



Fig. 1: Bonaventura Genelli, *Am Rabenstein* ('At the Raven-Stone'), c. 1850, pencil and brown and grey wash, 28 × 21.5 cm. Private collection.

Wolfgang Kemp

## Walkers in Lonely Places.

# On the Experience of the Uncanny in Nineteenth-Century German Art

The two principal works discussed in this essay – a drawing by Bonaventura Genelli and an oil painting by Max Klinger – were published or exhibited within the space of only ten years. They share a motif: dramatic experiences undergone by a walker or hiker. They also take place in the same location, geographically and thematically. Both are set in Berlin, in areas outside the city walls that were still uninhabited. Both have a protagonist who can be identified more or less directly with the artist. There are, however, enormous differences between the two works, art-historically and historically. I have chosen to look at them because I want to continue a train of thought concerning reception aesthetics which I started just under a quarter of a century ago in the *Bandmann Festschrift*. I was concerned at the time with the manner in which, during the nineteenth century, perspective had been turned into a subject in its own right. Since then our approach has broadened. We address questions about the experience of images during a certain period, about guiding viewers by setting them free to develop their own interpretations, and about the constraints placed on the expressive qualities of exhibition works. It will be especially interesting here to see how experiences (*Erfahrungen*) become images if we understand the verb *fahren* ('to travel') – which forms part of this word – in its other meanings such as 'to go', 'to wander', 'to walk'. Our protagonists are *Fahrende* ('travellers, people on journeys') of whatever kind.<sup>1</sup>

### Bonaventura Genelli, Go on! Go on!

The first image to be considered, entitled *Am Rabenstein* ('At the Raven-Stone' [the place of execution]<sup>2</sup>), appears as Plate XI in Genelli's cycle *Aus dem Leben eines Künstlers* ('From an Artist's Life'). Here I am working from a variant that appeared in the art market recently, a pencil drawing with brown and grey washes (Fig. 1). This tells us much more than the copperplate engraving which, as well as being pale, is unsatisfactory in other ways. The cycle itself was published in 1868, the year of the artist's death, while the preliminary drawings were produced around 1850.<sup>3</sup>

To get an idea of the tone of the *Aus dem Leben eines Künstlers* cycle, imagine Hogarth telling the story of Goethe's *Faust I* and *Faust II* in pictures. The present sheet certainly has more of *Faust I* in it, as it adopts the title and also the pace of the famous 'Am Rabenstein' scene, the shortest in the play:

*Nacht. Offen Feld*

*Faust, Mephistopheles, auf schwarzen Pferden daherbrausend.*

*Faust:* Was weben die dort um den Rabenstein?

*Mephistopheles:* Weiß nicht, was sie kochen und schaffen.

*Faust:* Schweben auf, schweben ab, neigen sich, beugen sich.

*Mephistopheles:* Eine Hexenzunft.

*Faust:* Sie streuen und weihen.

*Mephistopheles:* Vorbei! Vorbei!

*(Night. Open field*

*Faust and Mephistopheles, speeding onward on black horses.*

*Faust:* What weave they there round the raven-stone?

*Mephistopheles:* I know not what they are brewing and doing.

*Faust:* Soaring up, sweeping down, bowing and bending.

*Mephistopheles:* A witches' guild.

*Faust:* They scatter and consecrate.

*Mephistopheles:* Go on! Go on!<sup>4</sup>)

Here Goethe is making enormous strides away from 'enter-exit' theatre, hinting at an art of acceleration that had not been fully achieved even by 1850. It is not just the transitory aspects of the staging that seem comparable to Genelli's image, but also the character of the scene: in both cases, nothing is being negotiated or acted out, but something is seen – an image crops up in seconds, and the hurrying protagonists take it in, though it is not clear what message it conveys.

Comparisons with a relatively neglected picture by Rubens are also in order. The little painting in Berlin, *Landscape with Gallows* (1635/38; Pl. VIII), deserves an early and important place in an as yet unwritten history of the art of the uncanny. It cannot possibly have been known to Genelli, as the picture was in a private English collection in his day, and as there is no known engraved copy.

Rubens' painting is set at night. As in Genelli's case, the scene is arranged diagonally, with the crucial difference that the setting is viewed from above and not from below. A path, running in an opposite direction to the line of movement in Genelli's work, leads from left to right and out of the picture; it divides two symbols of power, a place of execution and a castle. In the left-hand corner, placed close together, are the gallows, towering up with a hanged man dangling from them in the wind, the wheel (more like a basket in this case) set high – probably with a second corpse in it, left there for the birds of prey to eat – and an execution block. Opposite is the emblematically foreshortened castle sur-

rounded by a little settlement. All these details would not make this painting relevant from our point of view, were it not for the people involved. There seem to be two of them. Together they make up the bent form on the right, hurrying forwards and away from the horrifying scene and out of the picture. Unlike Goethe's and Genelli's figures, they are part of an ultimately solid overall scheme in which the line of the path and the symbols of power form a diagonal cross. Rubens dynamizes this layout by creating an atmosphere of darkness, light and stormy movement. But this again subsumes our pair of fleeing figures.

In contrast with this, the later artists place the perceiving I or We at the heart of the picture. What matters now is the relationship between the subjective experience of the figures represented and the movement within the painting. A move towards the 'subject image' ('zum "subjekten Bild"'), as Carus once put it, had been under way since the eighteenth century. The commonest introductory device for an image, the figure with his or her back to the viewer, alone or in a group, can communicate a whole spectrum of attitudes: witnessing, curiosity, excitement, participation, reflection. These are all forms of inner emotion. Wanderers who have stepped in front of scenes are not intending to move on, but are caught forever in rigid contemplation.

In the second sheet of the *Totentanz* ('Dance of Death'; Fig. 2), another nineteenth-century German artist, Alfred Rethel, provided a model for a dynamic pathway into an image, something which was not to be emulated for a long time. Thomas Jäger writes:

Death is thrusting forwards into the image on horseback, providing a strongly accented action vector with his uncompromising thrust towards the town. There is an antithetic relationship in the sense of *here-space = now* and *there-space = soon = future* between the rider and the distant town. Given that the events are moving from front to back in this way, the picture space acquires a prospective character as narrative space. [...] The space is definitely dynamized, and this is greatly supported by the protagonist's decisive forward thrust and the signs of immediate transience (e.g. eddying dust). The spectator is to a certain extent drawn into the picture's intricate texture on the time axis: past (where Death came from), present (his presence at the height of the action) and future (where the skeleton is going) are thus placed in grandiose perspective. The compelling narrative direction, the vector of the skeleton's ride towards the place where things are happening, is interrupted for a moment by the peasant girls who are fleeing from death, hurrying out of the picture. They can be seen as a kind of 'switching station' for the viewer's eye.<sup>5</sup>

Genelli's Sheet XI (Fig. 1) takes us into a similar scene outside a town. The protagonist in the cycle is a young painter who is searching for himself, for his art, wandering both internally and externally. In any case he is alone, looking for higher things and essentially inclined towards contemplation. Here he is nearing



Fig. 2: Alfred Rethel, Second sheet of the *Totentanz* ('Dance of Death'), 1849, wood engraving, 22 × 32 cm.

his location; it could possibly serve him as a destination for reflection or work (perhaps drawing or reading), but it could also make him increase his pace and seek out the wide open spaces. The location is the place of execution. At the moment the painter steps towards it he becomes aware of a lovers' tiff between a couple who have sought refuge there. The momentary quality arises less from the protagonists' emotional temperature than from the meeting of two time capsules or time monads, and from the incompatibility of the forces impelling them.

Thus the triangle formed by the people and by the directions in which they are looking is a fleeting one. The seated man is looking at the maid whom he is trying to pull towards him, the maid, trying to get away from him, is looking in surprise and distraction at the strange walker; he in his turn is looking at the group without interrupting his pace. If we could see the group a moment later, it would be differently constituted: the protagonist will have gone by, because it is quite clear that he will not stop here; the maid will have perhaps taken advantage of the surprise and pulled herself away from the man; or, conversely, she will be lying in his arms.

The unstable triangle of this unexpected encounter is prefigured in a paradoxical and ironic way by the triangle formed by the gallows' architecture. The law has a fixed structure, anchored in the ground and in the picture: a triangle, pointing inwards, unlike the triangle formed by the people in the picture. But the solidity of the material is merely superficial. The law's location is hollow: a wantonly destructive little tribe is at work here. Nature is reclaiming the fixed structure for herself: through free love, through vegetation and through the birds who give the place its name. The commentary, which was authorized by the artist and is, in places, inspired, says:

The young artist often traverses the desolation of his Brandenburg home, driven by his thoughts. The landscape effects provided by those 'good old days' still included the raven-stones, whose solid structure seemed to mock humanity for all eternity. The youth, in whose breast the gods are seeking a home, comes across a horrific place of this kind; a rainbow is trying to obscure the monument of death with a conciliatory shimmer, but at the foot of the scaffold is a couple who, disturbed in their obscene pastime, scorn the wanderer who hurries past at a more rapid pace, seized with pain and repugnance.<sup>6</sup>

The place is the site of the current Gartenplatz in the north of the city, on an 'arid sandy plain'. The last burning took place here in 1813, the last execution on the wheel in 1837, and the last beheading with an axe in 1839. After 1842 the place of execution was Spandau, later Moabit prison – with the public excluded in the latter case. So we know that the 'horrific place' was still in use in 1820, the date at which this scene is set. This is borne out by the notices with the names of the condemned, and probably also by the remarkable pale form on the rear strut of the tripartite gallows, of which we have only an imprecise side view: this is not a hanged man, but probably someone who has been impaled or crucified.

The image, then, deals with an obsolete phase of judicial practice, and thus also with the relationship between city and country, centre and periphery. At one time the places, conditions and forms of communication in matters of criminal justice were clearly defined. Capital punishments were carried out outside the city, outside its walls, on the stage of the place of execution, in the presence of a large number of spectators. This is shown by views of executions in Berlin. The meeting of society, power and criminal was governed by ritual. Evidently, the symbolic aim, the restoration of damaged order by the sacrifice of an individual seemed only attainable if the rôles were firmly demarcated and the actions defined by ceremony – obviating the danger that the use of force would perpetuate disturbance of the legal peace and that violence would generate violence. Of course, this nevertheless happened often enough, and the sovereign wielding of power frequently took on very unsovereign traits.<sup>7</sup>

When Genelli conceived this drawing, the 'painful punishments' – public torture and mutilation – had been abolished, and execution had been moved in-

doors. Genelli's scene makes the confrontation with the Old Law seem like a chance encounter – of an unpleasant kind. The place, like cemeteries and charnel houses, could have become a site that was regularly visited for elegiac reflection. But the couple who are using it for a quite different purpose make such a trip into the world of meditation and the sublime impossible. Nor can they be regarded as merely incidental: lovers, and particularly a couple involved in a debased form of love, are too highly charged, too easy to tie into the great opposition of Eros and Thanatos, for it to be possible to regard their presence as purely accidental. This also applies to the rainbow, which is too symbolic to be 'true' in the sense of realistic painting of this period. 'Religious symbolism', Friedrich Sengle writes, 'permeates the whole of Biedermeier literature so strongly that a quite ordinary rainbow is more indicative of independence than of a lack of originality.'<sup>8</sup> Taken together, the shock of a sudden encounter, the stark contrast between the casual activities and the nature of the place, and the social and psychological distance between the artist and the couple have the effect of making the place of punishment retain its unpleasant associations and put the sensitive citizen to flight.

Genelli's composition is part of the special history of non-Romantic experiences undergone by Romantic wanderers. At the time he conceived it, that subject was expanding enormously, as tourism was in its early stages.<sup>9</sup> But the time that Genelli wants to illustrate, his youth, relied on eighteenth-century literature to test these ideas: wanderers had a sharper sense of contradictory and grotesque events by the roadside in those days than their successors in the work of Tieck and Eichendorff, for example. Jean Paul as usual is an exception here. Ravenstones figure in many of his stories and play an important part there (as a place of parting, for example, and as a place of imagined reunion in *Siebenkäs*), but they no longer fulfil their actual function as places of execution. It is quite clear that Jean Paul – anticipating history by thirty or forty years – considers such places as monuments to a past epoch, as one kind of marker among many in his work that turn the landscapes of the empire into a rapidly decaying history park. Phenotypical in this respect is the figure of Kunstrat Fraischdörfer from Haarhaar, whom Quintus Fixlein meets when doing some botanizing at the raven-stone not far from Münchberg – he is collecting 'head-strengthening herbs for a herb cap', 'because he couldn't retain anything'.

The tradition to which Genelli belongs starts with Rousseau, with the *Rêveries* of his *promeneur solitaire* (written in 1763, published posthumously in 1782), who really is very much alone: 'Me voici donc seul sur la terre, n'ayant plus de frère, de prochain, d'ami, de société que moi-même' (the famous opening sentence). But he is also very much in control of himself: 'These hours of solitude and meditation are the only ones in the day during which I am fully myself and for myself, without diversion, without obstacle [...].'<sup>10</sup> Achieving this

condition is not, however, entirely straightforward – even Rousseau has to go through some experiences of the unpleasant kind in order to get into the open air with himself and his thoughts. The Sixth Walk starts with the author explaining why, in order to walk to Fontainebleau to do some botanizing, he makes so many detours. He acknowledges that he has subconsciously adopted an avoidance strategy. At the Barrière d'Enfer (!), which would open up a direct way into the country, a beggar child is lying in wait for him; it is not more importunate than any other, but treats him particularly familiarly, addressing him by name and so on. This encounter, or his becoming aware of avoiding it, disturbs the *promeneur solitaire* and triggers a long *rêverie* about a variety of issues – good deeds, arrogance, the advantages of anonymity. Important in this context is the opening statement: 'There is scarcely a mechanical movement in us whose cause we could not find in our hearts [...]',<sup>11</sup> the implication being that an external stimulus always has to be processed psychologically and mentally in order to cause a 'mechanical movement' such as a detour. The walker is taking a turn through the chambers of his heart and the corridors of his mind; he is not actually in the environs of Paris.

This approach, this relationship between perception controlled from the outside and from the inside, dominated the genre for the next few decades. In Germany the first response to Rousseau came from Karl-Philipp Moritz, with his *Anton Reiser* (1785 ff.). Reiser – whose name alludes to 'Reise' ('journey') – is constantly leaving the city and the situations that depress him and goes for 'lonely walks'. A walk of this kind, which first 'enhanced Reiser's self-esteem, increased his field of vision and gave him a vivid idea of his own, true, isolated existence', soon leads him into new doubts

about the whence and whither of his pilgrimage through life. [...] This aroused a profound melancholy in him. And so, as he wandered laboriously on through the yellow sand of the arid heath that led to the wood [...], he came across a village and was indulging himself in all sorts of sweet imaginings about the quiet peace that reigned in these rural huts when he heard two people, probably a husband and wife, quarrelling in one of the houses, and a child screaming. – And so there is annoyance and displeasure and discontent everywhere that people are, he thought, and put his best foot forward again.<sup>12</sup>

We are referring to the loose, distanced link between sensitive wanderer and sobering source of disturbance. The space that Reiser is moving in is the imagination in which feelings, thoughts and impressions are exchanged. He is not talking about the space in which subject and object collide. Calmed appropriately, the portrayal of physical movement is also dropped: Reiser walks, he comes to a village, he has an experience, he continues his journey again after he has drawn a conclusion about the experience. If we keep to the structural pattern

and not the content, then the narrative has not come a single step further, literally speaking, in comparison with the possibilities afforded by medieval quest epics.<sup>13</sup> The earliest illustrations for *Anton Reiser* are also in this style; we see the protagonist looking at, but not “experiencing” the world the way it is experienced by Caspar David Friedrich’s later perspective-establishing figures.

It is inevitably of interest in this context that Reiser also pays a visit to the ‘raven-stone near H...’ This time he is not alone, but goes out with the crowds to see a sentence carried out on four miscreants. Again what he sees is completely reshaped by reflection. The text does not once mention seeing the event itself, but only that among the people Reiser

now saw four who were to be dismembered and eradicated from the number of those remaining. – Given that the *mass of people* surrounding him was still so great, this seemed so trivial to him, so insignificant – as though a tree in the wood were being cut down, or an ox was to be slaughtered. – And now as the pieces of these dismembered people were wound up on the wheel and he thought of himself and all the people standing around him as equally *dismemberable* – then the human being became so valueless and insignificant to him that he buried his fate and everything in the thought of carnal *dismemberability*.<sup>14</sup>

This passage is crucially important for the central theme of the novel, becoming oneself and losing oneself. However, I shall have to content myself here with pointing out that this difficult process, in complete contrast with many comparable careers in the nineteenth century, takes place with the senses and sensual experience almost completely omitted. When Reiser sees, he sees a number (‘now saw four’) that guides his thoughts along a path leading to relationships such as that between the individual and the mass, the part and the whole; and when the dramatic events at the place of execution come a little closer, he immediately unites the victims *and* the people standing around him in one mental denominator of a shared quality: their divisibility. It is impossible to avoid the world of the visible more decisively, and one could scarcely outdo this transfer of an event into temporally so indeterminate a field of reflections and moods. In fact, the passage in question is several pages long, yet it tells us no more about the action than is quoted here.

It may be sufficient to characterize the mode of experiences that this wanderer adopts out of town and in extreme situations as reflexive self-experience. This marks the difference with Genelli, whose cycle is in many respects a very late example of a kind of Romanticism, and which is likely to perpetuate rather than develop its formulas. (This is true even for the choice of theme and protagonists.) Yet the radical exchange of the contemplative mode for an isolated, perhaps even shocking, experience does mark a fundamentally altered attitude, a

new epoch. Part of Rousseau's and Moritz's wanderers' pose is that they are present without being seen; Genelli's image, on the other hand, brings together in a single instant the wanderer and the couple, creating a constellation which is highly charged with contrasts (Fig. 1). The creation of a dynamic network of reactions is just as radical here as it is in Rethel's image (Fig. 2), where the progress of the rider reshapes everything around it. We are compelled to acknowledge that in these otherwise conservative cyclical works formal ideas are being tried out which will only be fully realized many decades later in film, the medium which placed the organ of perception on 'the imaginary apex of a textual geometry'.<sup>15</sup>

### Max Klinger, *An der Mauer* ('By the Wall')

A mere decade separates the publication of Genelli's cycle and the first public showing of an oil painting by Max Klinger at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1878. The picture, then called *Die Spaziergänger* ('The Walkers'), marks a radical new departure in the representation of the walker at the outskirts of the city (Pl. IX).<sup>16</sup> The first striking thing about this work is its unusual shape. Klinger worked with special formats throughout his life. Indeed, as far as we can see, he was one of the first artists of his day to operate with consistent changes of format within a graphic cycle. The horizontality of the *Spaziergänger*, 1:2.5, is a deliberate infringement of the expectations which an aesthetic aware of genres brings to history paintings (whose sides were supposed to be in the balanced ratio of, say, 1:1.3 or 1:1.5). One might even go so far as to assume that the painter was taking the title of the *Spaziergänger* very seriously, aiming to give the figures and the wandering eyes of the viewer sufficient room for movement.

However, there is another, even more interesting effect of this format: its extreme elongation leads perception beyond its usual bounds and creates a feeling of uncertainty, apparently shared by the protagonist, as to whether he really can clearly oversee the situation on all sides. Another remarkable feature is that none of the 'walkers' is in fact walking any longer; consequently, the spectator's eye, rather than being able to roam, is forced to jump to and fro. All figures are paralysed: they are standing in the landscape like ranging poles. Almost nothing is happening: the only physically active figure, the man who is bending down to pick up a stone, is reminiscent of the classical Niobe group, so that his transitory bending posture seems fixed and unchangeable. Altogether one might say that this naturalistic rendering of a 'slice of life' is inscribed into a classical composition – a chiasmus that is peculiar to Klinger's *œuvre* which in these early years dealt with everyday current events as well as mythology and Biblical history: historical matter is offered in new, open compositions, and contemporary

subjects in fixed, conventional forms. The composition of the *Spaziergänger* would adorn any introduction to classical composition theory: the Golden Section is applied multiply here, in primary and secondary divisions of the picture. All the more reason for speaking of ranging poles.

Indeed, this scene is tranquil in an uncanny way. One has to call oneself to order to a certain extent and consider the new element of tension regulating pictures at this time. Tension can be understood literally: as a strain on the connection between the pictorial elements. There are probably very few pictures that keep figures concentrated around a centre and involved in a common activity as far apart as Klinger's does. And so the enforced distance cries out to be reduced, but at the same time it must be kept in place – for this is the only way to convey the impression of a vacuum, as it were, an impression which speaks to us about the urgency of the theme that is being dealt with here.

The location is the outskirts of the town, where the last outposts of building, a fence and a virtually endless wall, merge into the infinity of the flat land. Klinger was not the first to discover the fascination of the *terrain vague* and its contrasts. Menzel was his predecessor in this location, and his numerous drawings and oil sketches captured the way in which the rapidly growing city was eating into farmland and gardens. But Menzel's view is usually that of the house or, shall we say, that of the advance guard: he looks from the fixed point of a room at the strangely shapeless surroundings which often changed with the rhythm of the year, because people moved a lot in those days, as did Menzel himself:

Menzel lived in rented accommodation all his life, first on the second floor, then on the third, then finally he had his studio on the fourth floor. His own rooms seemed to relate only indirectly to the surrounding world; his uninvolved participation in life and its events took shape only in the record of his selective gaze.<sup>17</sup>

When Menzel takes up a position in the landscape, then he provides clear poles: on the left we still have nature, meadow, brook, animal and human being; on the right is the encroaching city, incomplete, brick buildings on which people are still working. This is the case in the most beautiful of his pictures of urban outskirts, the oil painting *Bauplatz mit Weiden* ('Building Site with Willows').

Klinger makes the not-country, not-city situation absolute. The ground is quite unspecific and neutral; it is covered only with grass. There are no signs of any trees, brooks, knolls, nor traces of any agricultural activity – nothing but a neutral infinity of mere space, although it does have a specific name of its own: Berliners would say, 'das ist *Gegend*', using the general term for 'area', 'locality' to refer to something which an observer who was well versed in social and municipal history would call 'terrain'. We are, in other words, seeing land where building activity is to be expected, land that was bought up by anonymous joint stock

companies (the so-called terrain companies). This is 'the speculation playground' of the 'Berlin flotation swindle' which burst like a bubble in the fantastic economic crash of 1873. Klinger is identifying the social and municipal consequences here. In his monograph on Klinger, which appeared in 1918, Willy Pastor described the contemporary historical background:

People knew of the place he chose as a location for his work: land on the outskirts of the city with ruins from the *Gründerzeit* [the period of rapid industrial expansion in the early 1870s]: housing of which only the shells had been completed, still surrounding the city, dead and pointless. And people would also be aware of the characters lurking around there. They used to work on the building sites. Now, consigned to unemployment and an uncertain fate, they were heading for prison and penal servitude. A horde of this kind of rabble has surrounded a well-dressed, solitary walker. The latter knows what to do. He backs up against a brick wall, draws his revolver and waits calmly to see who will dare to throw the first stone.<sup>18</sup>

This background information can be complemented further with two more dates that are important for the history of the relationship between the city of Berlin and the surrounding countryside. Firstly, in 1867 there was the abolition of the gate excise, a form of taxation that delineated the boundary between the city and the countryside more strongly than any of the rings of fortification (which at any rate could no longer be taken seriously in military terms). Secondly, land separation was brought to an end in 1860. Common land and demesnes had passed into private hands; the land could be divided up and disposed of, and so it no longer appeared as land or locality, but as future city, as not-yet city and no-longer country. The city wall has fallen and is replaced – in Klinger's picture – by a new form of boundary, a wall that is painfully new and precise, but at the same time undefined: the new form of property boundary, confronted on the right with the old one, the wooden fence, and very different in kind from the 'friendly' markings that the wanderer discovers outside the town in Schiller's *Spaziergang*:

Jene Linien, sieh! die des Landmanns Eigentum scheiden,  
In den Teppich der Flur hat sie Demeter gewirkt.  
Freundliche Schrift des Gesetzes, des menschenerhaltenden Gottes.

(Those lines, look! that divide off the countryman's property,  
Demeter has knitted them into the carpet of the meadow,  
The friendly writing of the law, of mankind-sustaining God.)

Abandoned by justice and given over to crime and unbridled speculation, the desolate area outside the town has now become uncanny and dangerous. It is not unimportant to know in this context that the gallows that Genelli reconstructed

in his cycle was demolished in 1842/43 for the construction of the Berlin-Stettin railway.<sup>19</sup>

If we go back to the subject of travel and wandering and the history of its motifs, then we will find Klinger's picture in another small sub-category which, apart from the unpleasant encounters that we have already come across, also contains attacks on travellers and merchants. Such life-threatening events usually occur in the forest or on the heath, well away from human settlements and definitely nowhere near towns. They represent a clash between professional defenders and attackers; armed men escorting a train are shown fighting robbers or marauding foot-soldiers. Things are different in two ways in Klinger's case: the setting, the transitional area between city and countryside, is new; and it is also new to identify the clash as a struggle between, as it were, non-professional combatants. These two parties of 'non-professionals' are here divided according to class: the citizen comes across the worker or the former worker who is now unemployed. Two techniques for attack and defence confront each other: on one side there is the hunt, with a greater number of huntsmen and the use of brute force, supported by primitive weapons like stones and clubs; on the other side there is the individual, forced to rely on his presence of mind and a long-range weapon, a pistol. The use of the latter creates distance, and thus tension.

The encounter between antagonistic forces is given form, pictorial and scenic, by the wall, to which I consistently return. This substitute for the border between city and countryside, this territorial marking of private property, this relic of an abandoned advance for building and housing seems to have been cited deliberately, almost like a theatrical prop, to illustrate a new form of execution – shooting against a wall, an image and epitome of *mis-en-mort* in the later nineteenth century that takes over the significance formerly occupied without competition by the place of execution: from Golgotha to the raven-stone near Berlin. This constitutes the perhaps surprising similarity between our two main examples, a similarity that goes beyond the identity of place and basic situation: the fact that one person, emphatically one and only one, learns how to be afraid outside the town. This happens in both cases against the background of the place of execution and its instruments, the gallows and the wall. Famous pictures by Gérôme and Manet must be briefly mentioned here: the shooting of Marshall Ney and of the Emperor Maximilian (Pl. VII), one an event of the post-Napoleonic era, the other contemporary.<sup>20</sup>

Ironically, however, the wall still stands as a symbol of protection for the citizen as the execution is being carried out not by the arm of the law but by the arm of the law-breaker. It is significant that the attack by the *classes dangereuses* is imagined as a life-and-death class struggle in a situation not governed by law. Apart from all the clichéd antitheses – one versus many, modern versus primitive

weapons, cultivation versus savagery – the chosen scenic framework perhaps speaks most clearly of the fear that the monopoly of force will be lost and that the power relationships could be reversed: a justifiable fear.

The first great world economic crisis started in 1873. Borsig had 2000 workers in that year; by 1878 they were down to 700. In 1877 the total number of unemployed was estimated to be 70,000. The Berlin police picked up 39,000 homeless people in that year. On 11 May 1878 an unemployed plumber called Hödel fired three shots from a revolver on Unter den Linden as the Kaiser was driving past – this was at the time when Klinger's picture was on show in the Academy's exhibition. On 2 June a certain Nobiling, a jobless eternal student, shot at the Kaiser and then turned his weapon on himself. Both attempted assassins were linked with Social Democracy; this led to the so-called assassination election of 1878, in which Social Democracy, 'the school of crime' according to Treitschke, lost eleven per cent of its votes. Bismarck passed the repressive Socialist Act ('Sozialistengesetz') in the same year.

Klinger showed three groups of works in 1878; his *annus mirabilis*: the *Spaziergänger*, the series of pen drawings called *Ratschläge zu einer Konkurrenz über das Thema Christus* ('Advice on a Competition about the Subject of Christ') and the drawings for his series of etchings *Ein Handschuh* ('A Glove'). All three of these works are linked by the fact that they are played out in the zone of betwixt and between, the world of intermediate circumstances: note the omission of the Sermon on the Mount from the 'before and after' pictures (*Ratschläge*); the transitions between dream and reality (*Ein Handschuh*); or the unsettled meeting in the no-man's-land outside the city. Like the *Spaziergänger*, the *Ein Handschuh* cycle also starts on the periphery of the big city, in the Hasenheide, where the skating rink stood since 1876. This establishment is depicted very precisely in two images in the cycle: Sheet 1 is entitled *Ort* ('Location', Fig. 3). It presents that side of the rink which is facing the city. Here, the people and the architecture are fully integrated – the hall is covered, the light is muted, the conditions are peaceful and static. In the second sheet, *Handlung* ('Action', Fig. 4) the perspective runs across the open rink into nature, into a wood that you can hear rustling like the famous clump of trees in Antonioni's *Blow-Up*. The conditions have been thrown out of kilter, the figures are starting to dance, things are moving from where they belong (notice the glove, the hat) – everything is apt to heighten the contrasts.

In fact, I see clear parallels between the *Spaziergänger* and the two scenes set in the skating rink. In each case the starting point of the story, the initial state of things, is displayed as if standing to attention – then things can start. With one difference: in the case of the painting, the viewer is left to continue the narrative, while in the cycle the artist himself provides a continuation. An additional motif shared by the images is the central rôle played by an object, a fetish charged by its

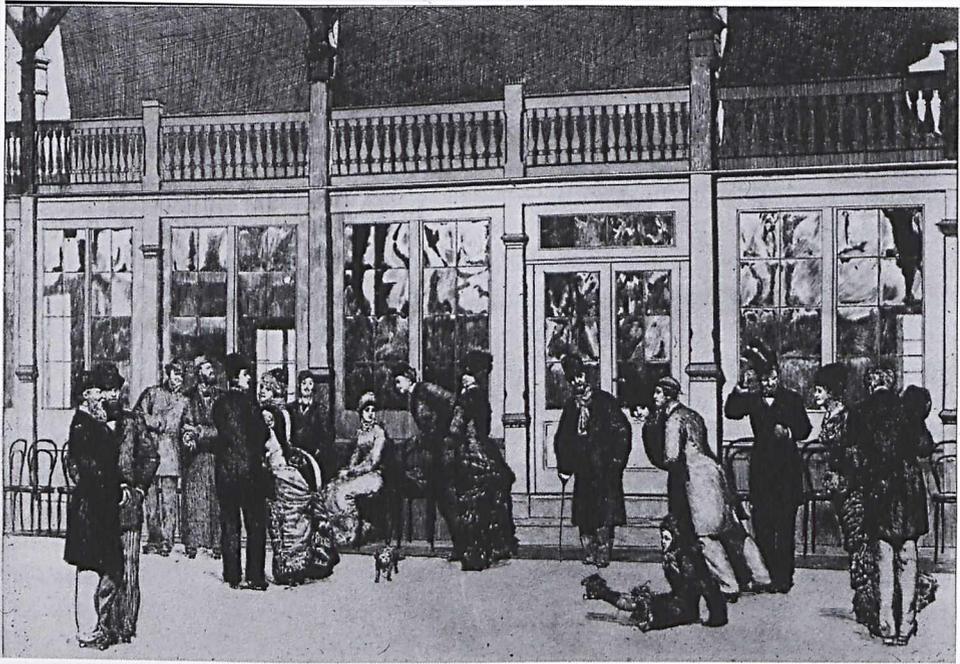


Fig. 3: Max Klinger, *Ort* ('Location'), first sheet of *Ein Handschuh* ('A Glove'), 1881 (drawn in 1878), etching and aquatint, 25.7 × 34.7 cm.

displacement: the glove, the pistol or, notably, the hat, a key attribute for the bourgeois, which has a central function in both examples. On one occasion it serves as a recognition signal, while on the other it is lost.

The *Handschuh* cycle and the *Spaziergänger* also share their precise location. It is the earliest essay on our picture which gives this piece of information as well as another one, equally revealing, which has not been taken into consideration so far: on 19 October 1878 the Danish literary critic Georg Brandes, who lived in Berlin from 1877 to 1883, published an art review in the Copenhagen *Dagbladet* which discusses the *Spaziergänger* in the following terms:

A desolate area outside Berlin, known as Hasenheide, notorious as an unsafe place. [...] A well-dressed young man is leaning against the wall; he has stopped there and is hesitating reflectively as he is being approached from three sides by sinister figures in tattered, shabby rags, with heavy cudgels under their arms. They have stopped a certain distance away from him. He has taken a small revolver out of his pocket and is holding it out in front of him with a calm, measuring gaze. One of the eerie suburban characters who feels he has waited long enough bends down and picks up a large stone. All this under a blue sky, in sparkling sunlight. In the first version the young man had a young lady at his

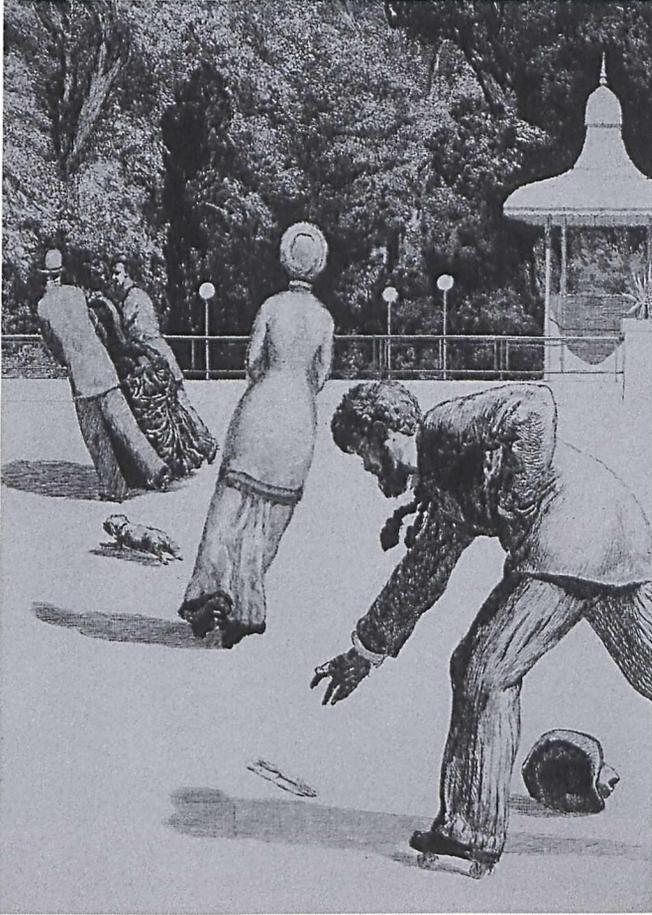


Fig. 4: Max Klinger, *Handlung* ('Action'), second sheet of *Ein Handschuh* ('A Glove'), 1881 (drawn in 1878), etching and aquatint, 29.9 × 21 cm.

side, clinging to him anxiously; this was intended to be his reason for walking in this lonely place. Now she has disappeared out of the picture, which in my opinion has lost something as a result, though it has not sacrificed any of its dramatic tension.<sup>21</sup>

The critic can only have obtained the informations about the Hasenheide and the 'young lady at his side' from the artist himself or from someone in his circle. Marit Lange recently proved that the Norwegian painter and writer Christian Krohg, Klinger's closest friend and studio partner in Berlin, introduced Klinger to Brandes.<sup>22</sup> The disappearance of the young lady means that the Eros-Thantos theme has been deprived of its aspects relating to Eros. Genelli's linking of these quantities in the following rough equation – *open country = place of violent*

*death and free love* – is solved by Klinger through a division. Free love now has its organized and commercialized location in the skating rink, whose phenomenal success was not based on the fact that the citizens suddenly felt in need of exercise. The skating rink (there were seventy such establishments in London at this time) was an ideal place for the sexes to meet, but it also mixed up the different social classes: a daily ball without supervision, as it were.<sup>23</sup> And this is how Klinger saw it as well. Attached and unattached people of both sexes are presented. Take, for example, the scene on the extreme right of Sheet 1 (Fig. 3), where a woman is skating between two men who are doffing their hats. Klinger develops the contrast between the old formality – notice the clothing and above all the hat, the arch-attribute of the bourgeois – and the new uninhibited quality of sporting life very precisely, almost painfully precisely. This uncertain relationship becomes clearer and more expressive in Sheet 2 (Fig. 4). The figures topple across the rink like skittles – notice that Klinger really does pay a beginner's attention to the fact that none of the elements arranged on the white ground overlaps, not even the shadows: the group of three, the dog, the woman losing the glove, the glove, the man, the hat – it is quite clear that they form a scattered pattern with no discernible regularity, and yet it makes a compelling effect, like the constellation of a dream.

The *Spaziergänger* illustrates the other side of capitalist land use: the open countryside not as a location for organized leisure and the initiation of free love, but as mere terrain that is occupied only symbolically, available to anarchy and the class struggle taken to the point of mutual killing. In one picture someone is stooping to pick up the lady's glove, in the other someone is stooping to pick up a stone, the primeval weapon. The modern and the refined, the modern and the archaic: they seem to belong on the two sides of one and the same wall.

This is as far as we can take the comparison between wanderer and walker, between dramatic mobility and tension-laden paralysis, between an old and a new kind of uncanniness. Klinger's oil painting is an exhibition picture, not a print travelling, to a certain extent, under escort by other images and explanatory texts. The difference between these modes of travel has consequences. We would, therefore, like to use Klinger's debut painting to address the question of its original appearance and access conditions. These works dating from 1878 are the creations of a 20-year-old. Although this is something that is usually avoided, it is indispensable here to identify the protagonist in each case with Klinger – with different personae of the young artist.

In the *Handschuh*, whose autobiographical basis is known, the bystander on the right-hand edge (Sheet 1; Fig. 3) becomes the individual who shoots into the centre at enormous speed, but still fails to get hold of the glove (Sheet 2; Fig. 4). No artist had ever introduced himself with such vehemence until then. In the case of the *Spaziergänger* we may, with a little more caution, address the young

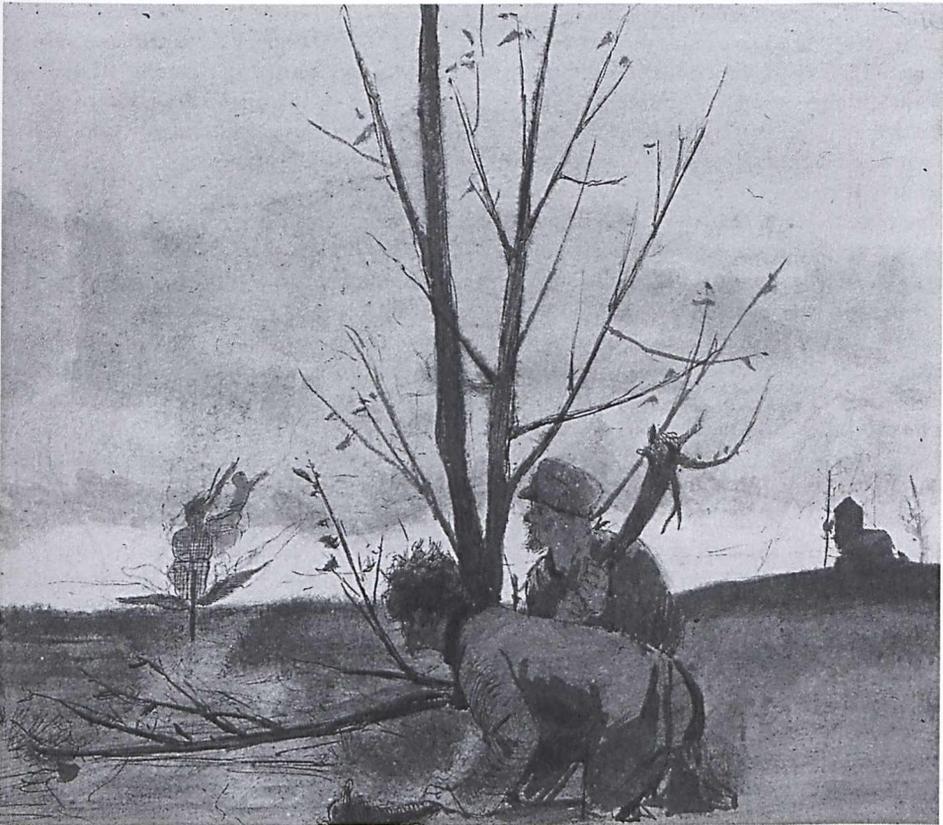


Fig. 5: Max Klinger, *Klinger und Krohg suchen die Zeit totzuschlagen* ('Klinger and Krohg Trying to Kill Time'), c. 1877, wash, 14.7 × 17.7 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

man as a representative, as a blank figure standing for Klinger. Unlike Genelli, the artist does not appear in the prescribed rôle as *promeneur solitaire*, fleeing from the city and looking for solitude; and there is also no recognizable artist's garb being worn here, as a comparison with the introductory images in the *Handschuh* cycle shows. The artist, even the young artist, figures as a contemporary bourgeois *tout court*, but this does not answer the question of what he is actually doing by the wall and in this desolate area. The company of the 'young lady' would be an adequate reason, but, without her to help us, we have to think of something for ourselves. It would be erroneous to assume that Klinger wishes his artist-ego to stand in for his class and take responsibility for the economic and social catastrophes portrayed. His age and the rôle of the artist run counter to an identification with this class beyond outward appearance. There is another very fine early sheet by Klinger, which was made in 1877 (at the same time as the *Spaziergänger*), called



Fig. 6: Edvard Diriks and Max Klinger, *Zukunftsgedanken – Gegenwärtige Wirklichkeiten* ('Future Thoughts – Present Realities'), detail, c. 1877/78, pencil and pen, 23.9 × 17.5 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

*Klinger und Krohg suchen die Zeit totzuschlagen* ('Klinger and Krohg Trying to Kill Time'; Fig. 5). Again the setting is desolate countryside; again rough men armed with cudgels are lying in wait for someone, but this time the artist is on the side of the outlaws – a clear indication of how ambivalent the positioning of the young, still unknown artist is bound to seem. However, this does not cancel out the picture's significance in terms of social history: we are talking of an additional reading, not a rival one.

There is little scope then for a narrow reading based on identification: the prospective victim is Time, hurtling past on a bicycle. Thus I would like to give yet another twist to the meaning of this sheet. It is not clear who was responsible for the title, yet it involves a pictorial pun, a verbal illustration: killing time. But the allegorical figure can also be illustrated as Fortune with her wheel, and then the two artists would be trying to force happiness into their lives. What kind of

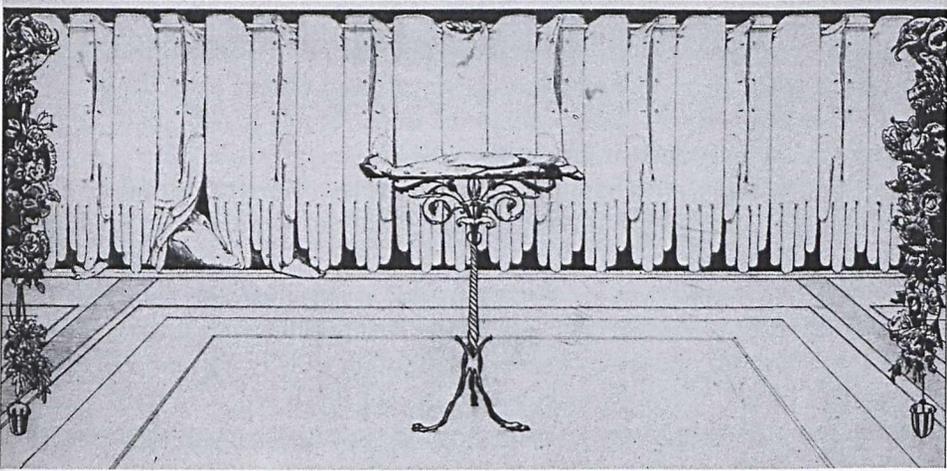


Fig. 7: Max Klinger, *Ruhe* ('Peace'), eighth sheet of *Ein Handschuh* ('A Glove'), 1881 (drawn in 1878), etching and aquatint, 14.3 × 26.7 cm.

happiness? Certainly not happiness in love, as in *Der Handschuh*. It could be economic happiness: we have only to consider the period of crisis in which the drawing was made. However, the happiness brought by professional success certainly has a part to play. A sheet dating from the same year, showing two drawings entitled *Zukunftsgedanken – Gegenwärtige Wirklichkeiten* ('Future Thoughts – Present Realities'; Fig. 6) illustrates the fact that for Klinger, who is making his first public appearance at this moment, a great deal, in fact almost everything, is at stake – to a greater extent than the young man's financially secure circumstance would realistically allow one to expect. The upper half ('Future Thoughts') is by Klinger, the lower half ('Present realities') is by his friend Edvard Diriks. Things are still going well for the artist at present. He is having a little nap on the sofa. He is not alone. It is the open situation of art students in their mutually supportive present. Klinger's pictorial portrait of the future, on the other hand, is completely unambiguous: the tousled, thick hair that he gives to the man who is dying in the snow is likely to mark another self-portrait.<sup>24</sup>

When looking at Klinger's early drawings (as far as they have been published) it is striking that two thematic constellations play a formative and a symptomatic rôle: in addition to the theme of betwixt and between, there is the closely related cycle of motifs of loneliness, detachment and the potential for a transition to another status. This choice of theme seems fairly natural, even banal for a young man. But we must remember that an academy student in Klinger's day was not actually encouraged to produce sketches on free themes, and least on themes that concerned himself. When Klinger chose *Cäsars Tod* ('Caesar's Death'; Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Selter loan), a very popular subject for a

large picture at the time, he was certainly meeting the academy's expectations of an up-and-coming history painter – and yet he was not departing from his fixation on the motif of an individual under threat from others, from the many. (In fact the painting was not finally completed until 1919. It is difficult to say how much of it genuinely dates from 1879.)

It is this point of view which makes us assume that Klinger's 'primeval scene' has an existential basis and is not just a continuation of Romantic artists' clichés. In the *Spaziergänger*, the artist's situation at the moment of his first 'exposure' 'on the wall' is, we would argue, reflected in the image itself. In the exhibition, Klinger's painting is number 399 and anyone wanting to work his way forward to Klinger's *Ratschlag* drawings had to get through exactly 500 more numbers. The picture of the *Spaziergänger* conveys a personalized vision of these circumstances: the confrontation of the many with the one painting, of the many pictures alongside the one picture; it is undoubtedly an asymmetrical situation, a moment of great tension. There is a second composition dating from this period which addresses the same set of facts. The most impressive 'exposure' of being alone that Klinger created at the time is Sheet 8 from the *Handschuh* series, called *Ruhe* ('Peace'; Fig. 7). Here, the violent dream activity seems to have come to an end. The object of desire is lying in a shop-window, placed meticulously on a tray and framed. The display, open to the front, is screened off at the back by a wall of fellow-gloves, yet a monster's snout is already poking through the screen: it had been up to mischief before, and it will make off with the glove in the next sheet. The others cannot prevent this – nor do they wish to.

Versions of this text were first presented in 1994 at a lecture series of the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, organized by Michael Glasmeier, and as the Richard Hamann-Lecture at the University of Marburg in 1996. In the meantime the following article has been published: C. Keisch, 'Max Klinger: Spaziergang ins Unbewußte?', in *Jenseits der Grenzen. Französische und deutsche Kunst vom Ancien Régime bis zur Gegenwart. Thomas W. Gaehtgens zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Fleckner, M. Schieder and M. Zimmermann, 3 vols, Cologne 2000, II, pp. 348-70.

- 1 W. Kemp, 'Perspektive als Problem der Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Kunst als Bedeutungsträger. Gedenkschrift für Günter Bandmann*, ed. W. Busch, R. Hauss herr and E. Trier, Berlin 1978, pp. 405-16; idem, *Der Anteil des Betrachters. Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zur Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1983; idem, 'Verständlichkeit und Spannung. Über Leerstellen in der Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Der Betrachter ist im Bild. Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik*, ed. W. Kemp, Berlin 1992, pp. 307-32; idem, 'Verstehen von Kunst im Zeitalter ihrer Institutionalisierung', *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Akademie der Künste*, VI, 1992, pp. 255-70.
- 2 The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives two quotations for 'raven-stone': Byron, *Manfred* (1817) and Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's *Faust* (see below). Bayard Taylor refers to Byron in his note on the scene.

- 3 B. Genelli, *Aus dem Leben eines Künstlers. 24 Kompositionen. Mit Erläuterungen von Max Jordan*, Leipzig 1868. On this cycle, cf. U. Christoffel, *Bonaventura Genelli. Aus dem Leben eines Künstlers*, Berlin 1922.
- 4 J.W. Goethe, *Faust I*, xxiv, tr. B. Taylor, London 1871, p. 134. The translation has here been modified slightly to suit the context.
- 5 T. Jäger, *Die Bilderzählung. Narrative Strukturen in Zyklen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Von Tiepolo und Goya bis Rethel*, Petersberg 1998, pp. 40–1: 'Der auf dem Pferd bildeinwärts drängende Tod verkörpert in seiner kompromisslosen Ausrichtung auf die Stadt im Hintergrund einen stark akzentuierten Handlungsvektor. Zwischen dem übergroßen Reiter und der fernen Stadt besteht ein antithetisches Verhältnis im Sinne von Hier-Raum = Jetzt und Dort-Raum = Bald = Zukunft. Indem das Geschehen auf diese Weise von vorne nach hinten gestaltet wird, erlangt der Bildraum als narrativer Raum einen prospektiven Charakter. [...] Es ergibt sich eine regelrechte Dynamisierung des Raumes, die durch den entschiedenen Vorwärtsdrang des Protagonisten und die Anzeichen des Unmittelbar-Transitorischen (z. B. aufgewirbelter Staub) sehr unterstützt wird. Der Rezipient wird gewissermaßen auf der Zeitachse in das intrikate Geflecht des Bildes hineingezogen: Vergangenheit (das Woher des Todes), Gegenwart (seine Präsenz auf der Höhe des Geschehens) und Zukunft (das Wohin des Skeletts) werden so grandios perspektiviert. Die stringente Erzählrichtung, der Vektor auf den Ort des Geschehens, den der Ritt des Skeletts vorgibt, wird durch die vor dem Tod fliehenden, aus dem Bild eilenden Bauernmädchen für einen Moment lang unterbrochen. Sie können als eine Art "Schaltstation" für den Blick des Betrachters gelten.'
- 6 Christoffel (as in n. 3), p. 22: 'Oft durchmißt, von seinen Gedanken getrieben, der junge Künstler die Öde der märkischen Heimat. Zur landschaftlichen Staffage jener "guten alten Zeit" gehörten noch die Rabensteine, deren massiver Bau der Humanität zum Hohne für die Ewigkeit bestimmt schien. Solcher Schauderstätte begegnet der Jüngling, in dessen Brust die Götter Wohnung suchen; ein Regenbogen will das Monument des Todes mit versöhnendem Schimmer verdrängen, aber am Fuße des Gerüsts zeigt sich ein Paar, das, in unflätiger Kurzweil aufgestört, den Wanderer verhöhnt, der, von Schmerz und Widerwillen ergriffen, beschleunigten Schrittes vorbeieilt.'
- 7 On the practice of public execution in Germany, see most recently J. Martschukat, *Inszeniertes Töten. Eine Geschichte der Todesstrafe vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Cologne and Vienna 2000.
- 8 F. Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, Stuttgart 1980, I, p. 318: 'Die religiöse Symbolik durchdringt die gesamte Biedermeierliteratur so stark, daß ein ganz gewöhnlicher Regenbogen eher ein Zeichen von Selbständigkeit als von mangelnder Originalität ist.'
- 9 On the as of now unwritten iconography of these subjects, cf. the extraordinary study by Carl Blechen, *Gewitterstimmung am Galgenberg*, c. 1830, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. Lacking any narrative, this study invests exclusively in a rendering of light and weather.
- 10 J.-J. Rousseau, *The Reveries of the Solitary Walker (The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, vol. 8), ed. C. Kelly, tr. C. E. Butterworth, Hanover and London 2000, p. 3 ('I am now alone on earth, no longer having any brother, neighbor, friend, or society other than myself.') and p. 9; cf. J.-J. Rousseau, *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire. Fac-similé du manuscrit original (Bibliothèque de Neuchâtel)*, ed. M. and F.-S. Eiteldinger, Geneva 1978, ms. p. 1 (the opening sentence) and ms. p. 21: 'Ces heures de solitude et de méditation sont les seules de la journée où je sois pleinement moi et à moi sans diversion, sans obstacle [...].'
- 11 Rousseau, *The Reveries* (as in n. 10), p. 49; cf. Rousseau, *Les rêveries* (as in n. 10), ms. p. 105: 'Nous n'avons guère de mouvement machinal dont nous ne puissions trouver la cause dans notre cœur [...].'
- 12 K.-P. Moritz, *Anton Reiser. Ein psychologischer Roman*, Frankfurt/M. 1979, pp. 239–40: '[...] Reisers Selbstgefühl erhöhte, seinen Gesichtskreis erweiterte und ihm eine anschauliche Vorstellung von seinem eignen wahren, isolierten Dasein gab [...].' '[...] über das Woher und Wohin bei seiner Pilgrimschaft durchs Leben [...].' 'Dies erregte in ihm eine tiefe Melancholie. So wie er mühsam

- über die dürre Heide vor dem Walde im gelben Sande fortwanderte [...], da kam er an ein Dorf und machte sich allerlei süße Vorstellungen von dem stillen Frieden, der in diesen ländlichen Hütten herrschte, als er in einem der Häuser ein paar Leute, die wahrscheinlich Mann und Frau waren, zanken und ein Kind schreien hörte. – Also ist überall Unmut und Mißvergnügen und Unzufriedenheit, wo Menschen sind, dachte er und setzte seinen Stab weiter fort.' On the wanderer "Reiser" cf. H. Brüggemann, *Das andere Fenster: Einblicke in Häuser und Menschen*, Frankfurt/M. 1989, pp. 44 ff.
- 13 On this pattern of narrative in medieval epic, cf. T. Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, Ithaca N.Y. 1977, p. 123.
- 14 Moritz (as in n. 12), p. 262: '[...] vier darunter [sahe], welche aus der Zahl der übrigen ausgetilget und zerstücket werden sollten. – Dies kam ihm so klein, so unbedeutend vor, da der ihn umgebenden *Menschenmasse* noch so viel war – als ob ein Baum im Walde umgehauen, oder ein Ochse gefällt werden sollte. – Und da nun die Stücke dieser hingerichteten Menschen auf das Rad hinaufgewunden wurden, und er sich selbst, und die um ihn her stehenden Menschen ebenso *zerstückbar* dachte – so wurde ihm der Mensch so nichtswert und unbedeutend, daß er sein Schicksal und alles in dem Gedanken von tierischer *Zerstückbarkeit* begrub.'
- 15 T. Elsaesser and A. Barker, 'The Continuity System: Griffith and Beyond. Introduction', in *Early Cinema. Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. T. Elsaesser with A. Barker, London 1990, pp. 293–317 (304). Cf. for the prehistory of film W. Kemp, 'Die Analytik des Endlichen: Kunst und Literatur vor dem Film', in *Fischer Filmgeschichte*, ed. W. Faulstich and H. Korte, 5 vols, Frankfurt/M. 1994–95, I, pp. 68–85.
- 16 A. Dückers, *Max Klinger*, Berlin 1976, p. 46 and *passim*.
- 17 W. Busch, *Die notwendige Arabeske*, Berlin 1985, p. 284: 'Menzel wohnte zeitlebens in Mietshäusern, erst im zweiten Stockwerk, dann im dritten, schließlich hatte er sein Atelier im vierten Stock. Die eigenen Räume erschienen als nur indirekt zur Umwelt vermittelt, die Anteilnahme an dem, was draußen ist und geschieht, vollzog sich nicht eigentlich wirklich teilnehmend über den von verschiedenen Seiten reduzierten, bloß aufnehmenden Blick.'
- 18 W. Pastor, *Max Klinger*, Berlin 1919, p. 10: 'Aus eigener Anschauung kannte man den von ihm gewählten Ort der Handlung: Vorstadtgelände mit den Ruinen der Gründerzeit, jenen nur eben im Rohbau begonnenen Häusern, die nun tot und zwecklos die Stadt umlagerten. Man kannte auch die dort umherlungern den Gestalten, die einst an diesen Bauten Arbeit gefunden hatten und jetzt, der Arbeitslosigkeit und einem ungewissen Schicksal überliefert, heranreifen zu Gefängnis und Zuchthaus. Eine Horde solchen Gesindels hat einen wohlgekleideten einsamen Spaziergänger gestellt. Der Einsame weiß sich zu helfen. An einer Backsteinmauer nimmt er Rückendeckung, zieht den Revolver und wartet gelassen, wer den ersten Steinwurf wagt.'
- 19 J. F. Geist and K. Kürvers, *Das Berliner Mietsnhaus 1740–1862*, Munich 1980, pp. 48–52 (51), with extensive information on the Berlin gallows.
- 20 Cf. for this Kemp, 'Verständlichkeit' (as in n. 1).
- 21 Quoted after M. Lange, 'Max Klinger und Norwegen', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIII, 1994, pp. 157–212 (208–9): 'Ein öder Landstrich außerhalb von Berlin, die Hasenheide, berüchtigt als unsichere Gegend. [...] Ein wohlgekleideter junger Mann lehnt sich gegen die Mauer; er ist nachdenklich zögernd dort stehengeblieben, denn von drei Seiten nähern sich ihm unheimliche Gestalten in zerrissenen, schäbigen Lumpen mit dicken Knüppeln unter den Armen. Sie sind in einem gewissen Abstand vor ihm stehengeblieben. Er hat einen kleinen Revolver aus der Tasche gezogen und hält ihn mit ruhigem, prüfenden Blick vor sich hin. Eine der unheimlichen Vorstadtgestalten, der dieses Warten zu lange dauert, bückt sich und hebt einen großen Stein auf. Dazu blauer Himmel, funkelndes Sonnenlicht. In der ersten Version hatte der junge Mann eine junge Dame an seiner Seite, die sich ängstlich an ihn klammert; damit sollte sein Spaziergang an diesem einsamen Ort begründet werden. Nun ist sie aus dem Bild verschwunden, dem meiner Meinung nach dadurch etwas verlorengegangen ist, obwohl es von seiner dramatischen Spannung

nichts eingeübt hat.' Other critical voices are given in N. Teeuwisse, *Vom Salon zur Secession*, Berlin 1986, pp. 275-6.

22 Lange (as in n. 21), pp. 167-71 (170).

23 Cf. for this C. Hertel, 'Irony, Dream, and Kitsch: Max Klinger's "Paraphrase of the Finding of a Glove" and German Modernism', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXIV, 1992, pp. 91-114 (92).

24 Lange (as in n. 21) tentatively identified the figure lying on the sofa as Krohg. This does not exclude that in the upper drawing Klinger meant to represent himself. For Klinger's characteristic hair, cf. Lange's figs 4, 5 and 12.

Translation by Michael Robinson with Johannes Nathan and Christopher Masters.