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Ernst Kirchner's Streetwalkers: Art, Luxury, and Immorality in Berlin, 1913–16

Sherwin Simmons

An article entitled “Culture in the Display Window,” which surveyed the elegant artistry of Berlin’s display windows, appeared in *Der Kritiker*, a Berlin cultural journal, during the summer of 1913. Its author stated that these windows were an important factor in Germany’s recent economic boom and the concomitant rise of its culture on the world stage, serving “as an alarm clock of our hedonism” and transforming the frugal German housewife into a fashionable lady.¹ Women’s fashion was said to be at the heart of a new love of luxury that made Berlin the economic and cultural equal of Paris.

The historical and theoretical bases of the article’s argument lay within recent developments in German applied arts. For several years the Deutscher Werkbund had promoted both the aestheticization of commodities through packaging and display techniques and the growth of German fashion’s prestige within the world market.² Display window competitions and articles in the popular press encouraged consideration of the new commercial culture’s artistry,³ while scholars, such as Werner Sombart in his 1913 book *Luxus und Kapitalismus*, ascribed new importance to luxury’s role in capitalism’s development. Sombart equated Titian’s paintings of nudes and celebration of the courtesan with the flowering of capitalism in the sixteenth century, arguing that a “purely hedonistic aesthetic conception of woman” promoted luxury and economic growth, as courtesans began to influence other women through art, fashion, and an eroticism of consumption. This, he maintained, was a pattern that persisted to the present, when “all the follies of fashion, luxury, splendor, and extravagance are first tried out by the mistresses before they are finally accepted, somewhat toned down, by the reputable matrons.”⁴ Sombart’s linkage of art, luxury, fashion, and sexuality was common among intellectuals who worried about the social and moral implications of Germany’s burgeoning consumption at the beginning of the new century.⁵ During 1913–14, art, luxury, fashion, and sexuality also became the key terms of a debate that focused on the display window and included efforts to pass a set of laws to protect youth and check the spread of immorality.

I will argue in this article that certain of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner’s street scenes from 1913–15, such as his crayon and tempera drawing *Cocotte in Red* (Fig. 1), participated in a discourse on luxury and immorality that revolved around art, advertising, and fashion.⁶ Such an assertion builds on scholarship that has discussed this series in relation to the metropolitan character of Berlin prior to World War I. Kirchner’s vision has been related to Georg Simmel’s observations about urban experience, myths about Berlin’s sinfulness that arose during the nineteenth century, literary efforts to define the city’s uniquely modern qualities, and the contemporary practice of prostitution within the city. Such studies have explained much about the significance of the series’s stylistic character.⁷ Several scholars have also suggested how the discursive

formulation of Berlin as a whore and representations of fashion contributed to Kirchner’s interpretation of the streetwalkers.⁸ My study extends such claims by examining the impact of specific elements within the discourse about luxury and immorality on Kirchner’s work and considering why such issues would have concerned an avant-garde artist. However, such assertions claiming a relationship between Kirchner’s work and contemporary social and political issues contrast with Kirchner’s own view that his art was essentially unmediated by culture, being a personal, purely optical response to the city. Carl Einstein stated this position well in 1926:

Kirchner’s originality is optically based; as soon as he sketches the first mark, the motif is already taken in and absorbed. The eye, which passionately moves the hand at the same moment, without the hand faking or propping up the imagination’s power, is the origin; consequently literature is avoided, made impossible. One does not enhance the real, but punctuates individual vision, the personal way of seeing.⁹

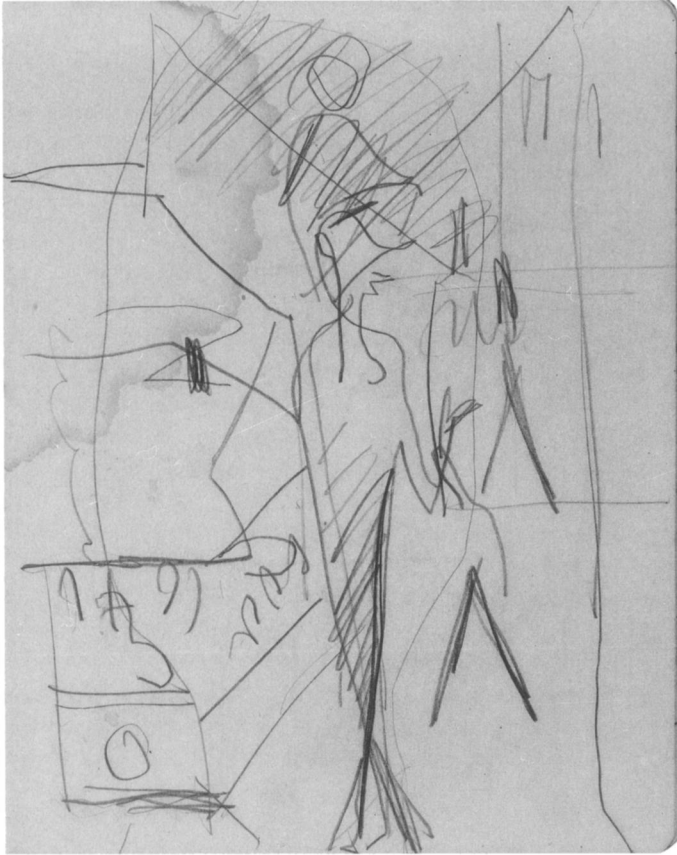
This is a view that has continued to be expressed in some recent writing that maintains that nothing is found in the street series, or *Strassenbilder*, that was not directly experienced and recorded in sketches that Kirchner made on the streets.¹⁰ Such assertions take their lead from Kirchner’s writings, such as a diary entry of February 18, 1926, in which he states that his art privileged an “ecstasy of initial perception,” and the “Zehnder Essay,” where he wrote, “The work arises as an impulse, in a state of ecstasy, and even when the impression has long taken root in the artist, its recording is nevertheless swift and sudden.”¹¹

Kirchner used such comments, particularly as expressed in essays that he wrote using the pseudonym Louis de Marsalle during the 1920s and 1930s, to position his work in relation to contemporary and past art.¹² These writings laid rightful claim to the extraordinary role that rapid sketching played in his work, but also obfuscated its relationship to contemporaries in Paris, Vienna, and Dresden during the period before 1914 for whom the rapid sketch was also crucial.¹³ While Kirchner made the “unself-conscious and aimless” sketch the signature of his artistic achievement, his statement in the “Zehnder Essay” also suggests that even the most spontaneous drawing grew from extended experience, which, although he did not note it, necessarily involved cultural mediation.¹⁴ By focusing solely on the sketch as a recording of a momentary experience on the street, recent commentators do not pay sufficient attention to the full scope of the role of the imaginary in Kirchner’s sketches and works in other media.¹⁵

The relevant issues regarding this matter can be raised by considering a sketch done during a trip to Berlin in 1929 (Fig.

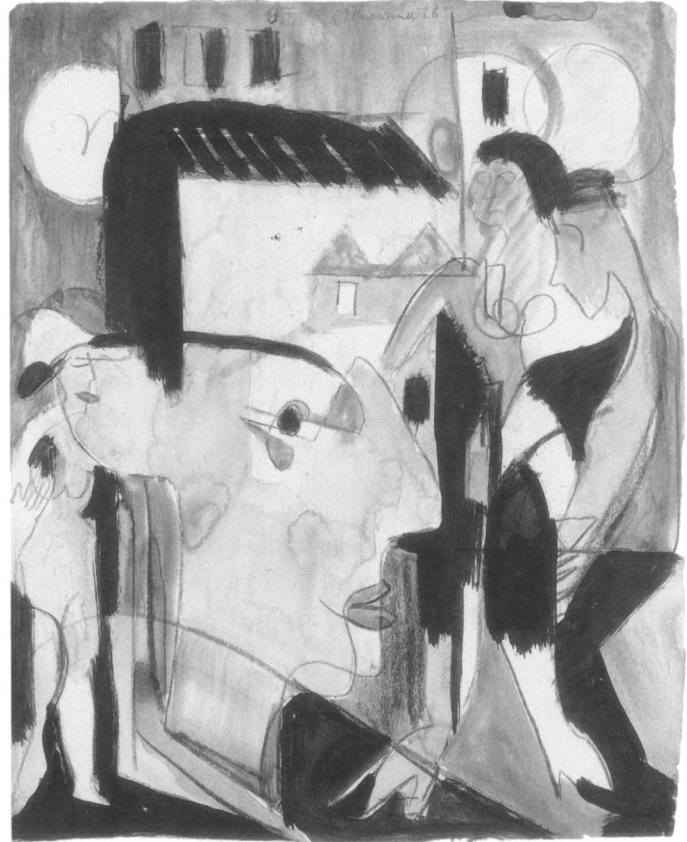


1 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Cocotte in Red*, 1914. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)



2 Kirchner, back of page 60 in Sketchbook no. 154, 1929. Davos, Kirchner Museum (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

2) that was based on an experience that Kirchner described in 1932 as follows: "In 1929 I saw a blond woman in Berlin walking wonderfully with long legs, who I cannot get out of my mind, built so slender, exquisite, and totally sensual, such as I had never seen before."¹⁶ The woman's form rises through the drawing just to right of center, her feet in motion and her left arm gesturing in the direction of striding pedestrians to the right. Vertical and diagonal lines hint at buildings and a tram descends toward the lower left corner, signs of the cityscape that surrounds the figure. The woman, however, is doubly enclosed, for a line rises from her feet curving up and over her figure, descending on the left and concluding in the lower right corner of the tram's cab. The roughly oval outline, which narrows to a neck at the bottom, defines a head that is fused with the cityscape. What might be the tram's trolley functions as a nose, while an arc lamp hanging over the tram metamorphoses into the right eye of a face. This sketch, along with several others, led to larger drawings and pastels, as well as an oil painting entitled *Woman at Night*, which was shown at the Kunsthalle in Bern during 1933.¹⁷ Kirchner, writing in the exhibition catalogue as Louis de Marsalle, commented, "The picture unites impressions of a big city street at night. . . . The bright center circumscribes the head of a passing observer. . . . The picture shows the alteration of forms and movement in the night."¹⁸ The statement suggests that multiple impressions contributed to the painting, an observation reinforced by the different elements that developed from individual sketches. However,



3 Kirchner, *Self-Portrait*, 1928. Ruth and Jacob Kainen Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art; © [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

the sketch under consideration here also exceeded visual reality, for even if the image is read as a scene glimpsed on and through the surface of a window that included the observer's reflection, the spatial alignments and doubly functioning signs indicate the powerful role played by the imagination.¹⁹ Fantasy is certainly a key element of a closely related watercolor (Fig. 3), in which Kirchner's head, reflected on a window through which a cityscape is viewed, is fused with female figures on each side, the woman on the left appearing to tongue his ear.²⁰

While the 1929 sketch exemplifies a broadening and more conscious use of the imaginary during Kirchner's later career, I believe that Kirchner's imaginative response to discursive constructions of the metropolis, luxury, fashion, and sexuality also contributed to the earlier street series. The "ecstasy of initial perception" captured in the series's sketches was elaborated in pastels, prints, and oils using devices like the staccato slashes in *Cocotte in Red* to simulate the immediacy of the originating experience within the movement and artificial light of the modern metropolis. The woman's warm rose dress within the icy blue of the night, the convergence of black-suited *flâneurs*, and the man's gaze at lower right as he enters the pictorial space all focus attention on the *flâneuse*. Other of the street scenes suggest the "quick compression of changing images, harsh differentiation in the perceptions of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of intrusive impressions" that Georg Simmel had identified as new qualities of metropolitan life.²¹ Such works emphasize the distracted

experiences of crowds and traffic—diverging and colliding movements, brushing bodies, constantly changing visual and auditory sensations. However, in *Cocotte in Red* and other works the gaze is less distracted. A shock of recognition yields an ecstatic moment that is then fixed in the mind and extended in time through further development in Kirchner's art.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the historical context of the *Strassenbilder*, which, as I will demonstrate, is concerned with fashion, advertising, and prostitution, while the relevance of that context for an avant-garde painter in the historical moment has not been considered at all. Despite his own rhetoric and that of his early and recent critics, Kirchner's eye was not innocent but negotiated meaning within a discourse. Visual imagination responded to historical circumstance. The eye's captivation within an environment of rapidly changing images was fundamental not only to Kirchner's art but also to the modern metropolis's emerging commodity culture. *Gefesselter Blick*, the title of an exhibition and publication about modern advertising held in Stuttgart during 1930, describes the vision cultivated by display art, which became a topic of extensive public discussion during 1913–14.²² Karl Ernst Osthaus wrote the following about the new display's goal:

[It] wants to enthrall the stream of passersby, to entice and remove inhibition; the commodity should take on importance for them, should overcome and make them forget the entire intoxicated splendor of the street and make each individual be alone with the commodity. So alone, that magical suggestion spins its web and the spell-bound individual doesn't escape the thought: You, I must possess.²³

Desire motivates vision within both the display window and works like *Cocotte in Red*, where shifting angles involve the body in seeing and repeated striding forms address kinesthetic sensation, an absorption in the female figure that was intensified in the 1929 sketch. This desiring vision calls attention to a new relationship between sexuality and public space that was emerging in Berlin during the years before World War I.

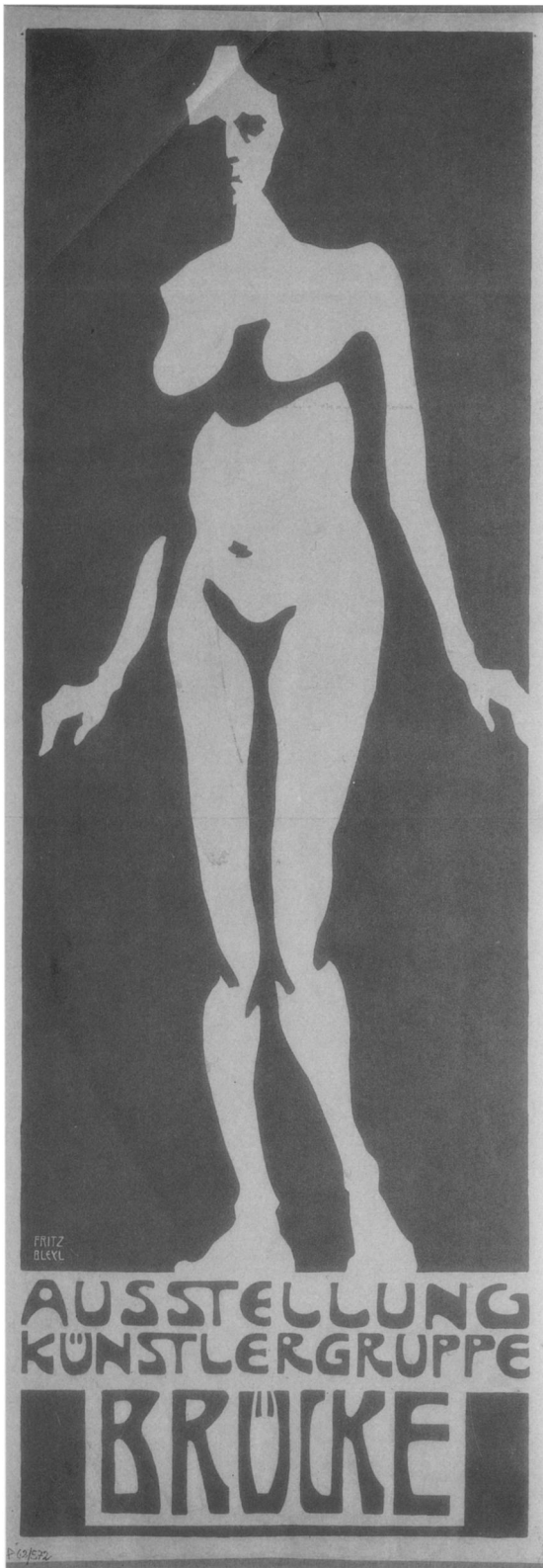
The evidence I have collected indicates that a debate about immorality implicated art in this changing relationship. Old master nudes, made available to the broad public through mass production, were placed on trial, causing contemporary artists to fear censorship. Even more at risk were the new media of fashion, advertising, and cinema, in which artists such as Kirchner would increasingly find employment. Moreover, I believe that threats to artistic freedom and to Kirchner's physical well-being, intensified by his circumstances during the war, helped shape his 1916 statement that "I am now just like the prostitutes I used to paint. Wiped away, gone the next time."²⁴ Also critical was his involvement with advertising and fashion, overtly commercial practices that served luxury and challenged idealist conceptions of fine art that had developed during early modernism. Issues of censorship, both external and internal, contributed to the imagi-

nary in Kirchner's street scenes and the identification drawn between himself, the prostitute, and the metropolis.

Censorship was a challenge for Kirchner from the beginning of his artistic career, when an immorality charge was made against publicity for the first Dresden exhibition of the Künstlergruppe Brücke, which Kirchner had founded with three fellow architecture students at the Saxon Technical College in 1905. The exhibition was held during September and October 1906 in the showroom of K.F.M. Seifert and Co.,²⁵ a manufacturer of bronze goods and lighting fixtures whose owner was a passive member of Die Brücke.²⁶ The room's design and the products displayed were examples of Jugendstil, the turn-of-the-century movement that created a modern style of applied art. Fritz Bleyl, Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and Kirchner, Die Brücke's founding members, had been trained to design such architecture and products and initially were asked by Seifert to produce advertising for his firm.²⁷ However, the works displayed on the showroom's walls were not utilitarian objects but paintings and graphics influenced by Post-Impressionist art that was just beginning to appear in German museums and galleries. Like Julius Meier-Graefe, whose writings they studied closely,²⁸ the members of Die Brücke turned to artists such as Paul Gauguin as examples of intensified life at the time that they, in the words of Kirchner's 1913 *Chronik der Brücke*, "all worked together in Kirchner's studio. Here they had the opportunity to study the nude, the basis of all visual art, freely and naturally. Based on such drawing, they gradually began to feel that only life should provide inspiration and that the artist should subordinate himself to direct experience."²⁹

The female nude was the focus of their exhibition's publicity; Bleyl created a poster (Fig. 4) based on the "quarter hour" studies that he and the others made of fifteen-year-old Isabella, a neighborhood girl who modeled for them. Executed in orange lithographic ink, the poster's reserved white paper boldly picks out the figure's slim body, her face looking out and down as she tentatively holds a model's pose for the observer. Since the lettering below functions as the figure's base, the model's image is linked strongly to the group's exhibition and collective identity.³⁰ The narrow vertical format and the flat areas of ink relate more closely to Japanese woodcuts, which the artists were beginning to study, along with early German woodcuts, than to typical color lithographs of the period.³¹ The difference may have been deliberate, for Bleyl's poster was likely meant to contrast with Otto Gussmann's poster for the Third German Exhibition of Applied Arts, which had opened in Dresden at the beginning of May 1906 (Fig. 5).³²

Gussmann, who taught decorative painting at the Dresden School of Applied Art and became a passive member of Die Brücke, embodied the exhibition's goals in a young woman wearing a crown who holds a bronze lamp that is formed like a plant. The blossoming fixture and the water below the figure manifest Jugendstil's tendency to use nature as the primary source for a new decorative style. The model's cascade of orange hair and the way her uncorseted body is glimpsed through a loose, diaphanous gown are typical examples of Jugendstil iconography. Bleyl strips his figure of this overt iconography, retaining only the bold pattern and flowing line



4 Fritz Bleyl, poster for an exhibition of the Künstlergruppe Brücke, 1906. Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum

of the style's graphic design. The image that remains is a young, naked artist's model whose bold pattern and orange color would have created a sensation on Dresden's columns if the poster had made it past the police censors. It did not, Bleyl recollected in 1968, because the police saw pubic hair in the



5 Otto Gussmann, poster for the Third German Exhibition of Applied Arts in Dresden, 1906. Kunstbibliothek Berlin (photo: Dietmar Katz)

shadow below the belly, providing the legal basis to act on their recognition of the poster's sexual power.³³

The action by the Dresden police was only one of many acts of censorship during the Wilhelmine era, in which police across Germany invoked Paragraph 184, the pornography clause of the National Penal Code, to suppress a flourishing trade in sexual imagery and to challenge what they saw as immorality in the fields of art, literature, and theater.³⁴ While the courts protected nude paintings because of their redeeming artistic merit, postcard reproductions of those same nudes or questionable posters in public spaces were successfully prosecuted under the principle of "relative obscenity," a concept that considered the context of the image's display—in particular, whether it would be seen by children or produce a sense of shame in "normal" citizens.³⁵ Artists and writers were sensitive about the possible broadening of censorship because of the *Lex Heinze*, a bill first proposed in the Reichstag in 1892 and then revived in 1897, which sought stricter police regulation of and harsher penalties for prostitution and "immoral" art, literature, and entertainment. It had been the focus of intense public debate until its defeat in 1900.³⁶

Important sectors of the German population, particularly professionals within the upper middle class, from which Die



6 Kirchner, poster for the MUIM (Modern Instruction in Painting) Institute, 1911. Brücke Museum Berlin (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

Brücke's active and passive members were largely drawn, sought a greater openness and tested legal limitations on sexual expression. Suggestive in this regard is Bleyl's recollection about the group's attraction to Isabella that described her as "a very lively, beautifully built, joyous individual, without any deformation caused by the silly fashion of the corset and completely suitable to our artistic demands, especially in the blossoming condition of her girlish buds."³⁷ The statement shows the artists' awareness of the contemporary critique of the corset, which stressed its threat to women's health, confinement of their freedom of action, and distortion of the natural beauty of their forms.³⁸ From this range of social and cultural meanings, Bleyl's statement and poster emphasize only how the uncorseted body became the object of the artists' gazes, a sign of liberated sexuality that suited their construction of bohemian life through their art.³⁹ Gussmann's multiple signs of nature's inspiration were reduced in Bleyl's poster to the single stimulus of the female body's sexual maturation; the naked body, directly experienced outside established cultural codes and spaces, was presented to the public as a primitive source for a "new generation of creators and a new audience."⁴⁰

This determined break with the values of the Third German Exhibition of Applied Arts set Die Brücke on an original path, which came at a decisive moment in the history of the applied arts, for the Dresden exhibition marked the decline of Jugendstil. The turn was signaled in the following description of a display of room furnishings designed by Wilhelm Kreis: "The common element . . . lies in an apparently unwilling, unsought, modest individualism, which at the same time reveals a German character in the best sense of the word. The formal language is independent, new and seeks not to powerfully claim the spectator for itself, but limits itself to a discrete, purely practical effect."⁴¹ The reaction against craft-based Jugendstil was more forcefully stated in an address given by Friedrich Naumann, the prominent liberal politician, in which he envisioned the future of German applied art as an industrial art grounded in multiple reproduction and called for a spiritualization of the machine that should become an educator of taste.⁴² These and similar ideas led to the founding of the Deutscher Werkbund in October 1907. Die Brücke's development over the next five years in Dresden can be seen as an act of resistance to these trends through the creation of a bohemian space that emphasized the passionate and unique mark of the individual hand and the desire for a freedom outside existing economic, social, and cultural institutions. Passive members could participate at a distance through contemplation of works of art that depicted the bohemian life played out within environments modeled on the perceived "primitivism" of cultures such as those of Palau and Cameroon. While the passive members might never choose to live in such spaces themselves, they could purchase hand-crafted objects to adorn their bodies and add novelty to the *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity) of their Werkbund-influenced interiors.

Shortly after Kirchner moved to Berlin in October 1911 issues of censorship surrounded his work again. Anton von Werner, the director of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, wrote the minister of religious and educational affairs on December 7, 1911, and called his attention to a prospectus that advertised the MUIM (Modern Instruction in Painting) Institute, an art school that Kirchner and Max Pechstein had opened in proximity to their studios at Durlacherstrasse 15 in Berlin-Wilmersdorf. The prospectus indicated that instruction was also offered in graphics, sculpture, textiles, glass, metalwork, and architectural painting, but it was a woodcut image by Kirchner that upset von Werner. His letter to the minister expressed sadness that it was probably not possible for any measures to be taken against the "shameless" image on the prospectus or the school itself, but he wanted to make the minister aware of the threat to youth and how "this weed overgrows and chokes all healthy life and always diminishes us in the name of the freedom of art."⁴³ The woodcut, which Kirchner executed as a poster (Fig. 6) and in smaller versions for the prospectus and print ads, represents a woman's upper torso, her left arm raising a flower. She appears to inhale the flower's fragrance, her heavily lashed eyes shut in order to focus on the sensual experience.⁴⁴ A round piece of metalwork bearing the image of a nude female dancer is clipped in her hair and jewelry hangs from her ear, but what must have offended von Werner were her exposed breasts with nipples

indicated, whose fullness is emphasized by the bursting patterns that define their edges.

A letter from someone as prominent as von Werner prompted the minister to pass the matter to Section VIII of the Berlin Police Department, which was known as the Central Police Office for the Combat of Immoral Writings, Pictures, and Performances. This office had been formed by the Prussian Ministry of Justice on March 15, 1911, following a 1910 international conference in Paris about the pornography trade.⁴⁵ The directive expanded the purview and size of the existing theater censorship office, which was administered by Dr. Karl Brunner, a high school teacher. Brunner intensified the review of literature, theater, and cinema for immoral content; began to prosecute more book and art dealers for the public display of reproductions of artistic nudes; and, in the case of the MUIM Institute, had an investigator attend several classes at the institute under pretense of seeing if he wanted to enroll. On February 26, 1912, a report was forwarded through Police President von Jagow's office to the minister of religious and educational affairs that provided information about the school's operations and addressed the key discovery that nonartists who attended the school participated in drawing the nude model at life-drawing sessions. This helped prepare them for the aesthetic viewing of artworks that treated the nude and thus proved the absence of any immoral intent in their participation. There is no documentation about whether Kirchner and Pechstein were aware of the investigation, but the report recommended that surveillance be discontinued, since the office did not want to create an unnecessary debate about artistic freedom.

The creation of the institute marked an important moment when Die Brücke, on its regrouping in Berlin, tried to institutionalize what it had developed in Dresden, teaching those practices and viewpoints to artists and art lovers. The inclusion of crafts indicated that they also hoped to develop public interest in primitivist applied art. During 1910, Schmidt-Rottluff had begun to create jewelry and textiles for Rosa Schapire and Wilhelm Niemeyer, who were passive members of Die Brücke in Hamburg.⁴⁶ Gustav and Luise Schiefler, also passive members in Hamburg, were encouraged by Kirchner in letters of early 1912 to consider acquiring furnishings similar to the textiles and carved furniture found in his studio.⁴⁷ Niemeyer, who was director of the Applied Art School in Hamburg, continued his contact with Schmidt-Rottluff and became a promoter of Die Brücke crafts during the next decade. This interest in applied art was manifested in Kirchner's poster, for the hair clip resembles jewelry, such as a round silver brooch in Rosy Fischer's collection, that Kirchner produced during this period.⁴⁸

Despite the hopes that Kirchner and Pechstein held for the MUIM Institute, there were few students, and the venture collapsed with Pechstein's withdrawal from Die Brücke in May 1912 and subsequent membership in the Berlin Secession.⁴⁹ Relationships among the remaining members deteriorated over the next year, exacerbated when a history of the group written by Kirchner was rejected by the others, and led to the group's dissolution by the summer of 1913.

Kirchner began to paint his *Strassenbilder* during the year that followed Die Brücke's collapse when, like the others, he needed to establish an individual identity within the competi-

tive German art market. Subsequent actions by Kirchner indicate that he believed that the street series accomplished this and made an important contribution to modern art. Shortly after completing most of the work, he asked Gustav Schiefler to write about the prints in the series and then, later in the decade, he made several efforts to have the paintings published.⁵⁰ After Karl Osthaus saw several examples in Kirchner's studio during December 1917, Kirchner urged him to see others that were with Ernst Gosebruch in Essen and Dr. Carl Hagemann in Leverkusen. They expressed, he wrote, the "aim of my work, to be able to totally dissolve one's person into the sensations of the surroundings in order to be able to transform this into a united painterly form."⁵¹ Most telling about the value that he placed on the series was his challenge to Ludwig Justi's selection in 1919 of three landscapes to represent his work in the new Modern Section of the National Gallery in Berlin. Suspecting that Heckel, as a member of the selection committee, may have influenced the choice to Kirchner's disadvantage, Kirchner had his lawyer demand that two landscapes be replaced with one of his *Strassenbilder*, resulting in the acquisition of *Street, Berlin* (Fig. 18) in 1920.⁵²

Kirchner's decision to create a series of large figurative paintings of street life marked a return to a subject that he had treated in *Street*, a large painting of 1908 done in Dresden. Kirchner connected his recent work to the earlier painting when he sought Schiefler's commentary about the new work, even presenting him with a lithograph based on the 1908 painting.⁵³ His return to the theme distinguished him not only from other members of Die Brücke but also from most German artists, who, unlike the French Impressionists, had not often focused on the new beauty of the metropolis.⁵⁴ His interests, however, were not confined to optical recording but also included his emotional reaction to roaming the streets at night. In a letter written to Heckel in about May 1910 he juxtaposed a written description of such a night with a drawing (Fig. 7) that resembled the 1908 painting in structure.

Today is a night where this cursed nest develops its totally cursed charm. The girls move with tightened asses. The air is like absinthe. Completely strange faces pop up as interesting points through the crowd. I am carried along with the current, lacking will. To move becomes an unacceptable effort. Content. I speak to a girl in a yellow coat with black. I really have no intent at all.⁵⁵

He continued, relating how he accompanied the woman to her apartment, where he undressed and fondled her, alternately attracted and repulsed by the smells he attributed to her. The description suggests his ambivalence toward the intoxication that he found in the nocturnal city and an instrumental attitude toward women that continued throughout his life.

It is not known exactly when Kirchner began work on the series of street paintings in Berlin. Several paintings are dated to late 1913, after his return from a summer spent on Fehmarn Island and attendance at his first solo exhibition in Hagen. Certainly they followed the group's disintegration over 1912–13, during which Kirchner's friendships shifted to a circle that included a few painters, several women from



7 Kirchner, drawing in a letter to Erich Heckel, ca. May 1910. Altonaer Museum Hamburg (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

Berlin's entertainment district, and writers associated with Expressionist journals.⁵⁶ Werner Gothein, a painter friend who had been a student in the MUIIM Institute, recalled in 1960 that "the street series originated primarily in February, March, and April 1914," a period during which there was much public debate about the possibility of a new *Lex Heinze*.⁵⁷ There is clear evidence that Kirchner was involved with themes of sexuality, prostitution, and police censorship during December 1913, a time when morality associations were intensifying their calls for actions to combat immorality.⁵⁸ In a letter to Gustav Schiefler of December 19, 1913, Kirchner mentioned that he was finishing a set of small erotic lithographs and also working on woodcut illustrations for *Countess Mizzi*, Alfred Döblin's one-act play about a brothel.⁵⁹ Döblin had written the play in 1909 and had resurrected plans to publish it, perhaps even in response to the current debate.⁶⁰ Loosely based on a scandal that had been widely reported in the Viennese press in 1908, the play is set in a count's palace where society is instructed in the arts of love by sacred prostitutes called hetaerae.⁶¹ The plot is structured around the fate of Mizzi, the count's daughter and one of the hetaerae, who enters into a relationship with Baron Neustät-

ter. Wanting to save her for himself alone, Neustätter calls in the police to arrest the count, which leads to Mizzi's suicide.

The play contained numerous themes of interest to Kirchner. Its critique of marriage and apparent celebration of women's "free sexuality" echoed themes of his early career. The play also addressed the possible consequences for the artist in exploring such themes. A discussion between Peter, a young poet who praises the life-giving passion of the hetaerae, and Xaver, an older sculptor who has abandoned all idealism to serve the philistine tastes of the rich, raised the issue of the artist's role in bourgeois society. Xaver pointed out that association with the hetaerae could mean the poet's martyrdom if the bourgeois state was to impose its view of moral behavior and art. This crackdown occurs during the course of the play when the palace is visited by the new police president in disguise. While the former president protected and perhaps even benefited financially from the count's operation, the new police official is a provincial and represents a political party with strong views about morality. Much of the play's satire focuses on the official's moral rage, which one supporter of the hetaerae says needs to be fought like rabies or swine flu for hygienic reasons. Others laugh about the moralists' idea that men should be able to look at the naked female body from a distance of one to three meters and not become aroused, joking, "Street whores await gentlemen at the door and recite poems about this new art theory."⁶² *Police Official*, one of Kirchner's three woodcut illustrations (Fig. 8), depicts this mocking of the police official. The foreground figure's face is distorted in a derisive grin as he points to the seated male in evening clothes who appears ill at ease in the context of half-naked female figures framed like mannequins in display windows.⁶³ These illustrations indicate that in 1913 Kirchner understood sexuality's changing relationship to public space both as experience on the street and as represented in public discourse.

During 1913, while morality associations intensified their activities, changes took place within German advertising that prompted criticism from those associations. The article in *Der Kritiker* that was cited earlier about luxury's rise in Germany pointed to the windows of Kersten und Tuteur, a new fashion house that had opened on March 1, 1913, at Leipzigerstrasse 36, as the best example of the display window's cultivation of luxury, touting their windows as a site where "lyrical, tender, charming poetry is expressed." Ernst Deutsch, a prominent commercial artist who had been given complete control of Kersten und Tuteur's display and advertising, was responsible for this poetry.⁶⁴ In his recent work Deutsch had introduced eroticism into advertising and the new display.⁶⁵ An advertising journal immediately noted that Deutsch filled Kersten und Tuteur's windows with female mannequins dressed in negligees, hoping that their partial nudity would appeal to passersby of both sexes.⁶⁶ While the journal counseled moderation of the mannequins' direct gaze in order to lessen a sense of overt solicitation and the uncanny similar to displays in a waxworks, it encouraged the use of an averted gaze to stimulate shoppers' fantasies. Other stores quickly followed the trend and arranged increasingly suggestive tableaux, such as one that featured a bride at her toilet who wore only a corset and veil.⁶⁷ Hans Ostwald later described the altered streetscape in the following way:



8 Kirchner, *Police Official*, 1913, illustration for Albert Döblin's play *Komtesse Missi* (from Schiefeler, *Die Graphik Ernst Ludwig Kirchners*, vol. 1; © [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

The display windows received a new face: opulent bedrooms, corset stores, hose displays, boot and shoe shops became an apotheosis of feminine charms and no longer left the fantasies of Berliners in their previous state of calm. . . . The erotic impact of well-styled Venus busts with waxen décolletage winking from hairdressers' windows was followed by an adoration of beautiful silk-hosed female legs which very soon carried on into picture magazines and erotic lyrics.⁶⁸

By year's end, the displays caused a culture critic to devote an article to the "corset pleasures" seen in windows along the Tauentzienstrasse. No longer were the mannequins simply arranged in a row, he wrote; they had become "veritable works of art, of the most insane luxury, of a colossal elegance and an enormous comedy." Male strollers attracted to the displays worried the writer less than the women who forgot the corset's unhealthy effect and succumbed to the "indiscreet craving to have dealings with the secrets and intimacies of the dressing room behind each windowpane." This female pleasure led the critic to question his usual opposition to police censorship.⁶⁹



9 Page of wax busts from a product catalogue, *Wachsplastik*, Berlin: Freud & Co. [1909] (photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz Museum für Volkskunde)

In December, the police, directed by Police President von Jagow and State Attorney Heinzmann, began a series of prosecutions, first of a corset store owner on the Tauentzienstrasse and then of hairdressers. The busts (Fig. 9) and mannequins that were confiscated, with their human hair, glass eyes, and tinted skin, were very realistic, the products of sculptors who had begun supplying figures for popular panopticons in the mid-nineteenth century and then expanded to the production of display mannequins.⁷⁰ The police's removal of the wax mannequins and busts from the windows was widely reported.⁷¹ Humor magazines ridiculed the actions, as in a drawing by R. L. Leonard titled *The Rape of the Sabines Is Not by Schönthan, but by von Jagow* (Fig. 10), while advertising professionals suddenly became critical of their industry's increasing use of sex to sell goods.⁷² Pointing to posters such as one by Michel Noa (Fig. 11), they counseled shop owners to avoid a sensuality that might be appropriate in fine art shown to an educated elite in a museum but was inappropriate in advertising presented to the masses in the street.⁷³ This argument was similar to that used by the state attorney to justify the prosecution of art and book dealers for the display of postcard reproductions of nudes in their windows. During 1913, however, the Berlin police began to confiscate high-quality copies of paintings by Rubens, Titian, and other artists (Fig. 12), raising fears that a local court would declare the reproductions obscene and that police would follow the urgings of morality associations and extend censorship to original works of art.⁷⁴

Over the winter of 1913–14 newspapers and magazines of all types and political leanings joined a debate about the moral implications of sexualized advertising and the issue of the artistic nude that was soon taken up by the German Parliament and the Prussian House of Deputies. Conservatives defended police confiscations of images of nudes displayed in windows and objected to the charge that supporters of censorship were prudish reactionaries opposed to all nudity in art. One Conservative legislator, while deploring the vileness of recent avant-garde art, expressed his reverence for the classical nudes he had studied while earning his doctorate



10 R. L. Leonard, *The Rape of the Sabine Women Is Not by Schönthan, but by von Jagow*, from *Lustige Blätter* 29, no. 6 (1914) (photo: Northwestern University Library)



12 Walter Trier, *Display Window Law*, from *Lustige Blätter* 29, no. 17 (1914): 5 (photo: Northwestern University Library)



11 Michel Noa, poster for Obersky Corsets, ca. 1913. Kunstbibliothek Berlin (photo: Dietmar Katz)

in archaeology and argued that their “pure, noble, really chaste nudity” was violated by a public that saw only sexuality in postcard reproductions.⁷⁵ The police, according to the argument, prevented the prostitution of the ideal nude by the uneducated.⁷⁶ Liberals, in contrast, treated the police actions as a threat to art and an unnecessary check on the role that reproductions of nudes could play in the aesthetic and moral

education of the broad population, while the Socialists took a less idealizing view and refused to equate sensuality with immorality, arguing that the erotic was a legitimate subject for art.⁷⁷ A drawing in *Jugend* entitled *Vice-Control* (Fig. 13) that depicts “Miss Immorality” and the whore “Art” under the supervision of a policeman satirized the forced linkage of art to prostitution that characterized much of the discourse about immorality. Mobilized and released from the museum’s sanctum through mass reproduction and mass distribution, the ideal nude became a streetwalker who must be regulated by the police.⁷⁸

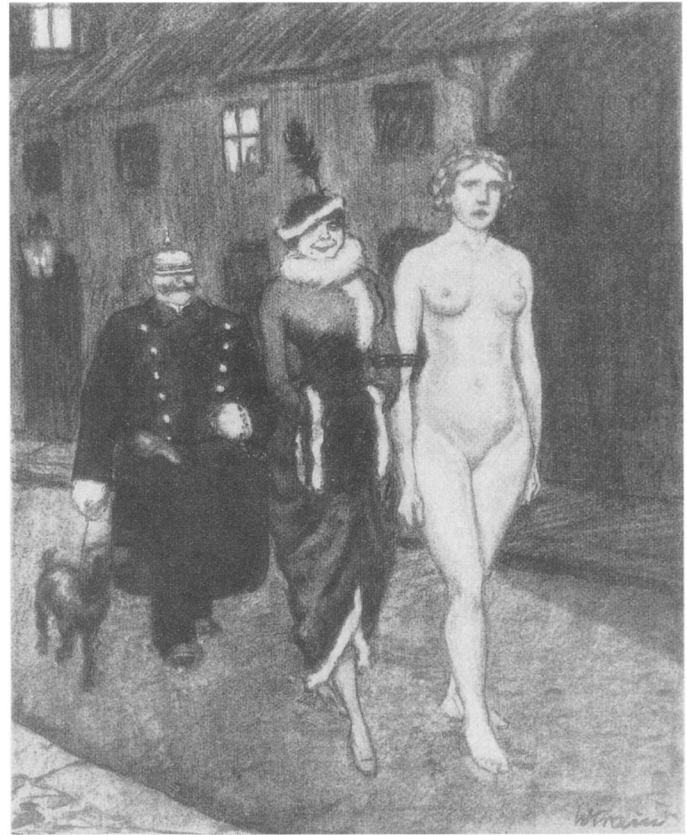
During February, the legislative debate grew into a general *Kulturkampf* (“culture war”) that reminded many of the earlier struggle over the *Lex Heinze*.⁷⁹ A coalition of Conservatives, Free Conservatives, Centrists, and National Liberals sponsored and passed a resolution in the House of Deputies that required the government to take all possible legal measures to suppress the growth of metropolitan vice and to protect youth from its influence.⁸⁰ The Bundesrat immediately proposed amendments to the commercial code that would regulate the display of materials considered damaging to the morality of young people and hinder the operation of hostess bars that lined Friedrichstrasse and were considered centers of prostitution. The Reichstag, in its turn, passed a law that restricted the national distribution of abortive and contraceptive means and planned a new law regulating cinemas.⁸¹

The debate registered very different pictures of Berlin. Conservatives, who hoped to use cultural issues to gain a political foothold in urban areas, characterized the city as a godless, immoral swamp that was corrupting traditional Prussian values, while opponents of the new laws viewed the city's entertainment as a largely unproblematic expression of modern urban life.⁸² The strategy used to satirize the *Hüter der Sittlichkeit* (guardians/herdsmen of morality) was to describe them as "provincial uncles," members of the Agrarian League who held their congress in Berlin while the morality debate was taking place.⁸³ Reports of increased patronage of the hostess bars along Friedrichstrasse (Fig. 14) during Agrarian Week and the following verse entitled "Friedrichstrasse" portrayed the league's members as morally hypocritical and sexually repressed:

"It sticks to my soles,
the fertile sex of the night"
The League member says it furtively,
because it gives him pleasure after all.⁸⁴

Friedrichstrasse's "immorality" was also the subject of a Walter Trier drawing that focuses on the corner of Friedrichstrasse and Behrenstrasse, where one could enter the Kaiserpassage, which housed a theater and panopticon and ran to another entrance on Unter den Linden. Trier's drawing appeared in a special issue of *Lustige Blätter* that offered humorous submissions to a poster competition held by Berlin's Central Tourism Office (Fig. 15).⁸⁵ The poster's text—"Berlin—The Most Moral of Cities"—blazes like the raucous advertising associated with the area around the Kaiserpassage while the irony of the caption—"In the quiet little alleys"—undercuts its claim. Below the text appears a stereotyped image of prostitution on Friedrichstrasse, an "endless chain of young and old, well and badly dressed, soliciting girls" such as Hans Ostwald, a contemporary chronicler of Berlin's vice, said astounded provincial visitors.⁸⁶ The prim studiousness Trier gave to the women refers to the efforts of moral reformers, but the flashing arrow, which links the "Last Aztecs" appearing in the Passage Panopticon to the file of women, makes an association between female fashion and the primitive such as was commonly found in the popular press.⁸⁷ Trier insinuated a wildness on the streets that could not be tamed by the morality associations and was part of the spectacle that drew tourists to the metropolis.

Likewise, Kirchner's painting *Friedrichstrasse, Berlin* (Fig. 16), with its "endless chain" of men descending diagonally toward the two women by the street-sign standard, exhibits elements that emphasize the street's popular image as the city's "primary public market of prostitutes."⁸⁸ However, in contrast to Trier's ironic distancing of the street's activity, Kirchner's pictorial means recall Ostwald's characterization of a provincial's amazement "at the dresses tightly fitted about the hips, the breasts laced in front, the stunning, partially visible undergarments, the alluring faces under the rakishly placed, overloaded small hats, from which garish flowers gush forth on one side. Many a glance rests on the naked arms, others follow a glistening, narrow belt and delicate ankle boots."⁸⁹ Framed by the building's arch behind, the women advance, their bodies swinging through a



13 Willibald Krain, *Vice-Control*, from *Jugend* 19, no. 11 (1914) (photo: Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley)

pivot, like models on a runway, while their eyes survey the audience.⁹⁰ They are given impetus by the queue of men whose serialized stride recalls both Italian Futurism and depictions of mass commodities.⁹¹ Repeated streaks of paint underscore these movements and pictorialize an electric shimmer that bathes the spectacle and fixes one's vision on details, such as the hand that presses the hip and projects the figure forward.

Rosalyn Deutsche has identified this light as an important iconographic feature and discussed how the display window serves the *Strassenbilder* as an "emblem of commodified sexuality."⁹² Kirchner emphasized the window in his 1920 commentary on a sketch for his 1913 *Street, Berlin* (Figs. 17, 18).

The drawing of passers-by before a corset shop presents an event in the glimmering light of arc lamps. The absolute equality of all visible facts for the picture becomes clear here. Delicate and bold strokes characterize the side lighting and simultaneously create the forms of the two women, the mannequin in the display window, the remaining passers-by. The entirety looks like a net swept with a single stroke, and yet the figures seem clearly characterized, the thin, sharp-nosed woman in profile next to the more well-rounded one in the feather hat, the stroller standing by the display window. The drawing lives rhythmically in the powerful strokes.⁹³

Kirchner thus emphasized the drawing's ability to register an entangled relationship of women, mannequin, and male



14 Friedrichstrasse, looking north from its juncture with Französische Strasse, ca. 1912. Landesbildstelle Berlin



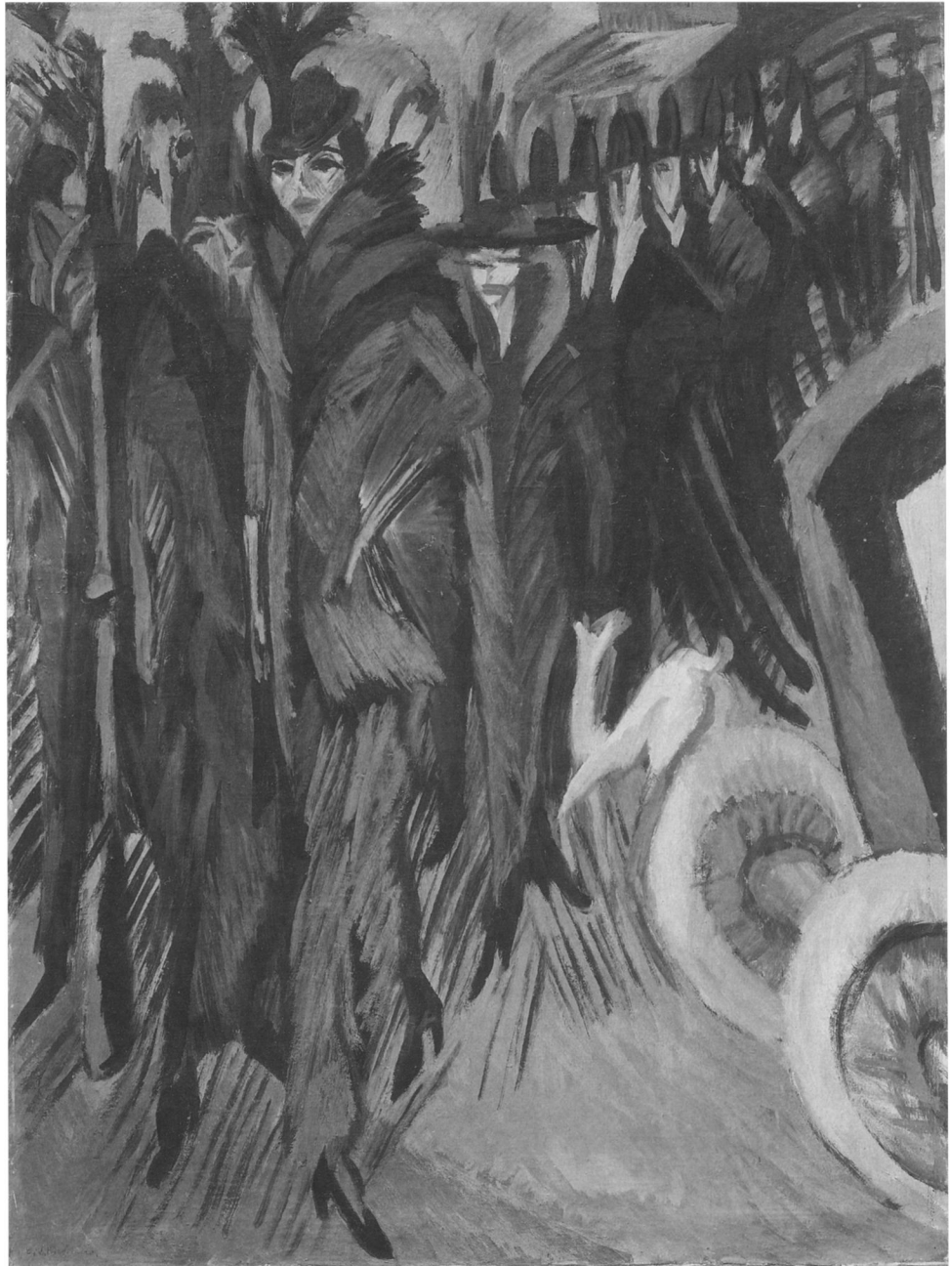
15 Walter Trier, *Berlin, the Most Moral of Cities*, from *Lustige Blätter* 29, no. 24 (1914) (photo: Northwestern University Library)

stroller within a network of fashion, advertising, and prostitution. This relationship remained important to *Street, Berlin*, for, although the mannequin is not present in the painting,

the display window remains, its contents attracting both male and female gazes and its reflective surface functioning as a relay in the network of those gazes.⁹⁴

Fashion, advertising, and prostitution were key terms not only in the immorality debate but also in the discourse about luxury that arose in response to Germany's increasing prosperity. Sombart's censorious attitude toward fashion in *Luxury and Capitalism* was common to much of the luxury discourse and took a more virulent form in Norbert Stern's book *Fashion and Culture*. Although completed and published in 1915, the book continued to express prewar concerns about the influence of Parisian fashion on Germany. Characterized as "tailored for cocottes, launched by cocottes, splendidly appropriate in other ways to cocottes," the actual articles of clothing troubled Stern less than the "image of the whore" that promoted fashion in newspapers, humor and fashion magazines, and on the streets, where "It is the prostitute who, clad only in a corset, offers herself to the glances of passers-by in the brightly lit display windows."⁹⁵ Such images, he said, stimulated teenage girls who stood "with ardent eyes before the layouts of luxury and fashion stores."⁹⁶ Similar concerns were expressed in "Stroll on the Tauentzienstrasse," a newspaper article that described how the street's display windows created a sexually charged atmosphere that formed a new Berlin type, the "Tauentzien-Girls." These were young women who, under the influence of luxury and "irresponsible female agitators," practiced a sexual freedom that had previously excluded the demimonde from proper society but had now become commonplace. The writer described this phenomenon as a "powerful change in our morals" and said that while one could still find elsewhere "the simple, domestic, well brought-up girl who runs through life with the gospel to make a man happy," she no longer existed on the Tauentzienstrasse.⁹⁷

Alexander Elster, a specialist in trademark law at the University of Jena, wrote a number of articles that summa-



16 Kirchner, *Friedrichstrasse, Berlin*, 1914. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

alized the debate about luxury and fashion and transformed other theorists' reluctant acceptance of fashion's economic necessity into a more positive assessment of its role in modern society.⁹⁸ Drawing on Simmel's and Sombart's analyses of fashion's fundamentally erotic basis, he wrote, "Thus, it becomes the arbitrator of unconscious desire and the bearer of a symbol, which—like all symbols of deep inner life—radiates charm and magic and lends meaning and value to clothing."⁹⁹ He interpreted the predominantly moral critique of fashion in Germany as the result of sexual repression and believed that all attempts to control fashion's eroticism and emphasize function over fantasy were doomed to failure.¹⁰⁰

It is not known if Kirchner made the acquaintance of Elster through his close relationship with art circles in Jena, which began with his exhibition at the Kunstverein in early 1914. Nevertheless, Kirchner's art repeatedly demonstrates an awareness of the contemporary discourse about art, fashion, and

immorality. He surely knew of the contemporary controversies about the corset mannequin and display windows, and many of his images directly refer to those debates. A Berlin street scene of 1926¹⁰¹ represents wax busts in a hairdresser's window, recalling the earlier controversy when their low décolletage and use to display wigs, dyed colors such as blue and green, was said to represent the worst excesses of French fashion.¹⁰² In paintings and prints of 1913–14 he revealed legs by slit skirts and bodies through transparent blouses. In 1919 Kirchner noted that a seated figure in a 1914 lithograph represented a prostitute who waited for clients on Kurfürstendamm in the summer (Fig. 19). He explained that her upper body looked unusual because "modern embroidered blouses were often made in such a delicate way that from a distance one thought one saw a naked body."¹⁰³ In 1913–14 such styles were described as lewd in the press and satirized in humor magazines.¹⁰⁴ Heavily embroidered veils, which Kirchner



17 Kirchner, *Corset Shop*, 1913, from Louis de Marsalle [E. L. Kirchner], "Zeichnungen von E. L. Kirchner," *Genius* 2, no. 2 (1920): 219 (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

ner frequently depicted in 1913–15, were similarly ridiculed as examples of Parisian excess.¹⁰⁵

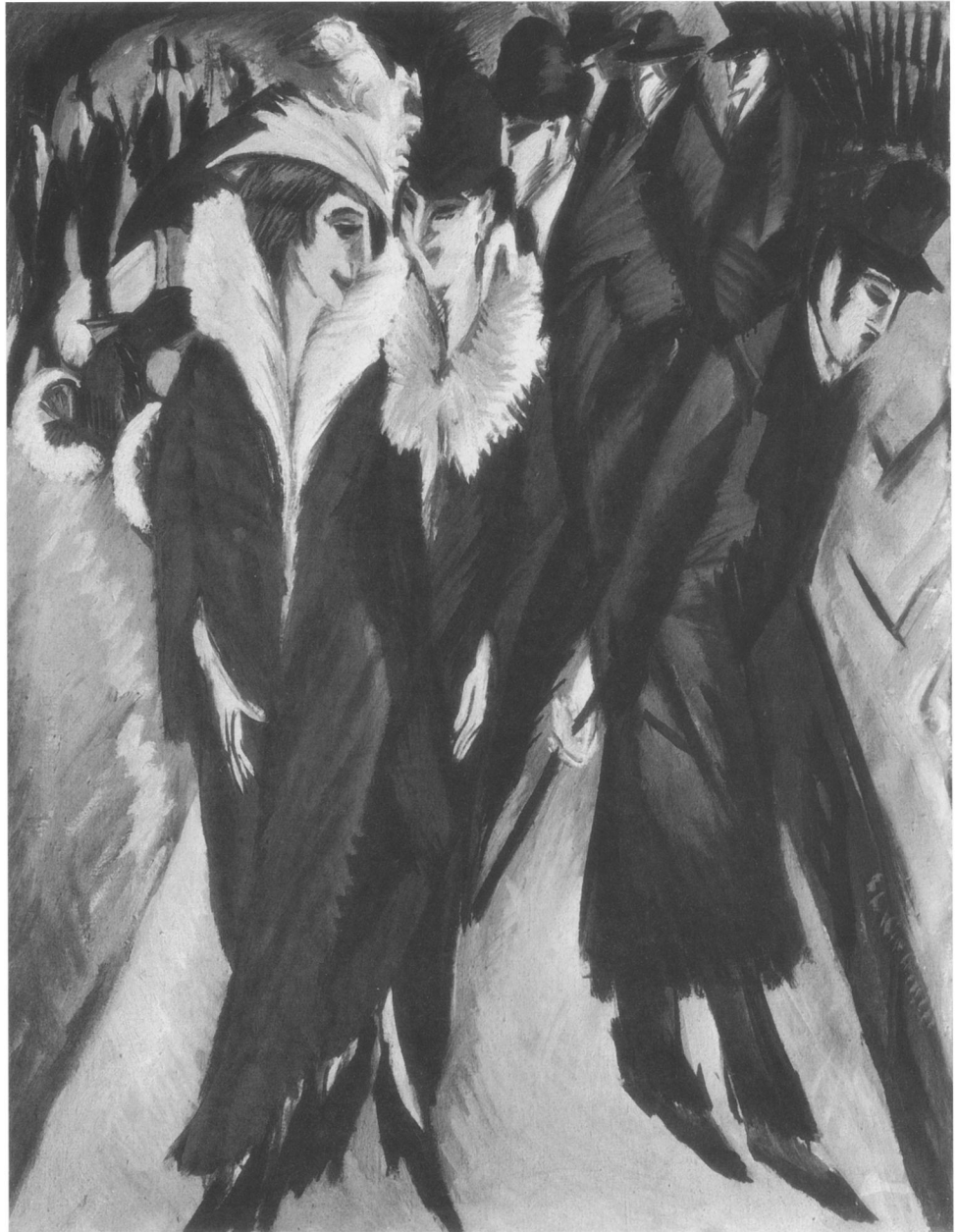
Veils figure prominently in two street paintings by Kirchner, particularly in *Potsdamer Platz, Berlin* (Fig. 20), where the woman on the left wears a black dress, hat, and veil.¹⁰⁶ Since this costume differs from that represented in sketches for the painting, the change might have been prompted by the public appearance of widows and by extensive advertising for fashionable mourning clothes soon after the war's beginning. During September 1914, complaints were registered with the city council about a sign over 30 feet high representing a woman in mourning clothes that was painted on a wall above such a specialty store not far from Potsdamer Platz (Fig. 21).¹⁰⁷ Public acknowledgment of the profit made from individual and national grief was viewed as an offensive commercial expression. As reported by *Der Kunstwart*, one military officer felt so strongly about newspaper ads for attractive mourning clothes (Fig. 22) that he called for women to dispense with wearing them, arguing that fashion's stimulation of pleasure was inappropriate for women who had lost loved ones at the front and pointing out that prostitutes had adopted the garb since the war's outbreak.¹⁰⁸

The woman on the left in Kirchner's *Potsdamer Platz* wears an attractive dress and has hung a mourning veil with dense lower border from the brim of a fashionable feathered hat.¹⁰⁹ The frisson fostered by the veil's double association with death and prostitution is further accentuated by the women's

isolation on the traffic island, a solution to the threat of accident posed by Berlin's rapidly increasing traffic, which was much discussed during the winter and spring of 1914.¹¹⁰ Shifting viewpoints and contrasts of scale evoke the vortex that swirled about the refuge that was pinched between tram tracks, as a contemporary photograph shows (Fig. 23). The circular island, which is partially obscured by a tram in the right center of the photograph, was sited between Pschorr-Haus and the Hotel Fürstenhof where Königgrätzer Strasse enters the square in front of the Potsdamer Bahnhof and Haus Vaterland, which are seen in the depths of both painting and photograph. The woman in blue rises almost the full height of the painting from the island's center. With upper body squared to the picture plane and arms hanging at her sides, her image floats forward, propeled by a swinging stride and the uptilted island. Space plunges to the right through the diminishing size of the figures who populate the plaza in front of the railway station. The plaza's corner is stretched down to the right, warping the station's steps and brick facade seen beside the woman's face and dramatizing the male pedestrian's step into the *Giftgrün* (garish green) of the street. The women's scale in relation to the circular platform simultaneously evokes proximate contact and the square's vast expanse, while also calling to mind what the periodical *Elegante Welt* termed "adult playthings," fashion dolls of the period that were mounted on similar disks (Fig. 24).¹¹¹

Kirchner introduced these motifs in ink and pastel drawings, which were an intermediate stage between sketches done on the street and the final paintings and prints. While Kirchner attempted to escape history through cultivation of impulse in the sketches, history returned in the paintings and prints, which were highly calculated compositions, elaborated in the studio with motifs recurrent in the contemporary debate about art, luxury, and morality.¹¹² He later noted that *Dancing School* (Fig. 25), a painting that portrayed "a clothed man with two naked dancers," could not be exhibited publicly at the time of its creation in 1914 because "the free, really free unconventional nude was regarded as immoral"; in fact, relatively few of Kirchner's more unrestrained representations of nudity were exhibited in the prewar period.¹¹³ This restraint on which works were seen by the public is further evidence of concern about censorship, a worry that materialized during 1914 when the Berlin police president ordered confiscations of *Die Aktion* after the journal published articles criticizing the prosecutions of postcard reproductions of artistic nudes.¹¹⁴ The Expressionist argument against police censorship rejected liberal claims that the postcard nude elevated public taste. Rather than transcend sexual desire, the Expressionists wrote, the nude, whether reproduced or in the original, excited sensuality as the object of that desire.¹¹⁵

One of the striking features of *Friedrichstrasse* (Fig. 16) is a greyhoundlike dog, strutting with haunches raised. Dogs are present throughout the street series, roaming the streets and sniffing the gutters. Even the dogs' free movement was an issue in 1914, since a recent police regulation required dogs to be leashed and muzzled on the street. When public protest forced the dropping of the regulation at the beginning of March, many saw it as a small victory over the increasingly repressive policies of Police President von Jagow.¹¹⁶ Willibald Krain's *Jugend* drawing in which dog, prostitute, and artistic



18 Kirchner, *Street, Berlin*, 1913. New York, The Museum of Modern Art. Purchase (photo: ©1999 The Museum of Modern Art, New York; © [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

nude are restrained under the same leash law (Fig. 13) thus also demonstrates the way the liberal press linked elements of the larger morality debate.

Prostitution was, of course, a key issue in the debate. Since 1794 prostitution had been illegal in Prussia but was permitted if prostitutes registered with the police. With the formation of the German Empire in 1871, this arrangement was codified under Paragraph 180 and Paragraph 361/6 of the National Penal Code.¹¹⁷ The former clause proscribed anyone from aiding the practice of prostitution, while the latter required the police to arrest and medically examine suspected prostitutes. Paragraph 180 called into question the operation of brothels that police had used to supervise prostitution, leading to their closure in many cities. During the 1890s, however, alarm about increasing prostitution was focused by the sensational trial of the Heinzes, a pimp and prostitute couple accused of murder. In response, the government proposed a bill that amended Paragraph 180 to allow

prostitutes to be confined in police brothels. This measure was opposed by many organizations, ranging from conservative morality associations, which objected to any state approval and demanded imprisonment or deportation of all prostitutes, to radical feminists affiliated with Josephine Butler's International Movement for the Suppression of State-Regulated Vice, which criticized the regulation's double standard and called for a complete revision of moral values surrounding sexuality and family.¹¹⁸ Controversy continued following the *Lex Heinze's* rejection in 1900, since cities like Hamburg maintained their brothels and Berlin allowed street solicitation for registered prostitutes.¹¹⁹ At the time of the so-called new *Lex Heinze* in 1914, police regulation continued as a topic of debate, as liberal newspapers supported a call from the Society for the Combat of Venereal Disease for the complete revision of Paragraphs 180 and 361/6.¹²⁰

State regulation was discussed in Expressionist circles when Franz Pfemfert published excerpts from Grete Meisel-Hess's



19 Kirchner, *Cocottes on Kurfürstendamm*, 1914. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

book *The Sexual Crisis in Die Aktion*.¹²¹ Meisel-Hess was a member of the League for the Protection of Mothers and Sexual Reform who described regulation as an accentuation of “all the evils inherent in the institution; contempt and shame are visited on the prostitute alone, while her male client remains exempt.”¹²² Her views about the destructive effects of current sexual relations and the need for greater freedom were shared by many Expressionists, who criticized bourgeois family life and joined the call for reform of laws related to sexual issues.¹²³ However, Expressionists were generally hostile to other aspects of feminism and tended to associate women with nature and cast them in narrow roles of mother and prostitute. The repeated use of the prostitute as a symbol of a vital life force was criticized by Meisel-Hess, who complained about the obsessive portrayal of women as “embodied nature” and “hetaerae and nothing more.”¹²⁴

While Kirchner was an appropriate target of such generalized criticism, the *Strassenbilder* revolve around ambiguous rather than certain identities.¹²⁵ The paintings’ compositional structures echo issues repeatedly raised in relation to controlling the prostitute and ensuring a certain level of propriety in the public appearance of all women. The registered prostitute was prohibited from calling “undue attention” to herself and from entering certain streets and public places, among which were Friedrichstrasse, Leipzigerstrasse, and Potsdamer Platz, sites represented in Kirchner’s paintings.¹²⁶ The intent was, in the words of one commentator, to make prostitutes conduct themselves “as properly as decent women,” leading prostitutes and clients to feign

window shopping frequently.¹²⁷ In addition to monitoring the registered women, the vice police also looked for the more numerous unregistered prostitutes, who were first warned and then arrested, an action that led to medical examination, imprisonment, and registration. This surveillance caused women to choose their appearance and behavior carefully, conscious that the choice would be questioned by the public and police.¹²⁸ The *Strassenbilder* share this circumspection in their titles and avoidance of scenes of solicitation, perhaps wary of overstepping proprieties that governed the market for paintings. Kirchner did, however, refer to the women as *Kokotten* and was less cautious in prints that portrayed direct sexual approaches.¹²⁹

Recent scholarship has argued that Kirchner was drawn to the subject because the prostitutes’ ambiguous presence eroticized the city, leading him to treat them as “allies in his campaign for the liberation of instinct.”¹³⁰ In 1919 in Switzerland, as he reflected on his Berlin period in a letter to Henry van de Velde, Kirchner noted, “I allowed myself to be sufficiently pervaded by the whole inner manner of these types, in order to know them from the inside out and to be able to abandon them.”¹³¹ Since several letters written by Kirchner during 1915–16 compare his situation to that faced by prostitutes on the streets, it is important to explore possible bases for this identification.

Relatively little is known about Kirchner’s life in Berlin, but Erna Schilling, who met Kirchner in 1912 and became his model, co-creator of textiles, and common-law wife, reported to Dr. Ludwig Binswanger in 1917 that he underwent a transformation during 1913. She told the psychiatrist that Kirchner, feeling that his mode of life was too bourgeois, began to drink heavily and live more irregularly. Increasingly, he began to suffer headaches and anxiety attacks, which were followed in the summer of 1914 by a growing paralysis of his extremities.¹³² After the outbreak of World War I, while returning from his summer on Fehmarn Island, he was arrested under suspicion of being a Russian spy, an event that exacerbated his anxiety attacks. His fear of uniformed authority became so great that he refused to leave his studio except at night, and by the winter of 1914–15 he was drinking a liter of absinthe a day and becoming addicted to Veronal, a sleeping medication. Until July 1915, when he volunteered for service as a driver in a field artillery company, he constantly feared induction into the army and front-line duty. His military service, however, lasted only two months before an officer, who had been a passive member of Die Brücke, obtained extended leave for him because of his nervous condition.¹³³ Over the next two years he stayed three times in Dr. Kohnstamm’s sanatorium in Königstein and once with Dr. Edel in Berlin-Charlottenburg, before Dr. Edel’s diagnosis of cerebral atrophy due to late-stage syphilis exempted him from military service and opened the way for his permanent move to Switzerland in May 1917.¹³⁴

The physiological and psychological forces that propelled this crisis are not clear, but it is likely that the breakup of Die Brücke and Kirchner’s tenuous position within the Berlin art world played some role. While various critics had singled out Kirchner and Pechstein as the most talented members of the group in Dresden, Pechstein’s acclaim continued to grow in Berlin while Kirchner’s dwindled.¹³⁵ Between 1912 and 1916



20 Kirchner, *Potsdamer Platz, Berlin*, 1914. Berlin, Nationalgalerie (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)



21 Sign for Westmanns Trauermagazine at Mohrenstrasse 37 (from *Seidels Reklame* 2, no. 10 [1914]: 400; photo: Kunstbibliothek Berlin—Dietmar Katz)

all of the group's members received more individual exhibitions and greater commercial and critical success, particularly in Berlin, than did Kirchner. This must have affected him emotionally, as did the loss of former close friendships. His life became progressively more isolated, revolving around the close circle of entertainers, artists, and writers mentioned previously.¹³⁶ These friends served as models during 1912–13, posing not only for pictures of studio life in which they are easily identified but also for more generalized images of public life in entertainment venues and on the streets. During 1914–15, following solo exhibitions in Hagen and Jena, important patrons of avant-garde art such as Botho Graef, Eberhard Grisebach, Carl Hagemann, and Ernst Gosebruch, who lived outside Berlin, began to take an interest in Kirchner, leading to studio visits, friendships, and representations of them in Kirchner's art. A recent study of his Berlin period has noted how this bourgeois elite was fascinated by Kirchner's choice to abandon his bourgeois background for the primitivism and poverty that they witnessed in his studio.¹³⁷ The *Strassenbilder*, with their dialogue of studio and street, their intertwined identities of avant-garde artist models, fashionable bourgeoisie, and prostitutes, thus also raised questions about the relationship between artist and patron that were of growing concern within avant-garde circles.



22 Stephan Krotowski, advertisement for the Trauermagazin des Westens; Kleiststrasse 23, Berlin, 1914 (from *Seidels Reklame* 2, no. 10 [1914]; photo: Kunstbibliothek Berlin—Dietmar Katz)

In March 1914, an article in *Die Aktion* complained about a new familiarity that was developing between artists and the bourgeoisie. As middle-class interest in art had grown, the author claimed, artists had abandoned their critical distance and responded to commercial pressures for an art that was well-crafted and attractive but lacked passion and self-revelation. Described as “domestic,” “nimble-fingered,” and rooted in “female vanity,” this market-driven art and literature was dismissed as “effeminate,” while the artist who sold his art to satisfy the demand was characterized as “a prostitute by disposition.”¹³⁸ Kirchner's art appealed to his new patrons in Jena partly because of its apparent resistance to such trends. Following a visit to Kirchner, Grisebach, a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Jena and business director of the Kunstverein, wrote that the artist made him feel “too conventional and well-mannered, but his coarser experiences are strongly and honestly offered in his art so that his form wins me over.”¹³⁹ Graef, professor and director of the Archaeological Institute, stressed Kirchner's independent development and psychological intensity.¹⁴⁰ Kirchner placed great value on Graef's understanding and support, particularly his introduction of Kirchner to Ludwig Schames and Irene Eucken, the art dealer and socialite who played important roles in the improvement of Kirchner's economic and social circumstances after 1916.¹⁴¹

During 1914 the “coarser experiences” offered by Kirchner's art that fascinated avant-garde collectors also found expression in Kirchner's commercial and decorative work. Shortly after returning to Berlin from his first solo exhibition, which opened in October 1913 at the Folkwang Museum in Hagen, Kirchner wrote to Karl Osthaus reminding him of the decorative work that he and Heckel had done for the chapel at the 1912 Sonderbund Exhibition. He asked if a decorative commission could be arranged for the Werkbund Exhibition scheduled to open in Cologne in May 1914.¹⁴² Osthaus, who was in charge of the exhibition's “Art in Commerce” section, immediately included Kirchner's name in a response to Walter Gropius's inquiry about artists who might contribute paintings to the decor of three rooms he was designing in the



23 Potsdamer Platz, 1914. Berlin, Märkisches Museum

main hall for Hermann Gerson, the Berlin fashion and interior decoration firm.¹⁴³ Gropius did not select Kirchner's work, but Kirchner responded enthusiastically to Osthaus's suggestion that he consider designing the display windows and interior of a store on the exhibition's shopping street, preferably a "very colorful" shop of a tobacco merchant.¹⁴⁴ Although this project also fell through, Kirchner did execute a mural in felt appliqué that formed the backdrop for a display entitled "Art in the Tobacco Trade" sponsored by Joseph Feinhals, a prominent tobacconist in Cologne (Fig. 26).

Feinhals, like Osthaus, was an ardent supporter of avant-garde painting and modern commercial art. He had helped found the Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler in 1910 and served on the organizing committee of its famous 1912 exhibition in Cologne. For the Werkbund Exhibition, he was a member of the "Fine Art" and "Art in Commerce" committees, and his display in the main hall included tobacco-related objects and printed materials from his historical collection as well as recent packaging and advertising designed for the firm by prominent commercial artists.¹⁴⁵ A writer for an advertising journal identified the mural's stylistic source as "Mexican Indian painting" and termed it "extremely clever," recommending that every advertising professional spend at least an hour at the Feinhals display.¹⁴⁶ One of several reviews equally positive about Kirchner's contribution was Adolf Behne's essay for *Die Gegenwart*, which mentioned the mural as part of Expressionism's strong showing at the exhibition.¹⁴⁷ Only Peter Jessen asked in the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes* "Is it tobacco's fault that it was first discovered by savages?" and asserted that the aristocratic elegance of the modern cigarette smoker represented tobacco's cultural progress better than an "Iroquois dance."¹⁴⁸ Jessen's comment pointed to the mode of "prestige advertising" that Hans Rudi Erdt and Ernst Deutsch began to use for cigarette advertising around 1911–12.¹⁴⁹



24 "A Plaything for Adults," *Elegante Welt* 1, no. 3 (1912): 22. Staatsbibliothek Berlin



25 Kirchner, *Dancing School*, 1914. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)



26 Kirchner, display for "Art in the Tobacco Trade," Joseph Feinhals Collection, Cologne, Main Building, Deutscher Werkbund Exhibition, Cologne, 1914 (from *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 27, no. 2 [1916]: 32; photo: Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Behne's observation that Expressionist paintings and sculptures were used as architectural decoration throughout the exhibition confirmed Expressionism's growing public presence and popularity by 1914.¹⁵⁰ Pechstein had led this development through his stained-glass work with Gottfried Heinersdorff and the dining room murals that he painted in 1912 for Hugo Perls's villa in Zehlendorf. Some critics argued that Pechstein had made distinctions between fine and applied art irrelevant through his creation of works governed

by taste rather than the psyche.¹⁵¹ Others, however, deplored the Werkbund's celebration of painters' involvement with applied art, noting that Meier-Graefe had predicted this distressing trend toward materialism in art.¹⁵² Meier-Graefe had indeed written a series of articles critical of current trends in fine and applied art. The first, which was initially given as a lecture entitled "Where Are We Drifting?" characterized the Expressionists as "wallpaper painters," using the term to denigrate their paintings' flatness, which abandoned the personal feeling and spatial tension required of easel painting.¹⁵³ In another lecture and article "Art or Applied Art," he praised the Werkbund's elevation of the quality of Germany's everyday life but mourned the absence of great fine artists such as Auguste Rodin and Paul Cézanne in Germany. Instead of the complexity embodied in such art, contemporary painting in Germany functioned as applied art, ornamentation to well-designed walls.¹⁵⁴ Finally, in a brief report on his visit to the Werkbund Exhibition, he stated that it was comical how "the pictures of the Expressionists and Cubists absolutely merge into this 'apartment art.'" ¹⁵⁵ Noting the way savagery could be easily tamed and how the future of Expressionism seemed to be the encrustation of modest walls, he announced his departure for Paris by remarking, "How light the German furniture culture becomes, if one goes to Paris. . . ." ¹⁵⁶

Meier-Graefe's withdrawal of his previous tacit support hit the Expressionists hard, since he had been a key defender of modern art during the century's first decade.¹⁵⁷ Kirchner's efforts, beginning in 1911, to increase the plasticity of his figures, to complicate his pictorial space, and to draw on German artistic heritage can be seen as responses to the criticisms voiced by Meier-Graefe and others in the German art world. He and Heckel certainly hoped that their chapel at the 1912 Sonderbund Exhibition in Cologne would be viewed as the modern embodiment of northern man's spiritual striving that Wilhelm Worringer had identified in Gothic art.¹⁵⁸ On his return to Cologne in 1914, Kirchner continued to connect his art with past German monuments by making prints after the church of St. Gereon as well as prints and a painting that represented Cologne Cathedral.¹⁵⁹ Despite these efforts, however, criticism of the use of Expressionism for merely decorative purposes was received at the very time that his economic circumstances led him to seek more commercial applications of his art. Feinhals's decision to associate his firm with Kirchner's name was an advertising success and earned Kirchner further commissions for exhibition designs.¹⁶⁰ According to Will Grohmann, Kirchner treated this work seriously because it was a means of earning a living, but he also felt it was separate from the more personal expression and experimentation found in his painting and printmaking.¹⁶¹ With the outbreak of war such commercial work became more important as the bottom initially fell out of the art market and attacks on modern art as a French import were renewed.¹⁶²

As a result of these turns in the art world, Kirchner found it difficult to pay his rent and had to accept donations from a fund that had been created to help members of the Free Secession who were in financial difficulty.¹⁶³ The growing need of artists during the war to find part-time work was discussed in an article that appeared in *Die Gegenwart* in the spring of 1915.¹⁶⁴ The author reviewed the decline of interest



27 Kirchner, cover for *Katalog der Ausstellung von Kleidern aus der Stickstube von Frau Eucken*, Bremen, 1916. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

in luxury goods and resulting low prices for art during the war's early months and recommended that artists consider display window decoration as a way to supplement their income. Artists had the aesthetic taste required, and well-paid, part-time work allowed them to continue their own creative practice. However, the writer stressed, they also had to understand that decoration was a "commercial activity and can only be valid as a stopgap, but still palatable sideline for the artist."¹⁶⁵

During 1915–16 Kirchner undertook a number of private commissions and public competitions. He participated in a competition for the *Iron Smith of Hagen*, one of the so-called

men of nails monuments used to encourage and record participation in the war bond campaign;¹⁶⁶ executed a stone relief for a house designed by J.L.M. Lauweriks in Hagen; painted a set of murals for the fountain room of Dr. Oskar Kohnstamm's sanatorium in Königstein; designed an iron cooking pot for the Frankfurt Red Cross, which they planned to sell to women who had donated their copper pots to a war materials campaign;¹⁶⁷ planned to model a war mortar in glazed clay which would be produced in a pottery; and produced illustrations for the catalogue of a fashion exhibition in Bremen (Fig. 27).

The fashion illustrations were done at the request of Irene



28 Annie Offterdinger, *Fashion Picture III*, from *Zeit-Echo* 2, no. 4 (1916): 62

Eucken, the wife of Rudolf Eucken, professor of philosophy at the University of Jena and winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1908.¹⁶⁸ Kirchner's contact with the Euckens, who were founding members of the Society of Art Lovers of Weimar and Jena, began with his Kunstverein exhibition. It increased subsequently when, following the war death of Hugo Biallowons, the close friend of Kirchner and Graef, Kirchner lived in Graef's apartment in Jena during September 1916 to avoid renewed military conscriptions in Berlin.¹⁶⁹ Shortly before traveling to Frankfurt for the October 8 opening of his exhibition at the Ludwig Schames Gallery, Kirchner reported that he spent a week in his Berlin studio executing woodcuts for the Bremen exhibition of Frau Eucken's fashions. Over the previous decade Eucken had exhibited widely, becoming so well known for the richly decorated women's clothing produced in her Jena embroidery workshop that she was invited to serve on the jury of an important fashion show organized by the Frankfurt Fashion Association in August 1916.¹⁷⁰ At the Frankfurt show there was much discussion about the role that artists could play in the development of a new German fashion, a theme that had grown in importance since the war had severed ties with Paris.¹⁷¹ Frau Eucken supported such a role, writing in the catalogue for her exhibition in Bremen, "in order to transform the effort [to create a new German fashion] into action,

we urgently need now the invigorating cooperation of creative artists. They must supply us with new forms and colors."¹⁷² Frau Eucken turned to the avant-garde artists she had met through the Kunstverein's exhibitions, asking August Macke's widow for permission to execute some of the artist's embroidery designs and convincing Kirchner to supply three woodcuts for the catalogue.¹⁷³

Eucken's effort to involve artists came when new alliances were forming between fashion and Expressionism. In October 1915, Hans Siemen took over as editor of *Zeit-Echo*, an Expressionist journal, which during its first year of publication had focused on the crisis created by the war, and immediately announced his intention to change the journal and make it "more topical and lively and bound as closely as possible with daily life."¹⁷⁴ He continued, "We go so far that we will include fashion images in the graphics section. Because today fashion seems to be the area in which art and life are most intimately linked."¹⁷⁵ This change reflected the business interests of Otto Haas-Heye, the owner of the Graphik-Verlag, which published *Zeit-Echo*.

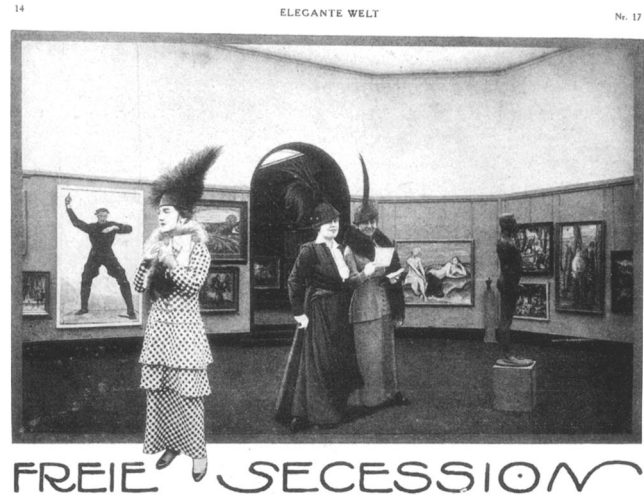
Haas-Heye, the son of a wealthy newspaper publisher, took over the Graphik-Verlag in 1914 after studying painting in Düsseldorf, Berlin, and Paris. While in Paris he became interested in fashion and interior decoration and in the fall of 1914, when he opened a Graphik-Verlag office in Berlin, he also launched a fashion house, Alfred-Marie, that quickly became one of Berlin's elite firms.¹⁷⁶ Haas-Heye, who was called the "German Poiret," adopted many of the marketing strategies of French haute couture, such as the publishing of editions of hand-colored fashion prints and an elaborately illustrated fashion journal entitled *Graphische Modeblätter*.¹⁷⁷

Annie Offterdinger and C. F. Savary were responsible for the fashion images in these publications and *Zeit-Echo*. While Offterdinger's initial prints of 1914–15 were based on the graphic styles found in *Gazette du Bon Ton* and fashion print portfolios of the Wiener Werkstätte, certain woodcuts and lithographs of 1915–16 began to incorporate Expressionist and Cubist elements (Fig. 28).¹⁷⁸ Haas-Heye also linked his fashion to the avant-garde by showing fashion illustration side by side with Expressionist art in the Graphik-Verlag's office on Pariser Platz, which became an important venue for art exhibitions during the war.¹⁷⁹ Such efforts led one critic to write: "They [the dresses] are designed by a painter who has absorbed to the last drops the spices of the most recent styles. But the painterly stylistic features . . . [are] all perfectly translated into the dressmaker's language. . . . The dresses of 'Alfred-Marie' have no trace of forbidden graphic art, nevertheless their style corresponds to that of our most recent graphic artists."¹⁸⁰ Offterdinger's designs ranged from portfolios of prints to decorated hatboxes (Fig. 29), all of which were seen as collectable art. The "spice" of the avant-garde became a way that the fashion house could indicate its contemporary exclusiveness and, the critic wrote concerning Offterdinger's illustration, "a field of work opens here for the graphic artist full of charming promise."¹⁸¹

Elegante Welt began to emphasize the role of artists within fashion, as well as to publish articles about Secession and Free Secession exhibitions, which were accompanied by photographs of famous actresses dressed in the latest fashions viewing the paintings (Fig. 30).¹⁸² Karl Scheffler, art critic for

the *Vossische Zeitung*, took note of a new relationship within the art world “when that art, which pretentiously calls itself Expressionism and Cubism, maintains an affectionate love affair with the elegant little young woman ‘Fashion,’ and when this love affair, among others, has given rise to a clever advocate in the activity and words of Otto Haas-Heye.”¹⁸³ Herwarth Walden, ever vigilant to draw distinctions between avant-garde painting and fashion, attacked both Haas-Heye’s effort to collapse those distinctions and the superficial comparisons critics such as Scheffler and Margarete von Suttner were making between the new fashion and art. He responded by appropriating their phraseology and asserting: “*Der Sturm* doesn’t allow itself either to be worn or translated into something trifling,” and “Art, which is art and is modestly called Expressionism and Cubism, has as little relationship to chicness and fashion as the gentlemen Haas-Heye and Scheffler have to art.”¹⁸⁴

The dialogue between art and fashion touched Kirchner’s work when Siemsen wrote a review of the 1916 Free Secession exhibition that noted the exhibition’s diversity and high standards of taste. Siemsen’s article, which quoted R. Chamfort—“Everything is equally futile, our pleasure and our pain; but golden or sky-blue bubbles are prettier than black or gray”—as its epigram, questioned whether taste was enough for great art, but on the other hand criticized an artist like Otto Hettner, who was not content with the elegance of pastoral scenes that resembled fashion drawings and strained



Wenn die Secession“ — so heißt es im Vorwort zum Katalog — „das ist, was sie geistvoll genannt worden ist: ein Weg, nicht ein Ziel, so beweist die Existenz dieser Ausstellung, daß dieser Weg noch weiter führt und gangbar ist.“ Aber selbst die Leute, die sich für die Impressionisten, die den früheren Ausstellungen der Secession ihren Charakter gaben, begeisterten, haben wenig Lust, auch noch den steilen Weg zu erklimmen, auf dem sich die Maler abmühen, die dieser neuesten Veranstaltung den Stempel aufdrücken. Und doch kann weder Teilnahmslosigkeit noch Spott die Tatsache aus der Welt schaffen, daß diese selbst den meisten sonst durchaus gebildeten und wohlorientierten Menschen unverständlich bleibenden Maleisen eine Fülle optischer Probleme und seelischer Phänomene aufrollen, die die allgemeine Geisteswelt um ein gutes und interessantes Stück erweitern. Schöne faszinierende Frauenbilder, wie ja überhaupt Porträts im gewohnten Sinne, finden keinen Raum in dem streng sachlichen Programm dieser Veranstaltung, die dem Begriff einer experimentellen Wissenschaft näherkommt als dem Begriff der hergebrachten Kunstübung. Die farbenprächtige aufreizende Schönheit, die die Frühlingssonne auf dem von schönen Frauen und eleganten Flaneurs belebten Kurfürstendamm malt, steht in ausgesprochenem Gegensatz zu der Schönheit, die die Wände des Secessions-Hauses umschließen. Wer ohne innere Vorbereitung unter dem fesselnden Eindruck des bewegten Straßenbildes vor die — scheinbar — an Hieroglyphen wilder Urvölker und an das naive Gestammel vorukrätischer Epochen erinnernden Bilder der „Freien Secession“ tritt, kann einen seelischen Kontakt unmöglich finden. So dacht die Ausstellung an der Straße gelegen ist, so wenig ist sie gedacht als eine Zerstreuung für die Leute der Straße, die ihrer gesellschaftlichen Pflicht durch einen Blick auf diese ihnen notwendigerweise lächerlich erscheinenden Bilder zu genügen suchen. Wer ihren tieferen Sinn verstehen oder auch nur ungefähr begreifen will, der darf hingebende ernste Arbeit nicht scheuen, genau wie derjenige, der eindringen will in die geheimnisvolle Welt abstrakt-philosophischen Denkens. Und so wenig Kant’s „Kritik der reinen Vernunft“ und ähnliche Bücher, so wenig sind die Bilder in der Ausstellung am Kurfürstendamm für den Laien bestimmt und verständlich. Und deshalb gehört die ganze Ausstellung nicht vor das Forum der breiten Öffentlichkeit, sondern sollte besser als eine innere Angelegenheit des engen Kreises derjenigen betrachtet werden, die die Weite und den Reichtum künstlerischer Erlebnisse außerhalb der nur konventionellen Wirklichkeitswelt im eigenen Herzen spüren. 9041 Krosener.

30 Paul Kraemer, “Free Secession,” *Elegante Welt* 3, no. 17 (1914): 14 (photo: Kunstbibliothek Berlin—Dietmar Katz)



29 “The Beautiful Hatbox,” *Elegante Welt* 5, no. 17 (Aug. 16, 1916): 16 (photo: Kunstbibliothek Berlin—Dietmar Katz)

nicht allzu dünn gewählt wurde, und ferner, daß ihr Äußeres wirklich im besten künstlerischen Sinne „schön“ gemacht wurde. Ist das aber der Fall, dann bildet die Hutschachtel ein reizendes Ergänzungsstück im Toilettenzimmer der Dame; gleichgültig, ob sie nun — scheinbar absichtslos — mit einigen netten Schwestern in einer Ecke steht, oder ob sie aus den Glashauben einer geputzten Schranke grüßt. Man darf wohl damit rechnen, daß die „schöne Hutschachtel“ noch lange nicht auf dem Höhepunkt ihrer Laufbahn angelangt ist, und daß man immer mehr sich ihrer bedienen wird. Natürlich soll sie, wenn irgend möglich, in ihrer ganzen Art schon ein wenig den Charakter des betreffenden Geschäfts erkennen lassen, und vielleicht nicht nur den des Geschäfts, sondern auch ein wenig die Eigenart des Hutes, den sie birgt. Da gibt es etwa sehr lustige Hutschachteln, denen man auf den ersten Blick einen flotten Sommerhut zutraut, und andere prunkvollere, die wie zernen Hutschachteln eignen, wobei auch der geschmackvollen Seiden der „Wiener Werkstätte“ gedacht ist. Natürlich kommen hier auch Stoffbespannungen in Frage, die sich besonders zum Überziehen von hölzernen Hutschachteln eignen, wobei auch der geschmackvollen Seiden der „Wiener Werkstätte“ gedacht ist. Natürlich kommen hier auch Stoffbespannungen in Frage, die sich besonders zum Überziehen von hölzernen Hutschachteln eignen, wobei auch der geschmackvollen Seiden der „Wiener Werkstätte“ gedacht ist.

for a significant large painting of the Last Supper. Siemsen expressed more pleasure in small works by artists such as Loulou Lagard and Ludwig Kainer who did not overstep their abilities.¹⁸⁵ However, while moving through the exhibition, he wrote, one “glides, without realizing it, into an area where even more than taste lives. Kirchner is particularly good. Above all a ghostly vivid street picture. There is more than taste, although taste is not lacking. One also thinks here (despite the giant format): ‘How pretty!’ and it is really pretty.”¹⁸⁶

The painting to which Siemsen responded was *Potsdamer Platz, Berlin* (Fig. 20), one of two paintings Kirchner showed in the exhibition.¹⁸⁷ Kirchner had hoped that these large paintings, which Graef considered two of his finest works, would enhance his reputation in Berlin, and complained bitterly to Curt Herrmann, the president of the Free Secession, about their poor hanging and nonreproduction in the catalogue, which he feared would injure the support he was beginning to receive outside the capital.¹⁸⁸ There was little critical response to the works, and Kirchner worried during the exhibition’s run about machinations within the Berlin art world that promoted certain “fashion stars” and ignored his art.¹⁸⁹ Siemsen’s brief comments, the most positive response he received, suggest that at least one critic sensed a connection between *Potsdamer Platz* and issues raised by the contemporary relationship between art and fashion.¹⁹⁰

After acceding to Irene Eucken’s request and producing illustrations for the catalogue of her October 1916 exhibition,



31 Kirchner, *Woman with Dog*, from *Katalog der Ausstellung von Kleidern aus der Stückstube von Frau Eucken*, Bremen, 1916. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies (© [for works by E. L. Kirchner] by Ingeborg and Dr. Wolfgang Henze-Ketterer, Wichtrach/Bern)

Kirchner expressed dissatisfaction with the woodcuts and later refused to allow Schiefler to include them and other examples of applied art in the catalogue of his graphic art because “trivial and rehearsed works can’t be part of the true work.”¹⁹¹ Although the prints highlight the hats, shawls, scarves, and lace and embroidered trim listed in the catalogue, they indicate little of the dresses’ overall form and their color evokes a somber mood. Interestingly enough, one print, with its wax bust and dog, also recalls the street paintings (Fig. 31). However, unlike the greyhound in *Friedrichstrasse*, whose strut enacts an unleashing of instinct, the dog in the woodcut seems under control and raises its paw in a deferential gesture. Similarly, the bust is a distant reminder of the form and flesh of a body cloaked by the detail and weight of Frau Eucken’s heavily accessorized fashion.

In addition to feeling compelled to involve himself in a project for which he had little enthusiasm, Kirchner was also, by his report, not paid for his work. Years later, when responding to Schiefler’s complaint that he was not adequately compensated by the publisher for his work on Kirchner’s print catalogue, Kirchner wrote that he had

learned to demand payment when “during the bargaining due to the sale of model dresses by the very famous spouse of a University professor the value of very good works in the eyes of the merchant concerned was reduced to nothing, because the otherwise so clever socialite could utter no fee on request, but only silently blushed like a little girl.”¹⁹²

Expressionism’s accommodation with fashion during 1915–17 was part of its increasing popularity, as collectors warmed to its aesthetic and realized its investment potential during an inflationary period. However, as commercial success grew, art criticism placed increasingly greater stress on Expressionism’s “spirituality.” In late 1915 Worringer published an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* that predicted great things for contemporary German art. Just as Germany had developed a more spiritual culture out of the Gothic architecture that originated in France, so young German artists would transcend the merely sensuous origins of modern art in France and restore spirituality to artistic expression.¹⁹³ Karl Scheffler, who reprinted the essay in *Kunst und Künstler* and remarked that it summed up the interests of the new art, exploited Worringer’s ideas in his immensely popular 1917 book *Der Geist der Gotik*, which linked the Gothic to the “inner necessity” of powerful individual temperaments rooted in the collective will of the *Volk*. He opposed the active “manly” spirit of the Gothic to passive “womanly” qualities that he attributed to other styles.¹⁹⁴ Such assertions served the nationalist discourse during the war, but also perpetuated previous stereotypes that associated French art with fashion.¹⁹⁵

These same years were a period of emotional, physical, and economic difficulty for Kirchner, 1916 perhaps being the nadir. Siemsen’s words about *Potsdamer Platz* must have seemed faint praise for a work on which he had placed such hope.¹⁹⁶ He reacted to his situation with anger, escape through drugs, and self-pity, constantly appealing for support from his patrons. Kirchner’s letters to Schiefler during 1916 continually deplored art’s commercialization and spoke of how he resisted efforts to drag him into the “art swindle” of the day, attitudes that share much with the “spiritual” construction of Expressionism mentioned above.¹⁹⁷ These concerns were mixed with ideas about how he could make the public aware of his art during the war through a self-published book and with expressions of despair over the war’s unending horrors. On November 12, 1916, while again living in Jena, he wrote: “Bloatedly one vacillates about working, when every effort is futile and the assault of the average tears down everything. I am now just like the prostitutes I used to paint. Wiped away, gone the next time.” Expressing the belief that it was “more respectable to die than to live, when everything is called only business and one is set aside if one doesn’t go along,” Kirchner ended the letter by contrasting his own emotional turmoil with the atmosphere of Jena: “And here everything is so calm. The most painful is this gradual self-disintegration and helplessness. This sad November with colors of yellow and red. The gradual dying away without death. Mentally inferior a fine expression. Possibly I still succeed in mastering the matter. To begin anew. The bourgeois life here is terrible.”¹⁹⁸

He was locked within a state of despair, even after the commercial and critical success of his exhibition at the Schames Gallery, which occurred simultaneously with the

illustrations for Eucken and began the upturn of his career. In December 1916, with two thousand marks in his pocket, Kirchner was taken to Dr. Edel's sanatorium in Berlin-Charlottenburg. In a letter to Schiefler, Graef reported that they were awaiting a diagnosis, anxious to learn whether syphilis was the cause of his paralysis and if it could be treated with Salvarsan. Graef commented: "K. has always denied any syphilis to me and everyone who questioned him, he seems lately to have admitted it, however, because he has completely distorted ideas about the relationship of syphilis to spiritual production it is not possible to get to the bottom of what the truth is."¹⁹⁹ Graef implied that Kirchner, despite his efforts at sexual freedom and the promise of a cure offered by Paul Ehrlich's development of Salvarsan in 1909, remained syphilophobic, like many members of the middle class who had been instructed in sexual hygiene at the turn of the century.²⁰⁰ During 1915–16 his portrayal of sexuality had broadened to include same sex and multiple-partner relationships, masturbation, and various forms of fetishism. Sexual boundaries loosened at the same moment that he began to fear that a sexual disease might endanger the faculties necessary for his art.²⁰¹ It was a danger that he shared with the women closest to him, for recently published information indicates that Erna Schilling had the disease at the time she met Kirchner, and Gerda Schilling died of the disease in 1923 while living in the Prussian State Mental Hospital.²⁰²

Looking back at the *Strassenbilder* from his new context, Kirchner interpreted the streetwalkers allegorically, identifying himself with the degradation and marginality he saw in them. Similar perceptions are found in a section of the poem "Hymnus E. L. Kirchner" written by Karl Theodor Bluth, one of Kirchner's friends in Jena:

Ordained god of light! You now know the quiet sufferings,
 Flung in the faces, and sketch the tragedies with light.

Delicate colors of radiant Chinese silks
 Shimmer like blued eye, sleek in painful inner awareness.

Matured girls: They carry the sufferings of childhood
 Most secretive in the lips and timid in the sag of the mouth,

Flaccid downward looks of lids submitted to blindness,
 View into the hells the eyes scorching discoveries.

Girls and murderers and most inwardly suffocated
 madonnas,

Beating eyelashes in oval weariness large,
 Emaciated women in anxiety and terror, flowed,
 Strangling hands before an inflamed womb!

All captured in the loving restlessness of your brush
 Rooted in god and sunk into the garden of light,
 Colors of sin and rivulet of bloody lust
 Blooming in the white air and are nothing before the judges!²⁰³

In both letter and poem the prostitute body has become "the feminine as allegory of modernity."²⁰⁴ Spleen and melancholy surface in Kirchner's letter as the market forced recognition of his precarious position within an art world

being transformed by commerce. Kirchner was assailed by anxiety as a given identity was loosened, feminized in cultural and psychic terms, and forced into prostitution. Writing about the connection that Walter Benjamin drew between prostitution and commodity culture in his essays on Charles Baudelaire, Christine Buci-Glucksmann observes: "In mass prostitution, which is not limited to prostitutes, new and peculiarly modern figures of passion and human existence take shape: Eros is linked to Thanatos, love of pleasure to perversion, and an apparently Christian language (including in Baudelaire) to the language of commodities."²⁰⁵ Death, awareness of an abyss, merges in Bluth's poem with the shimmer of fashion, the ever-recurring mixed with the ever-changing. Modernity's "new beauty" of the transitory—the movement of crowds, the flare of artificial light, fashion's constant change—was also "bound up with the uncanny and horrifying."²⁰⁶ The mourning clothes added to the figure in *Potsdamer Platz*, the insinuation of death into fashion, seems a prevision of the imaginary subsequently described in letter and poem.

In an essay entitled "Fashion and the Bourgeois Citizen" published in *Die Aktion* almost a year after Kirchner's letter, Maria Martin proclaimed, "Expressionism is its [fashion's] essence and its meaning is expression. . . . The coquette serves the spirit and it serves her. Whenever she strides across the street with a smile, spirit is no less present as when the Immortal proclaims her beauty. Spirit has itself bound in ribbons."²⁰⁷ Martin believed not only that a hat, like art, could express the spirit of an age, but also that fashion worked as a revolutionary force. As the bourgeoisie became more enthralled by fashion, women could construct beauty and use it as a "weapon of the ill-treated spirit." Martin's essay, like Kirchner's *Strassenbilder*, focused on the image of a fashionable woman striding along the street and took a position within the discourse about art, luxury, and immorality. Martin saw power rather than threat in an artist's involvement with fashion's masquerade, as would Lilly Reich, Sophie Taeuber, and Hannah Höch, to name only the best known of many artists who pursued this route in the next decade.

Worries about luxury and sexuality's place in public space before World War I were manifestations of real changes occurring within women's relationships to modernity.²⁰⁸ Coquette and cocotte were equally part of the era's imaginary representations of women. Both were entangled in the discursive networks of fashion and advertising that produced the "Tauentzien-Girls," a new female type within Berlin's lore. However, Kirchner chose the term *Kokotten* to describe the streetwalkers whose movements fascinated him and embodied Berlin's ambiguity and dynamism. Charles Haxthausen has pointed out, "Kirchner's primary intention . . . was to document not a social reality but an aesthetic one. Berlin for him was above all a domain of intense sensuous excitement, a stimulus to aesthetic ecstasy."²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, his response to the city employed images from a discourse about Berlin's luxury and immorality that had implications for his artistic practice. If the series began as a celebration of instinctual energies pressured by censorship, it became something darker during the war years, taking on a complex character that Kirchner believed Bluth conveyed through his poem.²¹⁰ Kirchner abandoned the streetwalkers with his move to

Switzerland in 1917. Eventually settling in the Lärchenhaus, the highest year-round cabin above the elite resort town of Davos, he turned from the city, prostitutes, and fashion to rustic crafts and representations of mountain life.²¹¹ Urban experience had threatened artistic and sexual boundaries that he attempted to redraw in the mountains. However, his subsequent trips to metropolitan centers demonstrate that this retreat did not entirely suppress his attraction to fashion and the streetwalker, his recognition of their social meanings, and his involvement with the many issues raised by the immorality debates in the continuum of his art.

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Notes

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1. M. Findling, "Kultur im Schaufenster," *Der Kritiker* 2, no. 31 (1913): 12.
2. For the former, see Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Michael Fehr, Sabine Röder, and Gerhard Storck, eds., *Das Schöne und der Alltag: Die Anfänge modernen Designs 1900–1914: Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe*, exh. cat., Kaiser Wilhelm Museum Krefeld and Karl Ernst-Osthaus-Museum der Stadt Hagen, 1997; and Susanne Bäuml, ed., *Die Kunst zu Werben: Das Jahrhundert der Reklame*, exh. cat., Munich Stadtmuseum, 1996. I discuss the display window's development at length in Sherwin Simmons, "August Macke's Shoppers: Commodity Aesthetics, Modernist

Autonomy and the Inexhaustible Will of Kitsch," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63, no. 1 (2000). I take up the Werkbund's promotion of German fashion and the complex exchanges between art and fashion during the 1910s in the article "Expressionism in the Discourse of Fashion," *Fashion / Theory* 4, no. 1 (2000): 1–40.

3. Erich Vogeler, "Schaufenster: Nach dem Berliner Wettbewerb," *Der Kunstwart* 23, no. 23 (1909): 358; Philipp Vockerat, "Schaufenster-Künste," *Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte* 28 (Oct. 1913): 231–41; and Marquitta Müller, "Dekoration des Schaufensters," *Zeit im Bild* 11 (Sept. 3, 1913): 2429–32.
4. Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 57. First published as *Luxus und Kapitalismus* (Munich: Duncker und Humboldt, 1913).
5. Warren G. Breckman, "Disciplining Consumption: The Debate about Luxury in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890–1914," *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (1991): 485–505. For a contemporary survey of the debate, see Alexander Elster, "Die Bedeutung des Luxus für Handel und Gewerbe," *Der Kaufmann und das Leben: Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für Handelswissenschaft und Handelspraxis*, no. 12 (1913). For discussion of Sombart's ideas in Expressionist circles, see Max Scheler, "Der Bourgeois," *Die weissen Blätter* 1, no. 6 (1914): 580–602; Walther Krug, "Zur Chronik der Zeit," and Max Scheler, "Der Bourgeois und die religiösen Mächte," *Die weissen Blätter* 1, nos. 11–12 (1914): 1157–63, and 1171–91.
6. The Kirchner painting catalogue contained in Gordon's book includes eleven *Strassenbilder* done in oil between 1913 and 1915 (G 362–70, 414v, 427), two of which (365, 366) were reworked in the early 1920s. It also lists nine paintings of 1926–27 (G 846–54) done following a visit to Berlin in Feb. and Mar. of 1926 and one painting of 1929 (G 922) connected with a Berlin trip in June 1929. *Strassenbilder* prints follow a similar pattern: seven woodcuts (D/H 235–40, 257), twelve etchings (D/R 177–88), and five lithographs (D/L 244, 247–50) from 1913 to 1915; three woodcuts (D/H 566–68), two etchings (D/R 556, 557), and two lithographs (D/L 430, 431) in 1926; and one woodcut (D/H 945) and one lithograph (D/L 445) in 1929. Annemarie Dube and Wolf-Dieter Dube, *E. L. Kirchner: Das graphische Werk*, 2 vols. (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1967). Kirchner also did numerous drawings in various media treating the theme. In addition to the studies by Haxthausen, Lloyd, and Moeller, the following publications have focused on the street scenes: Ewald Rathke, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Strassenbilder* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1969); Lucius Grisebach, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Grossstadtbilder* (Munich: R. Piper, 1979); Carla Schulz-Hoffmann, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Gemälde 1908–1920* (Munich: Schirmer, 1991); and Katarina Sykora, *Weiblichkeit, Grossstadt, Moderne: Ernst Ludwig Kirchners Berliner Strassenszenen 1913–1915* (Berlin: Museumspädagogischer Dienst Berlin, 1996).
7. Parallels among Simmel's observations about urban experience, Alfred Döblin's stories and theoretical essays, and the creative processes and stylistic forms employed in Kirchner's series have been discussed thoroughly by Haxthausen and Lloyd.
8. Hanne Bergius and Lloyd have stimulated my thinking about the relationship of Kirchner's work to a discourse about prostitution and fashion in Berlin. Bergius, "Berlin als Hure Babylon," in *Die Metropole: Industriekultur in Berlin im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jochen Boberg, Tilman Fichter, and Eckhart Gillen (Munich: Beck, 1986), 102–19.
9. Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1926), 137.
10. Lucius Grisebach, "'Die Gefahr der Deutschen steckt im Kopf und nicht in den Händen': Widersprüche bei Ernst Ludwig Kirchner," in Ehrmann and Wahl, 15–19; Presler, 94–100; and Wolfgang Henze, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und die Künstlergruppe 'Brücke,'" in *Von der Brücke zum Blauen Reiter*, ed. Tayfun Begin, exh. cat., Museum am Ostwall, Dortmund, 1996, 78–79.
11. Kirchner, quoted in Grisebach, 128, 157. Kirchner rewrote an essay by Rudolf Zehnder in which the young Swiss artist reported what he had learned about Kirchner's work through studying with him during 1927. The version in Kirchner's diary is the only surviving text, since Zehnder did not believe that the extensively reworked text should be published under his name.
12. Kirchner attributed the following journal articles to Louis de Marsalle: "Zeichnungen von E. L. Kirchner," *Genius* 2, no. 2 (1920): 216–24; "Über Kirchners Graphik," *Genius* 3, no. 2 (1921): 251–63; and "Über die plastischen Arbeiten von E. L. Kirchner," *Der Cicerone* 17, no. 14 (1925): 695–701. The pseudonym was also used for catalogue essays about exhibitions in Frankfurt (1922), Zurich (1927), and Bern (1933).
13. Patricia Berman has discussed the novel character of Auguste Rodin's approach to drawing and the impact his drawings had on Henri Matisse and the Fauves, Gustave Klimt and the Viennese Expressionists, and Kirchner and Die Brücke after they were published and exhibited in the late 1890s. Patricia G. Berman, *Modern Hieroglyphs: Gestural Drawing and the European Vanguard 1900–1918*, exh. cat., Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., 1995.
14. De Marsalle, 1920 (as in n. 12), 221.
15. I use the term *imaginary* to extend visibility beyond mere observation to what Alan Sheridan has termed "the world, the register, the dimension of images, conscious or unconscious, perceived or imagined" in the glossary he supplied to Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1994), 279.

16. Letter from Kirchner to Carl Hagemann of Apr. 21, 1932, in Lucius Grisebach and Annette Meyer to Eissen, eds., *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner 1880–1938*, exh. cat., Nationalgalerie Berlin, 1979, 100. Information about Sketchbook no. 154 is found in Presler, 348.

17. Gordon titles the painting *Woman Walking the Street at Night* (G 922) and dates it 1928–29, based on the number 28 found on the back of the canvas. The fact that sketches related to the painting are found in sketchbooks used during Kirchner's trip to Berlin in 1929 raise questions about the 1928 date.

18. Louis de Marsalle, entry for cat. no. 86, in *Ausstellung Ernst Ludwig Kirchner*, by Max Huggler and Louis de Marsalle, exh. cat., Kunsthalle Bern, 1933.

19. A number of works from the late 1920s explore the reflective and transparent qualities of windows. See reproductions in Hansheinz Gabler, ed., *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Zeichnungen, Pastelle, Aquarelle*, exh. cat., Museum der Stadt Aschaffenburg, 1980, 317, 347, 355, 392, no. 128. In an English text that he added to a watercolor, Kirchner wrote: "Before and Behind the window of a Coffehouse. The heads of the visitors in the coffehouse and the going men in the street together with the electric light in and out the room give new possibilities for the form and the Composition of Paintings in our time of light." Presler mentions this text in his discussion of Kirchner's expanded interest in optical appearances during the late 1920s. The watercolor is part of Sketchbook no. 3 and is reproduced in Presler, 165, 197.

20. This watercolor appears to develop from the watercolor found in Sketchbook no. 3.

21. Georg Simmel, "Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben," *Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden* 9 (1903): 188.

22. Heinz Basch and Budo Rasch, eds., *Gefesselter Blick* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Dr. Zugg, 1930).

23. Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Das Schaufenster," in *Die Kunst in Industrie und Handel: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes 1913* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1913), 62.

24. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefeler of Nov. 28, 1916, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 83–84.

25. To gain a sense of the Seifert firm's place within the applied art field, see "Beleuchtungskörper und Weingläser der Firma K. M. Seifert & Co., Dresden," *Dekorative Kunst* 6, no. 3 (Dec. 1902): 98–102.

26. Hoping to secure some independence in the face of the growing role of art dealers, Die Brücke opened its membership to both active and passive participants; the latter paid twelve marks a year and received a print portfolio in return. Woodcuts that Kirchner cut in 1907 list nine active and thirty-five passive members. Georg Reinhardt, *Die frühe Brücke: Beiträge zur Geschichte und zum Werk der Dresdner Künstlergruppe "Brücke" der Jahre 1905–1908* (Berlin: Brücke-Museum, 1977), 129–31; and Lloyd, 16–20.

27. Lloyd has provided the most useful analysis of Die Brücke's relationship to Jugendstil. For the educational backgrounds of Die Brücke members and their connections with Seifert, see Peter Lasko, "The Student Years of the Brücke and Their Teachers," *Art History* 20, no. 1 (Mar. 1997): 61–99; and Reinhardt (as in n. 26), 64–71.

28. Fritz Bleyl recalled that Kirchner introduced Meier-Graefe's books to the group. Bleyl, "Erinnerungen," in Hans Wentzel, "Fritz Bleyl, Gründungsmitglied der Brücke," *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein* 8 (1968): 95. For discussion of the important role of Meier-Graefe's writings in Germany, see Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 235–63.

29. *Chronik der Brücke* was written in 1913 and a few copies privately printed in Berlin in 1916. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, "Chronik der Brücke," in *German Expressionism*, ed. Rose-Carl Washon Long (New York: G. K. Hall, 1993), 24.

30. Woodcuts by Kirchner and Bleyl and zincographs by Max Pechstein and Heckel that served as smaller advertisements also employed the female nude. Reinhardt (as in n. 26), figs. 45, 49, 50, 51.

31. Robin Reisenfeld, "Cultural Nationalism, Brücke and the German Woodcut: The Formation of a Collective Identity," *Art History* 20, no. 2 (June 1997): 289–312.

32. The motif of flowing hair that dominates Bleyl's small woodcut advertising the exhibition further confirms his interest in Gussmann's poster. Reinhardt (as in n. 26), fig. 51. Reinhold Heller, in a paper entitled "Intimations of a Future World: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's Brücke Poster of 1910," presented at a symposium held on Dec. 4, 1988, in conjunction with *Brücke: German Expressionist Prints from the Granvil and Marcia Specks Collection*, an exhibition at the Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., has argued convincingly for a similar reactive relationship between Kirchner's woodcut poster for the 1910 exhibition at Galerie Arnold and Alexander Baranovsky's color lithograph poster for the 1908 Great Dresden Art Exhibition.

33. Reinhardt (as in n. 26), 96–97. These qualities contrasted with the effect of Gussmann's poster, which was described in the following way: "Its creator, Otto Gussmann, gave the vision [of contemporary applied art] a colorful gown of elegant subdued tones, and although the golden form on the blackish ground imprinted itself strongly on the memory, initially one might have only faintly heard its voice among the clamouring colors of the poster column"; *Dekorative Kunst* 9, no. 6 (Mar. 1906): 227.

34. R.J.V. Lenman, "Art, Society, and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: The Lex Heinze," *Oxford German Studies*, no. 8 (1973): 86–113; and Gary D. Stark,

"Pornography, Society, and the Law in Imperial Germany," *Central European History* 14, no. 3 (1981): 200–229.

35. Ludwig Leiss, *Kunst im Konflikt: Kunst und Künstler im Widerstreit mit der "Obrigkeit"* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971); Wolfgang Hütt, ed., *Hintergrund: Mit den Unzüchtigkeits- und Gotteslästerungsparagrafen des Strafgesetzbuches gegen Kunst und Künstler 1900–1933* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1990); and Maria Makela, "The Politics of Parody: Some Thought on the 'Modern' in Turn-of-the-Century Munich," in *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910*, ed. Françoise Forster-Hahn (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 185–207.

36. Lenman (as in n. 34); and Richard F. Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past and Present*, no. 70 (Feb. 1976): 119–20.

37. Bleyl (as in n. 28), 96.

38. Jugendstil was closely allied with the anticorset movement, an alliance that is suggested by the unconstricted body revealed through the gown in Gussmann's poster. Uwe Meiner, ed., *Korsetts und Nylonstrümpfe*, exh. cat., Schlossmuseum Jever, 1994; and Sabine Welsch, *Ein Ausstieg aus dem Korsett: Reformkleidung um 1900*, exh. cat., Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt, 1996. Gussmann had participated, in fact, in an effort by the Verein für Verbesserung der Frauenkleidung, which formed in Dresden in 1897, to involve artists in the design of women's clothing shown at the International Art Exhibition held in Dresden in 1901. Ella Law, "Künstlerische Frauenkleidung in Dresden," *Textile Kunst und Industrie* 1, no. 2 (Feb. 1908): 99–102.

39. For the best discussion of Die Brücke's construction of bohemia, see Barbara C. Buenger, "Representing the Expressionist's Simple Life: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's Modern Bohemia," in *From the Greeks to the Greens: Images of the Simple Life*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 78–110.

40. Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Programm der Brücke*, self-printed in Dresden, 1906, as translated in Lloyd, 18.

41. Albert Hoffman's statement from an exhibition pamphlet is quoted in John Heskett, *German Design 1870–1918* (New York: Taplinger, 1986), 111–12. Kreis was the designer of the exhibition's Saxon House, whose construction Heckel supervised as an employee in Kreis's architectural office.

42. *Ibid.*, 106

43. Letter from Anton von Werner to the minister of religious and educational affairs, Dec. 7, 1911. The documents, which are in the Potsdam State Archive (Akte Pr.Br.Rep. 30 Bin. C Th 3841 Bl. 1–6), are published in Roland März, ed., *Expressionisten: Die Avantgarde in Deutschland 1905–1920*, exh. cat., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Nationalgalerie und Kupferstichkabinett, 1986, 103–4. Max Pechstein recalled in his memoirs that a policeman had previously interrupted their work at the Moritzburg Ponds, where they practiced nudism and painted, and confiscated one of Pechstein's paintings while threatening to arrest him for endangering morality. Pechstein, *Erinnerungen* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1960), 431.

44. Donald E. Gordon has linked the figure's forms to Kirchner's interest in mural paintings created about the 6th century C.E. in the Buddhist cave-temples at Ajanta, India, which he knew through John Griffiths, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India* (London, 1896). Gordon, "Kirchner in Dresden," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966): 335–66. The flower's role in the poster also recalls the Ajanta murals, in which flowers figure prominently as symbolic offerings.

45. For these developments, see Hütt (as in n. 35), 29–32.

46. Schmidt-Rottluff continued this engagement with craft during 1911, contributing textiles to a craft exhibition at the Applied Art School in Hamburg and including fifteen painted wooden chests in his exhibition at Galerie Commeter in the same city. Gerhard Wietek, *Schmidt-Rottluff: Oldenburger Jahre 1907–1912* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), 63, 72, 528. For Hamburg's role in Die Brücke patronage, see Shulamith Behr, "Supporters and Collectors of Expressionism," in *German Expressionism: Art and Society*, ed. Stephanie Barron and Wolf-Dieter Dube, exh. cat., Palazzo Grassi, Venice, 1998, 49–52.

47. Letter nos. 25, 26, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 58.

48. Frederick R. Brandt, *German Expressionist Art: The Ludwig and Rosy Fischer Collection*, exh. cat., Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987, 32–33.

49. For the various versions of the disintegration of the MUMI Institute and Die Brücke, see Günter Krüger, "Max Pechstein in Kunstwissenschaft und Kritik," in *Max Pechstein: Das ferne Paradies*, ed. Beate Grubert-Thurou and Wilfried Stoye, exh. cat., Städtisches Kunstmuseum Spenhau, Reutlingen, 1995, 98–104.

50. Letter nos. 45, 46, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 68–70; and diary entry for July 21, 1919, in Grisebach, 51.

51. Letter from Kirchner to Karl Osthaus of Dec. 23, 1917, in Hesse-Frielinghaus, 58.

52. Grisebach, 46, 52, 59, 68, 249–50, 253, 260, 269–70; and Kornfeld, 160. For Just's comments about *Street, Berlin*, see Ludwig Justi, *Neue Kunst: Ein Führer zu den Gemälden der sogenannten Expressionisten in der National-Galerie* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1921).

53. Gordon, cat. no. 53; and Dube and Dube (as in n. 6), cat. no. L/55. Letters nos. 45, 46, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 68–70.

54. Heckel, like Kirchner, had done cityscapes in Dresden and Berlin in which figures play little role. For the poverty of city painting in Germany, see Haxthausen; Lloyd; and Rolf Bothe and Dominik Barkmann, *Stadtbilder: Berlin*

in der Malerei vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, exh. cat., Berlin Museum, 1987.

55. Letter from Kirchner to Heckel, ca. May 1910, in Annemarie Dube-Heynig, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Postkarten und Briefe an Erich Heckel im Altonaer Museum in Hamburg* (Cologne: Dumont Buchverlag, 1984), 242.

56. The group included Otto Müller, a painter who joined Die Brücke in Berlin; Erna and Gerda Schilling, sisters who worked as dancers in the city; Werner Gothein and Hans Gewecke, students he met through the MUIIM Institute; and Simon Guttman, Hans Reimann, and Alfred Döblin, writers who were associated with *Der Sturm*, *Die Aktion*, and the Neue Club. For the Neue Club and Kirchner's relation to it, see Patrick Bridgwater, *Poet of Expressionist Berlin: The Life and Work of Georg Heym* (London: Libris, 1991).

57. Gothein made this statement in a letter of Nov. 14, 1960, to Donald Gordon. The letter and dating of the series are discussed in Gordon, 92–96.

58. In the early fall of 1913 Reverend Steinle, a leader within the morality associations, published an article in which he said Berlin had surpassed Paris as “the loudest, most vulgar, most luxurious and pleasure-loving city in the entire world. . . . it is the modern Babylon, given the prize for moral depravity.” v. D. Sch., “Berlin, das moderne ‘Babylon,’” *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger*, Sept. 1, 1913. For information about the morality association, see Joachim Schlör, *Nachts in der grossen Stadt: Paris, Berlin, London 1840–1930* (Munich: Artemis und Winkler, 1991), 193–205; John C. Fout, “The Moral Purity Movement in Wilhelmine Germany and the Attempt to Regulate Male Behavior,” *Journal of Men's Studies* 1 (1992): 5–31; and idem, “Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 3 (1992): 388–421.

59. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefeler of Dec. 19, 1913, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 66–67. In a letter to Schiefeler of Oct. 28, 1924 (304–5), Kirchner said he had done small- and large-format series of erotic lithographs. The smaller-format series consists of six prints depicting sexual acts of a couple in a room whose furnishings seem to mark it as Kirchner's studio in Dresden. This led Dube (as in n. 6), L/185–90, to date the series to 1911, but Kirchner apparently resumed work on or printed the series in Dec. 1913. Shortly after his move to Berlin in 1911, Kirchner became acquainted with Döblin and did a painting and numerous drawings of him. Five woodcut illustrations were prepared for Döblin's *Das Stiftsfräulein und der Tod*, which was published in 1913. For discussions of stylistic and thematic parallels between Döblin and Kirchner, see Lloyd, 140–53; Moeller, 17–24; and Wolfgang Henze, “Die Kunst Ernst Ludwig Kirchners in den Krisenjahre 1913–1917,” in Ehrmann and Wahl, 52–56. Also see Deutsches Literaturarchiv, *Alfred Döblin 1878–1978* (Marbach: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1978), 116–29.

60. The play's text and information about it are found in Alfred Döblin, *Drama Hörspiel Film*, ed. Erich Kleinschmidt (Olten: Walter, 1983), 32–61, 545–61, 593–601.

61. *Ibid.*, 594–95. The trial implicated Marcell Veith in the prostitution of his daughter, Mizzi Veith, whose diary was subsequently published. Mizzi Veith, *Authentisches Tagebuch der Komtesse Mizzi Veith* (Budapest: G. Grimm, 1908). Karl Krauss used the trial to expose the moral hypocrisy of press and police. Krauss, “Prozess Veith,” *Die Fackel* 10, no. 263 (1908): 1–28. A notice about a meeting of the German Morality Association in Frankfurt on Oct. 10, 1908, is among the notes that Döblin assembled during work on the play.

62. Döblin (as in n. 60), 41.

63. Schiefeler's title, *Polizeiart*, for cat. no. 193 was probably approved by Kirchner. Gustav Schiefeler, *Die Graphik Ernst Ludwig Kirchners*, 2 vols. (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Euphorion, 1926), vol. 1, 79–80.

64. Ernst Deutsch, “Die Eröffnungs-Anzeigen eines Berliner Modenhauses,” *Seidels Reklame* 1, no. 4 (1913): 97–104. For Deutsch's work, see Anthony Lipman, *Divinely Elegant: The World of Ernst Dryden* (London: Pavilion Books, 1989).

65. During 1913 an association of female office employees protested the sexual suggestion in advertising that Deutsch had created for Mercedes typewriters. “Der kaufmännische Verband für weibliche Angestellte als Sittlichkeitsapostel,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins deutscher Reklamefachleute*, no. 41 (1913): 201. A drawing by P. Kraemer had previously satirized the ad, in *Lustige Blätter* 26, no. 19 (1911): 26.

66. “Schaufenster,” *Seidels Reklame* 1, no. 3 (1913): 80.

67. “Schaufenster,” *Seidels Reklame* 2, no. 1 (1914): 23.

68. Hans Ostwald, *Das galante Berlin* (Berlin: Hermann Klemm, 1928), 222.

69. Peter Paul Schmitt, “Corsetfreuden,” *Die Schaubühne* 9, no. 49 (1913): 1200–1201. Schmitt wondered why the police had not yet prosecuted the corset displays, because while it was clear that the reproductions of nude paintings and sculptures that the police regularly confiscated were not lewd, he could not “state that with good conscience about the partially veiled lecheries of the corset shops.”

70. Heidemarie Schade, “‘Durch die Kunst blüht das Gewerbe’: Fotografien aus dem Nachlass der Wachsfiguren-Fabrik Gebrüder Weber Berlin,” *Fotogeschichte* 5, no. 17 (1985): 33–48; and Barbara Kraaft, *Traumwelt der Puppen* (Munich: Hirmer, 1991), 4–12, 21–23. Since the wax mannequins were often associated with sensationalism and sexual fantasy, the new modernist style of window design turned against their use around 1909–10 because of their connection to the then unfashionable and lowbrow panopticons. The *Schaulust* (curiosity) aroused by the wax mannequins in sexually repressed Wilhelmine society was satirized by Oskar Panizza in “Der Korsetten-Fritz,” in *Visionen: Skizzen und Erzählungen* (Leipzig: W. Friedrich, 1893). For the reaction against

the wax figures in modernist display windows, see Sherwin Simmons, “August Macke's Shoppers” (as in n. 2).

71. Gabriel Newmann was the corset shop owner whose trial was eventually reported in “Die Wachsfiguren im Schaufenster,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Mar. 14, 1914, evening edition; and “Wachsfiguren-Kabinett,” *Vossische Zeitung*, Mar. 16, 1914, evening edition. Examples of articles supporting and opposing the prosecutions are Karl Brunner, “Der kunstfeindliche Staatsanwalt,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Jan. 18, 1914; and Herbert Stegemann, “Die Wachsüste,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Jan. 29, 1914. Kurt Tucholsky provided a more reflective discussion in Ignaz Wrobel, “Laster und Liebe,” *Die Schaubühne* 9, no. 52 (1913): 1286–89.

72. Shortly before the police crackdown, the increasing eroticism of corset displays was noted in August Hajduk, “Schaufensterpromenade,” *Ulk* 42, no. 46 (1913). Paul von Schönthan was a Viennese playwright and author of numerous comedies, among them *Der Raub der Sabinerin* (1885). I thank Dieter Manderscheid for this information.

73. Lothar Brieger, “Nacktheit und Reklame,” *Seidels Reklame* 2, no. 2 (1914): 51–52; and idem, “Unzüchtige Schaufensterauslagen,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins deutscher Reklamefachleute*, no. 1 (1914): 24–26.

74. For a drawing that responded to the intensified censorship of art in the fall of 1913, see *Das Neueste aus Berlin, Jugend* 18, no. 40 (1913): 1192. For artists' response to the censorship and an art critic's fear about its direction, see “Die Künstler gegen die Polizei,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Dec. 23, 1913, morning edition; and Fritz Stahl, “Die nackte Kunst im Abgeordnetenhaus,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 6, 1914. In May and June 1914 efforts by the Verband der Männervereine zur Bekämpfung der öffentlichen Unsittlichkeit to censor nude sculptures and paintings in the Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne drew national attention. See Ulrike Bühler, “. . . jedenfalls hat das Nackte längst gewirkt, ehe die Kunst anfängt zu wirken”: Zum Kölner ‘Nuditätien-Streit,’ in *Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Köln 1914: Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900–1914*, ed. Wolf Herzogenrath, Dirk Teuber, and Angelika Thiekotter, exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1984, 324–30.

75. See Georg Oertel's comments in the Reichstag debate on Feb. 18, 1914, in “Deutscher Reichstag,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Feb. 19, 1914. Oertel was a member of the Conservative Party and editor of the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, the newspaper linked most closely to the Bund der Landwirte, or Alliance of Farmers, an association of conservative estate owners.

76. The issues of class and public space that are involved in censorship are discussed in Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity, and Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1992).

77. “Sittlichkeit und Sinnlichkeit,” *Vorwärts*, Feb. 2, 1914.

78. The drawing in *Jugend* was probably a response to recent court decisions. The Supreme Court ruled against attempts by Berlin's Twelfth Criminal Court to prosecute all nudes on postcards as objectively lewd. Following this judgment and after testimony from Lovis Corinth and Karl Scheffler, the Twelfth Criminal Court declared a book dealer innocent of obscenity charges brought by the state attorney in Sept. 1913 for the window display of a reproduction of Anselm Feuerbach's *Reclining Nymph*. Fritz Stahl, “Die Rettung der nackten Kunst: Das Reichsgericht gegen die Berliner Strafkammer,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 12, 1914; and idem, “Die ‘ruhende Nymphe’ vor Gericht,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Mar. 8, 1914.

79. For the *Kulturkampf* characterization, see the speech by Socialist Deputy Adolf Hoffmann in the Abgeordnetenhaus on Feb. 6, 1914. “Abgeordnetenhaus-Der Justizetat,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 7, 1914, morning edition. For comments connecting events of 1914 to the earlier *Lex Heinze* debate, see “Sittlichkeit und Sinnlichkeit” (as in n. 77); “Eine neue Lex Heinze?” *Vossische Zeitung*, Feb. 16, 1914; Ludwig Fulda, “Eine neue Lex Heinze?” *Vossische Zeitung*, Mar. 30, 1914, and, in the same issue, “Gegen die Lex Heinze,” and “Um die kleine Lex Heinze,” *Vossische Zeitung*, Apr. 1, 1914, evening edition. Also see the drawing in *Jugend* of a priest passing a hairdresser's window with a document entitled “Draft for a new Lex Heinze” under his arm, A.S., *Selbsterkenntnis, Jugend* 19, no. 9 (1914); and the drawing entitled *Die Riesen und die Zwerge* in *Der Wahre Jacob* of famous artists and writers being threatened by a giant policeman wielding a saber labeled “Die neue Lex Heinze,” in *Der Wahre Jacob* 31, no. 724 (1914): 8305.

80. The resolution, which was introduced by Baron Schenk zu Schwinsberg (Conservative) and cosponsored by Representatives Vorster (Free Conservative), Dittrich (Center), and Schröder (National Liberal), was introduced in the Abgeordnetenhaus on Feb. 12 and passed on Feb. 19, 1914; “Aus den Parlamenten—Abgeordnetenhaus—Schutz der Jugendlichen, Bekämpfung der Unsittlichkeit,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1914, evening edition; and “Abgeordnetenhaus,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Feb. 19, 1914.

81. “Die Bekämpfung der Schundliteratur durch das Gesetz,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Feb. 19, 1914, evening edition; and “Die innere Politik der Woche,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Feb. 22, 1914, morning edition. For discussion of ambivalent police attitudes toward the bars, see Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 93–95. For the cinema law, see Gary D. Stark, “Cinema, Society, and the State: Policing the Film Industry in Imperial Germany,” in *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*, ed. Gary D. Stark and Bede Karl Lackner (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1982), 122–66.

82. “Die innere Politik der Woche,” *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, Feb. 22, 1914, morning edition. For the turn to the city by the Conservative Party, see James

N. Retallack, *Notables of the Right: The Conservative Party and Political Mobilization in Germany, 1876–1918* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 181–84.

83. "Das unsittliche Berlin," *Vorwärts*, Feb. 10, 1914; and "Die Sittlichen," *Vorwärts*, Feb. 23, 1914.

84. "Friedrichstrasse," *Ulk* 43, no. 7 (1914): 2.

85. For information about the competition and the humor magazine's satirical response, see *Das Plakat* 5, no. 3 (1914): 133–34, and no. 4 (1914): 224. Trier added tourism to a series of puns made by illustrators in response to new traffic regulations in Berlin. When the police president attempted to limit traffic and advertising, illustrators connected Friedrichstrasse's famous vehicular traffic, advertising, and prostitution within a humorous discourse about *Verkehr* (traffic, in its many senses). R. L. Leonard, *Lieber Jagow! Wozu all die Experimente?—ein einziger Blauer genügt, um den Verkehr aus der Friedrichstrasse abzulenken*, *Lustige Blätter* 26, no. 10 (1911): 9; and Erich Schilling, "Der Verkehr in der Berliner Friedrichstrasse," *Wahre Jacob*, no. 642 (1911): 6975.

86. Hans Ostwald, *Prostitutionsmärkte*, vol. 6 of *Das Berliner Dirnentum* (Leipzig: Walther Fiedler, 1910), 13. Ostwald's description (28–34) of the souvenirs and sexually suggestive goods displayed in the Kaisergalerie's shops suggests why Trier chose this location for a comment about the relationship of tourism and vice. For the role of tourism in the Friedrichstadt, see Jelavich (as in n. 81), 93–95, 109–17.

87. In her discussion of the interplay of primitivism and modernity, Lloyd refers to the popular press's frequent comparison of tribal dress and modern fashion (30–31, 155–56). She also describes the role played by tribal troupes, exhibited in various commercial venues, in shaping the fascination that "primitive" life held for Die Brücke. The posters that publicized these troupes, like one of the early 1890s for an appearance at Castans Panopticon of female warriors from Dahomey, initially conformed to Western representational conventions. By 1913, however, some of Jo Steiner's posters, like one for "Fifty Savage Congolese Women" at the Passage Panopticon, had absorbed the primitivist style that Die Brücke had created from the study of tribal art. Fauvist colors and splintered forms made the exotic costume and weaponry of the earlier poster unnecessary, since the naked upper body of a Congolese woman caricatured in this way sufficed as a sign of "savagery." Since Steiner did a number of posters for the Passage Panopticon, Expressionism may have assisted Trier's association of the prostitutes with the "Last Aztecs." The "Last Aztecs" were, in fact, two individuals with abnormally small heads who dressed as non-European peoples when they appeared at the Panopticon. They were also known as the "bird heads," a characterization that would further link them to women with their feathered hats. For the two posters, see no. 293 in Helga Hollmann et al., eds., *Deutschland*, vols. 3 and 4 of *Das frühe Plakat in Europa und den USA*, ed. Lisa Lotte Moller, Heinz Spielmann, and Stephan Waelzold (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1980); and no. 459 in Hellmut Rademacher and René Grohnert, *Kunst! Kommerz! Visionen! Deutsche Plakate 1888–1933*, exh. cat., Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 1992. For the "Last Aztecs," see Gottfried Korff and Reinhard Rürup, eds., *Berlin, Berlin: Die Ausstellung zur Geschichte der Stadt* (Berlin: Nicolaische, 1987), 417, cat. no. 26/15.

88. Ostwald (as in n. 86), 9.

89. *Ibid.*, 13.

90. Most commentators mention the emphasis given to fashion in the series. Gordon, 92, was the first to note the women's resemblance to mannequins. Rosalyn Deutsche and Lloyd, 147–56, have connected this depersonalization to Simmel's observations about urban life under capitalism. Rosalyn Deutsche, "Alienation in Berlin: Kirchner's Street Scenes," *Art in America* 71, no. 1 (1983): 65–72. Peter-Klaus Schuster has developed a more complicated reading of fashion's role that considers the social and economic connections between avant-garde bohemia and fashionable bourgeoisie society. Schuster, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's 'Dame mit Hut': Zu einer Neuerwerbung der Nationalgalerie," in *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, no. 26 (1989): 283–310.

91. See Ernst Deutsch's 1912 poster for Salamander shoes, in Lipman (as in n. 64), 30–31.

92. Deutsche (as in n. 90), 71. Deutsche refers to a corset shop mannequin that appears in a pastel in the Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. The prints, ink drawings, and pastels of the series frequently use the display window as a frame for the figures.

93. De Marsalle (as in n. 12), 219.

94. Marie Holzer's short story "The Red Wig," which treats a female student's enchantment with a wig glimpsed on a wax bust in a display window and her consideration of prostitution as a means to acquire it, provides further evidence of Expressionist interest in this theme. Holzer, "Die rote Perücke," *Die Aktion* 4, no. 2 (1914): 41–43. Holzer, who lived in Prague and Innsbruck, was a frequent contributor to *Die Aktion*.

95. Norbert Stern, *Mode und Kultur* (Dresden: Klemm und Weiss, 1915), vol. 2, 109–11.

96. *Ibid.*, 112.

97. "Tautenzien-Bummel," *Kölnische Zeitung*, May 25, 1914.

98. Alexander Elster presented a comprehensive discussion of modern fashion theory from Theodor Vischer to Sombart in "Wirtschaft und Mode," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* 46, no. 2 (1913): 172–203. His other articles include "Über die Bedeutung der Mode im Wirtschaftsleben," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 25, no. 11 (1913): 208–10; "Über den Zauber der Mode," *Der Mode-Zauber* 1, no. 2 (1913): 16; "Kultus der äusseren Erscheinung," *Der Mode-Zauber* 1, no. 7 (1914): 1–16; and "Deutsche Mode," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 27, no. 3 (1914): 45–48.

99. Elster (as in n. 98), "Über den Zauber der Mode," 16.

100. Elster (as in n. 98), "Deutsche Mode," 48.

101. *In Front of the Hairdresser's Shop*, 1926 (Gordon, cat. no. 848). The street scenes from the late 1920s remain to be studied. A watercolor entitled *Pedestrians in Front of the Display Window*, which was signed by Erna Schilling and dates to ca. 1934, recently appeared in an exhibition at the Galerie Neher in Essen. Additional treatments of the theme may be revealed in the catalogue of drawings, watercolors, and pastels that is currently being prepared by the Ernst Ludwig Kirchner Archiv in the Galerie Henze und Ketterer.

102. W.B., "Die farbigen Perücken," *Die Gegenwart* 43, no. 11 (1914): 174–75; and Egon Erwin Kisch, "Die Mode der Nichtigkeiten," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 12, 1914. Also see an advertisement drawn by R. L. (Robert) Leonard for a costume ball at the Admiralspalast that featured dyed wigs, in *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 15, 1914.

103. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefeler of Apr. 30, 1919, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 125.

104. For a drawing of a priest covering his eyes to avoid seeing a woman's body revealed by the sun through the thin material of a dress, see *Klerus gegen Mode*, *Ulk* 43, no. 7 (1914).

105. Gordon, cat. no. 276; and Dube and Dube (as in n. 6), cat. no. W253. Kirchner also took a photograph of Gerta Schilling wearing such a veil. Gerd Presler, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Seine Frauen, seine Modelle, seine Bilder* (Munich: Prestel, 1998), 70. For commentary about the styles of veils for the fall 1913 season, see Baronin v. Marly, "Die Mode der Verhüllung," *Zeit im Bild* 11, no. 51 (1913): 3494. For criticism of the style, see "Mode Extravaganzen," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Sept. 15, 1913. The writer also reminded readers that the opaque veil had been abandoned in Western society because it might be used to conceal the effects of syphilis, thus expressing a fear of fashion's dissimulation that may also inform the shifting and sad disfiguration written on the face in Kirchner's portrait (Gordon, cat. no. 276).

106. The other painting is *Two Women on the Street* in the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf.

107. The sign advertised Westmanns Trauermagazine at Mohrenstrasse 37. Although the sign troubled the city council, no action could be taken by the police since the commercial code did not prohibit such a sign. "Die Reklame der Beerdigungsanstalten und Trauermagazine," *Seidels Reklame* 2, no. 10 (1914): 403–14.

108. "Keine 'Trauerkostüme,'" *Der Kunstwart* 27, no. 24 (1914): 378.

109. For discussion of veil styles and descriptions of how even the traditional long crepe veil could be arranged in flirtatious ways, see M. von Suttner, "Allerlei Schleier," *Elegante Welt* 3, no. 50 (1914): 10–11. Kirchner depicted the traditional long veil in the etching *War Widows on the Street*, but the hat and veil in the painting are similar to the type depicted in a drawing by Stephan Krotowski advertising the shop Trauermagazin des Westens (Fig. 22). A broader discussion of mourning practices and fashion is found in Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983).

110. In early Feb., after two legislators were struck by a car on Blücherstrasse, Berlin's traffic was debated in the Abgeordnetenhaus. The mixture of very different types of vehicles was declared the major cause of a danger with which the public would have to learn to live. One proposal to alleviate the problem was the construction of more pedestrian islands. "Eine Automobilinterpretation im Abgeordnetenhaus," *Kreuz Zeitung*, Feb. 11, 1914; and "Abgeordnetenhaus," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 11, 1914. Two women also stand isolated on a traffic island amid the swirl of traffic in Kirchner's lithograph *Leipziger Strasse, Intersection*, while two men populate the island in the lithograph *Cocottes on Kurfürstendamm*. Other works emphasize the traffic danger, particularly the painting *Five Women on the Street*, in which a dark car rushes past the women on the sidewalk. For a caricature of Berlin's traffic danger, see August Hajduk's drawing *Dämon Verkehr* in *Ulk* 43, no. 19 (1914).

111. Krafft (as in n. 70), 194–95. Lotte Pritzel's dolls appear as Expressionist fantasies of such works.

112. Lloyd, 144–47, makes an important point about Kirchner's paradoxical assertion of impulse and memory. For further discussion of the paintings' highly considered character, see Haxthausen, Schuster (as in n. 90), and Schulz-Hoffmann (as in n. 6). Kirchner later stressed that while the initial sketches for the *Strassenbilder* were impulsive observations, subsequent drawings, prints, and paintings were reshaped by the intellect and imagination, resulting in pictures that were far from nature. Grisebach, 92–93. However, Schuster's suggestion that the street paintings of 1913–14 are "staged" has provoked a defense of their "realism," of their origin in the "ecstasy of initial perception"; Grisebach (as in n. 10), 15–19; and Presler, 94–100.

113. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefeler of Jan. 11, 1927, in Kirchner and Schiefeler, 452. Kirchner wrote that the attempts at free love and marriage in the Soviet Union were the ideals of his own life, if in another form. He was likely responding to the fictional descriptions of Soviet sexual relations in a book he owned: Aleksandra Kollontai, *Wege der Liebe* (Berlin: Malik, 1925).

114. Ludwig Bäumer, "Dilettanten des Lasters," *Die Aktion* 4, no. 2 (1914): 26–27; N. O. Kent [Hans Natonek], "Der Staatsanwalt, die Wollust und die Presse," *Die Aktion* 2, no. 9 (1914): 182–85; and Franz Pfemfert, "Die Botschaft des Galeerensträflings," *Die Aktion* 4, no. 12 (1914): 143–45. Pfemfert, the journal's editor, responded to the confiscations by satirically comparing the journal's fate to that of the wax busts in "Beschlagnahmt," *Die Aktion* 4, no. 18

(1914): 377; and "Die Aktion und der Staatsanwalt," *Die Aktion* 4, no. 21 (1914): 445–47.

115. Kent (as in n. 114), 182–85.

116. "Hundefreiheit," *Vossische Zeitung*, Mar. 2, 1914, evening edition. Although cats appear frequently in Kirchner's art and were beloved household companions during the Swiss years, I know of no representations of dogs in his vast oeuvre other than in a couple of early woodcuts and the street series of 1913–16.

117. Evans (as in n. 36), 109–10.

118. *Ibid.*, 121–23; and Ann Taylor Allen, "Feminism, Venereal Diseases, and the State in Germany, 1880–1918," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4, no. 1 (1993): 27–50.

119. For discussion of prostitution and its regulation in German cities, see Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe* (New York: Century, 1914).

120. See the response to a pamphlet from the Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten. Geh. Oberjustizrat und Senatspräsident Sohnmölder, "Paragraph 361/6 des Strafgesetzbuchs," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Dec. 31, 1913, morning edition; and "Zur Reform des deutschen Strafgesetzbuchs," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Jan. 7, 1914, morning edition. Simultaneously, there were efforts to organize a union for prostitutes in Berlin; see "Antworten," *Die Schaubühne* 10, no. 1 (1914): 27. These actions followed what was seen as the inadequate reforms proposed by a commission organized by the Reichsjustizamt, which concluded its meetings on Sept. 27, 1913. See the discussion in Alix Westerkamp, "Gesetzliche Bestimmungen," in *Einführung in das Studium der Prostitutionsfrage*, ed. Anna Pappritz (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1919), 63–73.

121. Grete Meisel-Hess, "Prostitution, Frauenbewegung und Rasse," *Die Aktion* 1, no. 30 (1911): 940–43. In addition to *Die sexuelle Krise* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1909), Meisel-Hess published novels and short stories about the "new woman" and contributed to *Die Aktion* between 1911 and 1913.

122. Grete Meisel-Hess, *The Sexual Crisis*, trans. Eden Paul and Cedar Paul (New York: Critic and Guide, 1917), 165. For information about Meisel-Hess, see Ellinor Melander, "Toward the Sexual and Economic Emancipation of Women: The Philosophy of Grete Meisel-Hess," *History of European Ideas* 14, no. 5 (1992): 695–713.

123. Barbara D. Wright, "'New Man,' Eternal Woman: Expressionist Responses to German Feminism," *German Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (1987): 594.

124. Meisel-Hess (as in n. 122), 223–24. For Expressionist treatments of the theme, see Nancy McCombs, *Earth Spirit, Victim, or Whore? The Prostitute in German Literature 1880–1925* (New York: Peter Lang, 1986).

125. Haxthausen, 79–81. This issue's relation to 19th-century French art is discussed in Hollis Clayton, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 8–9, 56–64.

126. See the Berlin regulations, dated Dec. 7, 1911, in Flexner (as in n. 119), 416.

127. Robert Hessen, *Die Prostitution in Deutschland* (Munich: Albert Langen, 1910), 117. In turn, the display window and other forms of advertising became standard elements of prostitution's representation by magazine illustrators. See, for instance, a drawing entitled *Friedrichstrasse* in which a man says to a prostitute, who is framed by a display window, "Don't raise the skirt so high, Adele. A tax is now imposed on street advertising"; in *Lustige Blätter* 24, no. 4 (1909): 3. For the way advertising—particularly the type of electric signs seen above Potsdamer Platz in the background of Kirchner's painting *Leipziger Strasse with Streetcar*—in turn came under legal attack by Police President von Jagow, see Carola Jüllig, "'Wo nachts keine Lichter brennen, ist finstere Provinz': Neue Werbung in Berlin," in Bäumler (as in n. 2), 69–71.

128. While the fear of confusion was acute, codes of fashion and behavior were easily readable, according to the comment, "only a 'hick' confuses the woman of society with a cocotte," made by a fashion magazine writer as part of his musings about the question, "Does a lady react to passes made on the street?" "Strassenbekenntnissen," *Elegante Welt* 1, no. 9 (1912): 22.

129. See letters from Kirchner to Schiefler (Nov. 16, 1916) and Henry van de Velde (Jan. 2, 1918, and July 5, 1919), in Kirchner and Schiefler, 83, and in Ernst L. Kirchner, *Briefe an Nele und Henry van de Velde* (Munich: R. Piper, 1961), 78, 100. In the prints Kirchner also gave a stronger emotional character to faces and decreased the distance between figures and viewer.

130. Haxthausen, 85, makes the argument most thoroughly, but it also appears in Lloyd, Schuster (as in n. 90), Schulz-Hoffmann (as in n. 6), and Moeller.

131. Letter from Kirchner to Henry van de Velde of July 5, 1919, in Kirchner (as in n. 129), 100.

132. Erna Schilling's comments were recorded in notes taken by Dr. Ludwig Binswanger in Kreuzlingen during Oct. 1917. Binswanger was treating Kirchner at the time and required a medical and psychological history. Kornfeld, 103–4. Kirchner's stay in Kreuzlingen is addressed in Albert Schoop, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner im Thurgau: Die 10 Monate in Kreuzlingen 1917–1918* (Bern: Kornfeld, 1992). The relationship of his artistic work to his illness and his interactions with Binswanger, an important exponent of existential psychoanalysis, have not yet been explored in depth. An essay entitled "Die Graphik" that appears in Sketchbook no. 38 suggests that Binswanger had Kirchner note the associations and fantasies raised by his art. Presler, 406–8.

133. Volker Wahl, "Von Jena nach Davos: Stationen eines Künstlerlebens," in Ehrmann and Wahl, 25–26.

134. Kornfeld, 63–74.

135. Following his move to Berlin, Kirchner's exhibitions in Berlin through 1914 were the following: solo show at the Fritz Gurlitt Gallery (Nov. 1913) and participation in four group exhibitions. Pechstein, in contrast, had five solo shows: one at the Gutenberg Gallery (1912), three at the Gurlitt Gallery, and one with Hugo Moses. He also participated in more than ten group exhibitions.

136. Erna and her sister Gerda worked as dancers and perhaps as prostitutes. In a letter to Erna written on June 29, 1929, while on a trip to Berlin, Kirchner mentioned the emotions and memories that assailed him while walking the streets and said, "Asked today in Friedrichstrasse about Hede Preussen. An old prostitute remembered having heard the name, but it was possibly only a lie to entice"; Kornfeld, 278. Preussen was possibly a performer or prostitute whom he had known earlier in the entertainment district.

137. Schuster (as in n. 90). Max Osborn described a very different type of self-representation among contemporary artists, writing that their studio decor and dress had become like that of society's upper strata. Osborn, "Wie unsere Künstler wohnen," *Die Dame* 41, no. 15 (1914): 2–3.

138. Hugo Kersten, "Über die Effemination in der jungdeutschen Literatur," *Die Aktion* 4, no. 13 (1914): 269–72. Lisa Tickner has recently examined a similarly gendered conception of artistic identity in English art from 1905 to 1915, arguing that women's increasing role in what had been considered a predominantly male activity raised fears among male artists and the cultivation of an image of "rough masculinity." Tickner, "Men's Work? Masculinity and Modernism," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 64.

139. Letter from Eberhard Grisebach to Helene Spengler of June 18, 1914, in Lothar Grisebach, ed., *Maler des Expressionismus im Briefwechsel mit Eberhard Grisebach* (Hamburg: Christian Wegner, 1962), 47.

140. See the talks that Graef gave on Feb. 15, 1914, and Oct. 8, 1916, at the openings of Kirchner's exhibitions at the Jena Kunstverein and the Ludwig Schames Gallery in Frankfurt. These were excerpted in the *Jenaische Zeitung*, Mar. 4, 1914, and in the catalogue of Kirchner's 1919 exhibition at the Schames Gallery. The texts are reprinted in Ehrmann and Wahl, 101–3, 105–6. Thomas Röske's essay "Dokumente einer Freundschaft: Botho Graef und Hugo Biallowons auf Bildern Ernst Ludwig Kirchners" in the same catalogue (40–48) addresses Kirchner's friendship and representations of the two men within the context of contemporary attitudes about homosexuality. Certainly this friendship increased Kirchner's understanding of public resistance to the increasingly public presence of homosexuality. See Michael Bollé, ed., *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850–1950; Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur*, exh. cat., Berlin Museum, 1984.

141. See the essay "Die Arbeit E. L. Kirchners" written by Kirchner in 1925, in Kornfeld, 336. Schames held very successful exhibitions at his gallery in Frankfurt, which expanded the market for Kirchner's work. Irene Eucken included Kirchner in social gatherings at her home and helped cultivate support for him within Jena society.

142. Letter from Kirchner to Karl Osthaus of Nov. 16, 1913, in Hesse-Frielinghaus, 14–15.

143. Letter from Osthaus to Gropius, Nov. 18, 1913, in *ibid.*, 15.

144. Letters from Kirchner to Osthaus (undated) and Osthaus to Fritz Coerper (Apr. 8, 1914), in *ibid.*, 16–17.

145. Renate Hilscher, "Joseph Feinhals, Tabakhändler, Sammler und Mäzen," in Herzogenrath et al. (as in n. 74), 283.

146. Julius Nitsche, "Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung," *Mitteilungen des Vereins deutscher Reklamefachleute*, no. 7 (July 1914): 259–61. A report of a visit of advertising professionals led by Nitsche and a photograph of the Feinhals display were published in the next issue, "Führung von Reklamefachleuten durch die Deutsche Werkbund Ausstellung," *Mitteilungen des Vereins deutscher Reklamefachleute*, no. 8 (Aug.–Sept. 1914): 297–98. An article on textile art also bestowed high praise on Kirchner's work and compared the technique to the designs in felt appliqué that Gertrud Christophe had created previously in Berlin. A. Jaumann, "Textile Kunst auf der Werkbund Ausstellung," *Stickerzeitung und Spitzen Revue* 15, no. 1 (1914): 56.

147. See Fritz Hellweg, "Der Deutsche Werkbund und seine Künstler," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 27, no. 3 (1915): 41–42; and Adolf Behne, "Die Kölner Werkbundaussstellung," *Die Gegenwart* 43, no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1914): 506. He also referred to the Expressionist art that was shown at Otto Feldmann's Neue Galerie, which was a late addition to the shopping street. Little is known about what art was shown, but Erich Heckel is said to have designed the layout of the shop's windows and interior. Felix Zdenek, ed., *Erich Heckel 1883–1970* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 212. Also see Max Osborn, "Die Werkbund Ausstellung: Dekoratives und Kunstgewerbliches," *Vossische Zeitung*, May 21, 1914.

148. Peter Jessen, "Die Deutsche Werkbund Ausstellung Köln 1914," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes 1915* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1915), 26.

149. For discussion of the "prestige advertising" that emerged just before World War I, see Hanna Gagel, "Studien zur Motivgeschichte des deutschen Plakats 1900–1914," Ph.D. diss., Free University of Berlin, 1971, 22–25, 37–71; and Jürgen Schwarz, *Bildannoncen aus der Jahrhundertwende: Studien zur künstlerischen Reklamegestaltung in Deutschland zwischen 1896–1914* (Frankfurt: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1990), 198–208.

150. For Expressionism's development as a public art, see Lloyd, 50–66.
151. Herbert Mhe, "Die neue Kunst," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 25, no. 12 (Sept. 1913): 236.
152. "Feststellungen/Der Werkbund in Köln 1914," *Die weissen Blätter* 1, nos. 11–12 (July–Aug. 1914): 1354–56.
153. Julius Meier-Graefe, "Wohin treiben wir?" *Neue Rundschau* 24 (1913): 479–501. In another essay he asked German artists not to cheapen the memory of van Gogh by making him into a cult, but to follow his example of learning from France seriously while giving birth to an individual, heroic, and more essential art. Meier-Graefe, "Kultur!" *Neue Rundschau* 23 (1912): 845–60.
154. The lecture was given in Jan. 1914 at the Cassirer Gallery in Berlin. Julius Meier-Graefe, "Kunst oder Kunstgewerbe?" *Neue Rundschau* 25, no. 11 (1914): 593–607. He characterized Expressionism as "a very primitive decoration of a canvas" and Cubism as follows: "They stand more on the left and tend toward a revolutionary regime that they owe to contact with the mechanism of our time. They are the direct victim of every brief practical training of art in the service of industry. To them the lawfulness of their actions suffices, if they achieve nothing other thereby than to submit to the law."
155. Julius Meier-Graefe, "Kunstbummel," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 22, 1914, 1st morning edition.
156. *Ibid.*
157. August Macke and Franz Marc, *August Macke, Franz Marc: Briefwechsel* (Cologne: Dumont, 1964), 54. For Die Brücke's effort to cultivate a relationship with Meier-Graefe, see letters from Heckel to Kirchner of Nov. 28, 1909, and from Kirchner to Heckel and Pechstein of Mar. 31, 1910, in Dube-Heynig (as in n. 55), 226, 235.
158. Wilhelm Worringer, *Formprobleme der Gotik* (Munich: Piper, 1911). For Worringer's interest in and impact on Expressionism, see Magdalena Bushart, *Der Geist der Gotik und die expressionistische Kunst* (Munich: Schreiber, 1990). The chapel is discussed in Alfred M. Fischer, "Zur Kölner 'Sonderbund'—Ausstellung und ihrer Kapelle," in *Die Expressionisten vom Aufbruch bis zur Verfemung*, ed. Gerhard Kolberg, exh. cat., Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 1996, 263–75.
159. Dube and Dube (as in n. 6), R/190–92 and L/256. The lithograph and painting *Rhine Bridge* (G 387), which conflate Cologne Cathedral with the new Hohenzollern Bridge, were influenced by the following passage: "The modern art of steel construction has first given to us again a certain inward understanding of Gothic. Here again people have been confronted with an architectural form in which the artistic expression is taken over by the medium of construction. But in spite of all external affinities, a powerful internal difference can be observed, for in modern architecture it is the material itself which directly invites this exclusively structural significance, while in Gothic the structural ideas were attained, not by means of the material, but in spite of the material, in spite of the stone. In other words: underlying the artistic appearance of the modern building constructed of steel there is no will to form which, for particular reasons, emphasizes structure, but only a new material. The utmost that might be said for it is that it is an atavistic echo of the old gothic will to form which urges the modern Northern man to an artistic emphasis of this material and which even allows us to hope for a new style in architecture dependent on its relevant use." Wilhelm Worringer, *Form in Gothic*, ed. and trans. Herbert Read (London: A. Tiranti, 1957), 109.
160. Feinhals kept the mural and displayed it in his villa with his art collection. When Kirchner received photographs of it in 1919, he expressed pleasure that it had been maintained so well. Entry in Kirchner's diary on July 25, 1919, in Grisebach, 52.
161. Will Grohmann, *Das Werk Ernst Ludwig Kirchners* (Munich: K. Wolff, 1926). One project was a pavilion to be used at an exhibition, organized by Rudolf Hellway, that was to mark the two hundredth anniversary of Karlsruhe's founding. Although the war caused cancellation of the exhibition, Kirchner did several drawings that resemble contemporary Czech architecture and applied design. Gabriele Lohberg, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: Unbekannte Zeichnungen aus dem Kirchner Museum Davos*, exh. cat., Bündner Kunstmuseum, Chur, 1995, 17–18.
162. Changes in the art market during the war are explored in O. K. Werckmeister, *The Making of Paul Klee's Career 1914–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 11, 35–36. A drawing in *Jugend* that depicted a couple standing in front of an art gallery window addressed the issue by expressing hope that peace negotiations would return the "isms" seen behind the window to France; *The Language of Isms, Jugend* (Jan. 18, 1915): 62.
163. See letters from Botho Graef to Curt Herrmann of June 18, 1915, and from Kirchner to Herrmann of May 12, 1915, and Sept. 15, 1915, in Rolf Bothe, *Curt Herrmann (1854–1929): Ein Maler der Moderne in Berlin* (Berlin: Berlin Museum and Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, 1989), 334, 373–74.
164. Dr. Hans Wedendorf, "Nebenberufe für Künstler," *Die Gegenwart* 44, no. 11 (1915): 167–69.
165. *Ibid.*, 169.
166. Michael Diers, "Ernst Ludwig Kirchner und Friedrich Bagdons: Der Hagener Wettbewerb um den 'Eisernen Schmied'—eine 'Kunst im Krieg'—Episode des Jahres 1915," in *Friedrich Bagdons (1878–1937): Eine Bildhauerkarriere vom Kaiserreich zum Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Uwe Fleckner and Jürgen Zänker (Dortmund: Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 1994), 21–31.
167. Kirchner carved the model in pearwood and consulted with Osthaus about having it cast by a Krupp foundry in time for its sale on Naval Casualties Day, which was Oct. 1. In the design process he changed the lid's handle from the figure of a woman to a submarine named *Deutschland*. See the letters from Kirchner to Osthaus of Aug. 20 and Sept. 3, 1916, in Hesse-Frielinghaus, 47–49.
168. For discussion of the Euckens' role in the promotion of modern art in Jena, see Volker Wahl, *Jena als Kunststadt: Begegnungen mit der modernen Kunst in der thüringischen Universitätsstadt zwischen 1900 und 1933* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1988); and Rudolf Eucken, *Rudolf Eucken: His Life, Work and Travels*, trans. Joseph McCabe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922). It is possible that Irene Eucken also played some role in the cooking pot and war mortar projects. She served on a jury of a fashion show that was held in Frankfurt during Aug. 1916 and thus knew women's groups in the city. During 1916 she also worked with August Macke's family to have some of his ceramic designs executed at a pottery. Elizabeth Erdmann-Macke, *Erinnerung an August Macke* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1962), 208.
169. Wahl (as in n. 133), 29.
170. Helene Grube, "Aus einer deutschen Stücker," *Reclams Universum* 33, no. 22 (1917): 21–22. Eucken had also organized a fashion show in Jena during Feb. 1916 on behalf of the Bund für Form und Farbe in der Frauenkleidung (Association for Form and Color in Women's Clothing), at which Margarete von Suttner gave the lecture "Die Mode in Deutschland." See "Modeschau in Jena," *Vossische Zeitung*, Feb. 29, 1916, evening edition.
171. Dresses designed by artists were displayed and strongly praised. See C.W., "Bemerkungen zur Frankfurter Modeschau," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Aug. 25, 1916, evening edition; as well as Frau Eucken's own report, Irene Eucken, "Die erste Modewoche in Frankfurt a.M.," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, no. 3794 (1916): 353–54. Germany was known for its production of excellent ready-to-wear clothing based on French haute couture. For information about the German fashion industry, see Brunhilde Dähn, *Berlin Hausvogteiplatz* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1968).
172. Irene Eucken, in *Ausstellung von Kleidern aus der Stücker von Frau Eucken*, exh. cat., Bremer Frauenklub von 1908, Bremen, Oct. 11–18, 1916, 3.
173. During 1913 the Mackes became friends with Walter Eucken, the son of Irene and Rudolf, who was studying at the University of Bonn. Contact between the two families increased when the Jena Kunstverein gave Macke an important solo exhibition that ran from May 24 to June 17, 1914. After August's death in the war, Elizabeth Macke and her mother visited Frau Eucken in Jena during 1916, at which time they left some of Macke's drawings with her for execution as embroideries. They were later disappointed in the results, since they were made by machine rather than by hand. Erdmann-Macke (as in n. 168), 208.
174. Kirchner hoped that *Zeit-Echo* would publish an article about the war monuments and the competition in Hagen. The change in editorial policy may have prevented this from occurring. See letters from Kirchner to F. Meyer-Schönbrunn, assistant at the Folkwang Museum, of Sept. 15 and 19, 1915, in Hesse-Frielinghaus, 20, 22.
175. Hans Siemson, editorial note, *Zeit-Echo* 2, no. 1 (1915–16).
176. Haas-Heye was well connected to German high society through his marriage to Countess Viktoria zu Eulenburg, the empress's godchild. For discussion of Haas-Heye and *Zeit-Echo*, see Vera Grötzinger, *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Widerhall des "Zeit-Echo" (1914–1917): Zum Wandel im Selbstverständnis einer künstlerisch-politischen Literaturzeitschrift* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994).
177. For discussion of the interlinked "system" of fashion, publishing, and art exhibitions that Haas-Heye used to promote his business interests, see Anton Jaumann, "Der Kleidermacher und die Zeichnerin," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 19 (Nov. 1915): 153–54.
178. For discussion of Offterdinger's art and career, see Sabine Runde, *Welt ohne Alltag: Modegraphik der 20er Jahre von Annie Offterdinger* (Frankfurt: Museum für Kunsthandwerk, 1986).
179. See the reference to a show of C. F. Savary's paintings, Professor Besselt's sculptures, and Else Lasker-Schüler's drawings in F. St., "Else Lasker-Schüler," *Vossische Zeitung*, Jan. 21, 1916, evening edition; and "Kunstmeldungen," *Vossische Zeitung*, Jan. 22, 1916, evening edition. In addition to exhibitions of German art, Haas-Heye showed forty-five paintings and related drawings by Marsden Hartley in Oct. 1915. These included his paintings based on military insignia and uniforms, themes that fitted well with Haas-Heye's world of fashion and officialdom on Pariser Platz. Lothar Brieger, "Sonderausstellung Marsden Hartley," *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, Oct. 25, 1915. Kirchner's correspondence indicates that he had discussions with Haas-Heye and visited an exhibition of work by Christian Rohlf's, Milly Steiner, and Adolf Schinnerer in the Graphik-Verlag office. See letters from Kirchner to Fritz Meyer-Schönbrunn of Sept. 16 and 19, and to Karl Osthaus of Sept. 24, 1915, in Hesse-Frielinghaus, 20, 22, 24.
180. Jaumann (as in n. 177), 154.
181. *Ibid.*
182. In 1917 the fashion journals gave primary emphasis to the Expressionist works in the Free Secession exhibition. Photographs showed fashionable visitors seated before the "Pechstein wall" and viewing paintings by Pechstein, Kirchner, and Otto Müller on another wall. "Freie Secession," *Elegante Welt* 6, no. 16 (1917): 4–5.
183. Karl Scheffler, "Mode," *Vossische Zeitung*, June 17, 1916, evening edition.
184. Herwarth Walden, "Die grosse Mode," *Der Sturm* 6, nos. 23–24 (1916): 135; and *idem*, "Die kleine Mode," *Der Sturm* 7, no. 4 (1916): 39. Scheffler was

also editor of *Kunst und Künstler*, while von Suttner wrote regularly on fashion for *Vossische Zeitung* and *Elegante Welt*. Walden's second essay responded to two articles about an Alfred-Marie fashion exhibition in early June: Scheffler's in the *Vossische Zeitung*, and Margarete von Suttner, "Moden Ausstellung," *Vossische Zeitung*, June 4, 1916, morning edition.

185. Both artists had done fashion illustration for magazines like *Elegante Welt* and *Die Dame*. Also see Ludwig Kainer, *Kunst und Mode* (Berlin: A. Juncker, 1910).

186. Hans Siemsen, "Glossen und Kritiken—Freie Sezession 1916," *Zeit-Echo* 2, no. 10 (1916): 159.

187. The catalogue listed Kirchner's work as no. 92 Strassenszene and no. 93 Schwarzer Reiter. Letters of 1917 from Kirchner to Curt Herrmann, which complained that the paintings had not been returned to him from the exhibition, made it clear that the street scene was *Potsdamer Platz*. See letter from Kirchner to Herrmann of Apr. 27, 1917, in Bothe (as in n. 163), 381.

188. See letters from Kirchner to Herrmann of Dec. 12, 1915, Feb. 6, 1916, and Apr. 27, 1917, in Bothe (as in n. 163), 376, 380–81.

189. See letters from Kirchner to Osthaus of Mar. 1 and 17, 1916, in Hesse-Frielinghaus, 36–37.

190. Kirchner's work went unmentioned in Fritz Stahl, "Ausstellung der Freien Sezession," *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb. 6, 1916, morning edition; and Erich Everth, "Freie Sezession," *Die Gegenwart* 45, no. 10 (1916): 150–53. Franz Servaes ridiculed the paintings' spatial qualities in "Durch die Freie Sezession," *Vossische Zeitung*, Feb. 16, 1916, morning edition. This contrasts with extremely positive reviews of Kirchner's works in the Third Free Secession Exhibition of 1917, such as that by Karl Hubrich, "Freie Sezession, Berlin," *Das Kunstblatt* 1, no. 8 (1917): 236–39. *Potsdamer Platz's* connection to fashion was also recognized perhaps by Hermann Lange, owner of a major silk manufacturing firm in Krefeld, who acquired the painting and featured it in the living room of the house that Ludwig Mies van der Rohe designed for him. Walter Cohen, "Das Haus Lange in Krefeld," *Museum der Gegenwart* 1, no. 4 (1930–31): 159–68.

191. See Kirchner's letters to Schiefler of Oct. 19, 1916, and Feb. 11, 1920, in Kirchner and Schiefler, 82–83, 166–67.

192. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefler of Jan. 7, 1929, in Kirchner and Schiefler, 591.

193. Wilhelm Worringer, "Künstlerische Zukunftsfragen," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Dec. 25, 1915. Karl Scheffler reprinted it in *Kunst und Künstler* 14 (1916): 259–64.

194. Karl Scheffler, *Der Geist der Gotik* (Leipzig: Insel, 1917), 29–31, 53.

195. Scheffler's *Die Frau und die Kunst*, a book published in 1908, is an example of sexual stereotyping in the arts. This attitude certainly colored his treatment of Haas-Heye's enterprise.

196. In a review of Kirchner's exhibition of prints at the Schames Gallery in 1924, Benno Reifenberg commented, perhaps with the woodcut version of *Potsdamer Platz* in mind, about how Kirchner's deeply emotional art gave rise to Expressionist applied art of a very different character: "Later, in the postwar years, a completely meaningless applied art, as if in ridicule, made disgusting ornament out of the exaggerated triangles with which the artist constructed his pictures at that time." Reifenberg, "Graphik von E. L. Kirchner (Zur Ausstellung im Kunstsalon Ludwig Schames, Frankfurt)," newspaper clipping in Kirchner Folder 850463 in Special Collections, the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles.

197. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefler of Oct. 19, 1916, in Kirchner and Schiefler, 82.

198. Letter from Kirchner to Schiefler of Nov. 28, 1916, in *ibid.*, 83–84.

199. Letter from Graef to Schiefler of Dec. 17, 1916, in *ibid.*, 84–85.

200. For the history of syphilis, the hygiene movement at the century's turn, and the promise offered by Salvarsan, see Claude Quélet, *History of Syphilis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); and Ernst Bäuml, *Amors vergifteter Pfeil: Kulturgeschichte einer verschwiegene Krankheit* (Munich: Piper, 1989).

201. He reported that he was fascinated by the way soldiers on leave in Berlin, faced with certain death on their return to the front, abandoned "all so-called culture" for the "unbridled satisfaction of instinct." Letter from Kirchner to Schiefler of Feb. 19, 1920, about an etching of 1915 entitled *Café Syphilis* (Dube R/205), in Kirchner and Schiefler, 168.

202. Presler has recently published statements by Kirchner that describe his first encounters with Erna Schilling. Kirchner reported that shortly after they met, Erna tearfully revealed to him that she had syphilis, but that she was soon cured with Salvarsan and a trip to Fehmarn. Kirchner's use of "S." to refer to

syphilis in the quotation perhaps indicates his anxious and uninformed attitude toward the disease noted by Graef. Presler also reports that Eberhard W. Kornfeld found the death certificate of Gerda Schilling, which states that she died from tertiary-stage syphilis in 1923 while living in the Prussian State Mental Hospital at Neuruppin. Presler provides no sources for his information. Presler (as in n. 105), 53, 74. Representations of Gerda disappeared from Kirchner's art during 1915–16, which suggests that her illness may have become worse at that time.

203. Karl Theodor Bluth, *Dichtungen* (Leipzig: Insel, 1923), 121–26.

Fügender Lichtgott! Du weisst nun die leiseren Leiden,

Stürzt in Gesichter und zeichnest

Tragödien mit Licht.

Zärtliche Farben chinesisch erstrahlender Seiden

Schimmern wie Blauaug, in schmerzlichem Innensein schlicht.

Mädchen gereifte: sie trugen die Leiden der Kindheit

Innerst in Lippen und scheu in dem Senken des Munds,

Welkem Herabschaun von Lidern sich fügender Blindheit,

Hinblick in Höllen die Augen versengenden Funds.

Mädchen und Mörder und innerst erstickte Madonnen,

Schlagende Wimpern in länglicher Müdigkeit gross,

Magernde Frauen in Furcht und Entsetzen, geronnen,

Würgende Hände vor einem entzündtem Schoss!

Alles erfasst in liebender Unrast dein Pinsel

Wurzelt's in Gott und senkt's in den Garten des Lichts,

Farben der Sünde und blutiger Wollust Gerinsel

Blühh in der Weissluft und sind vor den Richtern zu nichts!

Bluth had received his Ph.D. in philosophy under Rudolf Eucken at the University of Jena in 1914. During 1916 he lived with Kirchner in Graef's apartment in Jena and visited Kirchner's studio in Berlin. The poems were written in 1919 and published in *Ausstellung von graphischen Arbeiten von E. L. Kirchner* (Frankfurt: Kunsthandlung Ludwig Schames, 1920), 9–20. Ehrmann and Wahl, 21–39, 114–15. On p. 59 of Sketchbook no. 157, which has been dated to 1929, Kirchner wrote that Bluth's poem was "the most beautiful and accurate introduction for the illustration of early pictures. . . . It perceives finely what I was and made at that time." Presler, 351, 415.

204. Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Baroque Reason: The Aesthetics of Modernity* (London: SAGE, 1994), 97.

205. *Ibid.*, 100.

206. *Ibid.*, 75.

207. Maria Martin, "Die Mode und der Bürger," *Die Aktion* 7, nos. 31–32 (1917): 433–34. I have not been able to establish Martin's identity. Her residence is given as Zürich in the essay, which was her only contribution to *Die Aktion*. Her essay seems to have been written in response to the new focus on fashion at the Deutscher Werkbund Exhibition of 1917 in Bern. I discuss the essay and exhibition in Simmons, "Expressionism in the Discourse of Fashion" (as in n. 2).

208. For discussion of the *flâneuse*, see the following: Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (1985): 37–46; Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (New York: Methuen, 1985); Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988); Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and Lynne Walker, "Vistas of Pleasure: Women Consumers of Urban Space in the West End of London 1850–1900," in *Women in the Victorian Art World*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1995), 70–85.

209. Haxthausen, 86.

210. Haxthausen has argued against the "darkness" that has characterized interpretations of the series after 1933, making the point that Kirchner's writings and contemporary responses to the works viewed them as positive images of the modern city's beauty. While this is largely true, "darkness" does intrude in Bluth's poem and some critical responses, such as Reifenberg's review of Kirchner's prints (as in n. 196): "It [nervous life] arose from the 'street corner' with the sad, shadowy presence of the prostitutes, the sidewalks suddenly leading into emptiness, the deeply disturbing futility of human association. . . . With his graphic works the artist approached the city like a doctor making a diagnosis. He diagnosed the sickness, but, in the process, did not omit the singular charm of the illusory figure."

211. Victor Miesel, "Alpine Imagery and Kirchner's *Winter Landscape in Moonlight*," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 66, no. 4 (1991): 4–17.