

himself would not use dialect even ironically, gave voice to a similar attitude with tags borrowed from Prussian history and Berlin life: “Es muss auch so gehen” – “Things must work out regardless” – a slight misquotation of General Yorck’s comment at the Battle of Laon in 1814, when he had to fight without the expected reinforcements; and “Was soll der Unsinn?” – “What’s the point of this nonsense?” – words Fontane borrowed from his lawyer. The lawyer had seen a working-class shopkeeper slap a small boy, and asked for the reason. The man explained: “Every day after school, the boy hangs around the shop, and when he thinks no one is looking urinates in the barrel of pickled cabbage. Of course, that doesn’t hurt the cabbage; Aber was soll der Unsinn?” That the shopkeeper couched the punchline in elegant syntax added to its strength.

- 6 Matthias Eberle, “Max Liebermann zwischen Tradition und Opposition,” *Max Liebermann in seiner Zeit*, p. 35.
- 7 Philipp Stauff, “Das Fremdtum in Deutschlands bildender Kunst, oder Paul Cassirer, Max Liebermann, usw.,” *Semi-Kürschner*, 2, ed. Philipp Stauff, Berlin, 1913, p. ii.
- 8 See essay 8 in this volume, and Peter Paret, “Max Liebermann als Künstler und Kulturpolitiker,” *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 34, Berlin, 1997, pp. 123–24.
- 9 Ulrike Hass, *Theodor Fontane. Bürgerlicher Realismus am Beispiel seiner Berliner Gesellschaftsromane*, Bonn, 1979, p. 99.
- 10 Rainer Warning, *Flaubert und Fontane, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte*, 1997, no. 8, Munich, 1997, p. 4.
- 11 Theodor Fontane to Martha Fontane, 19 March 1896, Theodor Fontane, *Werke, Schriften, Briefe; Briefe*, 4, ed. Otto Drude and Helmuth Nürnberger, Munich, 1982, p. 544.
- 12 Günter Busch, “Max Liebermann und Theodor Fontane,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 13 November 1966.

3. MODERNISM AND THE “ALIEN ELEMENT IN GERMAN ART”

- 1 Philipp Stauff, “Das Fremdtum in Deutschlands bildender Kunst, oder Paul Cassirer, Max Liebermann, usw.,” *Semi-Kürschner*, 2, ed. Philipp Stauff, Berlin, 1913, p. i.
- 2 I trace the history of the Munch exhibition in *The Berlin Secession*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, pp. 50–54.
- 3 Not every member’s family background is known in detail. A few comments on the issue of Jewish identity and its ambiguities appear below. Whether converted Jews and individuals of mixed ancestry should be considered Jews was probably of greater importance to them and to society in general than to radical anti-Semites, for whom action and attitude rather than ancestry might suffice to mark someone as Jewish. Conversely, the statement “I decide who is a Jew,” attributed to several Nazi leaders

unwilling to do without the services of individuals of partly Jewish ancestry, was not a brutally endearing idiosyncrasy, but expressed an article of faith central to German anti-Semitism.

- 4 *Katalog der grossen Berliner Kunstausstellung*, Berlin, 1912, p. 10.
- 5 *Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes*, Cologne, 1912.
- 6 *Katalog der Deutschen Kunstausstellung der “Berliner Secession,”* Berlin, 1899, p. 15.
- 7 Some comparative figures are given in Rudolf Martin’s contemporary exposé of Berlin millionaires, beginning with the emperor, based on their income taxes and major real estate holdings, *Jahrbuch des Vermögens und Einkommens der Millionäre in Berlin*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 11, 26, 50.
- 8 Karl Scheffler, *Die fetten und die mageren Jahre*, Leipzig, 1948, p. 193.
- 9 Catalogues, *Paul Cassirer*, 10, *Jahrgang*, nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, Berlin, 1907–8.
- 10 Catalogue, *Paul Cassirer*, 15, *Jahrgang*, no. 1, Berlin, 1912, pp. 1–3 [unpaginated].
- 11 For Paul Cassirer’s financial arrangements with artists, see the informative essay by Roland Dorn, “Paulchen und Gaulchen,” in *Der Tierbildbauer August Gaul*, catalogue of the exhibition in the Georg-Kolbe-Museum, ed. Ursula Berger, Berlin, 1999, especially pp. 63–74.
- 12 The assertion sometimes encountered in the literature – for example, Walter S. Laux, *Der Fall Corinth*, Munich, 1998, p. 17 – that all or nearly all members of the Secession were under contract to Cassirer is incorrect and reveals a misunderstanding of the relationship between the Secession and the gallery. Indeed, the resentment of some members toward those who were contractually linked with the gallery was one of the factors that eventually led to the Secession’s decline.
- 13 The principal exception was Lesser Ury, an innovative colorist and brilliant interpreter of the urban scene and after Liebermann probably the most important Jewish painter in Berlin. His work was favorably reviewed and sold well; but his extreme shyness and a sense of persecution isolated him among Berlin artists. After initially good relations, he and Liebermann became enemies, which may explain why he did not join the Secession. The rumor that he had added highlights to improve some of the older man’s paintings led to a characteristic Liebermann witticism: “I don’t care if people say my paintings are by Lesser; but if he claims his paintings are by me, I’ll sue.” In 1916 the Cassirer Gallery showed a large retrospective of Ury’s work, yet despite these and other marks of achievement, permanent success eluded him.
- 14 See, for instance, the art journal *Kunst für Alle*, 19 (1903–4), p. 152.
- 15 Lewald’s career did not suffer from the emperor’s reversal of his policy. He continued to rise in the interior ministry and retired in 1921 as *Staatssekretär* with the predicate “Excellency.” Although he had two Jewish grandparents – his paternal grandfather came from a prominent Jewish family in Berlin and converted in 1812 – Lewald served as president of the Olympic Organizing Committee for the 1936 Berlin games. On photographs of Hitler opening the games, Lewald can be seen on the rostrum

- between the Italian crown prince and Goebbels, giving the Nazi salute. After the conclusion of the games he was forced to give up his official positions.
- 16 Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, p. 141. The conflict over the Secession's participation in the St. Louis Fair and the Reichstag debate over the government's handling of the art exhibition are discussed in detail, *ibid.*, pp. 92–155.
 - 17 On the Tschudi Affair, see the fourth essay in this volume.
 - 18 This did not, of course, signify a true change of heart. The emperor continued to judge art from political and social perspectives. As late as 1913 he noted in a private memorandum: "Certainly we must seek . . . to limit Jewish influence in all areas of art and literature as much as possible." Cited in *Die Erforderlichkeit des Unmöglichen: Deutschland am Vorabend des ersten Weltkrieges*, ed. Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann and Immanuel Geiss, Frankfurt a. M., 1965, p. 38.
 - 19 For a fuller account of Nolde's attack, with its falsifications and anti-Semitic overtones, see Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, pp. 210–16.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 182–99. One signatory of Vinnen's "Protest of German Artists" was Käthe Kollwitz, who joined the fundamentalist art patriots out of envy at the publicity the work of Matisse was receiving in Berlin (see her letters to her son Hans of 9 and 20 May 1911, excerpted in Käthe Kollwitz, *Die Tagebücher*, ed. Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz, Berlin, 1989, pp. 778–79). She soon regretted a step that put her in opposition to individuals and institutions that had supported and defended her work for a decade or more. The incident suggests the difficulty some early members of the Secession experienced with the newest developments in art, and perhaps also the ease with which personal feelings might blur seemingly absolute divisions between aesthetic styles.
 - 21 Struck's decision to remain in the rump secession did not affect his good relations with Paul Cassirer, who respected him as a serious if limited craftsman. In 1912, Cassirer published a luxury edition of a monograph on Struck's work, and he continued to reprint Struck's book on graphic technique, *Die Kunst des Radierens*, first published in 1903, which he eventually brought out in a fifth edition in 1925.
 - 22 Among the many links between the years before 1914 and the last years before the Third Reich is Stauff's anti-Semitic dictionary. The 1929 edition continued to rage against Liebermann, who is now labeled "a parasite on the body of German character and art, one of the birds of doom of the German spirit, international in outlook, and a servant of the Talmud."
 - 23 Research by Cella-Margaretha Girardet, cited in my essay "Bemerkungen zu dem Thema: Jüdische Kunstsammler, Stifter und Kunsthändler," in *Sammler, Stifter und Museen*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Peter Paret, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 1993, p. 176.
 - 24 Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Drei Berliner Porträts: Wilhelm von Bode, Eduard Arnhold, Harry Graf Kessler," in *Mäzenatentum in Berlin*, ed. Günter and Waldtraut Braun, Berlin, 1993, p. 44.

4. THE TSCHUDI AFFAIR

- 1 As reported in his memoirs, Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930, 2 vols. in one, 2, p. 201.
- 2 William II, speech of 18 December 1901, quoted in Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, pp. 26–27. Adolf Hitler, Address at the Session on Culture of the Reichsparteitag in Nurnberg 1935, reprinted in the documentary section of Berthold Hinz, *Die Malerei im deutschen Faschismus*, Munich-Vienna, 1984, p. 144.
- 3 Quoted in Hans Rosenhagen, *Albrecht von Keller*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1912, pp. 113–14.
- 4 *Handbuch über den Königlich Preussischen Hof und Staat für das Jahr 1911*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 94–98. The functions of the director-general are discussed in Bode's memoirs, Bode, 1 p. 182.
- 5 Bode, 2, p. 123; Dieter Honisch, *Die Nationalgalerie Berlin*, Recklinghausen, 1979, pp. 11–12.
- 6 Max Liebermann, "Hugo von Tschudi," reprinted in his collected papers, *Die Phantasie in der Malerei*, ed. Günter Busch, Frankfurt a. M., 1978, p. 117.
- 7 Hugo von Tschudi, "Kunst und Publikum," reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften zur neueren Kunst*, ed. E. Schwedeler-Meyer, Munich, 1912, pp. 56–75.
At about the time of Tschudi's speech, the emperor, accompanied by his confidant in art matters, Anton von Werner, visited the National Gallery and ordered Tschudi and the Kultusminister to stop showing French impressionists: "This business with the French must stop." Years later Werner related the incident to a newspaper editor, adding: "I can't understand . . . how the emperor put up with all this for ten more years." Letter to Herrn von Kuppfer, 17 March 1909, Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Anton von Werner 1, Kopierbuch, November 1906–October 1909, p. 431.
- 8 Bode, 2, p. 204.
- 9 Werner Weisbach, *Und alles ist zerstoßen*, Vienna, 1937, p. 101.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 103–104. The mistake seems almost too pat to be true.
- 11 Anton von Werner, *Erlebnisse und Eindrücke, 1870–1890*, Berlin, 1913, p. 596. Werner's memoirs, a work of great historical and biographical interest, contain references to the period after 1890 but do not mention the events discussed in this essay.
- 12 Anton von Werner to Thomas Alt, 3 and 5 July 1912; Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Nachlass Anton von Werner 2, Kopierbuch, April 1912–September 1914, pp. 51, 58, 60.
- 13 Bernhard von Bülow to Hugo von Tschudi, 26 February 1908, Berlin Kunstbibliothek, Nachlass Hugo von Tschudi.
- 14 Anton von Werner to Friedrich Schmidt, 11 March 1908, Merseburg, Rep. 92, Nachlass Anton von Werner, VI c1, p. 1. Schmidt, who later expanded his name to Schmidt-Ott, refers to the Tschudi affair in his