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An "Educational Exhibition"

The Precursors of *Entartete Kunst* and Its Individual Venues

You ask about the causes and sense of this hatred:
it has neither sense nor cause! Politics—in other
words, the will to power.
Gerhard Marcks, 1937¹

You should talk quietly, there's a dying man in the room. Dying German culture—within Germany itself it no longer has even catacombs at its disposal. Only chambers of horrors in which it is now to be exposed to the mockery of the rabble; a concentration camp for the general public to visit. Things are becoming more and more insane."² These grimly macabre remarks by the Jewish philosopher Ernst Bloch were written in the summer of 1937 following the opening of two exhibitions in Munich, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German art exhibition) at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst and *Entartete Kunst* in the arcades of the nearby Hofgarten. Together these exhibitions marked the spectacular climax of National Socialist cultural policy.

A whole system is being exposed to ridicule here.
Berliner Börsenzeitung, April 12, 1933

The precursors to "Entartete Kunst"

Systematic and institutionalized attacks on modern art began with a vengeance only a few weeks after the National Socialists' seizure of power.³ The Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Professional civil service restoration act), which was passed on April 7, 1933, was designed to restore a tenured civil service, thus creating a legal basis on which to dismiss unaccommodating university teachers and museum officials on racial or political grounds. Even before this, leading figures from the German artistic world had been driven from office—and in some cases from the country—and replaced by people more in sympathy with the views of the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei [National Socialist German workers party]).

Largely at the bidding of the new directors of the country's museums, and with the support of local organizations with nationalist leanings, such as the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat

league for German culture), special exhibitions were arranged in various towns in which the local collections of modern art, no matter to which school the artists belonged, were displayed in a defamatory light and offered up to public ridicule. In their political function, ideological thrust, and propagandist aims these exhibitions anticipated *Entartete Kunst*.

Table 1 appended to this essay gives a schematic overview of these pre-1937 exhibitions, which were frequently and popularly described as *Schreckenskammern der Kunst* (chambers of horrors of art) or *Schandausstellungen* (abomination exhibitions).⁴ A glance at the names of some of the individual exhibitions—*Kulturbolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism) in Mannheim, *Regierungskunst 1918–1933* (Government art 1918–1933) in Karlsruhe, and *Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung* (November spirit: Art in the service of subversion) in Stuttgart, to name three—reveals their political character and ideological import. The works of art exhibited were not disparaged for their own sake, but "falsely treated as 'documents of the age of decadence' and used to make a sweeping public condemnation of the cultural policies of the 'Weimar system.'"⁵ By wreaking vengeance on art the National Socialists sought to settle old scores with the democratic Weimar Republic and thus lend both legitimacy and internal political stability to their own rule. This aim was supported in propagandistically effective fashion by stigmatizing modern art as "Jewish-Bolshevist," which was intended to mobilize preexisting prejudices against modern art and to foment anti-Semitic and anti-Communist sentiment at the same time. Attacks were directed indiscriminately at artists, dealers, and public collections. Prominence was frequently given in every *Schreckenskammer* to acquisitions by the more progressive of those museum directors who had been dismissed from office.

Both programmatically and methodologically the various "chambers of horrors" were conceived along the same lines, although, being independently rather than centrally organized, they differed in their aims, taking their cue for the most part from the contents of the local collections. In Karlsruhe, for example, the main emphasis was placed on German Impressionism; in Stuttgart, by contrast, on the sociocritical realism of the 1920s. Apart from these regional differences, however, "the range of those subjected to public attack" extended "from the Impressionists to the New Objectivity,



Figure 60
 Gallery in the Kunsthalle Mannheim during the defamatory exhibition *Kultur-bolschewistische Bilder* (Images of cultural Bolshevism), 1933; identifiable work is by Beckmann and Delaunay (see fig. 7 for another view of this gallery).

from Max Liebermann to Otto Dix, George Grosz, and Paul Klee.⁶ The *Schandausstellungen* were frequently the spectacular prelude to a thorough “purge” and rehang of a gallery’s holdings; the works that had been on view would then, as a rule, disappear into storage.⁷

It is particularly significant in the present context that the organizers of the *Schreckenskammern* were already developing the essential features of that dynamically exhibitionist dramaturgy that was to be deployed at the 1937 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich. By creating an aura of illicitness, the exhibition organizers succeeded in gratifying the “curiosity and love of sensation of a broad cross section of the general public.”⁸ As a rule, minors were forbidden entry to the exhibitions: in Karlsruhe the reason given was the presence of a “gallery of erotica” with “obscene” drawings. In Bielefeld the exhibition (taken over from Stuttgart) was mounted expressly as an “educational” exhibition, and entrance was limited to teachers, doctors, clerics, judges, and members of the NSDAP;⁹ the *Schreckenskammer* in Halle could be seen only by those who paid a special fee and entered their names in a visitors’ book (see Table 1).

A further characteristic of these exhibitions was an appeal to popular sentiment: “The population has an opportunity here to form its own opinion” (*Hakenkreuzbanner*, April 3, 1933). This implied freedom turned out to be a propaganda trick, of course, since the acceptable opinion had already been determined in advance and programmed into the exhibition by the way in which the art was presented.¹⁰

In order to “prove” that the art under attack was degenerate, and in order to make that degeneracy plain to the visitor, the art was crudely contrasted with “healthy, stable art,” the latter providing an “instructive” contrasting example. This was done in the Mannheim exhibition, for example, by setting up a “model gallery” that provided the standard of comparison by which all other works were to be judged. When the same exhibition reached Munich, the “degenerate” works were displayed as a “warning” and hung alongside others by the “exemplary” Edmund Steppes, a landscape painter in the

nineteenth-century tradition whose works were regularly represented at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*.¹¹

Reviews of the *Schandausstellungen* repeatedly drew comparisons between the imagery of the “degenerate” artists and that produced by the mentally ill. That such infamous discrimination was also given visual expression is clear from reports of the Erlangen exhibition, which had originally opened in Mannheim three months earlier, in April of 1933.¹² The comparison served only one purpose, which was to “unmask” the artists as being mentally ill themselves; thus, it was implied, both the mentally ill and the artists should be excluded from the type of society that the organizers sought to advocate.

By specifying the amount of money paid for each work on view, the organizers planted the thoughts that the museum officials and municipal authorities who were responsible for its purchase had been wasting the taxpayers’ money and that the Jewish art dealers were guilty of profiteering. Many of the prices, some of which were extremely high as a result of inflation, were deliberately not converted into reichsmarks (the currency introduced in 1924) so that they would seem even higher.

The language used to revile modern art was not minted by the National Socialists but had evolved around the turn of the century in the wake of arguments over French Impressionism. It was now taken up by middle-class conservatives and radically minded nationalist writers in their war of words on avant-garde art. The irrational polemics against “Jewish-Bolshevist” art (one of the most widely used slogans to characterize “degenerate” art) were a distillation of that National Socialist view of the world that discovered the workings of “international Judaism” everywhere it looked: “The 1918 Revolution was Jewish, as was the whole of the Weimar Republic; Jewish, too, was Marxism and the Soviet ‘dictatorship of blood,’ and so too, of course, was the international investment capital; the political parties of the left were a ‘mercenary force in the pay of the Jews,’ and, finally, democracy, parliament, the majority, and the League of Nations were Jewish.”¹³

The frequent use of specific linguistic stereotypes—"Jewish-Bolshevist art" being an example—led to their lexical ossification.¹⁴ Particularly striking here is the way in which the vocabulary was borrowed (often with contradictory results) from biology, especially parasitology: art, for instance, was either "sick" and "degenerate" or "healthy" (see the essay by George L. Mosse in this volume).

The methods of presentation sketched out here in summary fashion were not all used in every *Schreckenskammer*. There was great variety in the stage-managing of the exhibitions, often influenced by particular local conditions. A significant feature of the Mannheim exhibition (fig. 60) was that the works were "hung close to each other in reckless confusion" (*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, 1933), and being exhibited without frames, they were, so to speak, held up naked to ridicule.

The immediate model and actual forerunner of the Munich exhibition of 1937 (not least in terms of its name) was neither the Karlsruhe nor the Mannheim exhibition, as has been previously claimed,¹⁵ but the Dresden exhibition of 1933. Held in the inner courtyard of the Neues Rathaus and conceived by Richard Müller, director of the Dresden Kunstakademie, this *Entartete Kunst* exhibition—more commonly, if erroneously, known as *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art)¹⁶—subsequently went on tour to at least eight different German cities between 1934 and 1936. It concentrated on works owned by the Stadtmuseum Dresden, giving particular prominence to the Expressionist artists of Die Brücke (The bridge), the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 (Dresden secession group 1919), and the Assoziation revolutionärer bildender Künstler Deutschlands (Association of revolutionary visual artists of Germany), known as ASSO. The exhibition was presented again in Dresden in August of 1935, when it was clearly intended to provide a contrast to the *Sächsische Kunstausstellung 1935* (Exhibition of Saxon art 1935). Among its prominent visitors were Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels, and Adolf Hitler (fig. 61), who declared that "this unique exhibition . . . ought to be shown in as many German cities as possible" (*Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 17, 1935). A tour was arranged and coordinated from Dresden, and the exhibition's first stop was Nuremberg, where it was shown at the time of the 1935 NSDAP rally. When the exhibition returned to Dresden on September 24, 1935, the Dresden Kulturamt (Office of culture) had already received enquiries from several municipal authorities who wanted to borrow it for themselves. Mayor Ernst Zörner reserved the right to have the final say in the matter. In a letter accompanying the exhibition he outlined its aims: it was intended to show "into what a morass of vulgarity, incompetence, and morbid degeneration German art—previously so lofty, pure, and noble—had sunk in fifteen years of Bolshevist Jewish intellectual domination" (*Fränkischer Kurier*, September 7, 1935).

For the next year, until September of 1936, the Dresden collection toured to Dortmund,¹⁷ Regensburg, Munich (figs. 62–63), Ingolstadt, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt. In July 1937 it was integrated in its entirety into the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich.

What response did these preliminary exhibitions encounter? And what role did they play in the development of National Socialist policy toward the arts? We may start out with the assumption that the majority of the many visitors¹⁸ found themselves in full accord with the tenor of the exhibitions. But in making this assessment we must also take into account their predisposition to sympathize with what they saw. That is why we must ask what level of knowledge and what expectations they brought to the exhibition. With an audience that was essentially uninformed, unfamiliar with the works on



Figure 61
Page from an article on the 1933–36 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition published in the *Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung*, August 17, 1935; above: Dresden mayor Ernst Zörner (left) and Hermann Göring (right) examine Voll's *Schwangere Frau* (Pregnant woman); below: Adolf Hitler visits the exhibition, work by Heckel and Grundig is displayed at right.

exhibition, and handicapped by feelings of resentment toward modern art, the type of propaganda mentioned earlier would clearly have been effective. The way in which the exhibitions were organized defined the target groups at which they were aimed.

Although the press had already been brought to heel, occasional voices were raised in protest, in contrast to the generally enthusiastic approval expressed by National Socialist feature writers. A reviewer of the Mannheim exhibition, for example, explicitly criticized the choice of art and method of presentation and came to the conclusion that "on many points" it was "impossible to give wholehearted endorsement to the exhibition" (*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, 1933). Arguments raged within the very museums and galleries at which the exhibitions were held, indicating that these *Schandausstellungen* were far from enjoying the support and approval of all museum employees.¹⁹ Some of the visitors spoke out in defense of the works being ridiculed, and their protests are said to have caused a scandal. In some cases protesters were even arrested by the police.²⁰ "Deeply shaken" and "with the urgent request that you order a halt here," Oskar Schlemmer appealed to Goebbels on April 25, 1933, entreating the minister to protest against the *Schreckenskammern*.²¹ Criticism was also voiced against this type of exhibition at a very important public demonstration, "Jugend kämpft für deutsche Kunst" (Youth fights for German art), organized by the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist league of German students) and held at Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin on June 30, 1933. The Studentenbund was a rallying point for opponents of the National Socialists' policy toward the arts and, as such, belonged to that faction that campaigned for recognition of "Nordic" Expressionism.²² The argument over Expressionism also reflected differences of opinion within the NSDAP leadership itself concerning the way in which cultural politics should be allowed to develop. The principal disputants were Propagandaminister (Minister of propaganda) Goebbels and the founder of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, Alfred Rosenberg. In spite of Hitler's radical rejection of a more liberal approach to modern art at the NSDAP party rallies in 1933 and 1934, this conflict continued to simmer until 1936 or 1937. It also made it possible for artists who were attacked in the *Schreckenskammern* to continue to exhibit their work at art societies and private galleries. Not until 1937 was the whistle finally blown on the artistic avant-garde in Germany.



Figures 62–63
Two views in the Munich venue of the 1933–36 *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, Alte Polizeidirektion, March, 1936; above: Voll's *Schwängere Frau*, below: Dix's *Kriegskrüppel* (War cripples) and Eugen Hoffmann's *Weiblicher Akt* (Female nude).

What was so irresistible about National Socialism . . . was the promise of absolute authority; there was clarity here, a sense of unambiguity.

Fritz Stern, 1984²³

The 1937 "Entartete Kunst" exhibition in Munich

The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition that opened in the arcades of the Munich Hofgarten on July 19, 1937 (fig. 64), had been preceded by an initial round of confiscations involving all the country's leading museums and galleries. It occupies a position of central importance in more than one respect. In the first place, it was the final stage in that process of institutional conformism that had begun on March 11, 1933, with the establishment of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich ministry for national enlightenment and propaganda), followed on November 15 by the creation of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich chamber of culture). In the second place, the exhibition was planned as a final, devastating blow to modern art, and through its programmatic contrast to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, which had opened the previous day in the nearby Haus der Deutschen Kunst, it was intended to define the future course of cultural politics in Nazi Germany. At the same time it provided the signal for that "pitiless purge" that Hitler had prophesied in his opening speech at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, a purge that took the form of a second round of confiscations—this time involving thousands of works of art—lasting from August through November of 1937. Unlike the preliminary exhibitions, which had been regionally circumscribed, uncoordinated, and provincially isolated events in terms of the provenance of the works on display and of the impact that was sought,²⁴ the 1937 exhibition was organized by the state and centrally coordinated.

Over six hundred paintings, sculptures, works of graphic art, and books from thirty-two collections were shown at *Entartete Kunst* in nine narrow rooms (fig. 65). Nearly 120 different artists were represented. The spectrum of artistic styles ranged from German Impressionism to Expressionism, from Dada, Constructivism, Bauhaus, and the New Objectivity to all the different forms of abstract art, but it was the Expressionists, in particular the artists of *Die Brücke*, who came in for special denunciation. An attempt had been made to structure the exhibition according to theme—religious subjects, representations of women, scenes from rural life, landscapes—but the plan was not consistently carried through.

The layout of the exhibition had been substantially planned by Adolf Ziegler, Wolfgang Willrich, and Walter Hansen²⁵ and was characterized by a specific form of presentation (fig. 66). An eyewitness account by Paul Ortwin Rave, curator at the Berlin Nationalgalerie since 1934, is worth quoting at length:

In the relatively narrow rooms trelliswork structures covered with burlap have been erected along the walls. The paintings are attached to the partitions, while the inscriptions are written on the burlap. The paintings hang close to one another, generally in two superimposed rows. The windows, which are immediately above the partitions, and the narrowness of the



Figure 64
Entrance to the exhibition *Entartete Kunst*, Archäologisches Institut, Munich, 1937.



Figure 65
Room G2 in *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937.

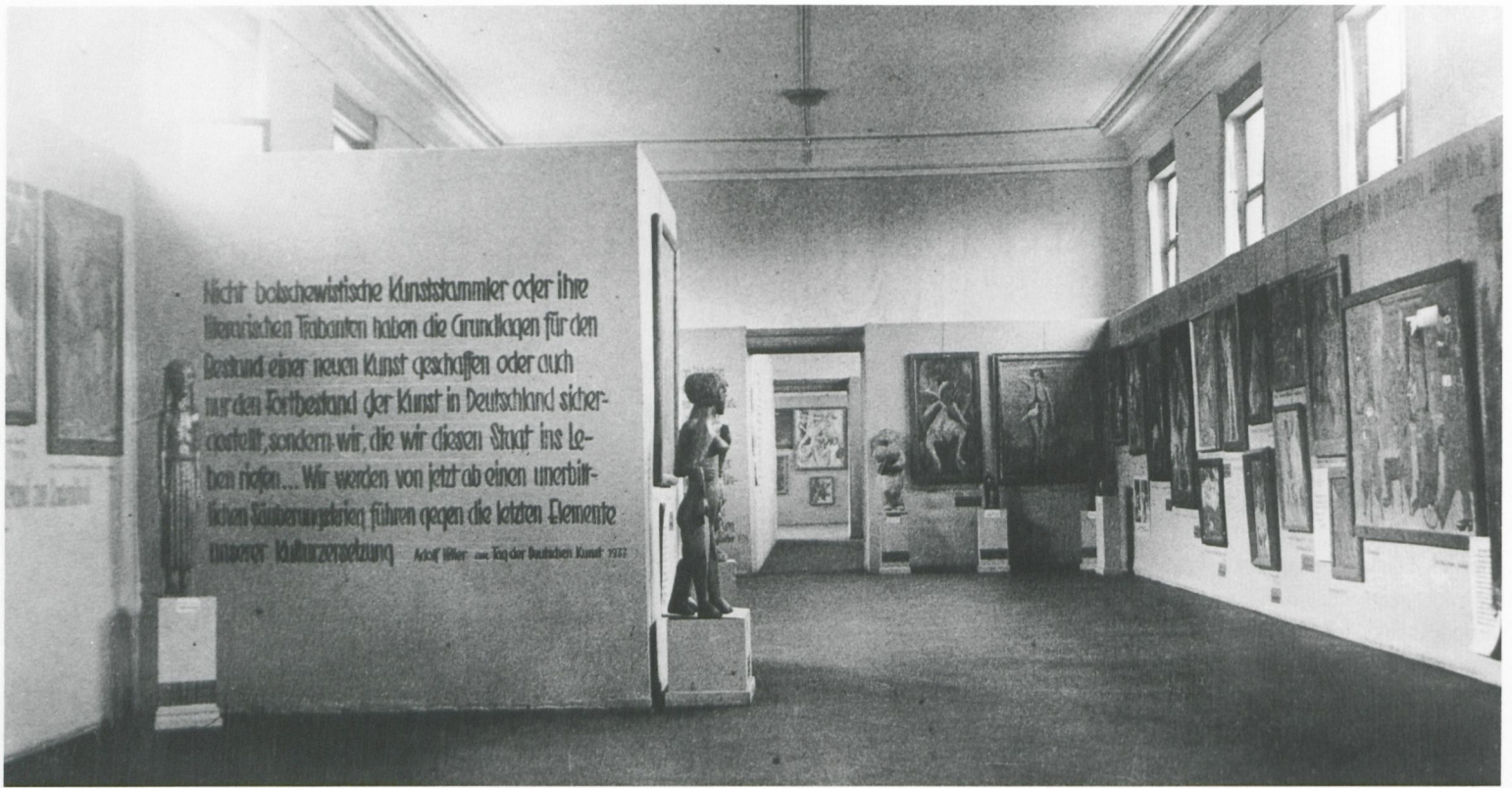


Figure 66
Room 3 in *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1937.

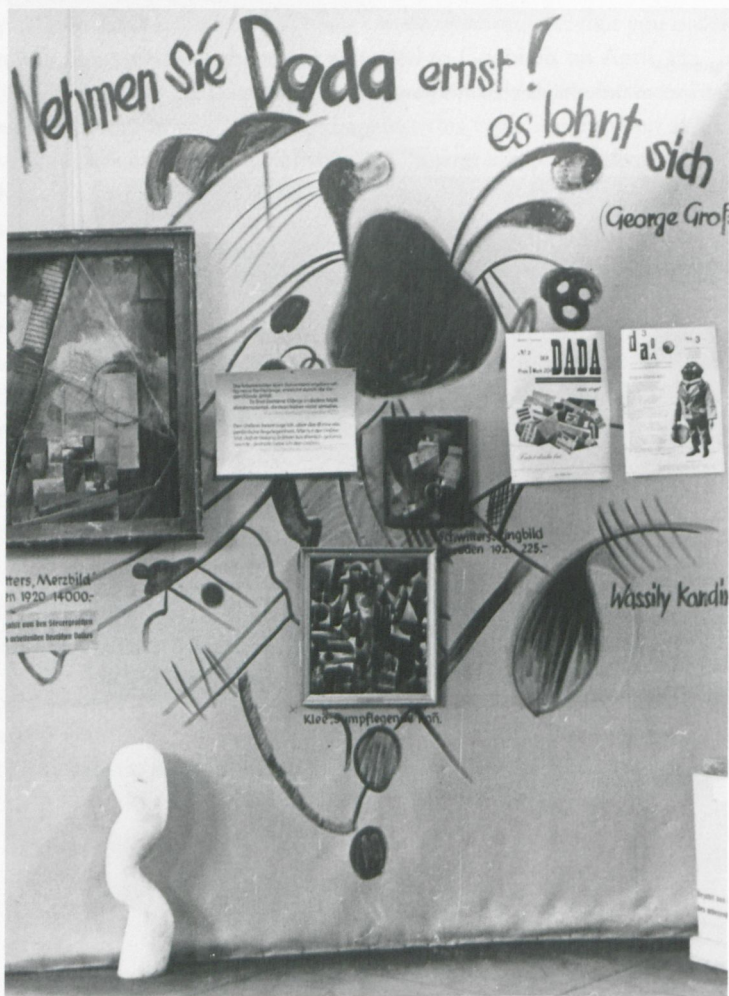


Figure 67
Detail of the Dada wall in Room 3, work on view by Haizmann, Hausmann, Klee, and Schwitters.

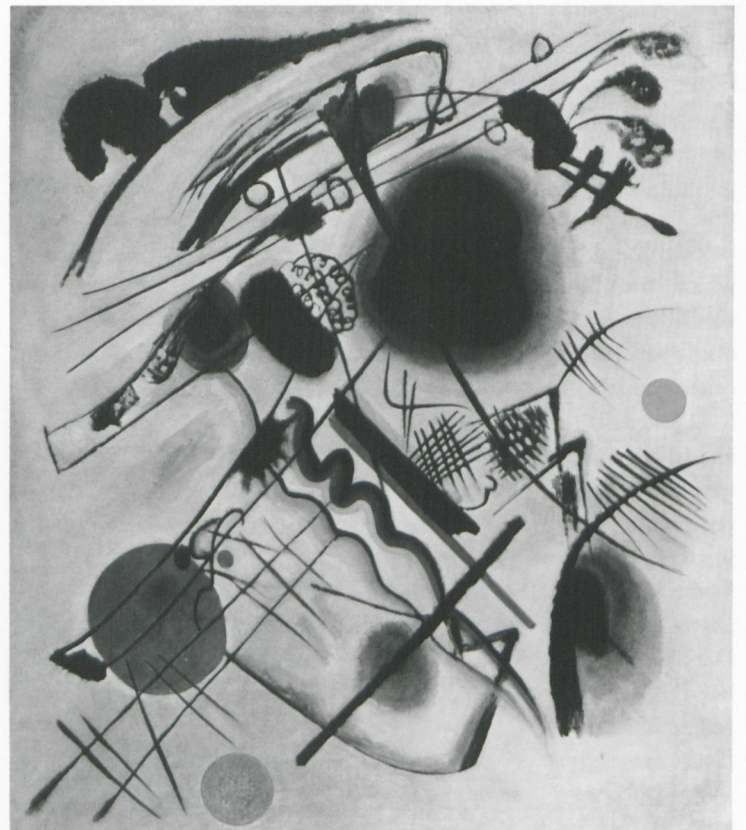


Figure 68
Wassily Kandinsky, *Der schwarze Fleck* (The black spot), 1921, oil on canvas, 138 x 120 cm (54 3/8 x 47 1/4 in.); Kunsthaus Zurich.

rooms make it difficult to view the works on display. . . . The propagandist aim of the exhibition seemed to be best served by the numerous inscriptions. The guiding principles are written up in large letters in the individual rooms or on sections of the wall, while some of the individual works had special captions added to them. The guiding principle in the first room, for example, reads "Insolent mockery of the Divine under Centrist rule" If, as in the majority of cases, the purchase price was indicated, a large red label was stuck to the work in question with the message, "Paid for by the taxes of the German working people."²⁶

The installation was completed by "explanatory" or "helpful" remarks by Hitler, Goebbels, and Rosenberg, and by comments and statements by artists and art critics who, when their words were taken out of context, seemed to indict themselves and the artists about whom they wrote. This extensive use of extraneous texts represented a departure from the organizational praxis of such exhibitions. A further important feature was the quotation of passages from Willrich's antimodernist book *Säuberung des Kunsttempels* (Cleansing of the temple of art). These inscriptions were also to be a distinctive criterion of the later stages of the exhibition.

The result of this contextualization was both an impression of chaos and the creation of an associative framework with a powerful, psychologically suggestive impact intended to reduce all the art to the same basic level, to prevent any single work from developing an individual presence or from being perceived in isolation. The psychological effects thus achieved were given a political function:

Captions and pictures, juxtaposed or arranged in orderless confusion, are intended to stir the viewer's emotions, triggering feelings of repulsion and indignation; these feelings in turn, like the opinions expressed in the captions, are intended to encourage a sense of satisfaction at the demise of this type of art and ultimately to inspire agreement with the "revolutionary" new beginning and political succession.²⁷

The aims and methods of this type of presentation are best exemplified by the most lavishly orchestrated section of the exhibition, the "Dada wall" (fig. 67). Wassily Kandinsky's abstract composition *Der schwarze Fleck* (The black spot; fig. 68) of 1921 was painted on the wall as a background, although significantly simplified (the copy appears to have been based on a reproduction in Will Grohmann's book in the series *Junge Kunst*²⁸). Grosz's injunction from a poster at the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* (First international Dada fair) of July 1920, "Take Dada seriously! It's worth it," was printed across the upper half of the wall.²⁹ Hanging below were two works by Kurt Schwitters, *Merzbild* (Merz picture) and *Ringbild* (Ring picture), Klee's *Sumpflgende* (Swamp legend; fig. 273), two title pages from the magazine *Der Dada* (figs. 224–25) published by Malik Verlag in Berlin, and a label with two quotations, one by and one about Schwitters.³⁰ In spite of the superficial parallels with the creative methods of Dadaist art—collage, in particular—the Dada wall had as little to do with Dada as did Kandinsky or Klee. Instead, the element of uncertainty that was of fundamental importance for any Dadaist work of art was replaced by the intentional reinforcement of

the visitor's negative attitude. Indeed, the latter was the most important aim behind the installation.³¹ It was therefore irrelevant whether the nonsensical notion that Kandinsky and Klee were connected with Dada was the result of intentional falsification, ignorance, or simple negligence. Dada served as a paradigm of "degenerate" art: the organizers were simply out to exploit the material available, and it was certainly not in their own best interest to encourage their visitors to perceive subtleties.

If the installation of the exhibition is interpreted as a semiotic system in which the combination of image and text plays a preponderant role, the reactions of the visitors to the exhibition may be analyzed as constituent parts of that system: "It is not enough to see what's there: the whole way in which the visitors react is bound up with it, too. View and object are a single action. Organizers and visitors are as one, to a degree that is completely lacking at art exhibitions."³² This consensus was achieved partly by conditioning the visitors to the exhibition by the methods mentioned above (according to Alois Schardt, the organizers' aims were additionally served by hiring actors to play the part of indignant and wildly gesticulating visitors³³) and partly by their predetermined predisposition: "Whenever one set foot inside the exhibition a great deal of indignation could be heard. . . . It was, in fact, sincere. For, on the whole, [the visitors] had come with the desire and conviction that they would be outraged."³⁴

As has been mentioned above, the Munich *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was organized programmatically as a parallel event to the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, the latter held in the spacious and well-lit rooms of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst and distinguished by deliberately generous spacing between the individual exhibits (fig. 26). Here was celebrated the "German" art with which National Socialism planned to supplant "degenerate" art. The pointed contrast between the two exhibitions—which was lost when *Entartete Kunst* went on tour to other towns and cities in Germany and Austria—makes their underlying aims and functions even more transparent.

The denunciation of "degenerate" art was generally intended to call into question the intellectual dimensions of modern art: "For modernism has not only redefined the forms of art in a radical and subversive way, it has also put forward a new liberal plan for the world that uses the individual as a standard by which and a point of reference from which to experience reality."³⁵ It was this extreme subjectivism, above all, finding expression in artistic freedom and stylistic variety, that could not be reconciled with the aim of a conformist "block community" and therefore had to be resisted. For the Nazis, modernist plans to reform the world and the images of mankind that were visualized by the modernist movement were irritating and disturbing in their radicality and ambiguity. As such, they were nothing more nor less than the expression of a state of chaos that was in turn the product of the "Jewish-Bolshevist subversive will." To triumph over this will was to create an art that, as a visible sign of order, would "rediscover" its former clarity or unambiguity.

The circulation of the "Entartete Kunst" exhibition, 1938–1941

The following telegram was sent on November 23, 1937, by the Reichspropagandaleitung (Reich propaganda directorate) in Berlin to the organizations responsible for propaganda in each district:

*The Entartete Kunst exhibition . . . is being taken over by the Reichspropagandaleitung of the NSDAP, further enlarged, and sent on tour to the largest cities in the Reich with an average run of four weeks in each place. The precondition for receiving the exhibition is a practical interest on the part of the individual towns and any other places that may be considered, an interest that has also been demonstrated by their willingness to provide financial support. The propaganda organizers of each individual district are instructed to discover without delay which towns offer favorable conditions for housing the exhibition. Dates can be assigned by the Reichspropagandaleitung, beginning with February 1, 1938.*³⁶

Nothing is known about the response that it provoked, except that sixty-five towns and cities had applied to receive the exhibition by March of 1939, according to a report in the *Thüringer Gauzeitung* of March 23.

It is likely that the decision to send the exhibition on tour throughout the Reich was due to Goebbels's initiative. Several of his diary entries contain expressions of enthusiasm for the "great success" of the Munich exhibition. On July 24, five days after *Entartete Kunst* had opened, he noted, "The 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition is a huge success and a severe blow. . . . It will also come to Berlin in the fall. . . . This is how it must be done. Awaken the people's interest by means of great actions."³⁷

The Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda (Institute for German cultural and economic propaganda), a subsection of Goebbels's ministry that specialized in propagandistic exhibitions, was given the job of implementing the plans.³⁸ A twenty-four-year-old Austrian student and SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troop) member, Hartmut Pistauer (figs. 17, 70, 72), who had made a prominent contribution to the installation of *Entartete Kunst* in Munich, was appointed exhibition organizer by the Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts).³⁹

Between February 1938 and April 1941 the exhibition went to Berlin (February 26–May 8, 1938), Leipzig (May 13–June 6), Düsseldorf (June 18–August 7), Salzburg (September 4–October 2), Hamburg (November 11–December 30), Stettin (now Szczecin; January 11–February 5, 1939), Weimar (March 23–April 24), Vienna (May 6–June 18), Frankfurt am Main (June 30–July 30), Chemnitz (August 11–September 10), Waldenburg in Silesia (now Walbrzych; January–February 1941), and Halle (April 5–20) (see Table 2). Nine of these twelve cities were the capitals of their respective districts, which was clearly an important criterion in their selection. The local leadership of the NSDAP in each district acted as organizer for that stage. In much the same way the local party assumed responsibility for on-the-spot propaganda for the exhibition and for organizing the

opening ceremony, priority booking,⁴⁰ special trains, and the like. Why a period of several months was allowed to elapse between some of the venues of the exhibition is not known, but presumably organizational problems were responsible for the delays.

The exhibition was shown in a variety of spaces. In some cities "adult-education" facilities were utilized, but for the most part museums or art galleries were chosen—a paradoxical state of affairs, since "degenerate" art was denied any artistic value, in addition to which the works were practically uninsured.⁴¹

The exhibition was handed back to the Propagandaministerium (Propaganda ministry) in November of 1941.⁴² According to published figures, it had been seen by more than 3.2 million people.

During the summer months of 1937 the spectacular build-up to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich was widely covered in the German press, but public interest palpably waned once that exhibition was over. While the national dailies still carried reports of the exhibition when it reached Berlin, they took no further notice of any of its subsequent stops. From then on reporting was limited to the local press. As a rule, the opening ceremony, held in the presence of high-ranking party officials, was described in detail, often covering an entire page, accompanied by several illustrations of "degenerate" art and lengthy passages quoted from the opening speeches. Having been made to toe the party line and conform to state ideology, the press was simply required to repeat official accounts. In doing so, it availed itself of the same stereotypes as had the exhibition organizers, and not only on a linguistic level. It was always the same works of art that were reproduced (for example, Eugen Hoffmann's *Mädchen mit blauem Haar* [Girl with blue hair]), often incorrectly captioned or even without captions.

During the four years *Entartete Kunst* toured Germany and Austria its content changed. The first sales of "degenerate" art to foreign buyers began in the summer of 1938, which meant that the more important works were gradually removed from the exhibition and replaced by less significant pieces, especially by examples of graphic art. Works by local artists from regional collections were also added at each of the exhibition's venues in order to give it greater topicality and local character. The few lists that have been previously available⁴³ and photographs of the exhibition rooms have allowed only a limited reconstruction of the exhibition's individual stages.

The Berlin exhibition (figs. 59, 69–70) differed fundamentally from that in Munich in both the choice of works on display and the plan behind their presentation. The most important changes were outlined in a handout entitled "Informationsmaterial für die Schriftleitungen" (Information sheet for editors), prepared by the Propagandaministerium for the press preview:

Only a section of the material shown in Munich is exhibited in Berlin. The exhibition has been enlarged and supplemented with paintings and sculptures that could previously be seen in the German capital. In planning the Berlin exhibition . . . the underlying motive . . . has been [decisive]. The material as a whole has therefore been structured around different groups, each of which



Figure 69
Entartete Kunst at the Haus der Kunst, Berlin, 1938.

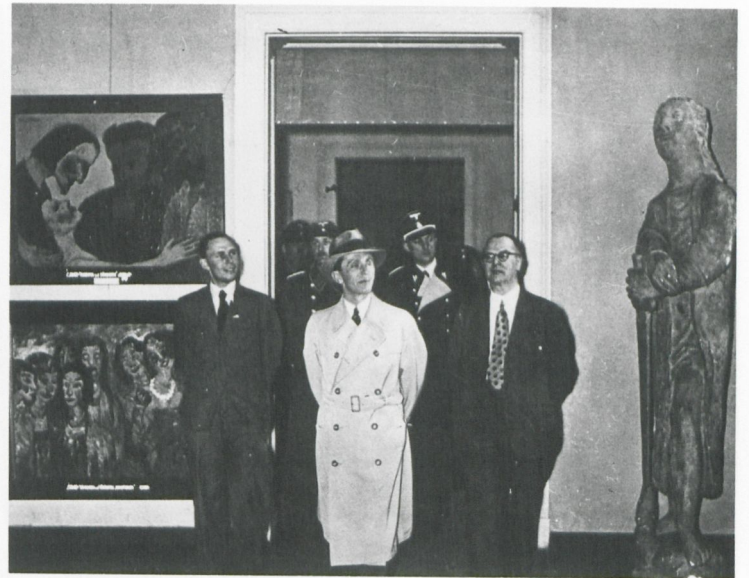


Figure 70
 Joseph Goebbels (center) visits *Entartete Kunst* in Berlin on February 27, 1938, accompanied by Hartmut Pistauer (left); work by Marcks and Nolde can be seen.



Figure 71
Entartete Kunst at the Kunstpalast am Ehrenhof, Düsseldorf, 1938.



Figure 72
 Pistauer leads Nazi party officials through *Entartete Kunst*, Düsseldorf, 1938; sculpture by Hoffmann and Niestrath can be seen at right.



Figures 73–75
 Gallery views of *Entartete Kunst* at the Landeshaus, Stettin, 1939; at left is the photograph of dealer Alfred Flechtheim; work that can be identified is by Freundlich, Gies, Kirchner, Kurth, Meidner, and Nolde.

is covered by an introductory essay in the . . . catalogue. In assembling the visual material special attention was paid to the various specific areas that show the connection between degenerate art and the cultural program of Bolshevism. . . . A large part of the exhibition is taken up by a comparison between degenerate art and those works that . . . were placed at the organizers' disposal by the Psychiatrische Klinik of Heidelberg.⁴⁴

The increased emphasis on the "Bolshevist" character of the vilified works, which is explicitly stressed in this passage, is also revealed by a shift of emphasis in terms of the exhibition's contents: whereas it had been the Expressionists who bore the brunt of the attack in Munich, it was the sociocritical, politically committed art of the 1920s that was preponderant in Berlin, especially the work of the Dresdner Sezession Gruppe 1919 and ASSO.⁴⁵ A more political tone also marked the banners and slogans that accompanied the exhibition (on this occasion they were not lifted from Willrich's book, nor were they painted directly on the walls [fig. 59]). This also influenced the choice of works reproduced in the exhibition guide, a quarter of which clearly demonstrated social criticism. Another striking difference between Munich and Berlin was the link between the order in which the paintings were hung and the layout of the "catalogue," or exhibition guide (see the facsimile and translation in this volume). This guide was written only after preparations for the Berlin exhibition were underway and divided "degenerate art" into nine sections, each of which was defined in terms of its content: "collapse of sensitivity to form and color," religious subjects, "class-struggle" propaganda, "draft-dodging," "moral program of Bolshevism," racial degeneration, mental degeneration, Jewish art, and "sheer insanity." This grouping provided the installation model not only in Berlin but at all subsequent venues, as is clear from the reviews of those exhibitions. Similarly, the comparison between "degenerate" art and works painted by patients at the Psychiatrische Klinik in Heidelberg was emphasized as a special feature in Berlin and later venues. One quarter of the illustration pages in the guide featured reproductions of the work of these psychiatric patients, taken from the famous Prinzhorn Collection. Conversely, works by a number of artists were removed from the Berlin exhibition either because protests had been raised at the way in which they had been attacked—one thinks here of war heroes August Macke and Franz Marc and foreigners Piet Mondrian and Edvard Munch—or because they were regarded as "critical cases." The latter group included prominent Expressionists Ernst Barlach, Käthe Kollwitz, and Wilhelm Lehmbruck, whose acceptance hinged on the outcome of the continuing debate over the legitimacy of Nordic Expressionism, and Impressionist Lovis Corinth, a well-established and highly respected older artist, whose youthful style had been an example of that same "healthy" academic art that was so admired and promoted by the NSDAP.⁴⁶ The comments about individual artists and their works that had been written directly on the wall in Munich were indicated in Berlin on tiny black-and-white labels, which were used subsequently at other venues (fig. 76).⁴⁷



Figure 76
Gallery view of *Entartete Kunst* at the Festspielhaus, Salzburg, 1938; identifiable work is by Haizmann and Molzahn.

The corpus of works exhibited in Berlin was taken virtually unchanged at the next two venues, Leipzig and Düsseldorf (figs. 71–72). Whereas there was talk in Leipzig of "large banners with basic personal revelations by the leading art-Bolshevists" (*Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, May 14, 1938), these are not in evidence in the few surviving photographs that document the Düsseldorf exhibition. Presumably the organizers in the latter city decided to dispense with this aggressive form of defamation,⁴⁸ although their qualms did not extend to the "stone-tablet-like posters . . . with statements by the Führer" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, February 27, 1938; fig. 72) that had been prepared for the Berlin exhibition. Quotations from Hitler's speeches at NSDAP party rallies and the opening of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst also peppered the pages of the exhibition guide, in addition to being a feature of the installation at each of its venues, as was true of statements by artists and critics and the comparison of "degenerate" art with art by the mentally ill.

One example of the attempt to give each exhibition "local color" was the addition in Düsseldorf of a large photograph of the well-known Jewish art dealer Alfred Flechtheim, who until 1933 had owned modern art galleries in Berlin and Düsseldorf (the photograph remained in the exhibition in Salzburg, Hamburg, Stettin [figs. 73–75], and Weimar).⁴⁹ Also in Düsseldorf Pistauer ran "educational courses" in which he gave "a comprehensive survey of the political and cultural background of this pseudoart from the previous system" and explained "the links that existed between the degenerate art produced at that time and the Bolshevist program of subversion" (*Rheinische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde*, July 8, 1938).

An important change occurred in September 1938 during the fifth stop of the exhibition, in Salzburg (fig. 76), the first Austrian venue, where it was shown six months after the annexation of Austria. Seventy-one works were reclaimed and sent back to Berlin, including Max Beckmann's *Selbstbildnis mit rotem Schal* (Self-portrait with red scarf; fig. 162), Marc Chagall's *Die Prise (Rabbiner)* (The pinch of snuff [Rabbi]; fig. 118), Dix's *Der Schützengraben* (The trench), Lyonel Feininger's *Tiltow*, Erich Heckel's *Sitzender Mann*



Figure 77
Entartete Kunst at the Schulausstellungsgebäude, Hamburg, 1938.



Figure 78
Pages from an article on *Entartete Kunst* published in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, November 11, 1938; work illustrated is by Adler, Camenisch, Gies, Grosz, Kleinschmidt, and Wollheim.



Figure 79
Gallery in the exhibition *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music) at the Landesmuseum, Weimar, 1939; at right is organizer Hans Severus Ziegler.

DR. HANS WIECZOREK

„Entartete Kunst“

ZUR AUSSTELLUNG IN WIEN



Rechts oben: Marc Chagall: Selbstbildnis | Mitte: E. C. Kirchner: Das Paar | Links unten: Schmitt-Rottluff: Die Jüdin Rosa Schapiro | Rechts unten: O. Kokoschka: Männerkopf



Ein Erlebnis besonderer Art! Wie haben sich die Zentren und Verhältnisse geändert! Sind wirklich erst sechs kurze Jahre verstrichen, seit man gleiche und ähnliche Ausstellungen besuchen konnte, nur mit dem Unterschied, daß sie unter dem Titel „Aberrante Kunst“ gingen! Da trifft man sie alle wieder, die „Kunsthilfen“ der gottlich dahnungserleuchteten Sirkentzeit, die Repräsentanten eines jüdischen und verärberten „Kunst“betriebs aus den Zeiten der größten Erntedringung Deutschlands, die erst zu hoch gegangenen Vorbildern der jüdischen „Kunst“ von Anno 1918 und den folgen-



türmt! Ausgerückt! Sie haben Großdeutschland den Rücken gekehrt und beglücken heute meist die verfeinerten und transatlantischen Demokraten mit den Eskapaden ihrer Afterskand.

Die zeitgenössische Kritik aber sagte: „... Jeder Stein wird geküßt, wird liebkost jeder Zaun, jedes Schwein, jedes Haus, jedes Weib, jeder Narr, und Juden, Juden schießen aus dem Boden empor - grüne, violette und rote, weißbärtige, schwarzbärtige, betende, stehende, auf dem Kopfe stehende, in der Luft fliegende, namenlos, zahllos, ... Chagall hat sie selbst im Gespräch eine „jüdische Katastrophe“ genannt.“

Dr. Hans Wiczorek über Marc Chagall in „Das Kunstjahr“ 1932, S. 515

Dem Jahren einer Republik der „Schönheit und Würde“! Da liest man wieder die Namen der Prominenten im Reiche der „Kunst“ der Nachkriegszeit, die Groß: Die, Kirchner, Kandinsky, Kollschka, Meierbach, Chagall, Volt, Freundlich, Adler, Margner, Weiblich, Hatzmann, um nur einige der „berühmtesten“ zu nennen! Wo sind sie hin, die Chagall die „Türme“ des jüdisch-bolschewistischen Kunsttrends aus den Zeiten vor der nationalsozialistischen Revolution! Ge-



wunderung, Ekel und Zorn erfüllt den nativen Belhauer, und der anfangs pietätisch bei ihm erröte! Lachend, verneigt beim Durchwandern vor der Erkenntnis, wie er die Verwirklichung argerer Deutscher Kunst durch die Vertreter der Kulturbolschewismus schon drohte. Ausatmend erzählt man die „Heiligen“ Hälten, deren Inhalt man nie ein Panoptikum der Pervertiertheit empfindet, und freut sich nach so viel Schmutz und Unmutter der Bescheid-



Figure 82 Gauleiter (District leader) Sprenger (fourth from the right) visiting Entartete Kunst at the Kunstaustellungshaus, Frankfurt, July 22, 1939.



Figure 83 Article by H. T. Wüst on the Frankfurt showing of Entartete Kunst published in the Rhein-Mainische Sonntags-Zeitung, July 9, 1939, identifiable work is by Adler, Baumeister, Chagall, Haizmann, Hoffmann, Ritschl, and Schwitters.

Figures 80–81 Pages from an article on Entartete Kunst published in Die Pause (Vienna), June 1939, above: work by Chagall, Kirchner, Kokoschka, and Schmidt-Rottluff, below: work by Adler, Schlemmer, and Schwitters.

(Seated man), Karl Hofer's *Die Trunkene* (The drunken woman), Kandinsky's *Giftgrüne Sichel* (Yellow-green crescent), Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's *Bildnis Oskar Schlemmer* (Portrait of Oskar Schlemmer; fig. 259), Klee's *Um den Fisch* (Around the fish; fig. 280), Oskar Kokoschka's *Die Windsbraut* (The tempest; fig. 37), Otto Mueller's *Drei Frauen* (Three women; fig. 306), Emil Nolde's altarpiece *Das Leben Christi* (The life of Christ; figs. 321–29), Christian Rohlf's *Kapelle in Dinkelsbühl* (Chapel in Dinkelsbühl), and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's *Selbstbildnis* (Self-portrait; fig. 371) (see note 43). The return of these important works to Berlin was prompted by the establishment of a warehouse at Schloss Niederschönhausen for the assembly of all those works that were "internationally exploitable," in other words, those that could most profitably be sold abroad and converted into foreign currency.⁵⁰

In order to fill the gaps left by the removal of these works 115 more paintings and examples of graphic art, generally of "lesser" quality (that is, lesser value), were removed from the stock of expropriated art in Berlin and added to the exhibition in time for its opening in Hamburg (figs. 77–78).⁵¹ A unique feature of the Hamburg exhibition was deployment of student teachers from the city's schools who organized more than two hundred guided tours of the exhibition (*Hamburger Tageblatt*, December 22, 1938).

In Weimar, the eighth venue, the exhibition was combined with one entitled *Entartete Musik* (Degenerate music; figs. 79, 133, 140). The latter exhibition had first been staged in Düsseldorf, the "Reichshauptstadt der Musik" (Reich music capital), from May 24 to June 14, 1938, as part of the *Reichsmusiktage* (Reich music festival).⁵² By means of scores, libretti, photographs, stage designs, and musical examples available on headphones the "degenerate tonality" of composers as diverse as Berg, Hindemith, Krenek, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Webern, and Weill was held up to public ridicule. *Entartete Musik* was organized in Düsseldorf primarily by Hans Severus Ziegler, general administrator of the Weimarer Nationaltheater, deputy district leader of the Thuringian branch of the NSDAP, and Reichskulturwart (Reich supervisor of culture). He was almost certainly behind the idea of combining *Entartete Musik* with *Entartete Kunst* in Weimar.

In its combined and expanded form the exhibition traveled to Vienna (figs. 80–81), Frankfurt am Main (figs. 82–83), and Chemnitz, where it closed prematurely after only two weeks,⁵³ as a result of the onset of the Second World War. At this time *Entartete Kunst* was one of six exhibitions traveling through the Reich under the sponsorship of the Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda. On September 6, 1939, the president of the Werberat für Deutsche Wirtschaft (German economic publicity council), which controlled the Institut, issued a general ban on exhibitions.⁵⁴ The immediate closing of the exhibitions caused financial problems for the Institut, which ceased its activities until 1941.

In January of that year the Reichspropagandaleitung decided to revive the traveling exhibitions with seven shows, including *Entartete Kunst*. The aim was now to bring the exhibitions to cities that had been considered too small in the past.⁵⁵ A much reduced version of *Entartete Kunst*, with only two hundred works and without the *Entartete Musik* section, was installed in Waldenburg, Silesia, as part of an increase in propaganda activities in a region that had been "reunited" with the Reich by Hitler in 1939. In April of 1941 the exhibition was seen in Halle an der Saale.⁵⁶

The Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda returned *Entartete Kunst* to the Propagandaministerium on November 12, 1941. An inventory drawn up at that time (see note 43) records 7 sculptures, about 50 paintings, and approximately 180 works of graphic art. When this list is compared with the inventory of works originally exhibited in Munich, it appears that, of the works returned in 1941, only 8 paintings (by Philipp Bauknecht, Herbert Bayer, Conrad Felixmüller, Otto Gleichmann, Oskar Schlemmer, Werner Scholz, and Friedrich Skade), one sculpture (Ludwig Gies's *Kruzifixus*), and 32 graphic works had been on view in Munich in 1937 and were presumably the only works to have been exhibited at all thirteen venues. ■

Notes

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1. Gerhard Marcks, letter to Oskar Schlemmer, December 12, 1937; Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Oskar-Schlemmer-Archiv.
2. Ernst Bloch, "Gauklerfest unterm Galgen," in his *Erbschaft dieser Zeit*, rev. ed. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985), 80. Bloch had fled from Germany four years earlier and, after passing through Switzerland, Vienna, Paris, and Prague, had settled in the United States, where he was to remain until 1948.
3. For an overview of the history of National Socialist cultural policy and especially of the activities of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur see Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1963), 7–21; Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), 27–54; and Stephanie Barron's first essay in this volume.
4. The details presented in Table 1 are based on my own research and on the following literature: Rüdiger Jörn, "... wird unser Reich Jahrtausend dauern"—Bielefeld 1933–1945: *Kunst und Kunstpolitik im Nationalsozialismus* (exh. cat., Bielefeld: Kunsthalle, 1981); Michael Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe: Zur Ausstellung 'Regierungskunst 1918–1933,'" in *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900–1950* (exh. cat., Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1981), 102–28; Ulrich Weitz, "Das Bild befindet sich in Schutzhaft," in *Stuttgart im Dritten Reich: Anpassung, Widerstand, Verfolgung: Die Jahre von 1933–1939* (exh. cat., Stuttgart: Städtische Galerie unterm Turm, 1984), 150–63; Werner Alberg, *Düsseldorfer Kunstszene 1933–1945* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Stadtmuseum, 1987),

47–49, 61; Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, "Die Kunsthalle im Dritten Reich," in *Stilstreit und Führerprinzip, Künstler und Werk in Baden 1930–1945* (exh. cat. edited by Wilfried Rössling, Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1987), 139–63; Hans-Jürgen Buderer, *Entartete Kunst: Beschlagnahmeaktion in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Mannheim 1937* (exh. cat., Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1987); Karoline Hille, "Chagall auf dem Handwagen: Die Vorläufer der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" in Klaus Behnen and Frank Wagner, eds., *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus* (exh. cat., Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 1987), 159–68; and Karl Brix, "Moderne Kunst am Pranger: Zur Ausstellung 'Kunst, die nicht aus unserer Seele kam,'" *Karl-Marx-Städter Almanach* 7 (1988): 64–67.

5. Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe," 102. The political character of the exhibitions was repeatedly stressed by the National Socialists themselves. The Stadtarchiv Dortmund (StADo), for example, contains a letter of October 25, 1935, from the Kulturamt (Office of culture) in Dresden to the mayor of Dortmund indicating that *Entartete Kunst* was not an art exhibition in the sense proclaimed by the president of the Reichskammer der bildende Künste (Reich chamber of visual arts) on April 10, 1935, but a political demonstration (StADo, Best. 113, Zg. 29/1951, Nr. 116, Bl. 14).

6. Michael Koch, "Kunstpolitik," in Otto Borst, ed., *Das Dritte Reich in Baden und Württemberg* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1988), 240.

7. One exception to this was Karlsruhe, where the works shown at the exhibition *Regierungskunst 1918–1933* were reintegrated into the gallery's collection when it was rehung; see Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe," 119.

8. Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 41.

9. Jörn, "... wird unser Reich," 6.

10. One of the reviewers of the Mannheim exhibition (*Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt*, April 5, 1933) voiced much the same criticism: "It is claimed that people's 'eyes are now to be opened,' and that 'the nation is to be called upon to judge for itself.' But everything possible has been done to confuse and blindfold them!"

11. On the principles of contrasting different types of art see Hans-Ernst Mittag, "München, 50 Jahre nach der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" *Kritische Berichte* 16, no. 2 (1988): 78.

12. *Erlanger Neueste Nachrichten*, July 26, 1933; *Erlanger Tagblatt*, July 28, 1933.

13. Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung: Entwurf einer Herrschaft*, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1986), 60.

14. Johannes Volmert, "Politische Rhetorik des Nationalsozialismus," in Konrad Ehlich, ed., *Sprache im Faschismus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1989), 143.

15. Both Paul Ortwin Rave (*Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich*, ed. Uwe M. Schneede [Berlin: Argon, 1987], 45) and Hildegard Brenner (*Die Kunstpolitik*, 37–38) attributed a prototypical character to the Karlsruhe exhibition, which they claimed set the tone for all later comparable installations. Their opinion has been taken over by virtually all subsequent writers on the subject. Hille ("Chagall auf dem Handwagen," 165) believes that it was the preliminary exhibition in Mannheim that was the immediate model for the 1937 exhibition.

16. *Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst* (Images of decadence in art), the title usually given to the Dresden exhibition by many writers on the subject, is based on an article by Richard Müller published in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* of September 23, 1933, and reprinted in Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 175–77, and Diether Schmidt, ed., *In letzter Stunde, 1933–1945*, vol. 2 of *Schriften deutscher Künstler des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1964), 213–14. The correct title, *Entartete Kunst*, appears in other newspaper reviews of the period, including the *Dresdner Nachrichten*, September 22, 1933, and the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, December 16, 1933, 1713–15, 1742, as well as in artists' memoirs: for example, Hans Grundig, *Zwischen Karneval und Aschermittwoch*, 14th ed. (Berlin: Dietz, 1986), 229, and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Dresden 45: Holzschnitte und Federzeichnungen* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1983), 7.

17. The Stadtarchiv Dortmund contains three files relevant to this exhibition (Best. 113, Zg. 29/1951, Nr. 115–116, 126): a series of press cuttings and reports on preparations for the exhibition, with notes on various organizational matters, and two lists of the works exhibited. The first of these is a typewritten "packing list" drawn up in Dresden and dispatched with the crates, the second, which differs from the first only in minor details, is a handwritten list compiled when the crates were unpacked in Dortmund. It is therefore possible to reconstruct the Dresden exhibition by comparing the corpus of works in these two lists with the list of those first exhibited in

Dresden in 1933 (*Dresdner Nachrichten*, September 22, 1933; see Table 1). It emerges that the original number of oil paintings was increased from 42 to 48 for the traveling exhibition, while the number of sculptures was reduced from 10 to 6, and the water-colors and engravings from 155 (43 watercolors and 112 engravings) to a total of 40.

18. The predominantly high attendance figures were derived from the galleries' own statistics and from local press reports (see Table 1).

19. This is illustrated in one instance by a letter dated April 24, 1933, from the curator of the museum in Mannheim, Edmund Strübing, to Alfred Hentzen, a member of the staff of the Berlin Nationalgalerie: "I should like to emphasize expressly that the exhibition [*Kultur bolschewistische Bilder*] has been organized not only against my recommendation and in the face of my repeated objections but without my involvement. Full responsibility for it is to be borne by Mr. Gebele von Waldstein, the commissioner assigned to the Kunsthalle" (archives of the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim, see Hille, "Chagall auf dem Handwagen," 166 n. 14).

20. In Dresden in 1933, for example, "a series of visitors who tried to defend the works on view were arrested" (Fritz Löffler, *Otto Dix 1891–1969: Oeuvre der Gemälde* [Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1981], 46). On the scandal that ensued in Frankfurt in 1936 see the *Frankfurter Volksblatt* of September 9, 1936, and files in the Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main (Magistratsakten, Az. 6022, Bd. 1, Bl. 258–65c).

21. Oskar Schlemmer, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. Tut Schlemmer (Munich: A. Langen/C. Müller, 1958), 308–9.

22. The leaders of the Studentenbund, Otto Andreas Schreiber and Fritz Hippler, organized an exhibition under the title *Dreissig deutsche Künstler* (Thirty German artists) at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin, opening on July 22, 1933. It contained works by, among others, Barlach, Lehbruck, Macke, Nolde, Rohlf's, and Schmidt-Rottluff. Even before it had opened, the exhibition was violently attacked by nationalist groups associated with Alfred Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, and after only three days it was temporarily closed by the Reichsinnenminister (Reich minister of the interior), Wilhelm Frick. See Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik*, 70–71, and Eberhard Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller: Die Geschichte einer Galerie für moderne Kunst in Deutschland 1917–1956* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1984), 303.

23. Fritz Stern, "Der Nationalsozialismus als Versuchung," in Otfried Hofius, ed., *Reflexionen finsterner Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), 9.

24. It is particularly noteworthy that none of the major cities or cultural centers—Berlin, the capital of the German Reich, or Munich, the cradle of National Socialism, or Hamburg, the "city of trade"—organized its own *Schandausstellung*. The precursors of *Entartete Kunst* were largely provincial actions, perhaps because a museum-going urban populace familiar with modern art would have been too sophisticated for a chamber-of-horrors approach to be successful.

25. See Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau's essay in this volume and his article "Entartete Kunst," in *Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (exh. cat., Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1988), 289–98.

26. Rave, *Kunstdiktatur*, 145–46.

A collection of press clippings about the exhibition, including reviews, is preserved in Munich in the Stadtarchiv (ZA "Entartete Kunst").

27. Georg Bussmann, "'Entartete Kunst': Blick auf einen nützlichen Mythos," in *Deutsche Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert: Malerei und Plastik 1905–1985* (exh. cat., Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1986), 109.

28. Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky, Junge Kunst*, vol. 42 (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1924); a copy of the book (NS inv. no. 16467) was displayed with others from the Junge Kunst series in the first room on the ground floor of *Entartete Kunst*.

29. See Peter-Klaus Schuster, "München—das Verhängnis einer Kunststadt," in *Die "Kunststadt" München 1937: Nationalsozialismus und "Entartete Kunst"* (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 29–31, figs. 15–16.

30. A photograph printed in *Der Führer*, July 25, 1937, and the *Leipziger Tageszeitung*, May 12, 1938, shows that this label was later removed and stuck to the upper right-hand corner of Schwitters's *Merzbild*.

31. Carl Linfert, "Rückblick auf 'entartete Kunst,'" *Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 14, 1937, Schuster, "München," 30, and Andreas Hüneke, "Funktionen der Station 'Entartete Kunst,'" in *Stationen der Moderne*, 48.

32. Linfert, "Rückblick."

33. This information comes from an unpublished interview with Magdalen Mary, who worked as a secretary for Alois Schardt in the United States in the 1930s; the interview was conducted by Elfriede Fischinger and William Moritz in Los Angeles in September of 1988. I am grateful to Professor Moritz for drawing it to my attention.
34. Linfert, "Rückblick."
35. Jörn Merkert, "Der Auftrag heisst Gegenwart," in *Museum der Gegenwart: Kunst in öffentlichen Sammlungen bis 1937* (exh. cat., Düsseldorf: Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1987–88), 10.
36. Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam (ZStA), Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 23.
37. *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Sämtliche Fragmente*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1987), pt. 1, vol. 3, 211; see also entries for August 1 (221), August 20 (214), and September 1, 1937 (251).
38. The director of the Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda, Waldemar Steinecker, organized the *Grosse antibolschewistische Ausstellung Nürnberg 1937* (Great anti-Bolshevist exhibition Nuremberg 1937; fig. 5), for example. It ran from September 5 to September 29 and was then shown in several other towns and cities, including Berlin (November 6, 1937–January 9, 1938). The Institut was also in charge of the traveling exhibition *Der ewige Jude* (The eternal Jew; fig. 6), which was taken over from the Reichspropagandaleitung (venues of the exhibition: Munich, November 8, 1937–January 31, 1938; Vienna, opening August 2, 1938; Berlin, November 12, 1938–January 14, 1939; Bremen, February 4–March 5; Dresden, until April 23; Magdeburg, May 22–June 11). Works of art were also included among the "documentary material" shown at these exhibitions; see the *Nationalsozialistische Beamtenzeitung*, November 21, 1937; Rave, *Kunstdiktatur*, 122; and Joseph Wulf, *Die bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt/Berlin/Vienna: Ullstein, 1983), 317 n. 2.
39. Berlin Document Center, Best. Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Personalakte Hartmut Pistauer.
40. By order of Hitler himself, visitors to the Munich exhibition were admitted free of charge (see the draft of a letter from Franz Hofmann to Joseph Goebbels, March 9, 1938; ZStA, Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 36). An entrance charge was instituted at each of the subsequent venues, however.
41. Purely as a formality the objects included in the exhibition were insured for a total of 20,000 reichsmarks, since "the only value they have is for instruction and enlightenment" (Franz Hofmann, letter to Hartmut Pistauer, March 3, 1938; ZStA, Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 35).
42. ZStA, Best. 50.01-1018, Bl. 29–36.
43. These comprise an incomplete list of the contents of the exhibition in the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf in June 1938 (Barbara Lepper, *Verboten, verfolgt: Kunstdiktatur im 3. Reich* [exh. cat., Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1983], 41–47, document 9); a list of the works sent back to Berlin from Salzburg in September 1938 (ZStA, Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 75–76); a list of works added to the Hamburg exhibition in November 1938 (ZStA, Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 77–80); and a list of works returned to the Reichspropagandaministerium on November 12, 1941 (ZStA, Best. 50.01-1018, Bl. 29–36).
44. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Archiv Hansen.
45. Hüneke, "Funktionen der Station 'Entartete Kunst,'" 45–46.
46. Paul Westheim, "Ein Rückzieher: Corinth, Marc, Macke, Lehmbruck, Kollwitz nicht mehr auf der Ausstellung 'Entartete Kunst,'" originally published in the *Pariser Tageszeitung* of March 27–28, 1938, and reprinted with explanatory notes in Tanja Frank, ed., *Paul Westheim: Kunstkritik aus dem Exil* (Hanau: Müller & Kiepenhauer, 1985), 80–83, 274–75 n. 81. For Edvard Munch see Reinhard Piper's letter to Ernst Barlach, July 28, 1937, published in Ernst Piper, *Nationalsozialistische Kunstpolitik: Ernst Barlach und die "Entartete Kunst"* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987), 198.
47. Information about the Berlin exhibition is also provided by a detailed report written by Felix Hartlaub in a letter of February 28, 1938, to his father, Gustav F. Hartlaub, the director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim from 1923 to 1933; see *Felix Hartlaub in seinen Briefen*, eds. Erna Krauss and C. F. Hartlaub (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1958), 159–60.
48. Bernard Schulze, who saw the exhibitions in Berlin and Düsseldorf at the age of 23, confirmed this assumption in an article (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 4, 1987) and a conversation with the author on October 2, 1989.
49. This information came from the reminiscences of a contemporary witness, Carl Lauterbach, published in *Zeit-Magazin*, June 19, 1987.
50. See Andreas Hüneke's essay in this volume. At the same time the Propagandaministerium demanded the return of three other works of art, Dix's *Bildnis der Tänzerin Anita Berber* and a sculpture and a relief by Gerhard Marcks, which it had lent to an exhibition, *Europas Schicksalskampf im Osten* (Europe's battle with destiny in the east), held at that year's party rally in Nuremberg (ZStA, Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 84–86).
51. The list of works added to the exhibition for its Hamburg venue in November 1938 is preserved in Potsdam (ZStA, Best. 50.01-743, Bl. 77–80).
- Information about the Hamburg exhibition is also provided in a detailed report written by Jimmy Ernst, son of Max Ernst, in his memoirs, *A Not-So-Still Life: A Memoir* (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 94–96. The Staatsarchiv Hamburg (135-1, I–IV, 5227) contains press clippings, including reviews of the exhibition.
52. See Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth, eds., *Entartete Musik: Zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938, Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion* (Düsseldorf: Kleinherne, 1988), and the essay by Michael Meyer in this volume.
53. *Chemnitzer Tageblatt*, August 27, 1939.
- I am grateful to Georg Brühl, Chemnitz, for his generous gift of an entrance ticket for the Chemnitz exhibition (fig. 91).
54. Hugo Fischer, head of the Institut für Deutsche Kultur- und Wirtschaftspropaganda, letter to Joseph Goebbels, December 1, 1939 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 55 [Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda]/354, Bl. 95–97).
55. *Unser Wille und Weg*, 1941, no. 2 (February): back cover, and no. 3 (March): 26, 28 (BA, NSD 12/3-1940/41). *Unser Wille und Weg* was the official monthly newsletter of the Reichspropagandaleitung and was edited by Joseph Goebbels. I would like to thank Annette Sprengel of Magdeburg for drawing my attention to this publication.
56. Press clippings, including reviews, for the exhibition in Halle an der Saale are preserved in the Stadtarchive Halle/Saale (321).

Table 1

**Exhibitions of "degenerate" art
preceding the 1937 "Entartete Kunst" exhibition in Munich**

Note: Each primary exhibition is followed by a list of the venues to which that exhibition traveled, whether in its entirety or in an altered format. The primary exhibitions are arranged chronologically.

Mannheim, Kunsthalle
Kulturbolschewistische Bilder (Images of cultural Bolshevism)

April 4–June 5, 1933

Organized by Otto Gebele von Waldstein,
"kommissarischer Hilfsreferent"

(acting assistant consultant)

20,141 visitors

Adults only

Selected reviews:

Hakenkreuzbanner, April 3, May 10 and 24, 1933

Neue Mannheimer Zeitung, April 5 and 13, May 9, 1933

Neues Mannheimer Volksblatt, April 5, May 27, 1933

Mannheimer Tageblatt, April 16, 1933

Works on view comprised sixty-four oils, including paintings by Adler (*Mutter und Töchter*), Baumeister (*Tischgesellschaft*), Beckmann (*Christus und die Ehebrecherin*, among others), Chagall (*Die Prise*, among others), Delaunay, Derain, Dix, Ensor, Fuhr, Gleichmann (*Die Braut*), Grosz (*Metropolis [Blick in die Grosstadt]*), *Bildnis Max Hermann-Neisse*, Heckel, Hoerle (*Melancholie*), Hofer, Jawlensky (*Sizilianerin*), Kanoldt, Kirchner, Kleinschmidt (*Stilleben*), Marc, Munch, Nolde, Pechstein, Rohlf, Schlemmer (*Frauentreppe*), and Schlichter; two sculptures, by Schreiner (*Sitzendes Mädchen*) and Archipenko (*Zwei Frauen*); and twenty works of graphic art, including works by Adler, Chagall, Delaunay, Grosz, Kirchner, Kokoschka, El Lissitzky, Masereel,

Nolde, Pechstein, and Rohlf. A checklist of the exhibition is preserved in the archives of the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.

The paintings were exhibited unframed, and the names of the dealers (Cassirer, Flechtheim, and Tannenbaum) and the purchase prices were noted (a proven method of National Socialist artistic criticism utilized in these exhibitions from now on).

There was also a *Musterkabinett* (model gallery) with examples of "good" art by Mannheim-based artists, including Klein, Oertel, Otto, Schindler and Stohner.

Subsequent venues

Munich, Kunstverein
Mannheimer Galerieankäufe
(Mannheim gallery acquisitions)
June 25–July 12, 1933

Selected reviews:

Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, June 28, 1933

München-Augsburgische Abendzeitung, June 29, 1933

Völkischer Beobachter, June 29, 1933

Thirty-two works from the Mannheim exhibition were contrasted to the paintings in a commemorative exhibition marking Edmund Steppes's sixtieth birthday.

Erlangen, Orangerie (Kunstverein)
Mannheimer Schreckenskammer
(Mannheim chamber of horrors)
July 23–August 13, 1933

Selected reviews:

Erlanger Neueste Nachrichten, July 22 and 26, 1933

Erlanger Tagblatt, July 22 and 28, 1933

The thirty-two paintings from the Munich venue were contrasted to works of unknown provenance produced by the mentally ill, drawings by children, and a reproduction of a fifteenth-century Russian icon.

Karlsruhe, Kunsthalle
Regierungskunst 1918–1933 (Government art 1918–1933)
April 8–30, 1933

Organized by Hans Adolf Bühler, artist and director of the Kunsthalle and Kunstakademie

Adults only

Selected reviews:

Der Führer, April 8, 1933

Karlsruher Tagblatt, April 8, 1933

Karlsruher Zeitung, April 10, 1933

The exhibition featured 18 oil paintings by Bizer (*Rebberg I, Rebgräfte*), Corinth (*Walchenseelandschaft*, *Bildnis Charlotte Berend-Corinth*), Erbslöh (*Garten*), Fuhr (*Waldkapelle [Kapelle am Wasser]*), Hofer (*Stilleben [Gerümpel]*), *Häuser in Bernau*), Kanoldt (*Stilleben mit Gummibaum*), Liebermann (*Gemüsemarkt in Amsterdam*, *Erntefeld*, *Korbflechter*), von Marées (*Familienbild II*), Munch (*The Road to Åsgårdstrand*), Purrmann (*Blumenstück*), Schlichter (*Bildnis Bertolt Brecht*), and Slevogt (*Geschlachtetes Schwein*, *Frücht stilleben*), as well as 79 drawings, watercolors, and works of graphic art by Beckmann, Bizer, Campendonk, Dix, Feininger, O. Fischer, R. Grossmann, Grosz, Heckel, Hofer, Kirchner, Kogan, Meidner, Nolde, E. Scharff, T. Schindler, Schmidt-

Rottluff, K. Stohner, artists from the Karlsruhe artists' group known as "Rih," and teachers dismissed from the Kunstakademie, including Hubbuch.

Purchase prices were listed, as were the names of the ministers of education and the arts who were in office when the purchases were made.

There was an "Erotisches Kabinett" (gallery of erotica) of drawings by students from the Kunstakademie.

Also exhibited were a list and photographs of art—mostly second-rate old master and nineteenth-century paintings that had been kept in storage—that had been sold by previous museum directors to raise funds for the purchase of modern art.

Nuremberg, Städtische Galerie
Schreckenskammer (Chamber of horrors)
April 17–May 16, 1933
Organized by Emil Stahl, artist and
acting director
10,000 visitors

Selected reviews:
Acht Ubr-Blatt, April 8 and 18, 1933
Nürnberger Zeitung, April 18 and 19, 1933
Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, April 20, 1933

The exhibition included paintings by Berend-Corinth
(*Der Boxer*), Birnstengel, Böckstiegel, Dix (*Bildnis der
Tänzerin Anita Berber*), Dobrowsky, Felixmüller, Fritsch,
Geiger, Grossmann, Heckrott, Heinisch, Heuser,
Holz, Kamps, Neumann, Pascin, Purrmann, Rösler,
Scharl (*Prof. Albert Einstein*), Schmidt-Rottluff,
Schreiner, Slevogt (*Der Hörselberg*), and Winkler.
Purchase prices were listed.

Chemnitz, Städtisches Museum
Kunst, die nicht aus unserer Seele kam
(Art that did not issue from our soul)
May 14–June, 1933
Organized by Wilhelm Rüdiger, acting director

Selected reviews:
Chemnitzer Tageblatt, May 13, 18, and 21, 1933
Chemnitzer Tageszeitung, May 23, 1933

The exhibition included 15 paintings by W. Arnold
(*Kinder vor dem Fenster*), Heckel (*Badende* [triptych]),
Kirchner (*Wohnzimmer, Selbstbildnis, Weisse Kub*),
Kokoschka (*Selbstbildnis mit gekreuzten Armen*), Nolde
(*Christus in Bethanien, Araberkopf*), Pechstein (*Frauen am
Meer*), W. Rudolph (*Kub und Kälbchen*), Schmidt-Rottluff
(*Landschaft im Herbst, Der kranke Junge, Bildnis Lyonel
Feininger, Männer bei Kerze*), and Segall (*Im Atelier*);
3 small-scale sculptures; 120 prints by various artists,

including Beckmann, Dix (from *Der Krieg*), Gramatté,
Grosz, Heckel, Kirchner, Klee (*Die Heilige vom inneren
Licht*), Mataré, Schlemmer (*Kopf im Profil mit schwarzer
Kontur*), Schmidt-Rottluff (approximately 20 works),
and Schreyer; and drawings and watercolors by
Feininger (*Turm in Treptow*), Kandinsky (*Scala*),
and others.

Purchase prices were listed.

Stuttgart, Kronprinzenpalais (Graphische Sammlung
der Württembergischen Staatsgalerie)
Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung
(November spirit: Art in the service of subversion)
June 10–c. 24, 1933
Organized by Count Klaus von Baudissin, senior
curator
Adults only

Selected reviews:
NS-Kurier, June 13, 1933
Schwäbischer Merkur, June 14, 1933
Württembergischer Staatsanzeiger, June 22, 1933

The exhibition included one painting (Kleinschmidt's
Duett im Nord-Café); graphic art by Beckmann, Dix
(from *Der Krieg*, for example), Felixmüller, Grosz
(including the portfolios *Im Schatten* and *Abrechnung
folgt!*), Meidner, Schwitters, and others; reproductions
of paintings by Dix, Grosz, and Meidner from books
of the *Junge Kunst* series; the pamphlet *An alle Künstler*;
Expressionist journals (*Die Aktion, Der Sturm*), posters,
photographs, and newspaper cuttings; and loans from
the Weltkriegsbücherei (World war library), among
other lenders.

Subsequent venue

Bielefeld, Städtisches Museum, Geschichtliche
Abteilung
Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung
(November spirit: Art in the service of subversion)
August 20–c. September 18, 1933
Not open to minors or to members of the
general public

Selected reviews:
Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten, August 18 and 22, 1933
Westfälische Zeitung, August 18 and 22, 1933

This exhibition was a reduced version of that in Stutt-
gart; the works that had been loaned to Stuttgart by
the Weltkriegsbücherei were not shown in Bielefeld
but were replaced by work by Archipenko.

The exhibition was described as a *Schulungs-
ausstellung* (educational exhibition) and was open only
to teachers, doctors, clergymen, judges, and NSDAP
officials.

Dessau, two display windows in the offices of the
Anhaltische Tageszeitung
July 1933
Organized by Wilhelm F. Loeper, NSDAP district
leader

Selected reviews:
Anhalter Anzeiger, July 11, 1933 (background
information)

The exhibition featured works by Bauhaus artists
owned by the municipal authorities and including
Feininger, Kandinsky, Klee, Muche, and Schlemmer.
Purchase prices were listed.

Ulm, Städtisches Museum, Moderne Galerie
and Kupferstichkabinett
Zehn Jahre Ulmer Kunstpolitik
(Ten years of arts policy in Ulm)
August 4–c. September 8, 1933

Selected reviews:
Ulmer Sturm, August 3, 1933
Ulmer Tagblatt, August 9 (letter from a reader in sup-
port of the exhibition) and 17, 1933

On view were paintings and graphic works by
Delacroix (oil sketch for *Dante and Virgil*), Dix,
Faistauer (*Gardone di sopra*), Grosz, (*Marseilles*), Haller,
Hofer (*Kartenspieler, Trunkene*), Jawlensky, Kokoschka
(*Genfer See*), Laurencin (*Portrait of a Girl*), Liebermann,
Meunier, Munch, Nolde (*Johannes der Täufer*), Pellegrini,
Picasso, Renoir, Sérusier (*Breton Farmhouse*), Sisley (*Seine
Landscape*), Vlaminck (*The Oise at Auvers*), and others.

Purchase prices and names of dealers (Abels,
Flechtheim, Goldschmidt, Thannhauser) were listed.

Also included was a portrait by Gustav Essig
of Emil Schwammberger, mayor of Ulm during the
Weimar Republic, who had protected and supported
the museum's Jewish director, Julius Baum, in his
purchases of modern art.

Dresden, courtyard of the Neues Rathaus
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
 September 23–October 18, 1933
 Organized by Richard Müller, artist and director of the Kunstakademie; Willy Waldapfel, artist and councilman; and Walter Gasch, official art commissioner of Dresden
 Minors admitted only as members of guided tours
 Selected reviews:
Dresdner Nachrichten, September 22, 1933
Dresdner Anzeiger, September 23, 1933
Illustrierter Beobachter, December 16, 1933, 1713–15, 1742



Figure 84
 Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Dortmund, 1935.



Figure 85
 Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, 1936.

The exhibition included 42 oil paintings by, among others, Campendonk (*Badende*), Cassel (*Männliches Bildnis*), Dix (*Kriegskrüppel*, *Der Schützengraben*), Feininger (*Die Kirche von Gelmeroda*), Felixmüller (*Bildnis Otto Rühle*, *Schönheit*, *Selbstbildnis*), Griebel (*Mädchen in Landschaft*), Grosz (*Abenteurer*), Grundig, Heber (*Selbstbildnis*), Heckel (*Sitzender Mann*), Heckrott (*Kind*), Hofer, Jacob (*Knabe mit Apfel*, *Traum*), Kandinsky, Kirchner (*Strassenszene*), Klee (*Um den Fisch*), Kokoschka (*Die Heiden*), Lange (*Stilleben mit roter Figur*, *Tschum der Katzenfreund*), Lüthy (*Madonna*), Mitschke-Collande, Mueller (*Badende*), Nolde (*Frauenkopf*, *Gartenbild*, *Mädchen im Garten*), Pechstein, Rudolph (*Regenlandschaft*, *Wirtsstube um Mitternacht*), Schmidt-Rottluff (*Frauenbildnis*), Otto Schubert (*Freud und Leid*), Schwitters (*Merzbild*, *Ringbild*), Segall (*Die ewigen Wanderer*),

and Skade; 10 sculptures by Hoffmann (*Adam und Eva*, *Mädchen mit blauem Haar*), Lüdecke, Marcks, Maskos (*Mutter und Kind*), and Voll; 43 watercolors and 112 works of graphic art by Dix (*Landschaft mit untergehender Sonne*, *Der Streichholzhändler*), Felixmüller, Grosz, Heckel, Hofer, Hoffmann, Jacob, Kokoschka (*Max Reinhardt*, *Tilla Durieux*), Kretzschmar (*Der Tod des Sekretärs*), Lange, Lüdecke, Modersohn-Becker, Nolde, Rudolph, Schmidt-Rottluff, O. Schubert, Segall, Voll, and others.

Purchase prices were listed.

The Staatliches Filmarchiv in Potsdam-Babelsberg has in its collection about ten minutes of footage of this exhibition.

Subsequent venues

Hagen, Städtisches Museum
Kunst zweier Welten (Art of two worlds)
 Opened February 11, 1934
 14,520 visitors

Selected reviews:
Hagener Zeitung, February 10 and 12, 1934
Westfälische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde, February 12, 1934
Westdeutsche Volkszeitung, February 13 and 14, 1934

A selection of works from the Dresden *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was contrasted to earlier German, Dutch, Flemish, and Italian artists, including Graff, Chodowiecki, Rembrandt, and Rubens, and to acceptable examples of twentieth-century German art.

Nuremberg, Städtische Galerie
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
 Organized by Emil Stahl, director
 September 7–21, 1935
 12,706 visitors

Selected reviews:
Fränkischer Kurier, September 7, 1935
Nürnberger Zeitung, September 7–8, 1935
Völkischer Beobachter, September 10, 1935

A selection of works from the Dresden *Entartete Kunst* exhibition was shown in Nuremberg on the occasion of the 1935 NSDAP rally; to it were added local works such as Dix's *Bildnis der Tänzerin Anita Berber*, already held up to ridicule in the 1933 *Schreckenskammer* exhibition in Nuremberg (see above).

The Städtische Galerie also organized an anti-Semitic exhibition, *Der Judenspiegel* (The mirror of the Jews), to coincide with this *Entartete Kunst* exhibition.

Dortmund, Haus der Kunst
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
 November 11–December 8, 1935
 Organized by the city of Dortmund and the leaders of the local NSDAP
 Adults only
 21,668 visitors

Selected reviews:
Dortmunder Zeitung, November 12 and 27, 1935
Tremonia, November 12, 1935
Westfälische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde, November 12 and 26, 1935

The exhibition contained forty-eight oil paintings, six sculptures, and forty watercolors and works of graphic art, which were compared to paintings and reproductions of works by Caspar David Friedrich, Kobell, Leibl (*Dorfpolitiker*, *Frauen in der Kirche*), von Marées (*Ruderer*), Thoma, and others; a portrait of Hitler; and a *Merzgedicht* (Merz poem) by Schwitters. Checklists of the exhibition are preserved in the Stadtarchiv Dortmund (see note 17).

Regensburg, Kunst- und Gewerbeverein
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
 January 12–26, 1936
 Organized by the Kunst- und Gewerbeverein Regensburg

Selected reviews:
Bayerische Ostmark, January 16 and 18–19, 1936

The exhibition was identical to that in Dortmund.

Munich, Alte Polizeidirektion, Weisser Saal
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
 March 4–31, 1936
 Organized by the regional headquarters of the Propagandaministerium for Upper Bavaria, Kraft durch Freude, and the NS-Kulturgemeinde

Selected reviews:
Münchener Zeitung, March 4, 6, and 24, 1936
Neues Münchener Tagblatt, March 4, 1936
Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, March 5, 1936
Die Deutsche Bühne, April 1936, 6–7

The exhibition was identical to that in Dortmund.

Ingolstadt, Neues Schloss (Kunstverein)
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
May 1–June 1, 1936

Selected reviews:
Ingolstädter Tagblatt, April 30, May 5, 1936
Donaubote, May 20 and 30, 1936
Deutscher Kunstbericht, no. 6, June 1936

The exhibition was identical to that in Dortmund.

Darmstadt, Kunsthalle (Kunstverein)
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
Opened June 20, 1936

Selected reviews:
Darmstädter Wochenschau, no. 24, June 2, 1936, 1–4
Darmstädter Tagblatt, June 21 and 23, 1936

The organizers added works by proscribed Darmstadt artists to the Dortmund exhibition.

Frankfurt am Main, Volksbildungsheim
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
September 1–30, 1936
Organized by Kraft durch Freude and the Hans-Thoma-Gesellschaft

Selected reviews:
Nationalblatt, August 30, 1936
Frankfurter Volksblatt, September 9, 1936
Frankfurter Zeitung, September 9, 1936
Frankfurter Wochenschau, 1936, no. 36, 10–11

On view were the works from the Dortmund exhibition and contrasting examples of "German" art by H. A. Bühler, Thoma, Scholderer, and others.

Breslau (Wrocław), Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste
Kunst der Geistesrichtung 1918–1933 (Intellectual art 1918–1933)
Opened December 17, 1933
Organized by Wolf Marx, acting director

Selected reviews:
Schlesische Zeitung, December 5 and 16, 1933
Schlesische Illustrierte Zeitung, 1934, no. 2, 2–3

The exhibition included fourteen oil paintings, including works by Adler (*Männergesicht*), Dix, Feininger (*Grüzturm*), Grosz (*Der neue Mensch*), Kokoschka, Meidner (*Selbstporträt*), Oskar Moll (*Blick durchs Fenster, Waldesinnere*), Molzahn (*Zwillinge*), Mueller (*Esel mit Kind*), Pechstein (*Ehepaar auf Palau*), and Schlemmer (*Drei Frauen*); three sculptures, including two works in brass by Margarete Moll (*Mädchenkopf, Weibliche Figur [Tänzerin]*); and sixty watercolors, drawings, and graphic works by Campendonk, Dix (*Erinnerung an Spiegelsäle von Brüssel, Kriegskrüppel*), Feininger, Oskar Fischer (*Reitendes Paar*), Grosz (*Da donnern sie . . .*,

Verschiedene Vorgänge), Hoetger, Kandinsky (from the *Kleine Welten* portfolio), Kirchner, Klee (*Die Heilige vom inneren Licht*), Léger (*Woman Reading*), Oskar Moll, Pechstein, Schlemmer, Schmidt-Rottluff (*Liebespaar, Prophetin, Südseinsulanerin*), Wüsten (*Traung*), and others; and a prose poem by Kandinsky from *Klänge*.
Purchase prices were listed.

Halle an der Saale, Museum Moritzburg
Schreckenskammer (Chamber of horrors)
November 27, 1935–c. July 25, 1937
Organized by Hermann Schiebel, acting director

Selected reviews:
Mitteldeutsche Nationalzeitung, November 27, 1935

The Halle exhibition was something of an exception, since it was not a temporary exhibition but a permanent installation of the gallery's own modern art collection, including sculptures and oil paintings by Feininger, Kirchner, Kokoschka, Marc, and Nolde and watercolors by Kandinsky.

The general public was admitted upon payment of a special fee; beginning on October 18, 1936, they were also required to enter their names in a visitors' book (preserved in the Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle). Between that date and July 25, 1937, 445 visitors entered their names and addresses in the book.

Dessau, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie
Entartete Kunst (Degenerate art)
September 19–October 3, 1937
Over 5,000 visitors by October 1, 1937

Selected reviews:
Anhalter Anzeiger, September 20, October 2–3, 1937
Der Mitteldeutsche, September 21, 1937
Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, September 22, 1937
Frankfurter Zeitung, September 22, 1937
Völkischer Beobachter, September 25, 1937

To commemorate the tenth anniversary of its founding the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie mounted two exhibitions: *Neuerwerbungen der Anhaltischen Gemäldegalerie aus fünf Jahrhunderten* (Recent acquisitions from five centuries by the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie) and *Entartete Kunst*. For the latter, the works of the Bauhaus artists that had been exhibited in July of 1933 (see above) were put on view again and supplemented by portfolios of drawings and engravings by Bauhaus artists and paintings by Grosz, Jawlensky, and Schmidt-Rottluff.

Purchase prices were listed.

Table 2

Venues of the

"Entartete Kunst" exhibition, 1937–1941

Munich, Archäologisches Institut, Hofgarten arcades, Galeriestrasse 4, rooms housing the plaster-cast collection

July 19–November 30, 1937 (extended)
2,009,899 visitors

Selected reviews:

Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, July 20, August 20, 1937

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, July 25, 1937

Der Führer, July 25, 1937

Frankfurter Zeitung, November 14, 1937

[The only known extant newsreel footage of the exhibition, taken at the Munich venue, has been located in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Julien Bryan Collection, uncatalogued film footage)—S.B.]

Berlin, Haus der Kunst, Königsplatz 4

February 26–May 8, 1938 (extended)

500,000 visitors

Selected reviews:

Frankfurter Zeitung, February 25 and 27, 1938

Der Angriff, February 26, March 1 and 10, 1938

Völkischer Beobachter (Berlin edition), February 26 and 27, 1938

Leipzig, Grassi-Museum

May 13–June 6, 1938

60,000 visitors

Selected reviews:

Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten, May 14, 1938

Leipziger Tageszeitung, May 14, 1938

Düsseldorf, Kunstpalast, Ehrenhof 5

June 18–August 7, 1938 (extended)

150,000 visitors

Selected reviews:

Düsseldorfer Nachrichten, June 18, 1938

Rheinische Landeszeitung—Rote Erde, June 19, 1938

Salzburg, Festspielhaus

September 4–October 2, 1938 (extended)

40,000 visitors

Selected reviews:

Salzburger Landeszeitung, September 5 and 6, 1938

Salzburger Volksblatt, September 5 and 6, 1938

Hamburg, Schulausstellungsgebäude, Spitalerstrasse 6

November 11–December 30, 1938

136,000 visitors

Selected reviews:

Hamburger Anzeiger, November 11, 1938

Hamburger Fremdenblatt, November 11, 1938 (fig. 78)

Hamburger Tageblatt—Wöchenschau, November 13, 1938



Figure 86
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Berlin, 1938.



Figure 87
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Leipzig, 1938; lithograph, 59 x 84 cm (23¼ x 33¾ in.); Museum für Gestaltung, Zurich.



Figure 88
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Chemnitz, 1939; lithograph, 47.3 x 33 cm (18½ x 13 in.); Textil- und Kunstgewerbebesammlung Chemnitz.



Figure 89
Poster by Rudolf Hermann for *Entartete Kunst*, Hamburg, 1938; lithograph, 1173 x 82.3 cm (46½ x 32¾ in.); The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection, Beverly Hills, California.



Figure 90
Poster for *Entartete Kunst*, Halle, 1941.



Figure 91
Ticket for *Entartete Kunst*, Chemnitz, 1939; Christoph Zuschlag, Heidelberg.

Stettin (Szczecin), Landeshaus
January 11–February 5, 1939
82,000 visitors

Selected reviews:
Stettiner Generalanzeiger, January 2, 11, 12, 19, 21, and 24, February 2, 1939
Pommersche Zeitung, January 10, 11, 15, 17, 24, and 28, February 4, 7, and 15, 1939

Weimar, Landesmuseum
March 23–April 24, 1939
50,000 visitors

Selected reviews:
Allgemeine Thüringische Landeszeitung Deutschland, March 23 and 24, 1939
Thüringer Gauzeitung, March 23 and 24, 1939

Vienna, Künstlerhaus
May 6–June 18, 1939
147,000 visitors

Selected reviews:
Völkischer Beobachter (Vienna edition), May 5, 6, 7, June 12, 1939
Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung, May 6, 1939
Volks-Zeitung, May 6, 1939
Neues Wiener Tagblatt, May 7, 1939
Kunst dem Volk, May 1939, 36
Die Pause, June 1939, 65–68, 85 (figs. 80–81)

Frankfurt am Main, Kunstaussstellungshaus,
Bockenheimer Landstrasse 8
June 30–July 30, 1939
40,000 visitors as of July 22

Selected reviews:
Frankfurter Volksblatt, July 1 and 23, 1939
Rhein-Mainische Sonntags-Zeitung, July 9, 1939 (fig. 83)

Chemnitz, Kaufmännisches Vereinshaus, Moritzstrasse 1
August 11–September 10, 1939 (closed on August 26)

Selected reviews:
Chemnitzer Neueste Nachrichten, August 10, 1939
Chemnitzer Tageblatt, August 11, 1939

Waldenburg (Walbrzych), Silesia, Gebäude der
Kreisleitung der NSDAP, Adolf-Hitler-Aue
January 18–February 2, 1941

Selected reviews:
Mittelschlesische Gebirgszeitung, January 15, 16, 17, 20, 26, 29, 1941
Neues Tagblatt, January 16, 18–19, 20, 31, 1941

Halle an der Saale, Landesanstalt für Volkheitskunde,
Wettiner Platz
April 5–20, 1941

Selected reviews:
Saale-Zeitung, April 4 and 5–6, 1941
Hallische Nachrichten, April 7 and 8, 1941