Judenheit*, 1934, cited by Salamander p.197

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

German Art

Corinth

French Art:

Cezanne: *Stilleben*

Van Gogh: *Die Kastanienbaum*

Pissarro: *Quai d' Orsay*

Sources and Bibliography

T.Gaetghens Seminar Folder

Kaznelson

Rachel Salamander (Ed.)The Jewish World of Yesterday 1860-1938, Rizzoli, New York, 1990.

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 Santé* 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 Grönewald, 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.

¹⁶⁴ Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. 13, p. 1569.

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 Städelsche 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*)

Sassoferrato,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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Jewish Encyclopaedia (Keter Publishing, Jerusalem)

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 *Städelsche Kunstinstitut* in Frankfurt am Main, Head of the Freunde des Städelsche Kunstinstitut.

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No further details available

Harry Fuld

No details available

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APPENDIX A) 5

GERMAN-JEWISH BENEFACTORS

to

NATIONALGALERIE BERLIN

STÄDELSCHE KUNSTINSTITUT, FRANKFURT AM MAIN

JEWISH SPONSORS OF FOREIGN ART

A: German-Jewish Dealers

Cassirer, Paul, Berlin.
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
Bernheim-Jeune, Gaston and Joseph, Paris
Hessel, Jos, Paris
Reisinger, Hugo, New York.
Roth, Emy, Zürich.
Sedelmeyer, Charles, Paris.
Némes, von, Marzell, Budapest, post-1923 Munich. (German or foreign)
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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 Huldshinsky, 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
21. Paul von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, 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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Vol. VII, (28 May 1903-18 June 1906) vol. VIII (June 1906-20 April 1909), vol. IX (April 1909 - December 1911)

Personalakte Hugo von Tschudi, Rep. T7, vol. I (1884-1904)

Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Nr. 20424-26 *Erwerbungen und Geschenke für die Nationalgalerie*, vol. II (1888-1900), vol. III (1901-1907) and vol. IV (1908-1911).

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(abbreviation Cat. HT)

All the article contributions below are taken from the above catalogue:

Stefan Pucks, "Von Manet zu Matisse. Die Sammler der französischen Moderne in Berlin um 1900", pp. 386-390.

(abbr. SP)

Catherine Kraemer, "Tschudi and Meier-Graefe. Der Museumsman und der Kunstschriftsteller", pp. 371-376.

(abbr. CK)

Andrea Pophanken, "Privatsammler der französischen Moderne in München", pp. 424-431.

(abbr. AP)

Angelika Wesenberg, "Impressionismus und die Deutsche Jahrhundertausstellung Berlin 1906", pp. 364-370.

(abbr. AW)

Christian Lenz, "...das Beste gerade gut genug." Hugo von Tschudis Erwerbungen für die Alte und Neue Pinakothek", pp. 408-412.

(abbr. CL)

Gottfried Riemann, "Tschudi erwirbt Zeichnungen", pp. 382-385.

(abbr. GR)

Barbara Paul. Hugo von Tschudi und die moderne französische Kunst im Deutschen Kaiserreich (Kunsthistorisches Institut der Freien Universität, Berlin) (Verlag Zabern, Mainz, 1993).

(abbr. PB)

incl. Barbara Paul Appendix (abbr. App.) Each picture has number and provenance, research Nr.

NATIONALGALERIE BERLIN, BERLIN¹

1896

FRENCH ART

Edouard Manet, *Dans la Serre*. 1878/79, oil.²

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, 1879.³ 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 Mendelssohn, Robert von Mendelssohn 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

Edgar Degas, *La conversation chez la modiste*, ca. 1882, pastel on paper.

In 1997 at NG Berlin Inv. Nr. A I 552. (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 Huldshinsky**, 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.

Gustave Courbet, *L'ecluse de la Loue*, 1866, oil.

In 1997 at Nationalgalerie Berlin Inv. Nr. A I 549

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.

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*.

Claude Monet, *Velheuil sur Seine*, 1880, oil.

NG Archival reference: AI 551

Provenance: 1889 Madame Wagner, Paris, 1891 Paul Durand-Ruel, Paris.

Gift of Karl von der Heydt, Berlin

Auguste Rodin, *Jules Dalou*, ⁴1883, bronze bust.

In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. B I 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:

John Constable, *Mühle am Fluß Stour*, ca.1820, oil.

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)

Donation **Charles Sedelmeyer**, Paris art dealer. BP. App. Nr. 21, p. 353.

John Lavery, *Dame in Schwarz*, 1894, oil.

In 1993 at NG Berlin, Inv.Nr. A I 533

Tschudi bought on 29. October for 2.888 Mark, Verein bildender Künstler München's Sezession. Tschudi application 6 November, acceptance 30 November.

Donation **Robert Guthmann**, Berlin. BP. App. Nr. 23, pp. 353-354.

Giovanni Segantini, *La prehieria ai piedi della Croce*, 1892, pencil & colour drawing.

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**.

BP. App. Nr. 25, pp. 354-355.

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**.

BP. App. Nr. 26, pp. 355-56

Giovanni Segantini, *Amore alla Fontana*, 1892, pencil & colour drawing.

Since 1925 in various Milan private collections; in 1924 sold to Dr. Wedland, 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**. BP. App. Nr. 24 P. 355.

⁴ Dalou had been active during the Paris Commune in 1871 and took refuge in England, returning to Paris thereafter

Ville Vallgren, *Jeunesse*, 1895, bronze, statuette.

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

BP App. Nr. 30 p. 356.

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.

1897⁵

FRENCH ART⁶

Jean-Francois Millet, *Novembre*, 1870, oil.

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**

BP. App. Nr. 35 pp. 357-8.

Alfred Sisley, *Premiere neiges a Louveciennes, Rue de Voisins* , ca. 1870/1, oil⁷

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**.

Cat. HT, Nr. 32, p.106 AW and BP App. Nr. 38, p. 358.

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.

⁶ Cézanne, *Le moulin sur la Coulevre a Pointoise*, 1881, oil, In 1997 at Berlin, NG Inv Nr. A I 606 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

Camille Pissarro, *Maison bourgeoise a l'Hermitage, Pontoise*, 1873, oil.⁸

In 1997, at Kunstmuseum, Sturzenegggersche Gemäldesammlung: St. Gallen.

Tschudi bought at Internationale Kunstausstellung Dresden 1897. Tschudi applied to exchange it in November for pastel by Paul Besnard, *Bust of a girl*

Trust **Oskar Huldshinsky**.

Cat. HT, Nr. 31, p.104 AW and BP, App.Nr. 39, p 359.

OTHER FOREIGN ART

Richard Parkes Bonington, *Marine*, 1820s, oil.

Since WW II location unknown (in 1993)

Tschudi bought for 650 Mark. Tschudi application 30 July, acceptance 4 September 1897.

Trust **Oskar Huldshinsky**

BP. App. Nr. 36, p. 358.

1898⁹

NO ACQUISITIONS

1899

FRENCH ART

Claude Monet, *Maison d' Argenteuil*, 1873, oil.

In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr 777

Tschudi saw work at Internationale Kunstausstellung Dresden, July 1897 and later Vienna Exhibition. Contacted Durand-Ruel 4 October 1897, but no purchase was made. Work exhibited again in Vienna, spring 1898. Around 16/17/23 December 1898, Tschudi approached Durand-Ruel again and bought it for 5.500 Francs. Value 3000 mark. Application 9 February, acceptance 25 February 1899.

Trust **Henriette Mankiewicz**

Cat. HT, Nr. 26, p.94 BW and BP, App. Nr. 41, p, 359.

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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 foundation 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.

BP.App. Nr. 53 p, 363.

Auguste Rodin, *L'homme et sa pensée*, sculpture, 1899-1900, marble.

In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. B I 158

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, *Février, givre*, 1895, oil

NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. A I 695

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 I 698

Tschudi application, 20 December 1900, acceptance 16 January 1901.

Bequest Berlin banker Felix Koenigs Berlin 11. December 1900

BP. App. Nr. 55, p, 363.

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

BP. App. Nr 56, p. 364.

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.

Pawel Troubetzkoy, *Giovanni Segantini*, 1896, bronze.
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
BP. App. Nr. 60, p. 365.

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
BP, App. Nr. 62, p. 365.

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

Paul Cézanne, *Nature morte: pots et bouteilles*, ca. 1871-72, oil.

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.

Donation **Eduard Arnold and Robert von Mendelssohn**, Berlin.

BP App. Nr. 72, pp. 368-369.

1905

Auguste Rodin, *Le penseur*, ca. 1881-83, bronze.

In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr. 210

Tschudi bought from Rodin for 4.000 Francs; application 25 January 1905,
acceptance 25 February 1905.

Donation **Oskar Huldshinsky**, BP. App. Nr. 49, p. 361-62.

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'apres-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 été/ La bohémienne, Lise Trehot*, 1868, oil.

In 1997 at NG Berlin Inv. Nr. A I 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.

Paul Cézanne, *Nature morte: fleurs et fruits*, 1888-90, oil.

In 1997 at NG Berlin, Inv. Nr A I 965

Bernheim-Jeune sells to Cassirer; Tschudi bought for 8.000 Mark;

application 5/12 June, acceptance 6 December 1906.

Trust **Edward Arnold and Robert von Mendelssohn**, Berlin.

Cat. HT, Nr 61, p. 164 CK and BP App. Nr.73, p. 369.

Gustave Courbet, *Chat-huant depeçant 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 I 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.

Paul Cézanne, *Nature morte: pots, bouteille, tasse et fruits*, ca. 1871/72, oil.

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 Koenigs' donation had included three works by Rodin: *Kiss*, 1886; *Eva*, ca. 1881; *Balsac*, 1897)

Cat. HT Nr. 36, p.114 CK and BP. App.Nr. 71, p. 368.

1907¹⁴

Claude Monet, *Le Printemps*, ca. 1874, oil.

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.

¹³ This was another German donor, Elise Koenigs, Berlin, sister of the banker Felix Koenigs.

¹⁴ Paul Cézanne, *L'après-midi du Dimanche/ La journée de juillet/ Le pecheurs/ 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 déjeuner 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.

Edouard Manet, *Monet peignant dans son atelier*, 1874, oil.

In 1997 NP Munich, Inv. Nr. 8759

Bernheim-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.

Gustave Courbet, *Pommes*, 1871, oil.

In 1997 Munich, NP Inv. Nr. 8623

Donation **Marzell von Nêmes**, 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 Nêmes**, application granted in July 1911.

Cat. HT Nr. 3, p. 48 AP.

1912

Vincent van Gogh, *Tournesols*, 1888, oil.

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.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Male Portrait*, 1900/01, oil.

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*, 1907/081, 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.

Auguste Rodin, *Gustave Mahler*, 1909, bust, bronze.

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.

Vincent van Gogh, *Vue d'Arles - Les Peuliers*, 1889, oil.

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.

Gustave Courbet, *Paysage pres de Maisieres. Environs d'Ornans*, 1865, oil.

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.

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.

Paul Gauguin, *Paysage de Martinique*, 1887, oil.

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.

Pierre Bonnard, *Femme au miroir*, ca. 1905, oil.

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.

Paul Gauguin, *Le quatre bretonnes*, 1886, oil.

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.

Honoré Daumier, *Le Drame*, ca.1860, oil.

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.

MODERNIST ART SPONSORED AFTER TSCHUDI's DEATH **and THROUGH TSCHUDI SPENDE**

1911

Vincent van Gogh, *Fischerboote, Strand von St. Maries*, 1888, drawing.

Vincent van Gogh, *Jardin des fleurs*, 1888, drawing.

Both drawings in private collections, Zurich.

Both of these drawing 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 trough 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 Dornhoffer'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.

Vincent van Gogh, *Railwaybridge at Trinquetaille, Arles*, 1888, oil.

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 Städtelsche 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 Florsheim, London
Adolf Gans
Dr. Leo Gans
Generalkonsul Jakob Gerson
Leopold B.H. Goldschmidt, Paris.
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.) Städelscher 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 á la Folies Bergere*, 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. *Selbstbildnis*, 1978
13. *Im Café*, 1978
14. *Mademoiselle Lemonier*, 1877
15. *Akt*
15. *Frau in rosa Schuhen*, 1869
16. *Le skating*, 1877
17. *Faure als Hamlet*, 1877 (Salon 1877)
18. *Die Amazone*, 1877
19. *Selbstmörder*, 1877
20. *La Rue de Berne, 14 Juiellet*, 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, London, 3 May 1998.

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 Courtauld Institute in London, but he is now retired.

APPENDIX B) 2

MICHAEL KAUFFMANN, London, 4 August 1998.

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 Musuem, 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 Stiftung, 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."

APPENDIX B) 4

IRENE SYCHRAVA, London, 16 December 2002.

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'.¹

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 grand-father 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.”

¹ Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 5, p.233 (Keter Publishing, Jerusalem, 1971)