

A Tormented Friendship: French Impressionism in Germany

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Without the Nazi terror, German museums could have become very rich in Impressionist paintings. That many examples existed in German private collections from around 1900 onward is becoming apparent through such sources as the archives of the art dealer Paul Cassirer (not yet fully known to the public), who founded his Berlin gallery in 1898. And the publications of Walter Feilchenfeldt on the acquisition of works by Paul Cézanne and Vincent van Gogh yield astonishing insights into the richness and quality of his country's private collecting of this era.¹

Because of Nazi politics, however—that government's brutal suppression of any manifestation of modern art, as well as its devaluation, and also of even the French and German Impressionist paintings that were not denounced outright as "degenerate"—most of the works that had been in private collections in Germany never found their way into German public collections.² What remains in the museums of Berlin, Munich, Bremen, Hamburg, Mannheim, and Essen are the paintings that were acquired for public collections relatively early.

These acquisitions resulted from the close cooperation of an artistic elite among museum curators—including Alfred Lichtwark, Hugo von Tschudi, Gustav Pauli, Fritz Wichert, and Georg Swarzenski—and art critics and art historians such as Richard Muther and Julius Meier-Graefe. United by a strong belief in artistic progress as well as in the liberal spirit of art history, they were willing to encounter the opposition of conservative followers of the emperor Wilhelm II, whose aesthetic taste privileged neo-Romanesque grandeur and a neo-Stauffic "Nibelungen" style over what traditionalists regarded as naturalistic "gutter" art.³

While relatively rare, the first attempts to collect Impressionism in Germany were nonetheless an important precondition for the later acquisitions for public museums. The earliest such collection was that of the Berlin law professor Carl Bernstein, which was shown in 1883 at the Berlin gallery of Fritz Gurlitt.⁴ From this point on, the better-informed artistic circles were able to get acquainted with the new painting. It took a long time, however, before the collecting of Impressionism became fashionable for the rich Berlin bourgeoisie who had made their fortunes during the *Gründerzeit*, the period of rapid industrial



Fig. 1. Eduard Arnhold in his home, Regentenstrasse 19, in front of Édouard Manet's *The Artist [Marcelin Desboutin]*, 1875, acquired in 1910 from the collection of Auguste Pellerin (today in the Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo). Photograph c. 1920, Ullstein Bilderdienst, Berlin

development that followed German unification in 1871. Prominent among them was Eduard Arnhold, who began as an apprentice and made his fortune from mining coal in Silesia. Initially he collected Arnold Böcklin, Hans von Marées, and the German artists in Rome and elsewhere in Italy; later he bought works of the Munich and Berlin Secessionists, and after 1898 he was one of the most regular clients of Cassirer's gallery. Occasionally, he was advised by Hugo von Tschudi. Views of Arnhold's apartment (figs. 1 and 2), dating from around 1920, say more about Impressionism in Germany than lengthy lists of paintings. Edouard Manet's portrait of Marcelin Desboutin, visible in both photographs, was acquired in 1910.⁵

Cassirer was also the highly influential secretary of the Berlin Secession, founded in 1898 and led by Max Liebermann. The Secessionist exhibitions almost always included foreign (mostly French) art along with works by Liebermann, Lovis Corinth, Max Slevogt, Walter Leistikow, and others. At his gallery, Cassirer offered the same program of the French and German avant-garde in smaller shows.

As important as the role of Cassirer was another factor that helped to form high-quality collections of Impressionism in Germany early in the last century—namely, a new type of professional museum director. Art history had only



Fig. 2. A view of Eduard Arnhold's apartment, Regentenstrasse 19, featuring Manet's *The Artist [Marcelin Desboutin]* at far left. Photograph c. 1920, Ullstein Bilderdienst, Berlin.

recently acquired the status of an independent discipline in universities. As the gradual evolution of rigorous stylistic analysis took place, spawning scholars with an entirely different approach, Hermann Grimm (professor in Berlin since 1875 and founding director of the university's department of art history) and Carl Justi were among the last writers to capture the artistic ethos of a period in the work of heroic figures such as Michelangelo or Diego Velázquez. Modern psychology, strongly influenced by recent research in the physiology of the senses and the nervous system, inspired new ways of describing stylistic

consistency and developmental tendencies from linear to painterly modes, from closed to open forms, and so on.⁶ This “scientific” study of “the history of vision” culminated in the book *Principles of Art History*, published in 1915 by Heinrich

Wölfflin, who had succeeded Grimm as head of the art history department in Berlin.⁷ For other art historians, however—those whose foundation was Jakob Burckhardt’s all-encompassing vision integrating artistic and social history—a less progressive version of connoisseurship became the context of art historical professionalism.

The new approach to art history corresponded to a confidence in autonomous laws of artistic development and progress. Both of these phenomena lay behind the acquisition of important works by Manet at a relatively early date by German museum directors.⁸ The leading officials often acted out of a deep professional consensus, sharing both friendship and common ideas on cultural policy. One of the first was Alfred Lichtwark, who from 1886 to 1914 served as director of the Kunsthalle in Hamburg (fig. 3). Aided in his task by the wealth of a relatively independent, liberal community, he put forward an ambitious program for collecting that encompassed medieval art from northern Germany as well as nineteenth-century art in Hamburg. It was toward the end of the century that Lichtwark’s views of latter-day painting changed, leading him to purchase masterpieces by the best German artists of the era. As his interest deepened, he bought a still life by Manet in 1897. But it was not until 1907 that he

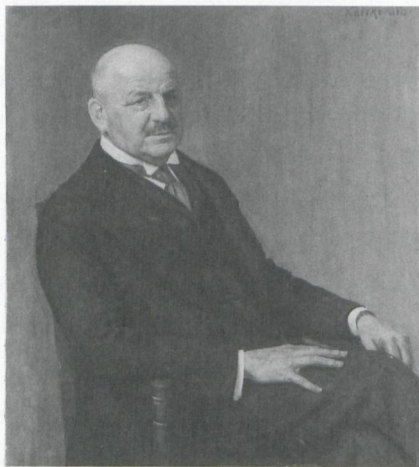


Fig. 3. Leopold von Kalckreuth (German, 1855–1928), Alfred Lichtwark, 1912. Oil on canvas, 99 × 86 inches (251.5 × 218.4 cm). Hamburger Kunsthalle



Fig. 4. Hugo von Tschudi, c. 1910. Photograph by C. von Dühren, Berlin. Published in vol. 33 of *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1912), p. 1. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

became seriously committed to the modern French tradition, acquiring paintings by Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, Charles Daubigny, and Gustave Courbet, as well as Pierre Bonnard and Edouard Vuillard.⁹

Although Lichtwark encouraged the civic pride of the wealthy Hanseatic



Fig. 5. Édouard Manet (French, 1832–1883), *In the Winter Garden*, 1878–79. Oil on canvas, 45 1/4 x 59 inches (115 x 150 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nationalgalerie

bourgeoisie, he gradually became more interested in affirming international artistic progress during the modern era. Undoubtedly a highly influential model was his Berlin friend Hugo von Tschudi (fig. 4), a scholar of Renaissance art who had made his career within the Berlin Nationalgalerie and was named its director in 1896.¹⁰ Dedicated twenty years earlier as a temple of German art as well as honoring the glory of the ruling Hohenzollern family, the museum had long suffered from the contradictions of its dual role.¹¹ Tschudi's first step as director was a bold stroke—equivalent to a coup d'état: he immediately acquired a stock of important Impressionist paintings, among them Manet's *In the Winter Garden* (fig. 5). Even before the founding of the Berlin Secession, he managed to get the consent of the ministry, and of the kaiser, not only to accept the collection of Impressionist paintings but even to finance it. Apparently, he knew how to persuade Kaiser Wilhelm II, whose all-too-personal government was under ongoing pressure also from the Reichstag. Soon Tschudi rearranged the collections so as



Fig. 6. Tschudi's hanging from early 1907 in the third floor of the National Gallery, Berlin. Photograph by Albert Schwarz, 1908, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Zentralarchiv

arranged in a soberly bright room under skylights (fig. 6).¹² Wilhelm II then tried openly to force Tschudi into submission, but others such as the Secessionists and Lichtwark encouraged him to resist.¹³

In 1908 the tension between Tschudi and the kaiser came to a head



Fig. 7. Édouard Manet, *Lunch in the Studio*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 46 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 60 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches (118.3 × 153.9 cm). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich

Durand-Ruel, who sent it on tour to various cities in Austria and Germany. As in Berlin, where Tschudi had relied increasingly on private sponsorship in order to bypass government opposition, the new Munich collection was financed exclusively by generous friends; it entered the museum only in 1912, shortly after the director's death.

to favor aesthetic criteria over ostentatious display and dynastic propaganda. When, in 1902, the kaiser ordered him to change this installation, Tschudi decided to divide the galleries that represented artistic progress from those illustrating Hohenzollern glories. His plans for a modern hanging were authorized only at the end of 1906; the new hanging was realized early in 1907.

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arranged in a soberly bright room under skylights (fig. 6).¹² Wilhelm II then tried openly to force Tschudi into submission, but others such as the Secessionists and Lichtwark encouraged him to resist.¹³ In 1908 the tension between Tschudi and the kaiser came to a head over a dispute about acquisitions—a conflict that finally made Tschudi's position impossible. Although handicapped by a serious disease, he accepted an offer to direct the Bavarian state collections in Munich. Here again, he purchased paintings for the museum such as Manet's *Lunch in the Studio* (fig. 7), acquired along with others from the holdings of Auguste Pellerin. This important collection had been sold by Cassirer and Paul

The passion of Tschudi's engagement, which helped break the joint resistance of conservative Munich artists and the government, was shared



Fig. 8. Édouard Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian* (3rd version), 1868–69. Oil on canvas, 99 ¼ × 118 7/8 inches (252 × 302 cm). Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim



Fig. 9. Max Slevogt (German, 1868–1932), *Gustav Pauli*, 1924. Oil on canvas, 39 3/8 × 34 1/2 inches (100 × 87.5 cm). Hamburger Kunsthalle

by Georg Swarzenski, who had been his colleague in the Berlin museums. Shortly after accepting the nomination as director of the Frankfurt Städelsches Kunstinstitut in 1906, Swarzenski built up the holdings of Impressionist art there. His intent was to acquire, for relatively modest prices, a collection of such significance as to have a positive influence on modern art.¹⁴ Swarzenski served as mentor to Fritz Wichert, who, after receiving a doctoral degree in Berlin under Wölfflin, worked for him in Frankfurt for two years.

Wichert then became director of the Mannheim Kunsthalle in 1909, and the following year he purchased Manet's *Execution of the Emperor Maximilian* (fig. 8) from the Pellerin collection.¹⁵ Both Swarzenski and Wichert were influenced by Lichtwark in encouraging modern and applied arts through the activities of their museums.

Another entrepreneurial spirit among directors was Gustav Pauli (fig. 9). He had studied with Burckhardt and worked in the Dresden museums before he became, in 1899, director of the Kunsthalle in Bremen. A champion of artistic innovation, he favored not only French and German Impressionists but also Expressionist art as well as the artists of the Worpswede colony, located near Bremen. One of Pauli's most out-

standing acquisitions was Manet's portrait of Zacharie Astruc (fig. 10), from Durand-Ruel, via Cassirer. After Lichtwark's retirement in 1914, Pauli succeeded

him as director of the Hamburg Kunsthalle, and a decade later, against the massive opposition of the city council, he bought Manet's *Nana* (fig. 11), a painting the Paris Salon had refused in 1877. It had been part of the Pellerin collection, from which it was purchased by a Hamburg collector. Pauli could convince the city council only by arguing that the picture was a good investment and could be sold later for a lucrative price.¹⁶

The dates of German purchases of important Impressionist paintings are truly remarkable by comparison with those of France. A year after Antonin Proust had made Manet the hero of the art exhibition at the Paris world exposition

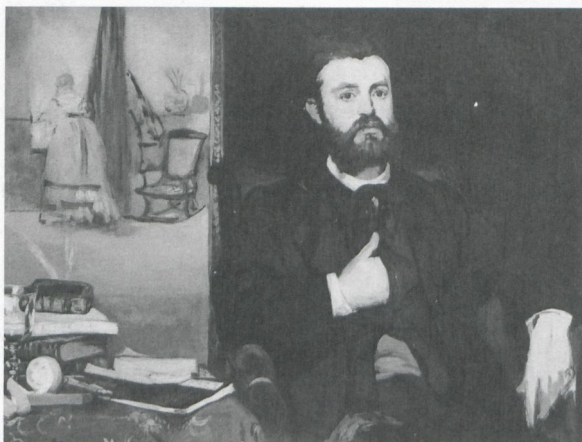


Fig. 10. Édouard Manet, *Zacharie Astruc*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 35 x 45 1/2 inches (89 x 116 cm). Kunsthalle Bremen

of 1889, the gift of *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Lunch on the grass) to the French state by a group of artists, intellectuals, and writers still caused major political turmoil. In the same way, the collection of the painter Gustave Caillebotte, bequeathed to the state in 1894, was rejected initially; two years would pass before half of the paintings were hung in the Palais du Luxembourg.¹⁷ It was in that year that Tschudi acquired *In the Winter Garden* for Berlin.

The German museum directors who are rightly considered the founding fathers of modern art collections, in which Impressionism played and still plays a decisive role, were motivated in their acquisition strategy not merely by cultural rebellion or the predilections of naturalistic “gutter” literature,¹⁸ but also by the writings of art historians. In 1893–94 Richard Muther, for example, published a highly ambitious three-volume history of nineteenth-century painting.¹⁹ Refusing to categorize into national schools, he reconstructed artistic progress, in Emile Zola’s famous phrase, “as seen through a temperament.” Muther greeted Impressionism as the “final word in the monumental struggle for liberation of modern art.”²⁰ Manet had replaced “artificial” or conventional means to reach pictorial unity by the “scientific” study of light, which, by its atmospheric power, unites the spectator and the scene in a higher harmony. Under the rubric “fiat lux,” Muther



Fig. 11. Édouard Manet, *Nana*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 60 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 45 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (154 x 115 cm). Hamburger Kunsthalle

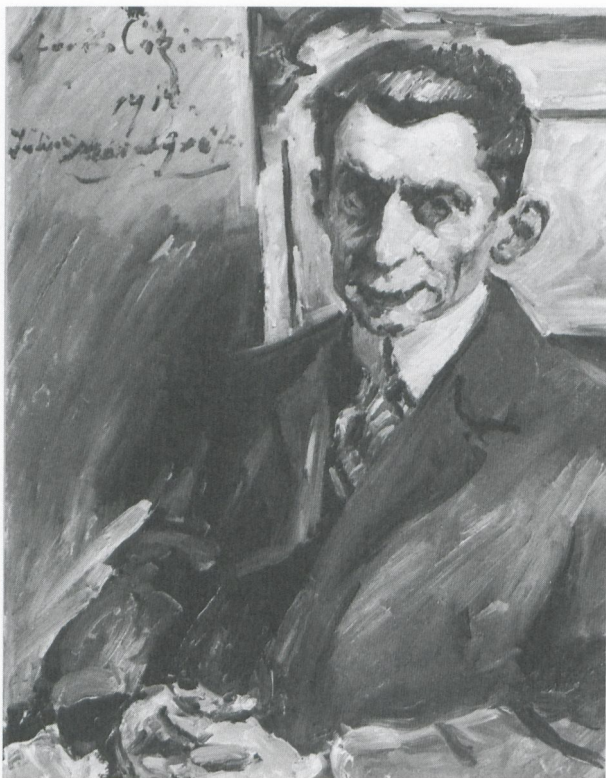


Fig. 12. Lovis Corinth (German, 1858–1925), *Julius Meier-Graefe*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 35 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (90 × 70 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris

labeled Manet's art as the culminating point in a development that went from antiquity through Masaccio and Piero della Francesca to Courbet and the Barbizon painters. With harmony and intensity of perception as the central criteria the Impressionist had succeeded in linking art more closely to the all-encompassing movement of life.²¹

The art historian Georg Dehio attacked Muther's book as a subjectivist pamphlet influenced by Zola.²² Indeed, Zola's belief in the independent individual emancipated to the highest degree from academic prejudice and old-fashioned conventions would dominate for a generation. The liberal cult of outstanding personalities would

be accentuated, during the 1890s, by an undercurrent of Nietzscheanism penetrating critical language and rhetoric. Writing in this vein, and more influential than Muther, was Julius Meier-Graefe (fig. 12), who had been an early defender of Edvard Munch and who directed, after 1895, a modern applied-arts gallery in Paris. In 1904 he published the first edition of his book on modern art—a work that by far superseded Muther's in its emotional acuity as well as narrative precision. Meier-Graefe, too, hailed Impressionism as a triumph and a turning point in the history of art. He considered progress in the direction of subjective expression to be a consequence of advancing individual freedom and liberalism. French art, more genuinely pictorial than the introverted expressions of the Nordic people, was in his view destined also to serve as a model for German art.²³ In its formalism, Meier-Graefe's thinking had a source different from that of his colleagues; his aim was to be accepted not as a historian but as a critic who stood in the tradition of Charles Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, and other French writ-

ers of the Post-Impressionist and Symbolist generation. Indeed, he invented a sophisticated form of highly engaged and often polemical art criticism within the German culture. But with the university professors of art history, he fought for the independence of aesthetics from extra-artistic interests.²⁴ Meier-Graefe's frank aestheticism can be sensed as an underlying element in Tschudi's preference for Manet's *Lunch in the Studio* over *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* and *Nana*, which were also part of the Pellerin collection on sale through Cassirer. In a small monograph on Manet published in 1902, Tschudi mentioned *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* only for its beautiful still life, whereas he acclaimed *Lunch in the Studio* as a modern synthesis of the art historical tradition of portrait painting.²⁵ Tschudi's attitude would remain typical for the German reception of the *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*. The painting would be in Justin K. Thannhauser's Munich gallery in 1925. When it entered the Courtauld Institute galleries five years later, Wilhelm Hausenstein, an art critic of the expressionist generation, published his farewell to what had been, for him, the modern incarnation of the *éternel féminin*. Viewing the male spectator in the painting, represented as the client with the monocle in the mirror, as having transformed the seductive woman into a modern Olympia—not Manet's own but the beautiful mechanical doll in *The Sandman* by E. T. A. Hoffmann—Hausenstein regretted that Manet had reduced her life merely to her public existence.²⁶ In 1951, Hans Jantzen, rather influential in post-Second World War German art history, in an essay dedicated to Georg Swarzenski, praised Manet for having isolated the sculptural figure in the painting. He interpreted that isolation as a moral rescue of the innocent woman from her immoral, French surrounding.²⁷

The formalistic preferences of Meier-Graefe and Tschudi were not strong enough, ultimately, to overcome the Germans' nationalistic and chauvinistic opposition to French art—especially the Impressionist idiom. Meier-Graefe's elitist aestheticism, although important in the intellectual debate, never became popular. His criticism had been influenced deeply by Friedrich Nietzsche's *Untimely Meditations*, in which his country's bourgeoisie was attacked for its cultural arrogance following victory over France in 1871, thereby translating German military superiority into an ostensible cultural superiority. In 1905 Meier-Graefe evoked the precedent of Nietzsche's critical book *Der Fall Wagner* (The case of Wagner, 1888) with a stinging polemic titled *Der Fall Böcklin* (The case of Böcklin), directed against the painter Arnold Böcklin, whom he dismissed as the hero of a beery half-educated bourgeoisie, the idol of a worthless cult of the

masses.²⁸ Henry Thode, professor of art history in Heidelberg and son-in-law of Cosima Wagner, responded with pamphlets opposing the deeper spiritual essence of German to the merely pictorial superficiality of French art, and defending Böcklin along with Hans Thoma as the heroes of Nordic painting.²⁹ It was *their* positions that became influential during the 1930s.

It would be too simplistic to label Meier-Graefe's, Tschudi's, and the pioneering curators' interest in Impressionism as motivated only by formalist aestheticism. Such an evaluation would amount to repudiating, on the grounds of the current rejection of formalism, the academic background that lay behind a decisive step of modernizing aesthetic culture in Germany. Instead, we should place that specific formalism in the ideological and institutional reality of the Kaiserreich. As we have seen, the ideas of the established museum curators were well grounded in the tradition of German art history. Although early scholars (such as Karl Friedrich von Rumohr, Karl Schnaase, and Jakob Burckhardt) had very different ideas about art and its development, they were all concerned with the question of artistic evolution as it relates to historical development. Their followers, the generation of art historians who started their careers during the last decades of the nineteenth century—Wilhelm von Bode, Anton Springer, Heinrich Wölfflin, and Alois Riegl—were still interested in the impact of historical context on the artwork, whether regarding social history, the history of ideas, or the spiritual progress of humankind. But they focused more on what artistic development meant in itself, independent of the influences of society. Whether inspired by connoisseurship or informed by philosophical discussions, art historians of that generation insisted mostly on an inner logic of artistic development: one form generating the offspring of the next, a formal problem of one work necessitating its solution in another one. While almost all agreed that art participated in the general historical progress and expressed the situation of its time, most of them (except Springer) had varying ideas about a sort of *Zeitgeist* that linked *Kunstwollen* (the will to art or style), and *Formgefühl* (the feeling for form) to other fields of society and progress. Often it was more a matter of vague belief than of methodology to assert that an artistic movement was an expression of contemporary spirit.³⁰

If we try to characterize the formalistic interests of this generation according to Richard Wollheim's distinction, we would have to describe them as analytical rather than normative: the subject matter of painting or sculpture simply was analyzed predominantly in formal terms.³¹ An appreciation in the

name of normative formalism would have been grounded in aesthetic laws that might or might not have been deduced from the works themselves. Furthermore, a normative formalism would insist on an autonomous development of art. The reason for that focus is partly institutional. Apparently, during the formative period of art history as a department in universities, it was important to insist on independent criteria and paradigms. Art history still had to be legitimized as a field of scholarship based on its own distinctive principles.³²

Another feature of the formalism of art history during the Wilhelmine era is the fact that it was inspired fundamentally by art theory. The sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand had insisted on specific aesthetic requirements for pictorial narration within the surface of classical relief³³—an analysis on which August Schmarsow based a theory of pictorial (instead of sculptural) space.³⁴ Following a discussion that had its origins in the eighteenth century—in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's theories about Laocoön, for example—there was a keen perception for the distinctive character of the artistic media in painting, sculpture, and architecture.³⁵ Perhaps the most promising aesthetic theory associated with early formalism was the philosophy of Konrad Fiedler. According to the concept of expressive gesture (*Ausdrucksbewegung*), he analyzed the logic of transformation in the artwork. He defended the autonomy of art not only as based on specifically aesthetic interests but as determined by the various procedures and expressive strategies of different artistic media. The validation of an artwork can be established only by focusing on the process of its realization in the chosen material.³⁶ Fiedler's writings, as well as his endorsement of an artist such as Hans von Marées, were inspired by a strong opposition to meaningless anecdotal naturalism and to compositions overdetermined by historically accurate decoration and ideological retrieval of the past. His art theories are symptomatic of a generation inimical to the average production: painting that reflected the prejudices of a petty educated bourgeoisie and of nationalism. Art, he believed, must not be allowed to merge into mass culture, with nationalism as one of its principal catalysts.³⁷

The achievements of Lichtwark, Tschudi, Pauli, and Meier-Graefe were possible only within a congenial alliance of divergent forces that defended an independent aesthetic distinctive of an urban, cosmopolitan society. Their fight for Manet and Impressionism was directed against nationalistic provincialism and petty bourgeois amateurism. In one way or another, all the defenders of Impressionism in Germany insisted that aesthetic invention must be distinctively contemporary. Implicitly, that attitude is directed against any ahistorical concep-

tion of formalism and art for art's sake. They all preferred themes of art that were not constructed according to extra-artistic principles but were somehow found in order to satisfy aesthetic necessities of modern experience. Therefore, art historians who admired Italian Renaissance art as well as Rembrandt could hold modern subjects and the Impressionists in high regard. As demonstrated in the example of Tschudi, however—his preference for *Lunch in the Studio* over *Bar at the Folies-Bergères*—they were partial to relatively neutral scenes from ordinary bourgeois life instead of noisy episodes from popular culture and Parisian amusements. Their formalism was thus linked to a collective mentality. Accepting cosmopolitanism and a society based on liberal exchange, they defended the rights and interests of aesthetic culture in a highly differentiated society. That their formalist beliefs did not develop into avant-garde utopias or into futurism probably explains why, to the post-modern art public, Tschudi and Meier-Graefe are more appealing than the true believers in pure aesthetics of the period following World War II.

The year 1933 marks the collapse of German aesthetic culture. During the 1950s, art historical writing about Impressionism in Germany slowly made a new beginning. In an era when Abstraction was considered the international artistic language of the Western world, the formalist understanding of Impressionism deepened. But it was not the formalism of Alfred Barr or Clement Greenberg; rather, it was colored by a specifically German penchant for suppressing the remembrance of national shame. The philosopher Martin Heidegger played a key role in the birth of a national school of art history that evaluated art on the tabula rasa of existentialism. In 1935, in his essay on the origin of the work of art, Heidegger had discussed Van Gogh's *Shoes* as a paradigm of a postmetaphysical aesthetics linking art to the essence of things (as, in this case, a pair of worn shoes).³⁸ Heidegger created the paradigm for Austrian and German art historians who tended to see Impressionism as the aesthetic expression of an existential attitude toward the world. Cézanne, as seen in 1956 by Kurt Badt, was an existentialist artist admired mostly for his almost religious contemplation of the fundamental problems of human existence.

To be sure, by the 1950s, the school of Kurt Badt, Lorenz Dittmann, and Max Imdahl can be credited with initiating a debate within German art history about modern artistic languages.³⁹ But they transformed the elitist formalism of the generation of Tschudi into an escapist vision of pure art considered almost as a second religion. In part, their position can be understood as a response to Hans

Sedlmayr, whose incendiary book *Verlust der Mitte* (The loss of the center), published in 1948, had interpreted modern art as an index of post-Enlightenment decadence.⁴⁰ The most intelligent art historian among those who had been infected by Nazi ideology, Sedlmayr suppressed the ideological past with a neo-Catholic pessimism. Badt reacted as if obliged to prove that art still belonged to the realm of spirituality. His book on Cézanne, published in 1956, made clear that Zola's notion of the artist's temperament was adequate to describe Manet's art but not that of Cézanne. Zola had used the term *temperament* to describe, according to Badt, merely a psychological attitude toward "a corner of nature"; in Cézanne, the approach evolved into a fundamentally aesthetic subjectivism contemplating not just aspects of reality but the world.⁴¹ Cézanne's calm solitude triumphing over emotional turmoils was symbolized by the several versions of his *Card Players*. The closeness of the motif to Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus* gave a cryptic religious undertone to this aesthetic idolatry.

In 1996 and 1997 an exhibition on Tschudi and the paintings he acquired for Berlin and Munich drew massive crowds. The catalogue is an impressive résumé of research on the history of museums during the Wilhelmine era. On the one hand, the evocation of Tschudi and Meier-Graefe, in a diatribe against essentialist idolaters and aesthetic high priests, certainly had a liberating effect. But on the other hand, the organizers' attempt at reviving the spirit of elitist aestheticism seemed sterile. Impressed that the aristocratic origin of Tschudi's family was older than that of the Hohenzollern, they contrasted the seasoned nobility of the museum director with the vulgar tinsel aristocracy of Wilhelm II.⁴² Perhaps the problem is that reviving the liberal aestheticism of former times inevitably neutralizes the emancipatory aspect of that same aestheticism. Similarly, an avant-garde that takes an elitist stance against the Kaiserreich cannot be a model for modern strategies for creating a refined aesthetic attitude. The fight for the Impressionists against the kaiser was a courageous act in the name of the freedom and autonomy of art. But today, only a genuinely liberal debate about the masterpieces by Manet, one that is not tied to the aestheticism of Meier-Graefe and Tschudi, can be faithful to their spirit.

Studies reconsidering the effect of Impressionism on the background of other German intellectual traditions—for example, that of Walter Benjamin—are still marginal, confined to strictly academic art history, and often regarded with suspicion. To be sure, there have been blockbuster shows on Impressionism and early modern art in Germany—such as the exhibitions

organized during the 1970s and early 1980s at the Kunsthalle Tübingen or the 1992 Van Gogh retrospective in Essen. And, as in France, England, and the United States, they are generally motivated by biographical, novelistic, and aesthetic ideas. But it would be impossible to oppose a broader current of “revisionist” scholarship to the early modernist trend. If they exist at all, revisionist art historical studies on Impressionism in Germany are linked to French intellectualism, to critical art history in England and the United States, and to models of literary history in the German context.

However we assess Germany’s last generation of truly heroic internationalists, buying Impressionist masterpieces for their museums, we confront an ideological impasse. Centers such as Munich and Berlin are still not comfortable with “their” Manets, which remain among the most ambiguous of his works. A monumental exception to this estrangement of Manet’s paintings from their sophisticated surroundings is Werner Hofmann’s study of *Nana*, a highly intellectual book published in 1973 in a popular edition.⁴³ But it has had scarcely any successors. The provocative modernity of Manet is silenced under the weight of art history. If we fail to understand what Impressionism means for present-day Germans, we know at least what it meant for Hugo von Tschudi and the enlightened bourgeoisie of his time. But today Impressionism belongs to the two art histories, and only to them.

1. Walter Feilchenfeldt, *Vincent van Gogh and Paul Cassirer, Berlin: The Reception of Van Gogh in Germany from 1901 to 1914*, catalogue of the drawings, compiled by Han Venenbos (Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders, 1988); Walter Feilchenfeldt, “Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Cézannes in Deutschland,” in *Cézanne: Gemälde*, ed. Götz Adriani (Cologne: DuMont, 1993), 293–312. Feilchenfeldt generously made accessible to Verena Tafel the archives of Paul Cassirer for the study “Paul Cassirer als Vermittler Deutscher impressionistischer Malerei in Berlin: Zum Stand der Forschung,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 42 (1988): 31–46. A useful survey on collecting and the art market is Robin Lenman, “Painters, Patronage, and the Art Market,” *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 123 (May 1989): 109–10. See also Robin Lenman, *Die Kunst, die Macht und das Geld: Zur Kulturgeschichte des kaiserlichen Deutschland, 1871–1918* (New York: Campus, 1994).

2. The Nazi shows on “degenerate” art of 1937—among them the most prominent “decadent art” exhibition in Munich—concentrated mostly on works by the generation of Expressionism, Dada,

and 1920s neo-Realism. Except Van Gogh, French Impressionist works were generally not seized as degenerate from German art museums. The only German Impressionist to be singled out as such was Lovis Corinth. As the examples of Munch and Ensor make clear, those artists reputed to be mentally or physically ill were included in the shows of 1937, and their works were confiscated from museums. The basic documentation for this practice is Franz Roh, "Die in den Museen beschlagnahmten Arbeiten," in *"Entartete" Kunst: Kunstbarbarei im Dritten Reich* (Hannover: Schmidt-Küster, 1962), 123–248. See also Paul Ortwin Rave, "Gemälde und Plastiken moderner Meister aus deutschen Museen: Verzeichnis der Auktion in Luzern am 30. Juni 1939, Galerie Fischer," in *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich*, ed. Uwe M. Schneede (Berlin: Argon, 1987), 164–67. Background information on art politics and the institutional framework surrounding confiscations can be found in Otto Thoma, *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie: Bildende Kunst und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Mann, 1978); and Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). For a recent examination of the subject, including a list of artworks exhibited as "degenerate," see Stephanie Barron et al., *"Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1991), esp. the essays by Annegret Janda and Andreas Hünecke. The 1937 show in the Munich Hofgartenarkaden and many other exhibitions of "degenerate" art in several cities are discussed in Christoph Zuschlag, *"Entartete Kunst": Ausstellungsstrategien im Nazi-Deutschland* (Worms: Werner, 1995), 205–21. For introductory information about the confiscations, see Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europe: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 3–25. For literature on single museum collections and their fate during the Nazi years, see Annegret Janda and Jörn Grabowski, *Kunst in Deutschland, 1905–1937: Die verlorene Sammlung der Nationalgalerie im damaligen Kronprinzen-Palais. Dokumentation. Aus Anlass der Ausstellung Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie, 1992* (Berlin: Mann, 1992); Günter Busch, "Die Verluste der Kunsthalle," in *Museum Heute: Kunsthalle Bremen* (Bremen: Hauschild, 1948), 3–11; Barbara Lepper, *Verboten, verfolgt: Kunstdiktatur im 3. Reich*, exh. cat. (Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum; Hannover: Kunsthalle; and Wilhelmshaven: Wilhelmshaven Kunsthalle, 1983); Barbara (Katharina) Lepper and Jan-Pieter Barbian, *Moderne Kunst im Nationalsozialismus: Die Kampagne "Entartete Kunst" und die Sammlung des Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museums Duisburg, 1933–1945, Museumspädagogisches Begleitheft* (Duisburg: Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, 1992), 12–17; Hans-Werner Schmidt, "Die Hamburger Kunsthalle in den Jahren 1933–1945," in Sigrun Paas and Hans-Werner Schmidt, eds., *Verfolgt und verführt: Kunst unterm Hakenkreuz in Hamburg, 1933–1945*, exh. cat. (Hamburg: Kunsthalle, 1983), 50–67; Hans-Jürgen Buderer and Karoline Hille, *Entartete Kunst: Beschlagnahmeaktionen in der Städtischen Kunsthalle Mannheim, 1937*, exh. cat. (Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1987); Manfred Fath,

“Die ‘Säuberung’ der Mannheimer Kunsthalle von ‘Entarteter Kunst’ im Jahre 1937,” in *Festschrift für Gerhard Bott zum 60. Geburtstag* (Darmstadt: Anthes, 1987), 169–86; Dagmar Lott, “Munichs Neue Staatsgalerie im Dritten Reich,” in *Die “Kunststadt” Munich 1937: Nationalsozialismus und “Entartete Kunst,”* ed. Peter-Klaus Schuster (Munich: Prestel, 1987), 289–300; Peter-Klaus Schuster, ed., *Dokumentation zum nationalsozialistischen Bildersturm am Bestand der Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst in Munich: Eine Veröffentlichung aus Anlaß der Ausstellung “Entartete Kunst”* (Munich: Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst and Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1988); Heinz Schönemann, “Der Aufbau einer Modernen Galerie im Angermuseum Erfurt bis 1933 und deren Zerstörung in der Zeit des Faschismus,” in *Angriffe auf die Kunst: Der faschistische Bildersturm vor 50 Jahren*, exh. cat., ed. Peter Fiedler and Rainer Krauss (Weimar: Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Kunsthalle am Theaterplatz, 1988), 20–22; Brigitte Reinhardt, ed., *Kunst und Kultur in Ulm, 1933–1945*, exh. cat. (Ulm: Ulm Museum, 1993), 70–95. As for a museum that acquired an important collection from the auctions of “degenerate” art in Switzerland, see Georg Schmidt, “Die Ankäufe ‘entarteter Kunst’ im Jahre 1939,” in *Schriften aus 22 Jahren Museumstätigkeit* (Basel: Phoebus, 1964), 6–10.

3. Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). For discussion of Wilhelm II’s predilections for neo-Romanesque styles, see Michael Bringmann, “Gedanken zur Wiederaufnahme staufischer Bauformen im späten 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Zeit der Stauer: Geschichte-Kunst-Kultur*, supplement to exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977; Stuttgart: Cantz, 1979), 580–620. See also a monograph on the most influential “official” artist during the first years of the Wilhelmine era, Dominik Bartmann, *Anton von Werner: Zur Kunst und Kunstpolitik im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1985).

4. Nicolaas Teeuwisse, *Vom Salon zur Secession: Berliner Kunstleben zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch zur Moderne, 1871–1900* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1986), 99–111; Barbara Paul, “Drei Sammlungen französischer impressionistischer Kunst im kaiserlichen Berlin—Bernstein, Liebermann, Arnhold,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 42, no. 3, *Sammler der frühen Moderne in Berlin* (1988): 11–30.

5. Paul, “Drei Sammlungen,” 19–26. The other paintings on the wall in fig. 2, as identified by Barbara Paul, are (from right to left): Alfred Sisley, *The Bridge of Argenteuil*, 1872 (private collection); Claude Monet, *The Bench*, 1873 (Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Annenberg); Édouard Manet, *Young Woman in Spanish Dress Lying on a Sofa*, 1862 (Yale University Art Gallery); Camille Pissarro, *View of Marly-le-Roy*, 1872 (location unknown); and Claude Monet, *The Island La Grenouillère*, 1869 (location unknown). Hanging in an adjacent room is Paul Cézanne’s *In the Oise Valley*, 1873–75 (Collection of W. Goetz, Los Angeles).

6. Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Deutsche Kunsthistoriker* (Berlin: Spiess, 1986); Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979);

- Heinrich Dilly, ed., *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Reimer, 1990).
7. Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Joan Goldhammer Hart, *Heinrich Wölfflin: An Intellectual Biography* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1988).
8. To mention only Manet's most famous paintings in German collections: Tschudi's spectacular acquisitions of Manet's *In the Winter Garden*, 1878–79, for the Berlin National Gallery, and of *Lunch in the Studio*, 1868, for the collections of Bavaria in Munich, date from 1896 and 1910, respectively. See Barbara Paul, *Hugo von Tschudi und die moderne französische Kunst im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Mainz: Zabern, 1993), 82–88, 298–300. Also in 1910, when the collection of Auguste Pellerin was put up for sale, Fritz Wichert acquired Manet's *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian* (third version), 1868–69. See Barbara Lange, "Eine neue Art von Kunstgeschichte: Eine neue Art von Geschichte," *Die Erschiessung Kaiser Maximilians von Edouard Manet in der Diskussion um Moderne in Deutschland*, in *Edouard Manet: Augenblicke der Geschichte*, exh. cat., ed. Manfred Fath and Stefan Germer (Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1992), 171–81.
9. Margrit Dibbern, "Die Hamburger Kunsthalle unter Alfred Lichtwark, 1886–1914: Entwicklung der Sammlungen und Neubau" (Ph.D. diss., 1980); and Hans Präffcke, *Der Kunstbegriff Alfred Lichtwarks* (New York: Olms, 1986).
10. Lichtwark, who was invited to fill the position, declined, mostly because he knew that his role under the Hamburg city government gave him infinitely more freedom than that of a Berlin museum director.
11. Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Weihestätte der Kunst oder Wahrzeichen einer neuen Nation? Die Nationalgalerie(n) in Berlin 1848–1968," in *Berlins Museen: Geschichte und Zukunft*, ed. Michael F. Zimmermann (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1994), 155–64.
12. The paintings, as identified by Barbara Paul, are still in the National Gallery (from left to right): Manet's *In the Winter Garden*, 1878–79, and *Country House in Rueil*, 1882; Auguste Renoir's *Summertime*, 1868, *Flowering Chestnut-Tree*, 1868, and *Children During an Afternoon in Wargemont*, 1884; Camille Pissarro's *Country House in the Hermitage at Pontoise*, 1873; Claude Monet's *View of Vétheuil*, 1880; Paul Cézanne's *The Mill at the River Couleuvre near Pontoise*, c. 1881; Edgar Degas's *Conversation*, c. 1884; Cézanne's *Still Life with Flowers and Fruit*, c. 1888–90; and Monet's *Summertime*, 1874. The sculptures are by Auguste Rodin.
13. Paul, "Hugo von Tschudi," 217–30; Barbara Paul, "Der französische Impressionismus in der Nationalgalerie: Vom Streitobjekt zum Publikumsliebbling," in Zimmermann, *Berlins Museen*, 165–80; and Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern and Peter-Klaus Schuster, eds., *Manet bis van Gogh: Hugo von Tschudi und der Kampf um die Moderne*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Nationalgalerie; Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen—Neue Pinakothek, 1996). Early in 1904, when the budget

for the German contribution to the world's fair in St. Louis came up for a vote in the Reichstag, Manet's painting in the Nationalgalerie (*In the Winter Garden*) became the topic of a heated parliamentary debate. See Andreas Blühm, "Ist der Ruf erst ruiniert...': Manet im Blick der Deutschen," in *Jenseits der Grenzen. Französische und deutsche Kunst vom Ancien Régime bis zur Gegenwart. Thomas W. Gaegtens zum 60. Geburtstag*, 2nd vol., ed. Uwe Fleckner, Martin Schieder, and Michael F. Zimmermann, *Kunst der Nationen* (Cologne: DuMont, 2000), 401–13.

14. Beatrice von Bismarck, "Georg Swarzenski und die Rezeption des Französischen Impressionismus in Frankfurt: Eine Stadt im 'Kampf um die Kunst?'" in *ReVision: Die Moderne im Städelschen, 1906–1937*, exh. cat., ed. Klaus Gallwitz (Frankfurt: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, 1992), 31–41.

15. Lange, "Eine neue Art von Kunstgeschichte." See also Jenns Eric Howoldt, *Der Freie Bund zur Einbürgerung der bildenden Kunst in Mannheim: Kommunale Kunstpolitik einer Industriestadt am Beispiel der "Mannheimer Bewegung"* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1982).

16. Carl Georg Heise, "Gustav Pauli zum Gedächtnis," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 11 (1966): 7–14; and Siegfried Salzmann, "Gustav Pauli und das moderne Kunstmuseum," in *Avantgarde und Publikum: Zur Rezeption avantgardistischer Kunst in Deutschland, 1905–1933*, ed. Henrike Junge (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), 235–42.

17. Pierre Vaisse, *La Troisième République et les peintres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995); and Pierre Vaisse, "Le legs Caillebotte d'après les documents," in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1983): 201–8.

18. A telling panorama of literature between naturalism and new aesthetics in Berlin is chronicled in Janos Frecot, "Literatur zwischen Betrieb und Einsamkeit," *Berlin um 1900*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie and Akademie der Künste, 1984), 319–53.

19. Richard Muther, *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Hirth, 1893–94).

20. Muther, *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*, 2:646.

21. Richard Muther, *Ein Jahrhundert Französischer Malerei* (Berlin: Fischer, 1901). For discussion of Muther, see Eduard Hüttinger, "Richard Muther—eine Revision," in *Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Jahrbuch*, 1984–86, *Beiträge zu Kunst und Kunstgeschichte um 1900*, 9–24; and Paul, *Hugo von Tschudi*, 38–60.

22. Georg Dehio, "Die Malerei des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts beleuchtet von einem 'Jungen,'" in *Preussische Jahrbücher* 76, no. 1 (April 1894): 122–33. Quoted by Paul, *Hugo von Tschudi*, 57.

23. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst: Vergleichende Betrachtung der bildenden Künste, als Beitrag zu einer neuen Aesthetik* (Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1904). The English edition, first published in 1908, is *Modern Art*. For discussion of Meier-Graefe, see Kenworth Moffett, *Meier-Graefe as Art Critic* (Munich: Prestel, 1973); and Thomas W. Gaegtens, "Les rapports de l'histoire de l'art et de l'art contemporain en Allemagne à l'époque de Wölfflin et de Meier-Graefe,"

Revue de l'Art 88 (1990): 31–38. The perspective of the present essay is indebted to Gaechtgens's interest in art history and contemporary art.

24. Catherine Kraemer, "Meier-Graefes Weg zur Kunst," in *Hoffmansthal Jahrbuch zur europäischen Moderne* 4 (1996): 169–226.

25. Hugo von Tschudi, *Edouard Manet* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1913), 32–34, 57.

26. Wilhelm Hausenstein, "Die Bardame," in *Meister und Werke: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte und Schönheit bildender Kunst* (Munich: Knorr and Hirth, 1930), 189–91.

27. Hans Jantzen, "Edouard Manets *Bar aux Folies-Bergère*," in *Beiträge für Georg Swarzenski zum 11.1.1951* (Berlin: Mann, 1951), 228–32.

28. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Der Fall Böcklin und die Lehre von den Einheiten* (Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1905).

29. Henry Thode, *Böcklin und Thoma: Acht Vorträge über neudeutsche Malerei* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1905). See also Adolf Grabowsky, *Der Kampf um Böcklin* (Berlin: Cronbach, 1906). For modern literature on the debate around Böcklin, see Paret, *The Berlin Secession*, 245–61; and Gaechtgens, "Les rapports de l'histoire de l'art."

30. Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 61–158; see also the essay on Bode (Wolfgang Beyrodt) and the excellent discussion of Alois Riegl (Wolfgang Kemp) in Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution*, 19–34, 37–60.

31. Richard Wollheim, *On Formalism and Its Kinds: Sobre el formalisme i els seus tipus* (Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies, 1995). See also "Wollheim on Pictorial Representation," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 56, no. 3 (summer 1998): 217–40 (essays by Richard Wollheim, Jerrold Levinson, and Susan L. Feagin). Concerning the historical perspective that should be taken into account for any discussion about modern formalism, see Willibald Sauerländer, "From 'Stylus' to Style: Reflections on the Fate of a Notion," *Art History* 6 (1983): 253–79. The recent debate on Heinrich Wölfflin is rich in reflections about the autonomy of art as it relates to the formalistic inquiry into aesthetic evolution. See Matthias Waschek, ed., *Relire Wölfflin* (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1995), esp. the essays by Roland Recht and Martin Warnke, 31–60, 95–119. For discussion of Erwin Panofsky's critique of Wölfflin, see Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, 46–68; and Andreas Eckl, *Kategorien der Anschauung: Zur transzendentalphilosophischen Bedeutung von Heinrich Wölfflins "Kunstgeschichtlichen Grundbegriffen"* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1996), 37–40. The latter is a modern attempt at reappraising Wölfflin's fundamental concepts of art history on the ground of neo-Kantian reflections.

32. For an important book on the early institutional development of German art history until around 1880, see Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution*. See also Willibald Sauerländer, "L'Allemagne et la 'Kunstgeschichte': Genèse d'une discipline universitaire," *Revue de l'Art* 45 (1979): 4–8.

33. Adolf von Hildebrand, "Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst," in *Gesammelte Schriften zur Kunst*, ed. Henning Bock (Cologne: Westdeutscher, 1969), 199–265.

34. August Schmarsow, *Beiträge zur Ästhetik der bildenden Künste*, vol. 1, *Zur Frage nach dem Malerischen* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896).
35. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon, oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*, ed. Hugo Blümner (Berlin: Weidmann, 1880); a modern English edition has been translated by Edward Allan McCormick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
36. Konrad Fiedler, *Schriften zur Kunst*, ed. Gottfried Boehm, 2nd ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1991). The two introductions by Boehm are "Anschauung als Sprache—Nachträge zur Neuauflage," (7–24), and "Zur Aktualität von Fiedlers Theorie" (45–97). See also Philippe Junod, *Transparence et opacité: Essai sur les fondements théoriques de l'art moderne—Pour une nouvelle lecture de Konrad Fiedler* (Geneva: L'age d'homme, 1976).
37. John Breuilly, "Approaches to Nationalism," in *Formen des nationalen Bewusstseins im Lichte zeitgenössischer Nationalismustheorien*, ed. Eva Schmidt-Hartmann (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 15–38.
38. Martin Heidegger, *Der Ursprung des Kunstwerks*, intro. Hans-Georg Gadamer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1967). My remarks are directed to certain aspects of the reception of Heidegger in German postwar art history. For the modern discussion concerning Heidegger's aesthetics, see *Martin Heidegger: Kunst, Politik, Technik*, ed. Christoph Jamme and Karsten Harries (Munich: Fink, 1992). See also Meyer Schapiro, "The Still Life as a Personal Object—A Note on Heidegger and van Gogh," in *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society* (New York: Braziller, 1994), 135–42. In 1968 Schapiro rejected Heidegger's proposition that an unconscious presence of useful things can be seen to lift them outside the reality of earthly existence.
39. For a highly refined and modern position in that context, see Max Imdahl, *Farbe: Kunsttheoretische Reflexionen in Frankreich* (Munich: Fink, 1987).
40. Hans Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte: Die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als Symbol der Zeit* (Salzburg: Müller, 1948).
41. Kurt Badt, *Die Kunst Cézannes* (Munich: Prestel, 1956).
42. Hohenzollern and Schuster, *Manet bis van Gogh*, 21.
43. Werner Hofmann, *Nana: Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Cologne: DuMont, 1973).