

Russian émigré artists and political opposition in fin-de-siècle Munich

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In fin de siècle Munich, Russian émigré avant-garde artists sought to realize a belief in art's ability to foster social reform through a strategy of avoidance. The city's populist orientation and encouragement of Symbolism as a new artistic platform became a conjoined vehicle through which such artists as Marianne Werefkin, Alexei Jawlensky and Wassily Kandinsky pursued their aims. These were rooted in Russian Realism's traditional advocacy for humanitarian treatment of the masses and the style's ability to articulate that ideology effectively. The shift of the style's political allegiance to the tsarist government's sphere in the early 1890s however, discredited its ability to represent the voice of the populist opposition. Realism was now allied with autocratic self-promotion, a style no longer born of the masses but of tsarist politics. This association extended into Munich, as political unrest in the Russian Empire, official concerns over the encouragement of anarchist activity in Germany and Munich's reception of politically persecuted students from the Russian Empire sensitized all Russian émigrés' presence in the city. The legal criminalization of political activity by Russian émigrés in Bavaria by the tsarist and Prussian governments and anti-censorship advocacy for artistic freedom of expression by Munich liberals encouraged Russian émigré avant-garde artists to adopt an artistic language unassociated with political communication as it was understood at the time. Channeling their ideology through an abstracted, non-naturalist visual vocabulary drawn from personal felt experience and the internal world allowed them to pursue their social mission under the auspices of artistic freedom, outside the parameters of political advocacy naturalism traditionally held.

Keywords: anarchism, Russian émigré artists, German Expressionism-Munich, Realism, Germany-Russia cross-culture, Abstraction.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of opposition in studies of German Expressionist art has characterized the field in a number of ways. Themes addressing private versus public realms of discourse, urban vs. rural subjects and official academic vs. avant-garde stylistic modes are some well-established avenues with which this phenomenon has been explored. Analyses focusing on local artists groups and individual artists have demonstrated more specific manifestations, such as Die Brücke's opposition to middle-class convention and its lifestyle in Dresden,¹ and Kandinsky's shift towards non-representation and its language of anti-naturalism in Munich.²

The purpose of this article is to bring another level of specificity to our understanding of opposition in Munich beyond the framework of German national boundaries - cross-culturally, with a shift in focus to include Russia. Russian émigré artists were a prominent presence in late nineteenth to early twentieth century Munich and included Marianne Werefkin, Alexei Jawlensky and Wassily Kandinsky, among the better known of the avant-garde. Promoting their art through such independent organizations as the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM) and *Der Blaue Reiter*, these artists worked with their German colleagues, such as Franz Marc and Gabriele Münter in developing an internally driven, emotionally infused abstracted art which challenged and opposed official academic norms advocating

naturalism as the accepted aesthetic standard. While the stylistic manifestation of this opposition has been well-documented elsewhere,³ I will argue here, that the impetus for this pursuit among these Russian émigrés was also politically motivated, influenced by a desire to escape the conflation of Realism with official tsarist government politics. This process began during their original residency in Russia in the early 1890s and then extended into Munich in subsequent years into the early 1900s, as political instability within the Russian Empire influenced foreign policy in Germany.

Realism's identification with populist advocacy and social change in Russia became discredited with the incorporation of the Realist art group the *Peredvizhniki* into the fold of official culture, highlighted in the appointment of several of its artists to the government's Imperial Art Academy during institutional reforms begun in 1890. At a time in which the government demonstrated its inability to provide for even basic necessities for the masses in the recent 1891-1892 famine,⁴ Realism's new association with the tsarist power structure undermined many intellectuals trust in the style's former critical objectivity and humanistic purpose. Its social ideals were, to a certain extent taken by Russian émigré artists abroad to Munich where the combination of a liberal, populist-oriented intellectual and artistic community, and Symbolism's appearance as a new artistic alternative were synthesized in support of their realization. Simultaneously, the combination

of growing populist political unrest in the Russian Empire in the 1890s, the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War and the 1905 Russian Revolution heightened anti-tsarist sentiment and the fear of anarchist uprisings in Munich. German sensitivity regarding all Russian émigrés potential political alliances encouraged an overall climate of suspicion, which only increased after the revolution through well-publicized searches, detentions and arrests by Munich police seeking to enforce a law prohibiting Russians from political activity in Bavaria. Russian émigré artists assumed a defensive posture with which they had to live and work by gradually avoiding situations in which they might become easy public targets to police and anti-Russian Germans, by traveling abroad and/or working outside Munich where political tensions were highest, as in the small relatively nearby town of Murnau. Ongoing public scrutiny over artistic content further encouraged an avoidance strategy, as the German government hotly debated morality in the arts through the Lex Heinze bill and the removal of a Realist painting by the Polish artist Stanislaw Fabianski, *From the Empire of the Tsars* by the city's *Künstlergenossenschaft* (Artists Association) from its well-known annual exhibition in 1910 reinforced the style's association with the tsar. Russian émigré avant-garde artists' belief in art's ability to effect social change was redirected towards a less politically controversial path, one of individual introspection and felt experience as its ultimate catalyst.

REALISM'S EARLY POLITICAL POSITION IN RUSSIA

Since its founding in 1870 in St. Petersburg, the *Peredvizhniki's* prevailing identity was its popular allegiance and opposition to the tsarist regime. More formally known as the *Tovarishchestvo peredvizhnykh khudozhestvennykh vystavok* (Association of Traveling Art Exhibits) the group had voiced issues of social injustice to the masses through images of poverty, hunger and class discrimination. Their agenda was based on the secession of 14 students from the Imperial Academy of Art in 1863,⁵ and their protest of the tight control and restrictions the institution placed on its students. The impetus for the act was the governing board's rejection of the student's request that they choose a populist, realist-oriented subject for the Big Gold Medal competition,⁶ rather than the traditional neo-classical theme given by the administration. The students withdrew from the competition and the Academy, forfeiting their advancement of civil status and the privilege of not paying taxes, as well as the professional and financial security which came with being one of the Academy's graduates.

The symbolic message sent by the students to the Russian intellectual community in 1863 was that they could not be bought by the Academy nor enticed by the economic and social advantages it offered. As the Academy was under the direct authority and control of the tsar, protest against the institution

signified opposition to him as well.⁷ Artistic freedom and preserving one's personal and professional integrity were the fundamental elements of the secessionists' cause, yet it was also paired with a broader agenda of popular protest and greater freedom for the masses which were underway at the time. Serfdom had been abolished in 1861 and the tsarist government's injustice to its people was the pressing issue among Russian intellectuals of the period.⁸ The Realist style and its propensity for documentary-like portrayals of everyday life became an appropriate vehicle for addressing the hardship of the masses, a practice epitomized in the art of the *Peredvizhniki*.⁹

Like the earlier secessionists, the *Peredvizhniki* strove to free artists from the "serf-like dependence" they had been forced into with the Imperial Academy, and dedicated themselves to increasing artists' autonomy over their lives and professional careers.¹⁰ The organization accomplished this with greater success than its predecessor, as it emerged during a time of increased private patronage and did not have to rely on the Academy for economic support. Their reformist agenda also reached the masses in its structure as a traveling exhibition society, by arranging the appearance of its shows in the provinces after initial venues in St. Petersburg and Moscow. In doing so, the *Peredvizhniki* brought the social and moral messages of their work to the people whose lives they illustrated and offered a visual vehicle for the masses to fight politically against the government's injustices upon them.

Vladimir Makovsky's painting *Anticipation*, 1875 (Fig. 1) is an example, in which he portrayed the faults of the government's justice system. Here, family and friends from several different classes stand outside the walls of Moscow's Deportation Fortress, expecting the emergence of prisoners from its gates. Peasants and gentry, mothers, fathers, wives and children alike, make up the solemn and patient crowd, many weary from waiting and travel in the winter weather. The elderly peasant couple on the right sit tiredly on their sleigh, laden with goods to pass on to their son, the one most likely behind bars. The fur-clad gentleman in the center similarly waits with a package in hand for his relation, while three other men look through a peephole into the fortress gate for any signs of activity.

The long wait the crowd has endured and the resignation they express is juxtaposed by the lengthy sentences the prisoners have been given, their lives lost in a failed justice system. The prisoners' complete physical absence from the image suggests that they in fact, will never be reunited with their families, to be deported to the depths of Siberia where their fate is unclear. The brief meeting they may have with their families will be one of farewells, as the latter see their loved ones off with no guarantee of return. The justice system's unfairness and indiscriminate imprisonment of Russia's



Figure 1. Vladimir Makovsky, *Anticipation*, 1875, oil on canvas, 32.7 x 48 in., State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

citizens for petty offenses is presented by Makovsky as symptomatic of a broader Russian societal problem. His rendering of the Russian cross attached above the window on the right and the gilded candleholder within directly refer to the Russian church, whose credibility as an advocate for humanity has been overshadowed by its negligence of the nation's citizens. The church's interest in promoting itself as an institution of power and wealth, catering to the wishes of the rich and politically established for its own advantage, meant it could provide little spiritual sustenance to families in need, such as those before the gate.

The *Peredvizhniki's* operation outside the sphere of influence of those institutions they criticized gave them the freedom to develop as a voice of national consciousness. Their representation of the plight of the masses and the injustices of an autocratic system in their work held appeal on a humanitarian level. Man's mistreatment of fellow man was an intolerable consequence of the Russian government's abuse of power, whose improvement could only be hoped for through the participation of the general population. Through their Realist art, the *Peredvizhniki* were able to raise public awareness towards social reform, ultimately defining in Realism and themselves an identity as advocates for Russia's good as a nation.

The *Peredvizhniki's* image as an arbiter of change and freedom lost its credibility with the initiation of institutional reforms at the Imperial Academy of Art in 1890. The only artistic government opposition at the time, it was strategically eliminated by the Academy's appointment of four of the society's members to its faculty, the painters Ilya Repin, Arkhip Kuindzhi, Vladimir Makovsky and Ivan Shishkin as well as admitting twelve others to the Academy's 80-member governing board.¹¹ The inclusion of the *Peredvizhniki* among the Academy's administration divided the organization and compromised the integrity of the society's role as an

independent voice for the masses. Realism, the style in which the society articulated the masses' oppositional agenda to the tsarist government, was now that same government's official visual language. Many of the more conservative *Peredvizhniki* and the prominent Russian critic Vladimir Stasov, who had supported their reformist agenda for years, saw this shift as an act of betrayal to the aims of free art the group both fought for and represented. Stasov asserted the counter-productiveness of the *Peredvizhniki's* cooperation with the Academy as a detriment to artistic freedom and Russia's societal improvement in his article "Is Dissent Among Artists a Good Thing?", which appeared in the 24th *Peredvizhnik* exhibition catalogue in 1894.¹² The *Peredvizhniki's* opposition to the government had been a catalyst for Russia's artistic development in the autonomy it maintained. Without that divisiveness, Russian art he predicted, would be reduced to mediocrity, its progress debilitated by the control the government wielded over its artists.

The *Peredvizhniki* continued to exist as an organization until 1923, but their impact as a symbol of artistic freedom rapidly disappeared in Russia's art community with the Academy's reforms. After 1893, the *Peredvizhniki* began holding their exhibitions at the Academy, a privilege revoked in 1875 for the organization's disobedience to the official institution.¹³ Realist genre also entered the sphere of the Academy's classical educational curriculum, blurring the stylistic distinction it had maintained with the *Peredvizhniki* and diminishing the aesthetic differences the two groups once had. The biting criticism characteristic of much of the *Peredvizhniki's* Realism became sanitized, reduced to soft-hearted genre images of peasants tilling wheat fields for example, its subject matter bearing a "stamp of ordinariness and weariness."¹⁴

THE IDEOLOGICAL POSITION OF RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉ ARTISTS IN MUNICH

The loss of a progressive artistic ideological opposition to government within Russia in the 1890s led numerous younger Russian artists, such as Werefkin, Jawlensky, their friend Igor Grabar, Dmitrii Kardovsky, Kandinsky and others to consider alternatives in Central and Western Europe. Munich in particular, proved an attractive venue for exhibition and study through its tradition of encouraging international artistic participation in its imperial art academy, government-sponsored *Kunstlergenossenschaft* exhibitions and the Munich Secession. The founding of the Munich Secession in 1892 in particular offered ideological support and an organizational outlet for the exhibition of innovative contemporary Russian art in ways which paralleled the original goals of artistic freedom articulated by the *Peredvizhniki* and its predecessor secession group of 1863 in Russia. The Munich Secession promoted the infusion of non-

German, foreign art into its domestic exhibitions in an effort to provide fertile ground from which new artistic developments could emerge. Such encouragement was an important step in asserting the Secession's ideology of progress and innovation,¹⁵ which also solidified Munich's historic reputation as the international art center of Germany.¹⁶ Although numerous national groups were represented at the Munich Secession exhibitions, the Russians held a special place as a culture emerging artistically in their departure from Realism. Theirs was a shift similar to contemporary developments in the field, such as Symbolism, in Germany and other areas of Europe, yet the Russians were perceived by a number of Germans as uniquely visualizing the internal realm. Karl Benda, critic for the Berlin journal Die Freie Bühne for example, suggested Russian art was an appropriate and timely source of inspiration for German artists because of its high emotional content. He stated,

By all means, we can also learn from the great Russian Naturalists. Learn? Rather, we are so deeply fond of them. And perhaps it is just this fondness that is the characteristic [necessary] for the revival and future development of our art. We Germans have always been instinctively interested in that art, which had the most powerful emotional content and has, through it, spurred us on to revived creativity once more. We once already drifted away from the French to the English. This time the Russians and Scandinavians are our preference. We hope it is a favorable omen.¹⁷

The Munich press similarly addressed the powerful and evocative quality of Russian culture as writers focused on contemporary Russian art in terms of its ability to express something internal. Reviewing an [unnamed] exhibition in St. Petersburg for the Munich newspaper Die Allgemeine Zeitung in 1894, one critic noted,

In spite of all the stirring melancholy and sad subjects of this exhibition, it still produces an encouraging impression. One notices in most of the pictures, that these artists are on the right track, although have not yet arrived at their goal, artistic completeness. Nature and mankind are infused here with a spiritual meaning; we don't see mere Slavic copies, no photographs, rather animated and highly spirited representations from nature and the life of people. The mission for artists as for writers is the struggle against, repulsive, egoistic materialism and the revival of expired idealism.¹⁸

The departure from Realism for Russian artists was understood by such critics in terms of the degree to which it did not continue to adhere to traditional academic conventions of integrated, unbroken lines, delineated forms, a relatively narrow color palette range, and generally integrated

brushwork. Their association with official art, dictated from the top down to artists as correct training in academies governed by monarchies interested in maintaining their authority was the metaphor to which such critics were alluding, exemplified in such paintings as Anton von Werner's, The Opening of the Reichstag in the White Room of the Berlin Palace by Wilhelm II on June 25, 1888, 1893 (Fig. 2). To the degree that contemporary artists were able to surpass these obstacles using subjects of landscapes in nature, of peasants working and episodes in life which were not in the realm of official, government ritual and self-promotion was associated with the true nation - life that was 'of the people' and the substance that made up the nation at its core. In addition to the painting's subject, this was understood visually through specific stylistic and technical attributes, which in relative combination with each other took on political meaning.¹⁹ Thus, paintings in which objects lost some of their linear definition through softened brushwork, had noticeable impasto and gradual intensification of hue applied as an organic outcome of the object's internal character - rather than as a highlighting technique determined externally by academic convention - overcame the limitations which had become associated with official Realism.

By the mid-1890s, Russian artists associated with this shift included Isaak Levitan, Valentin Serov, Vladimir Makovsky and others, whose work began to be shown regularly at the Munich Secession. Levitan participated in 1896, 1898 and 1899, becoming a member of the Secession in 1897.²⁰ Serov exhibited in 1896 and Makovsky in 1897 with four paintings, all of which were sold.²¹ A prevalent feature of these artists' work was the application of plein-air painting's loose brushwork and blended muted tones accentuated with smaller areas of heightened color. Russia's landscape and its people were their common subjects, such as Levitan's landscape Golden Autumn. Slobodka, 1889 (Fig. 3) exhibited at the Secession in 1898. Here, Levitan portrays a rustic scene of seven wooden buildings set on either side of a dirt road. The land is partially cultivated to reveal small plots of farming by local residents, yet some areas appear to have been left to grow wild. The buildings are rendered with relatively more definition, in flat, thick strokes of grey paint, while the land, particularly those trees and grasses left to grow on their own, are executed with a looser, lighter brush. Levitan heightens the changing color of leaves on birches, from a saturated intense orange in the foreground to a gradually toned down range of orange receding back into the distance. Formally, the color contrast - from low intensity grey tones to bright and rich orange hues, represented a departure from Russian Realism's tendency towards a more evenly toned darker-ranged color palette, such as Makovsky's Anticipation discussed earlier. But it was Levitan's ability to use color to articulate the inherent, organic properties of nature which led Igor Grabar to single out his later landscapes as the



Figure 2. Anton von Werner, The Opening of the Reichstag in the White Room of the Berlin Palace by Wilhelm II on June 25, 1888, 1893, oil on canvas, 12 ft. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 21 ft. $\frac{3}{4}$ in., Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Schloß Sanssouci, Potsdam.

hallmark of contemporary Russian painting in his art historical essay 'Zwei Jahrhunderte Russische Kunst' which appeared in the 1906-1907 issue of *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.²² Levitan's understanding of color's expressive potential was so extensive, Grabar equated it with the "mystical, enigmatic core of musical drafts" and identified his painterly success in surpassing the "poetry of the theme" for "the poetry of its own forms."²³ Color, in relationship to

other colors of differing intensity, revealed the internal living essence of the object depicted - its core, so to speak - beyond the painting's subject. By shifting focus from what was depicted to how it was revealed, Levitan had succeeded in freeing painting from government-imposed stylistic mandates.

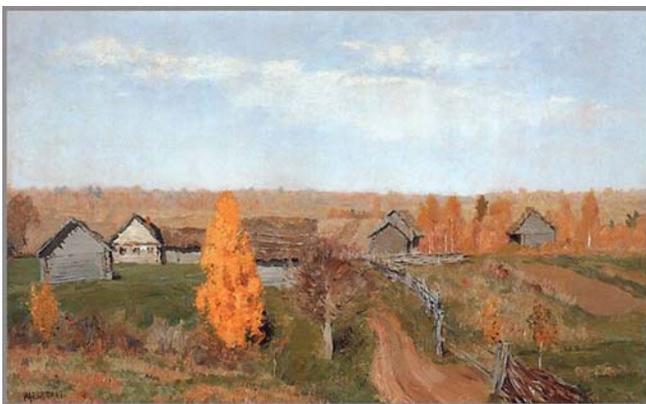


Figure 3. Isaak Levitan Golden Autumn. Slobodka, 1889, oil on canvas, 16.9 x 26.5 in., State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

The populist socio-political component to Grabar, Werefkin and Jawlensky's artistic pursuits and the potential for its realization in Munich was also in part likely influenced by Ilya Repin, Werefkin and Jawlensky's former teacher, then at the Imperial Art Academy. When the three students emigrated together in 1896, Repin had just won the gold medal at Munich's 1895 *Kunstlergenossenschaft* exhibition, for his internationally well-known painting Zaporozhian Cossacks Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan, 1880-1891 depicting the theme of fighting for one's freedom against oppression.²⁴ It was an achievement Grabar immediately praised,²⁵ and validated Repin's own favorable comments about the city as "Germany's artistic hotbed" in published accounts of his 1893-1894 Western European trip for the Russian press.²⁶ Repin's characterization of Munich alluded to the city's widespread fine arts industry support by government and business channels at the local and regional, not just national, levels, a true *Kunststadt* befitting its reputation.²⁷ This demonstrated a 'bottom-up' phenomenon where artists could expect

economic outlets to sell their work, whether to patrons “at a pub” in which paintings were hung, or at local government-sponsored international art exhibitions such as the *Künstlergenossenschaft*.²⁸ From the perspective of the Russian system, where, with little exception, artists had few outlets for showing their work publicly at that time, Munich had integrated art opportunities at seemingly all class levels by providing the necessary infrastructure for public access to art.²⁹ Art’s existence as part of everyone’s life and the opportunities it afforded - economically, socially and artistically - was in Munich, a reality in the minds of Russian artists.

Russian émigré artists moving to Munich typically settled in Schwabing, the city’s bohemian neighborhood in the northern part of the city. It was the center of Munich’s student population where the Munich Art Academy and the University were located, and the hub of both the artistic and Slavic immigrant communities. Grabar, Jawlensky, Werefkin and Kandinsky found residences here and formed the basis of what Grabar would call the “Russian colony” in letters to family and colleagues back home over the next few years.³⁰ Also located there was the private art school of Anton Azbé, whose innovative teaching methods attracted students from all over Europe, including many Russian émigré artists who first enrolled with him upon their arrival.³¹ Grabar, Jawlensky and Kandinsky were among his students,³² and the school provided a regular meeting place for artists to network to make friendships and exchange ideas. Werefkin, their senior in age, professional and educational experience,³³ befriended Azbé but embarked on her own path by establishing the St. Lukas Brotherhood in 1897, an informal artist’s salon held at her apartment.³⁴ Its artistic purpose was to pursue an “emotional” art of the future, recalling the work of Delacroix and the Romantics.³⁵ Numerous Azbé students visited, and over the years, expanded to include Gabriele Münter, Franz Marc, Hugo von Tschudi and others, with the work of Van Gogh and Gauguin among the topics of discussion.³⁶ Werefkin herself was the catalyst driving the meetings, whose extensive knowledge earned her a high level of respect and recognition, including that of her partner Jawlensky.³⁷ This was similarly acknowledged by her peers, who addressed her by her aristocratic title “Baronin”, not only as a sign of her class, but as a form of recognition for her authority as a teacher and generator of ideas.³⁸ It’s content was similar to the salon of Symbolist poet and writer Stephané Mallarmé in Paris several years earlier for its interest on the correspondence between poetry, literature and art, and their ability to express interior modes of thought and feeling for which no formal language yet existed.³⁹ However, it had also been the custom among highly educated Russian women of the nobility to lead such private salons in Russia since the eighteenth-century.⁴⁰ The social make-up of its participants and intellectual direction were determined by the leader, whose ability to foster a

successful cultural exchange provided her not only “public affirmation” but was interpreted by colleagues as an important contribution to the larger sphere of Russian cultural development.⁴¹ Russian salons offered an alternative to official, government-sponsored venues as the academy, in their ability to offer a forum for open, honest intellectual discussion and sometimes practical opportunities for artistic exploration, such as those of Princess Maria Tenisheva at the Talashkino art colony in the 1890s and Savva and Elizaveta Mamontov at Abramtsevo in the 1880s for their fostering a revival of Russian arts and crafts. Werefkin believed an emotional art rooted in one’s personal feelings had the power to overcome all obstacles and embrace life, which had become compartmentalized and isolated by boundaries of class and politics, so prevalent in contemporary European society. As an aristocrat, she knew those limitations full well personally, but she also witnessed them artistically in the recent shift of Realism’s political alliances with the ruling establishment in Russia. Romanticism’s support and acceptance of the full range of human suffering and passion, as in the work of Delacroix, was for Werefkin a model for the future of all contemporary society, not just a select few. She stated,

How the artists and politicians of Romanticism mutually elucidated and commented upon one another! After the formulas and conventions of the pseudo-classical epoch, after the death of the arts, after the magnificence of events - one feels the beat of intense desire [and] a human heart still full of its passions and suffering. Limbs writhe in Delacroix’s pictures and music draws out the passions as its role, statesmen dream of individual good fortune, the townsman becomes a brother, a friend, literature flows over with feeling. An epoch of total exaggeration, without clarity, without the stillness of masterpieces, but bubbling with inspiration, carried away with itself through the exuberance of life. Art is no longer a clarified life, it is life itself.⁴²

For Werefkin, her salon represented a “union of broad-minded, feeling, thinking, affectionate people. Art has united us [and] we have gotten to know, esteem and care for each other. Art, friendship and sympathy for all that is beautiful, good and noble is our battle-cry.”⁴³ Emotional commitment, group unity and mutual understanding around a common cause characterized her salon where it’s members’ belief in their artistic purpose could be universally applied for the betterment of humanity. Strategically positioned outside official circles, the salon bore affinity with Russian Realism’s early program of social reform in the 1860s and grassroots appeal in its goals, but had embraced a mode of visual communication they believed would surpass the constraints of what Realism had become in its later years. Journalistic, descriptive and lacking critical insight, Realism in Russia had ceased to grow ideologically for Werefkin and her friends Jawlensky and

Grabar, as she later told Repin, during an impromptu visit to his home in 1899. "It [Realism] had become dilettante, there was nothing left in Russia to learn for them [Werefkin's friends] at the time [they decided to go abroad]." ⁴⁴ Indeed, Werefkin asserted the importance of individual artistic autonomy - as it was being demonstrated in Munich Secession exhibitions - as the new ideological tool with which to impact society, over Repin's assertion that only Realist art could serve the interests of one's own people, one's native land ("*rodynoi*"). ⁴⁵ Werefkin, who remarked to Jawlensky in her retelling of their conversation that Repin was no longer the person he used to be, noted their former teacher had essentially become part of the official status quo, a proponent of the Imperial Academy which appointed him. Realism, now the visual language of the tsarist government could not achieve the humanistic ideology it had intended to pursue decades earlier, because its first purpose was to articulate an official agenda. Repin and Werefkin's discussion, sadly demonstrated that his decision, several years earlier, to enter the government's official institutional artistic arm was a failure. Over the long-term, he could not realize the ideological platform with which he supported the concerns of the masses at the top levels of power, because the official infrastructure to which he was now bound was unable to maintain its tangible connection to them. ⁴⁶

TSARIST POLITICS IN MUNICH

The cultural and professional connection offered by Azbé's school, Werefkin's salon and the "Russian colony" provided an internal enclave for Russian émigré artists within Munich's larger Russian émigré and artistic communities as well as the general local German population. Yet if these smaller networks provided a level of security and reassurance for Russian émigré artists, it was countered by a climate of suspicion and surveillance within the broader Russian émigré community by Munich police searching for signs of subversive political and especially anarchist activity. The police's concern was influenced by the arrival of student exiles from the Russian Empire, who had fled to the city to escape government persecution at its eight universities. ⁴⁷ Their appearance in Munich, in increasing numbers after 1895 and well into the 1900s, ⁴⁸ led to the prevailing perception by local Germans that all Russians were affected by, if not actively engaged in politics. During the fin-de-siècle, the Munich press and German government documents typically portrayed Russian émigrés either as victims of tsarist oppression or as anarchist activists, using Munich as a safe-haven. Anarchist activity in Europe, including the assassination of tsar Alexander II in 1881 in Russia, two unsuccessful attempts on Kaiser Wilhelm in 1878 and again in 1883 and the recent resurgence of terrorist activities in France, such as the bombing of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris 1893 and the assassination of French president Sadi Carnot in Lyons in 1894 by Italian

anarchist Santo Caserio added to the growing fear that Russian émigrés would engage in political violence as well and destabilize Munich, if not, Germany. ⁴⁹ This was compounded by a growing interest in anarchism among some German intellectuals and industrialists, ⁵⁰ the rise of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] power in Germany, ⁵¹ and the open anarchist politics of Camille Pissarro and Paul Signac in France. ⁵² Although there is no documentation suggesting Munich artists were connected to anarchist activities at this time, the avant-garde's tendency to side with leftist politics and their opposition to government-run academic institutions opened the possibility that local Munich artists might pursue an active anarchist agenda in the future.

The climate of fear and suspicion led Munich's district police commissioner Julius Göhler to infiltrate its Russian émigré community in 1894 and spy upon it regularly thereafter until at least 1911. ⁵³ Writing a report to the "Königliche Polizeidirektion München" or royal police administration, he described "the condition and political behavior of Russian subjects studying here in Munich" to his superiors, attempting to establish a framework for identifying anarchist activity the Munich police department could use later. ⁵⁴ Göhler's report focused on the community's social structure, inhabitants, some of their social practices as well as Russians' perception by local Munich residents in general. He presented himself to Russian émigrés as a police officer and gained their goodwill after arresting a neighborhood con man on the suspicion of thefts which had taken place in the community. As a result, he was able to gain inside information on the émigrés by befriending them and was invited to their homes and meeting places, such as the Café Luitpold and Elite - the former, a popular meeting place for artists. Russians generally, he assessed, steered away from activities which might draw adverse attention to themselves and refrained from discussion of politics, keeping their opinions quiet.

Authorities targeted Russian émigrés on the assumption that subversive political activity would likely ensue in the freer atmosphere Munich provided. Hoping to prevent any potential political outbreak in the city, the Munich authorities relied on an 1885 extradition treaty between Bavaria, Prussia and Russia, which defined political activity for Russian nationals as a criminal act. Munich authorities were permitted to extradite émigrés so engaged back to Russia. However, the definition of political behavior was ambiguous and ultimately relied on determination by Munich police officials. Stipulated in Article 3 of the agreement, the point hinged on the interpretation of the clause, "The situation in which the crime or offense is committed with a political purpose, brought forth as a result of this extradition, should in no case serve as a basis for rejecting extradition." ⁵⁵ The clause would become targeted later, in the context of political tensions in Munich associated with the 1905 Russian Revolution. Russian

émigrés' presence in the city became more publicly politicized and Article 3 was highlighted as the key loophole designed to support autocratic, oppressive forms of governance, whether from Russia or perhaps more fearfully for Germans, in cooperation with Prussia and Bavaria.

The issue surfaced during the second of two demonstrations protesting Bloody Sunday on January 22 in St. Petersburg,⁵⁶ the tsarist government's massacre of hundreds of citizens engaged in a peaceful procession to Winter Palace requesting political and economic reforms. The Munich demonstrations occurred on February 2nd and 3rd, the first one with an attendance of over three thousand Munich residents and the second even larger with an estimated five to ten thousand persons attending. Among the members of the second demonstration's planning committee were the noted Munich-based German artists Franz von Stuck, Max Halbe and Franz Defregger as well as Georg von Vollmar, the SDP's parliamentary representative who addressed the crowd during the rally. In his speech, von Vollmar stressed the universal application of the Russian situation and the importance of the rally as a fight against oppression of all kinds. He stated, "The demonstration should not be a rally of a single party, of a single orientation or of a social class.... It should be a demonstration for all those who have feelings for the sufferers of a belittled oppressed great peoples, for their standing up out of barbarity to culture."⁵⁷ As the rallying crowd cried out in rejection of the tsar, speakers revealed the existence of the 1885 extradition treaty with Russia. Article 3, quoted above, was singled out in particular, its unspecific definition of political behavior cited as an indication of the authoritarian regime's interest in overly asserting its power over Russian émigrés' personal fate. Individual civil liberties, freedom of expression in any form were therefore threatened as the unspecific nature of what was political was ultimately determined by the viewer and not the producer of the work. Von Vollmar stressed that the agreement was the only extradition treaty held by a German state outside Prussia, leading demonstrators' to angrily conclude that it was a Bismarckian tool to enlist Bavaria in Prussia's dirty work. The Prussian government was accused of abusing its power - like that of Russia - to persecute Bavarians with the additional allusion to personal family gains on the political agenda as Germany's Wilhelm II was cousin to Russia's Nicholas II. The demonstrators identified with the notion of political oppression as they perceived it was experienced by Russian citizens, giving ground to the message of populist solidarity von Vollmar was trying to pursue and granting credence to the Social Democratic agenda as a party representing the interests of the masses.⁵⁸

Von Vollmar's platform was a familiar one, for the SDP had advocated it to Munich demonstrators 5 years earlier, during protests against the Lex Heinze, a censorship law ultimately

controlling freedom of expression in the arts. The Lex Heinze had been introduced to the Reichstag originally in 1892 after discussions in the Prussian Cabinet,⁵⁹ to address obscenity, pornography and urban vice, but in the course of years of parliamentary debates had developed into heated issues concerning artistic content and threats to intellectual freedom.⁶⁰ Prominent German artists, such as Franz von Stuck, writers, politicians and the press hotly contested it, as it essentially merged art with vice, leading Von Vollmar to vehemently oppose its requirement that art models register as prostitutes with the police.⁶¹ Indeed, as the bill was modified and re-presented to the parliament over the years, wording of specific elements became targets of contention as differences of interpretation by authorities could mean imprisonment for an artist unintentionally overstepping the boundaries of moral conduct. Vice and prostitution were conflated to signify nudity for supporters of the bill, to the point where they believed the Venus de Milo could not be displayed in an art dealer's shop window, according to Article 184a.⁶² The city of Munich was the center of the bill's opposition, as it was home to two liberal satirical art journals *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*, a liberal art press, experimental theater and other progressive artistic ventures and had already been the target of conservatives deeming the city was lacking in moral fiber.⁶³ During the 1900 demonstration protesting the bill in Munich, Von Vollmar asserted it was really a means of suppressing freedom "and artists could learn from the workers how to fight for their rights."⁶⁴ A revised bill was passed in June with less extreme measures, although censorship issues continued to appear in specific cases until 1914.⁶⁵

Von Vollmar's strategy of grouping Munich's artistic community with populist interests during the Lex Heinze debates was applied to garner Russian émigré support after the events of Bloody Sunday in 1905. An outcome of the later demonstration was a formal resolution informing the German government of Bavarians' intent to offer asylum to Russians, to encourage those in other German cities to do the same and to demand the termination of the 1885 treaty.⁶⁶ The presence of all Russian émigrés residing in the city became radicalized as Von Vollmar's goal of providing protection by Bavarians effectively grouped them with the same liberals who had opposed the Lex Heinze's infringement of artistic freedom. Russians were now more easily associated with the far left and were ensured political protection from the party advocating its allegiance to the masses. Supporting the Russians became a proxy for defending freedom of all kinds and the liberal Munich press readily promoted its radicalization, by reporting on those events whose limits on freedom the local authorities were deemed to have overstepped. Such newspapers as *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, *Münchener Post*, and *Münchener Zeitung* regularly covered the Munich police's crackdown on Russian

student organizations at local colleges after 1905. Munich authorities were likely seeking local cells of leftist political activity, such as those associated with the radical Russian party, the Socialist Revolutionaries, which had declared a terrorist campaign against in 1906.⁶⁷ Newspapers were especially concerned with Russian students and their school organizations, such as the “Russische Akademische Lesehalle” the “Russischen Studenten-Kasse” and the “Russische Studenten-Lese-Verein” which were investigated for potential subversive activity.⁶⁸ Many student members had their apartments searched and passports confiscated, as in the case of Daniel Meerowitsch, chair of the “Russischen Studenten-Kasse”, which was shut down by police in 1907 on the suspicion of funnelling money back to Russia for the revolutionary movement.⁶⁹ In addition to organizations, Russian émigré student admissions were curtailed immediately after Bloody Sunday, as in the case of the Munich Technical College or *Münchener Technische Hochschule* for the 1905 spring semester. The *Münchener Zeitung* and the *Augsburger Abendzeitung* both cited the disproportionate enrolment of Russians over other foreigners and Bavarians during the 1905 winter semester,⁷⁰ as well as the political causes behind such a decision. The *Augsburger Abendzeitung* acknowledged the schools’ liberal admission policy while regretfully agreeing it could not have “revolutionary elements” in its student population.⁷¹ The *Münchener Zeitung* reported the Hochschule’s decision to cease Russian admissions was a consequence of Russian internal politics,⁷² and coincided with the closure of all universities in the Russian Empire in March, as a preventative measure against continued civil unrest sweeping that country.⁷³

Munich authorities sought direct links between Russian émigré students and the revolutionary effort in Russia, concerned that such political instability would spread into Germany, experiencing its own problems with the growing labor movement.⁷⁴ The massive Ruhr coal miners’ strike was underway when Bloody Sunday occurred and was seen by numerous Marxists and extremists in the SDP as a platform for moving towards revolution rather than taking a more moderate pace of reform.⁷⁵ In the climate of industrial lockouts and strikes, increasing sharply in 1905, Germany’s own instability with its labor force threatened to become more severe. For authorities concerned with maintaining domestic order, the Russian Revolution couldn’t have come at a worse time. The large degree of sympathy bestowed to victims of the 1905 Russian Revolution from the German masses in general could potentially fuel domestic leftist sentiment towards more aggressive action. In Munich, the Social Democrats definition of the Russian massacre in terms of human rights violations, universally applied, broadened the base of people in protest to include Germans - workers struggling for improved labor conditions; artists, writers and actors seeking greater freedom of expression and publishers

and editors fighting to maintain a free press, threatened earlier by the Lex Heinze.

VISUAL STRATEGY OF INTERNAL ABSTRACTION

The effects of the 1905 Russian Revolution in Munich created a culture sensitized to Russian émigrés’ presence and behavior. Russian émigré students and artists alike were never free from the association by local Germans that they were victims of tsarist oppression, active in subversive political activity, or somehow impacted by the political instability within the Russian Empire.⁷⁶ Although this may not have been the case for all Russian émigrés in Munich, this was the predominant view of Russians by Germans in the public sphere. It was a perception with which such Russian émigré artists as Werefkin and Kandinsky were privately frustrated, even before the tensions of 1905. Werefkin, writing in her journal, “Lettres á un Inconnu” on the occasion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 remarked,

Today the city has something new. It is as if a storm wind swept through the streets. One glues one’s nose to the posted notices. One hears conversation, and the words Japan and Russia shoot across the walkway. The world loves a scandal, whether great or small.... I am so scared of every contact with reality; I am so scared of the surge of ideas, which break out of there....Crowds gather in front of the posted notices at every street corner. The first reports are disastrous for us. Three warships put out of action. Behind me cry out voices joyous over the events. A blind rage takes over me, an inexhaustible melancholy and the longing, this fatherland whose weakness one publicly surrenders, squeezes the heart. Add to that, the Carnival activities, men who look into one’s face impudently, and women with eyes [painted] like pregnant cats. One feels alone and amiss on the square in such a crowd.⁷⁷

Anti-tsarist sentiment in Munich abounded and the ability to express her own misgivings about the war and Russia’s loss was not something she could publicly reveal, as she may have been fearful of an adverse reaction. Her aristocratic class identity, the economic, social and political privileges with which it was often associated, and the access it provided to the tsarist government elite would certainly have raised questions about her personal allegiances.⁷⁸ Vulnerable to the pressures of public accountability, Werefkin went along with the crowd and regretfully acknowledged her country’s failure, not wishing to admit her attachment and love for her homeland.⁷⁹ Like Werefkin, Kandinsky was also well aware of the perceptions Germans had of Russians and how they adversely impacted all Russian émigrés in Munich, as well as himself. Frustrated with the German press who were quick to cast Russians into a political framework, Kandinsky

remarked in 1905, "One of the greatest evils of our time is the press, which is allowed to spit in anyone's face without ever being wrong."⁸⁰ In later years as well, when working on his autobiographical 'Rückblicke' in 1913, he noted Westerners' misperceptions of Russians and their culture and the negative stereotyping which cast them as 'unruly' if not barbaric.⁸¹

As Munich police were seeking to pinpoint subversive political activity among the Russian émigré population, they were equally pressured to avoid any such perception. Göhler's earlier assessment of Russians' unwillingness to engage in political discussion in open, public spheres in the 1890s was even more polarized by 1905, necessitating a defensive, even guarded public posture, as Werefkin herself earlier determined. Just as political tensions heightened for Russian émigrés in Munich, its avant-garde artists embarked on their most extensive period of travel. Werefkin and Jawlensky spent much of the period between 1903 and 1908 working in France - in Brittany, Normandy, Provence and Paris, where they interacted with colleagues, explored exhibition opportunities for Jawlensky and saw the work of their contemporaries.⁸² Kandinsky and Münter traveled in Germany and Holland in 1903-04, to Tunis and Italy in 1905, Paris from 1906 until 1907 and eventually back to Munich in 1908.⁸³ Grabar and Kardovsky had already returned to Russia and Azbé's unexpected death in 1905 eliminated his school as a key attraction for Russian students. The 'Russian colony' Grabar had so warmly characterized several years earlier had lost its key members, as professional motives and personal circumstances effectively erased the former structure within which the Russian émigré artist community had organized. Strategically, the geographic distance and absence of organized activity within the group minimized the level of risk with which they might become political targets in Munich. But if these offered practical means of protecting themselves from the city's immediate political tensions, this was also pursued artistically through increasingly abstracted, non-naturalist images whose subjective framework did not allow for the kind of literal interpretation associated with traditional representational paintings, such as allegory, historical narratives or portraiture.

Werefkin, Jawlensky, Kandinsky and Münter's return to Munich by 1908 coincided with a period of relatively greater stability in the city. Local anti-tsarist sentiment continued to exist and Russian refugees now arrived there,⁸⁴ but fears concerning a local uprising among German workers, liberals and the far left - encouraged by such events as the 1905 demonstrations, were less acute. Munich, to a certain extent, had reverted from a city of foment to one whose traditional populist-based identity could serve as a model for humanitarian assistance to Russian 1905-revolution victims, much as it had done in the 1890s for the nation's students.

The state of flux regarding what constituted artistic freedom and political behavior for Russian émigrés characterizing the early years of the century, now had a clearer structure as well. While the boundaries of how far they could be stretched would be tested in subsequent years, for these Russian émigré artists, the merging of these issues effectively provided the framework within which they could artistically continue to develop and reinforced the social importance of what they had originally intended for their work.⁸⁵ Von Vollmar's pledge of protection and support for Russian émigrés in 1905 and his consistent advocacy of freedom isolated the association between Russian artists and freedom by signifying that an artist who was Russian could take certain liberties in their artistic pursuits as long as they were not politically active. Organized politics, political advocacy in the press and operations designed to undermine tsarist authority were clearly demonstrated to be off-limits to Russian émigrés as they legally fell under criminal behavior. They reflected situations representing an authoritative political position and challenged the existing power structure in both Munich and the Russian Empire. However, the freedom message for which Von Vollmar fought, ultimately asserted the notion that personal artistic expression by Russian artists would be protected as a human rights issue and that artistic freedom was akin to freedom of speech. The political culture thus upheld in principle, that the more personal the visual message, the more it would be supported, because it's personal nature could not threaten the existing power structure. It did not carry the kind of political authority with which officials were ultimately concerned.

Jawlensky, Werefkin and Kandinsky negotiated these parameters somewhat differently although they ultimately adhered to an artistic strategy defined by its personal nature and the freedom to visualize one's feelings. Articulated through distorted forms, intense colors and often accentuated lines, their work pushed the fabric of naturalist convention and public expectations to the extreme. Panned as "nonsense" and "absurd" by conservative critics, if not the work of deranged artists,⁸⁶ its political implications were overlooked, its social impact often missed. Re-educating a public accustomed to having the natural world represented for them was a task consciously pursued by Kandinsky, who persistently promoted the idea that images could not accomplish their goals alone, attested in his numerous writings on art.⁸⁷ His suggestion to Jawlensky and other members of the *NKVM* that the group leave blank sheets of paper out in the gallery during exhibition for visitors' comments after reading biting press criticism of their show in December 1909,⁸⁸ was one of many heated discussions the artists had regarding strategy. Documenting individual visitor reaction provided a concrete measure of how their work was being understood in the public's personal minds, yet the majority of the *NKVM* voted against the suggestion.⁸⁹ Jawlensky, speaking for the majority, believed shaping public opinion through art was the business

of art critics, not artists, who should just be concerned with making art.⁹⁰ The art object should speak for itself.

The public's ability to access their artistic intent factored into Kandinsky's technical painting method, 'hidden construction' or *versteckte Konstruktion*,⁹¹ in which he began to veil his images by disallowing the traditional viewer's expectation that what she/he was seeing was literally depicted.⁹² One simply could no longer be sure. Initiated in 1908, specific objects - trees, horses and buildings for example - were hidden as abstracted elements in a painting, often by placing the object where it would not be expected or simplifying its form by rendering it only in partial outline.⁹³ Kandinsky's glass painting *Small Pleasures*, 1911 (Fig. 4) for example, reveals details not readily apparent in the later oil version from 1913 (Fig. 5) as Rose Carol Washton Long has discussed.⁹⁴ Included among many such elements are two standing figures located in the lower left corner as well as a blue horse and rider - all boldly outlined in black in the earlier image. Yet in the 1913 version, these figures lose their precision and distinctness - hazy, broken lines for some of the figures, for example - where a definitive outline once stood. Essentially a shadow of their original physical form, they were intended to reeducate the viewer towards a nobler spiritual level of engagement and avoid the materialism associated with representational art.⁹⁵

Jawlensky and Werefkin did not depart from representation, but abstracted and accentuated contours, distorted forms and were using highly saturated non-naturalistic colors at this time. Often impacting the viewer more for their jarring unconventionality, they continued to refer to naturalism's depiction of the real world. Jawlensky, who had been interested in the work of Matisse and the Fauves and whose work he had admired in Paris in 1906,⁹⁶ had been concerned with realizing color's expressive potential. His painting *Girl with the Green Face*, 1910 (Fig. 6) is less a portrait than a visual documentation of the emotional substance of the sitter, intended to capture her beauty as an individual human being rather than her precise physical likeness. Although equal in color saturation, he distinguishes those areas which are part of her body - such as her face and hair - and those which are not, such as her clothes and light blue hair bows. The former are rendered with several colors, including mid-range to light green, yellow, yellow-orange, orange-yellow and bright orange for her flesh to the same orange-yellow and medium brown for her hair, designed to convey a nuanced sense of who she is as a person. Her simple, monochromatic clothes and the painting's upper green background produce a flattening effect, a bold, decorative environment with which the viewer is guided towards her head, where the true source of her character exists. The chair back behind her shoulders lends some depth, by playing on the horizontal lines of her shoulders and providing some textural structure - as this is the only area in the painting delineated by vertical

brushstrokes. Jawlensky discussed with Werefkin the importance of using line to bring out the abstracted nature of color,⁹⁷ and did so by varying line weight, width and paint thickness to correspond to it. Black pigment separates the principle areas of color he wants the viewer to interpret but also clarifies the distinct function each line segment has and its relationship to the larger whole. His strategy for revealing internal human states and the individual's organic emotional



Figure 4. Wassily Kandinsky, *Small Pleasures*, 1911, glass painting, 12 1/16 x 15 7/8 in. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.



Figure 5. Wassily Kandinsky, *Small Pleasures*, June 1913, oil on canvas, 43 1/4 x 47 1/8 in. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Founding Collection. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.



Figure 6. Alexei Jawlensky, Girl with the Green Face, 1910, oil on composition board, 20 15/16 x 19 9/16 in. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Earle Ludgin in memory of John V. McCarthy, Art Institute of Chicago, © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

world - parallels Levitan's model for visualizing the inherent properties of landscape, as discussed earlier in Golden Autumn. Slobodka. Both artists focus on the inherent characteristics of the living object they are depicting, whether plant or human, and sought to translate the organic force which drives their existence visually. Levitan's isolation of heightened color in particular areas of his landscape was analogous to this internal property and expanded upon in Jawlensky's interpretation of the individual. For Jawlensky, color intensity, line saturation and weight served as measurable behavioral markers of the sitter, painterly vehicles of communication imparting essential knowledge of the human character captured at the moment of his interpretation and visual rendition.

Like Jawlensky, Werefkin was interested in nature as a reference for exploring the internal world. This contained anecdotal components, as in schoolgirls taking an outdoor stroll in Autumn (School) 1907 (Fig. 7) however unintended for conventional narrative interpretation. The natural world is rendered in a sublime state - dark blue lake and mountain, thinly outlined in white and lighter blue and complemented by an intensely saturated orange to red sky. Another black-green mountain on the left is flanked by a thinly applied dark green shore below and in the sky beyond the mountaintop. The setting suggests a striking sunset in its heightened

coloration but also challenges this traditional conclusion in its stylistic manifestation. Werefkin's calls attention to the schoolgirls' relationship with their surroundings by offsetting the darkened horizontal areas across the background with the black clothing they wear, black trees lending added depth, vertical visual structure and a tangible visual connection between both realms through black pigment. The students' placement within the trees on a designated path suggests they are somewhat protected from nature's allure and mystery, yet also embraced by it in the larger sphere. Werefkin's belief in the universality of art in life and its presence in nature is transferred to her presentation of the young schoolgirls who, currently in their formative educational years, will look forward to experiencing all life has to offer in their future. Her focus on organic processes of nature, whether human growth and development or changes in the physical world made up her world view and art's role in it. She stated, "No, [the purpose of] art isn't for selling paintings, but so that people can understand what is happening in the world and what the [art] works communicate, and what makes the land breathe and what [pattern] is being cut in life. And that knowledge, agonizing and sweet, commanding and murderous, unnecessary and unequally precious is God's greatest gift to man."⁹⁸

Differences regarding the optimal artistic strategy with which to pursue their reformist goals within the NKVM ultimately dissolved the group in 1912. The NKVM jury's rejection of Kandinsky's Composition V, 1911 on the grounds of excessive size prompted his resignation in December 1911, although issues regarding the degree of abstraction its members should follow appears to have been at the center of their disagreement.⁹⁹ Joining him in resignation were Franz Marc, Gabriele Münter and Alfred Kubin and two weeks later the first *Der Blaue Reiter* exhibition opened in two rooms adjacent to the NKVM's third and final show at the Galerie Thannhauser in Munich.¹⁰⁰ Led by Kandinsky and Marc, *Der Blaue Reiter's* commitment to embracing a broader artistic vocabulary with which to achieve its reformist mission was stated in the opening page of its first catalogue. "In this small exhibition we seek not to propagandize a precise and particular style but intend to show in the difference of represented modes how diversely the inner desire of the artist is fashioned."¹⁰¹

The exhibition featured artists oriented towards a shared belief in non-naturalist communication through elements of color, form, line and spatial depth in varying degrees of abstraction. Works by Henri Rousseau and Eugen Kahler were shown posthumously, as well as those of Robert Delaunay, Arnold Schönberg and August Macke. Brothers David and Vladimir Burliuk, who had exhibited with the NKVM in 1910, were also included. Subsequent *Der Blaue Reiter* productions, its well-known almanac of essays and accompanying images,

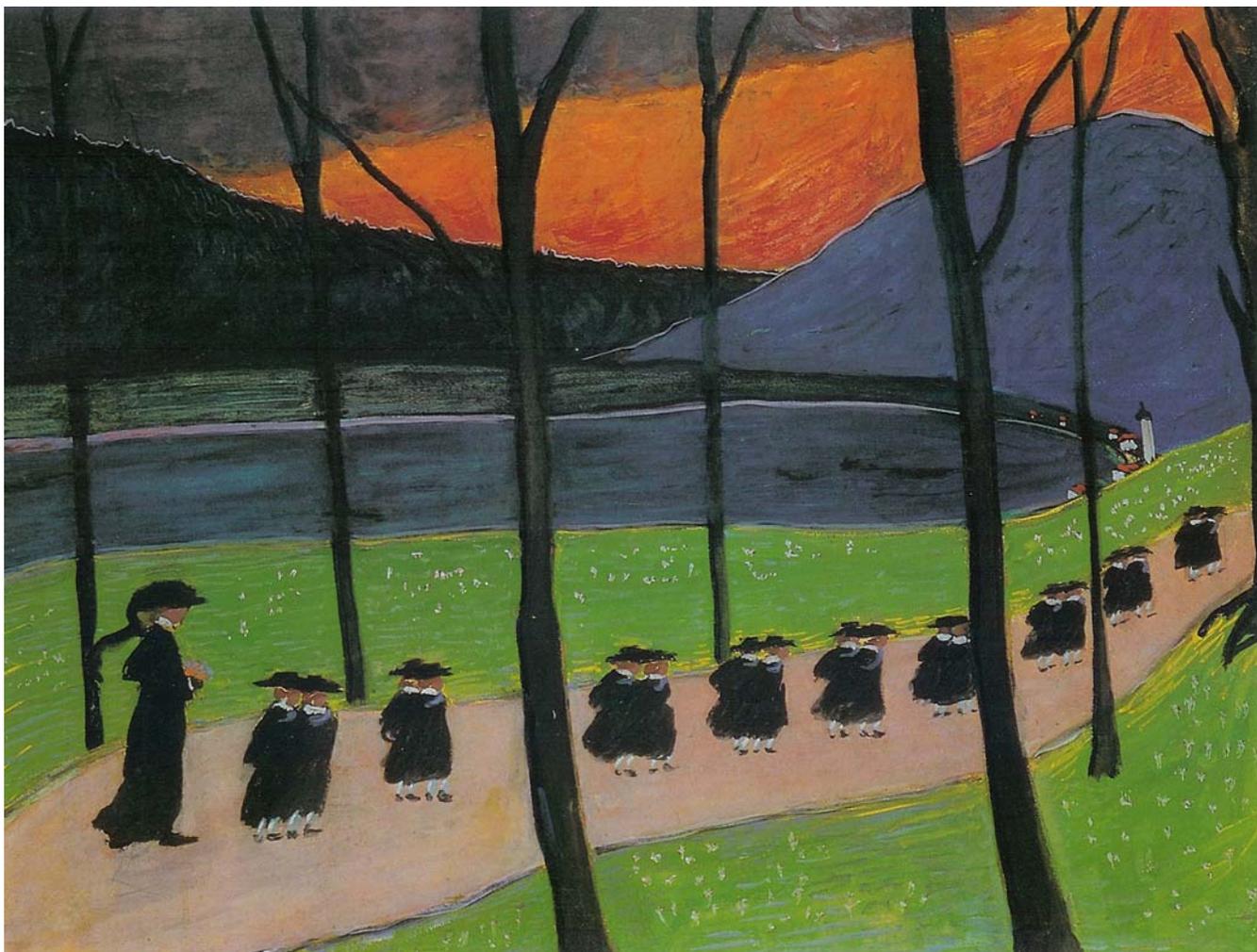


Figure 7. Marianne Werefkin, *Autumn (School)*, 1907, tempera on cardboard, 21.7 x 29.1 in. Fondazione Marianne Werefkin, Ascona.

and a second larger exhibition -both in 1912, further asserted the need for social change by including a larger sphere of visual material with which to assert its reformist position. Naturalism's dominance within the academies of Europe - and by association their government support - was temporally and culturally bracketed, isolated as a mode of visual communication among the upper classes. The almanac in particular presented art from the Western European medieval period and ancient Egypt as historical evidence of a different mode of seeing prior to the rise of the classical-naturalist Renaissance model, Russian folk images exemplified art 'of the people' as did African and Alaskan tribal work, in addition to presenting a non-European view of art's ubiquity outside the Western European classical academic tradition.¹⁰² Their interest in art of the world as they knew it - Japanese prints, children's art, folk art and other forms of visual expression - were selected to uniformly undermine naturalism's hegemony by proposing it did not support a universal understanding of the human condition.

The limitations of naturalism and its loaded political associations continued to support this avant garde's interest in distancing itself from Realism's sphere. Incidents such as the removal of a painting by Polish artist Stanislaw Fabianski, *From the Empire of the Tsars* by the Künstlergenossenschaft after its jury acceptance from its 1910 Glaspalast exhibition for its controversial political content demonstrated the issue's contentiousness.¹⁰³ Depicted in a realist style, it featured dead and wounded men, women and children from the 1905 pogrom in Kyiv, one of many against Jews across the Russian Empire during the Revolution. The tsar's proclamation of a constitution declaring the "sanctity of his property and life" was strategically placed above the bodies, alluding to his absolute power as well as his brutality and disregard for human life.¹⁰⁴ The painting's obvious political nature, its anti-tsarist message and the Slavic ethnicity of the artist - 'a Russian by-association' - outweighed Fabianski's right to freedom of artistic expression,¹⁰⁵ a regressive move recalling

the events of 1905 Munich and the Bavarian government's willingness to support tsarist policy.¹⁰⁶

The momentum the NKVM and Der Blaue Reiter had established was interrupted by World War I as Russians were forced to evacuate Germany and German troops were deployed. On its eve however, Kandinsky was working on another editorial project directed towards his interest in reform¹⁰⁷ while Werefkin had been establishing professional connections for herself and Jawlensky in Vilnius, in tandem with another family visit.¹⁰⁸ While Kandinsky's book never materialized and Werefkin was forced to abruptly evacuate to Switzerland from Munich with the war's declaration, both artists believed non-naturalist abstraction would be the language with which their ideals could be realized. Social reform and art's contribution to the improvement of the human condition seemed achievable outside the parameters of naturalism, through a language based on an organic understanding of subjective personal experience, emotionally and/or spiritually driven. Never having been written, it was completely free to associate any meaning to its content - for the viewer and the artist, and circumvented the existing system of accountability with which art had been traditionally evaluated.

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3. Ibid. For additional examples, see also Bernd Fäthke, *Alexej Jawlensky, Zeichnung-Graphik-Dokumente*. exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Museum Wiesbaden, 1983); *Jawlensky und seine Weggefährten in neuem Licht* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2004); *Marianne Werefkin, Leben und Werk 1860-1938*. exh. cat. (Ascona: Monte Verita and Munich: Prestel, 1988) and *Marianne Werefkin* (Munich, Germany Hirmer 2001); Reinhold Heller, *Gabriele Münter. The Years of Expressionism 1903-1920*, exh. cat. (Munich & New York: Prestel, 1997).
4. Richard G. Robbins Jr., *Famine in Russia 1891-1892*, (New York: London: Columbia University Press, 1975).
5. Some useful Western sources on the Association are Alison Hilton, "Scenes from Life and Contemporary History," *The European Realist Tradition*, ed. by Gabriel P. Weisberg (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982), 187-214; *The Wanderers: Masters of 19th-Century Russian Painting*, ed. by Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, exh. cat. (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1990); Kulturministerium der USSR & Kunsthaus Zurich, *Russische Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert, Realismus, Impressionismus, Symbolismus*, exh. cat. (Kulturministerium der USSR & Kunsthaus Zurich, 1989); Smithsonian Institution, *Russia - The Land, The People. Russian Painting 1850-1910*, exh. cat. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986). Russian sources include Frida S. Roginskaia, *Tovarishchestvo peredvizhnikh khudozhestvennykh vystavok: Istoricheskie ocherki* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1989) and A. Novitskii, *Peredvizhniki i vliianie ikh na russkoe iskusstvo* (Moscow 1897). A wealth of information can also be found in published correspondence of artists belonging to the Association and their contemporaries, including Vladimir Stasov, the organization's noted supporter and critic. See Stasov, Vladimir Vasil'evich. *Izbrannoe. Zhivopis', skul'ptura, grafika*. 2 vols. (Moscow & Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1951).
6. For further details on the 1863 secession and the activities of the Artel' see Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art*, 33-37 and 224. The fourteen artists are Nikolai Dmitriev-Orenburgsky, Alexander Grigorev, Alexei Korzhukin, Ivan Kramskoy, Karl Lemokh, Alexander Litovchenko, Konstantin Makovsky, Alexander Morozov, Mikhail Peskov, Nikolai Petrov, Nikolai Shustov, Bogdan Venig and Firs Zhuravlev.
7. The tightly knit power the tsar held over the Academy essentially developed under the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) as part of his extensive bureaucratization of the government. In 1840, he effectively ensured his control over the Academy by amending the school's statutes to move its jurisdiction from under the Ministry of Education to that of the Imperial Household. This shift permitted him to appoint members of his family to the presidency of the Academy, which he initiated in 1843 by assigning his son-in-law to the post. From then on, until the fall of the tsarist regime in 1917, the presidency was held by a member of the royal family. For information on the effects of Nicholas I's bureaucratization on government and the people, such as depersonalization and isolation, see Sidney Monas,

END NOTES

1. Reinhold Heller, "Brücke: Preliminary Observations," in *Brücke*, by Reinhold Heller, exh. Cat. (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, 1988), 3-9.
2. Rose Carol Washton Long, *Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980); John E. Bowl and

- "Bureaucracy in Russia Under Nicholas I," in *The Structure of Russian History* ed. Michael Cherniavsky, (New York: Random House, 1970), 269-281 as well as S. Frederick Starr, "Russian Art and Society, 1800-1850," in *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia*, ed. Theofanis Stavrou, (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982), 87-112. For an example of how the tsarist system directly affected artists, as in the case of Ilya Repin, see Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, *Ilya Repin and the World of Russian Art*. (New York: Columbia University, 1990), 24.
8. The leading Russian intellectual voicing the populist agenda in art was Nicolai Chernishevsky (1828-1889). In his book "The Aesthetic Relation of Art to Reality" published in 1855, Chernishevsky argued that art should serve the interests of the people and not the government. He called for the abandonment of portraying idealized forms of beauty and a perfect reality in favor of an aesthetic more broadly connected to the interests and daily lives of real people. For more information on Chernyshevsky and his relevance for Russian art, see Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art*, 10-17; W.J. Leatherbarrow and D.C. Offord, trans. ed. *A Documentary History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism*, (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1987), 193-202, which includes excerpts of Chernyshevsky's essay, translated into English; Alain Besançon, "The Dissidence of Russian Painting (1860-1922)," in Cherniavsky, *Russian History*, 381-411 and esp. 382-384. See also Grigorii Sternin's discussion of the 1863 protest in *Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' Rossii serediny XIX veka* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1991), 83-126.
 9. The original secession of 14 students or 'Artel Khudozhnikov' could not survive economically apart from the Academy over the long term. By 1869, the Artel was receiving commissions, exhibition opportunities and studio space from the Academy. See Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art*, 36-37.
 10. Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art* 40 as reprinted from "Na svoikh nogakh," *Delo* 12 (December 1871): 106-108.
 11. Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art*, 132.
 12. V. V. Stasov, "Khorosha li rozn' mezhdu khudozhnikami?" in *Iskusstvo XIX Veka* vol. 2 of V. V. Stasov. *Izbrannoe*, 389-411.
 13. Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art*, 134.
 14. I. Vasilevsky, *Russkie vedomosti* 66 (8 March 1898) as reprinted in *Ibid*. See also Grigori Sternin's account of the Peredvizhniki after the reforms in *Khudozhestvennaia zhizn' Rossii na rubezhe XIX-XX vekov* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1970), chap. 2.
 15. Fritz Baer, "Anzeiger der Genossenschaft" as quoted in Martin Feddersen, *Die Entartung der Muenchener Kunst* (Munich, 1894) ;11.
 16. Munich's identity as an international and national center of art and the capitol of Bavaria was vital to its survival as a German cultural symbol, a role the city had assumed well before German unification in 1871. That role was now threatened by Germany's northern capitol in Prussia - Berlin, as it sought to assert its own cultural significance as the center of a unified Germany. For a discussion of this relationship see Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession. Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990).
 17. Karl Benda, "Russischer Naturalismus in Deutschland," *Die Freie Bühne* 1 (1890): 376.
 18. B.E. "St. Petersburgers Kunstausstellungen," *Die Allgemeine Zeitung* 96, 143 (Saturday, 26 May 1894): 2.
 19. In an article reviewing the Secession exhibition for the Russian newspaper *Novosti dnia*, (no. 5922, Friday, 19 November 1899). Kandinsky discusses the rediscovery of old [ie. medieval] tempera painting among avant-garde artists as a technical means of agitating the hegemony of the official old order. He refers to both oil painting and its ubiquity as the medium of choice among the social and political elite, such as the tsar, although censorship would not have allowed him to state this openly. For an English translation, see "Kandinsky's 'Secession'," *Critical Inquiry*, 23 (Summer 1997): 729-737.
 20. Staatliche Russisches Museum and Kunsthalle Krems, *Russland - Repin und die Realisten*, exh. cat. (np.: Palace Editions, 2002), 164.
 21. Münchener Künstlergenossenschaft and Münchener Secession, *Offizieller Katalog der VII. Internationalen Kunstausstellung*, 2nd ed. (Munich, June 1897), 83.
 22. Igor Grabar, 'Zwei Jahrhunderte Russische Kunst', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge, Vol. 18/42 (1906-07): 58-78.
 23. *Ibid*, 72.
 24. It had been exhibited in St. Petersburg in two separate shows from 1891-1892 followed by the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, as well as Budapest. The painting received significant attention in the Russian and foreign presses throughout the 1890s. For details and a discussion of its freedom theme in English, see Fan Parker and Stephen Jan Parker, *Russia on Canvas, Ilya Repin* (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, 1980), chap.7.
 25. See letter to his brother dated 8 August 1895 in I. Grabar, *Pisma 1891-1917* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 42.
 26. Repin's ten accounts appeared in two journals, *Teatral'naia gazeta* (*Theatre Gazette*) and *Nedela* (*Week*). The first six of these were published as "Pis'ma ob iskusstve," ("Letters on Art") in *Teatral'naia gazeta* (issues dated 31 October 1893, 5 November 1893, 7 November 1893, 12 November 1893, 17 November 1893 and 19 November 1893). The following four, of which Repin's description of Munich is the first, were published as "Zametki khudozhnika" ("Notes from the Artist") in *Nedela* (no. 2, no. 3 and no. 6, 1894). The essays were first reprinted in *Vospominaniia, stat'i i pis'ma iz zagranitsy I.E. Repina*, ed. N. B. Severova, (St. Petersburg: Evgenii Tile, 1901), 76-159. They are reprinted collectively as "Letters on Art 1893-1894" in *Dalekoe blizkoe*, 8th ed., ed. K. Chukovsky (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1982), 412-458. The above-mentioned quote was written between November 5th and 12th 1893 and is reprinted as "Essay Seven" in *Dalekoe blizkoe*, 432.
 27. For a similar view see also V. G. "Mezhdunarodnaia khudozhestvennaia vystavka v Miunkhene," *Khudozhnik* no. 13 (1 July 1892): 46-47.
 28. Repin, "Essay Seven" in *Dalekoe blizkoe*, 432. See also, Robin Lenman, "A Community in Transition: Painters in Munich, 1886-1924," *Central European History* XV, 1 (March 1982): 3-33 for a discussion of the city as an artistic center.
 29. For a discussion of the importance of art's availability to all German citizens through the German government's design art program see John Heskett, *German Design 1870-1918* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1986). A well-known speech given by Kaiser Wilhelm II on the importance of art in everyone's life is "Die wahre Kunst," (18 December 1901), as reprinted in *Die Reden Kaiser Wilhelm II*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1907), 61-66.
 30. Grabar, *Pisma*, especially letters dated 1895 through 1901.

31. For information on A**z**bé and his innovative teaching method see Viktor I. Baranovskii and Irina B. Khlebnikova, *Anton Azhbe i Khudozhniki Rossii* (Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 2001); Katarina Ambrozic, *Wege zur Moderne und die Azbé-Schule in München* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1988); Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich*. chap. 1 “The First Teacher: Anton Azbé”; and Beliutin, Elii and Moleva, Nina, *Shkola Antona Ashbe*, (Moscow: Iskusstvo) 1958. Among those enrolling with Azbe were Ivan Bilibin and Mstislav Dobuzhinskii, an important member of the Russian World of Art group. See Baranovskii and Khlebnikova, *Anton Azhbe*, 251-252. Professors from St. Petersburg’s Imperial Academy of Art also travelled with their students on field trips to Munich as well, as in Arkhip Kuindzhi’s visit in 1898. An account of the trip is written by one of his students Arkadii Rylov, in Arkadii Rylov, *Vospominaniia*, 4th ed. (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1977) 98.
32. A partial list of Azbé’s students is provided in Ambrozic, *Wege zur Moderne*, For additional names, see Beliutin and Moleva, *Shkola* as well as Grabar, *Pis'ma* where he mentions other students in letters dated from 1896 until 1901.
33. Werefkin was Grabar’s senior by 11 years, Jawlensky’s by 4 years and Kandinsky’s by 6 years. By the time she arrived in Munich at the age of 36, she had already exhibited in the First Women Artists Circle Exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1886, the XX Peredvizhnik Exhibition of 1892, also in St. Petersburg and the art section of the All-Russian Exhibition in Nizhni-Novgorod in 1896. Her expertise and insight as a portraitist earned her the nickname “Russian Rembrandt”, a term often used by her teacher of ten years Ilya Repin. For information on Werefkin see the exhibition catalogue by Nicole Brögmann, *Marianne Werefkin, Oeuvres peintes 1907-1936* (Gingins, Switzerland: Fondation Neumann, 1996) and Bernd Fäthke, *Marianne Werefkin*.
34. Werefkin took a hiatus from painting herself at this time. Lauckaite has suggested she devoted her energy to fostering Jawlensky’s career, as opportunities for women artists had reached their limit for her in Russia’s patriarchal society, but it may also have been a period of personal artistic reassessment as she ultimately shifted her own work from a Realist style towards Expressionism. She resumed painting in 1906. See Lauckaite, *Ekspressionizmo raitele, Mariana Veriovkina*, (Vilnius: Kulturos, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2007), 243. For the limitations placed on women in Germany, see Beth Irwin Lewis, *Art for All The Collision of Modern Art and the Public in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) esp. chap. 4. For a case study of patriarchal obstacles to women avant-garde artists in Germany see Marina Bohlmann-Modersohn, *Paula Modersohn-Becker. Eine Biographie mit Briefen*, 3 Auflage. (Berlin: Knaus, 1997).
35. Fäthke, *Marianne Werefkin*, 43-44.
36. Ibid.
37. Jawlensky’s letters to Werefkin during trips back home regularly keep her abreast of artistic activities at their residence. These letters - sometimes written daily with requests for her input- included discussions of opening a formal art school with Igor Grabar, of painters Jawlensky was instructing individually and peers conveying their respects to her. See Laima Lauckaite, “Pisma Alekseia Jawlenskogo Marianne Verevkinoi,” *Baltiiskii arkhiv : Russkaia Kultura v Pribaltike*, IX, ed. Pavel Lavrinets, (Vilnius: Russkie tvorcheskie resursi Baltii, Kafedra russkoi filologii Vilniusskogo universiteta, 2005), 271-316.
38. Werefkin, “Lettres à un Inconnu”, I, 165 as reprinted in Jelena Hahl-Koch, “Marianne Werefkin’s russische Erbe,” *Marianne Werefkin, Gemälde und Skizzen*, exh. cat. Museum Wiesbaden, (Wiesbaden: Museum Wiesbaden, 1980). 36. See also Gustav Pauli, *Erinnerungen aus sieben Jahrzehnten*, Tübingen, 1936, 265 as cited in *ibid*.
39. I borrow Robert Goldwater’s concept of ‘interior’ in *Symbolism* (New York: Harper and Row/Icon, 1979) 6.
40. Lina Bernstein, “Women on the Verge of a New Language: Russian Salon Hostesses in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Russian, Women, Culture*, ed. Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 209.
41. Bernstein, “Women on the Verge,” 209.
42. Werefkin-Archiv as quoted in Bernd Fäthke, *Marianne Werefkin*, 43.
43. Ibid.
44. Letter from Marianne Werefkin to Jawlensky, 1899, 03, from Tsarskoe Selo to Munich, no. 7 as reprinted in Laima Lauckaitė, *Ekspressionizmo*, 215.
45. Ibid.
46. For Repin’s republican views see Parker and Parker, *Russia on Canvas*, chap. 7.
47. Samuel D. Kossow, “The Russian University in Crisis 1899-1911” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1976), 126-127. See also Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia* (New York: Oxford University, 1963,) 434-435ff.
48. According to the 1895 German census, the number of Russian nationals - those with citizenship in the Russian Empire - in Munich was a nominal 960 persons. By 1910 the number had increased to 4116 living in Bavaria, with almost half of those residing in Munich, which itself had a population of 596,467. While the census figures demonstrate a relatively small number of Russians compared to Munich’s general population, a number came into the city undocumented as Russians by the census, as in ethnic Russians who came to Munich with Austro-Hungarian citizenship, or refugees of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Austro-Hungarian citizens made up 65,629 persons in the 1910 census and the largest group of foreigners in the city, although the percentage of those who were Russian is not noted. Furthermore, Russian Revolution refugees swelled the Russian population in Munich temporarily, as in the admission of 2400 persons between the months of January and August of 1905, which would not have been included in the 1910 census. See population figures in Königl. Statistischen Bureau, ed. *Beiträge zur Statistik des Königreichs Bayern. Gemeinde-Verzeichniss für das Königreich Bayern, bearbeitet auf Grund der Volkszählung vom 2. Dezember 1895*, (Munich 1897) Vol. 19; Karl Bosl, ed. *Bayern in Umbruch*, (Munich & Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 1969), 76-77; Karl Drechsler, “Zur Solidarität der deutschen Arbeiterklasse mit der russischen Revolution 1905-1907,” in *Die Auswirkungen der ersten russischen Revolution von 1905-1907 auf Deutschland*, Archivalische Forschungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, vol. 2/II, ed. Leo Stern, (Berlin: Rutten & Loening, 1956), LI.
49. James Joll, *The Anarchists*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1980 [1964]; Andrew Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany*, Vol. 1: The Early Movement, (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972)

- chapters IV and V; V.R. Berghahn, *Germany and the Approach of War in 1914*, The Making of the 20th Century, series ed. Christopher Thorne (London: Macmillan, 1973), 22.
50. Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany*, 396.
51. Berghahn, *Germany and the Approach of War*, 22.
52. The nature of Pissarro's anarchism is carefully considered in Timothy J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 96ff.
53. Julius Göhler (1849-1916?) had been with the Munich Police Department since 1875 and its commissioner since 1884. Having received the highest honors, he was promoted to the Royal Assembly and retired in 1916. According to Friedrich Hitzer, he did not live to see the Russian Revolution of 1917. See Hitzer, *Lenin in München*, (Munich: Bayerische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Beziehungen Zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Sowjetunion, 1977), 343.
54. The information Göhler acquired interpersonally became the basis for developing a framework with which other authorities could differentiate Russians and identify potential areas of political activity. Physiognomy, hair color and build were some of the characteristics he identified to allow the police to distinguish between those Russian nationals who were Jewish and Non-Jewish and Polish. Behavioral differences among these ethnicities were also factored into his 1894 report, noting Jews tended to keep to themselves, enjoyed being at home while Non-Jews were more commonly found drinking and enjoying the company of women. See Staatarchiv München (StAM) Polizeidirektion München 4115. Göhler made subsequent reports on the community over the next several years, generally on individuals suspected of subversive activity. They are from the years 1897, 1899 and 1911. Those from 1894, 1897 and 1899 are reprinted in Hitzer, *Lenin*, 343-351.
55. "Der Umstand, dass das Verbrechen oder Vergehen, wegen dessen die Auslieferung beantragt wird, in einer politischen Absicht begangen ist, soll in keinem Falle als Grund dienen, um die Auslieferung abzulehnen," as reprinted in "Der Gorki-Rummel," *Fränkischer Zeitung*, 37 (7 February 1905).
56. The 22 January date reflects the Gregorian calendar used in the West outside the Russian Empire. In the Russian Empire however, Bloody Sunday occurred on 9 January, following the Julian calendar in use at the time. The Julian calendar was the standard calendar system in the Russian Empire until 1 February 1918 when the Gregorian calendar, used in the West, replaced it. The Julian calendar is twelve days behind the Gregorian in the nineteenth century and thirteen days in the twentieth.
57.die Versammlung solle nicht die Kundgebung einer einzelnene Partei, einer einzelnen Richtung oder Bevölkerungsschichte sei...Die Versammlung sollte eine Kundgebung aller derjenigen sein, die Gefühle hätten für die Leiben eines schmäählich unterdrückten Grossen Volkes, für seine Emporrichtung aus der Barbarei zur Kultur." *Augsburger Abendzeitung* 35 (Saturday, 4 February 1905): 1.
58. Robin Lenman, "Censorship and Society in Munich, 1890-1914, with Special Reference to the Plays of Frank Wedekind" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1975), 76.
59. Robin Lenman, "Art, Society, and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: the Lex Heinze," *Oxford German Studies* 8 (1973-1974): 87 and n.2.
60. Ibid, 86.
61. Lenman, "Art, Society..." 103.
62. Ibid, 96.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid, 101.
65. Ibid, 111.
66. For a detailed discussion of the treaty see Hitzer, *Lenin in München*, 367-383.
67. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, 148.
68. There are numerous police documents on Russian student organizations in the Staatarchiv München (StAM) under Polizeidirektion München (Pol.Dir.Mü.) including folios 620 - "Russische Studenten Kassa 1892-1907"; 636- "Russischer Kulturverein 1911/1912"; 513- "Akademisch-Russisch. Studentenhalle, Leo Tolstoj"; 4115 - "Russische Studierende".
69. Meerowitsch wrote a letter to the *Münchener Post*, dated 5 April 1907 under the heading "Was geht vor?" citing the unwarranted search of his home by Munich police. After taking his passport and personal letters, he was asked to reveal the names of members of the Russian Social Democratic group in Munich, with which the Munich police believed the *Studenten-Kasse* was affiliated. Refusing to do so, Meerowitsch was threatened with extradition back to Russia, the proceedings already underway at the time he wrote the letter. Proclaiming his innocence, Meerowitsch stated, "I do not belong to any political party." The letter was reprinted in the *Fränkischer Morgenpost* that same day and the leftist *Vorwärts* on 10 April under the caption "Russenhetze in Bayern".
70. *Augsbürger Abendzeitung* 118 (29 April 1905); *Münchener Zeitung* no. 100 (29 April 1905). Both papers cite 2774 students matriculated for winter. The *Augsbürger Abendzeitung* states 19% of them were Russian while the *Münchener Zeitung* pointed out 244 of 501 foreign students were Russian, making up 11% of the total student body.
71. *Augsbürger Abendzeitung*, (29 April 1905).
72. *Münchener Zeitung*, (29 April 1905).
73. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, 26.
74. Archival documents in the Staatarchiv München (StAM) list the names, home town and declared majors of officers and members for each new student organization when it was established. While it is difficult to arrive at an exact percentage, as later members might have joined but are not listed in the records, it is clear that at least 75% of those listed had declared majors in technical fields such as engineering, and medicine. See Pol.Dir.Mü. including folios 620- "Russische Studenten Kassa 1892-1907"; 636- "Russischer Kulturverein 1911/1912"; 513- "Akademisch-Russisch. Studentenhalle ,Leo Tolstoj"; 4115 - "Russische Studierende". The *Münchener Zeitung*, (29 April 1905) reported that the high number of Russian students in technical fields was encouraged by German business interests, hoping to make contacts in Russia once Russian émigré students returned to their homeland in professional capacities.
75. Carl Schorske, *German Social Democracy 1905-1907. The Development of the Great Schism*, Harvard Historical Studies, 65 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983 (1955)), 28-58 and esp. section 3, "The Russian Revolution, the Mass Strike, and the Trade-Unions," 36-42.
76. Paul Dukes points out, "no fewer than one and a half million people were affected by oppressions ranging from investigation to execution during the years 1904-9." Paul Dukes, *A History of Russia, Medieval, Modern, Contemporary*, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 193.

77. Clemens Weiler, ed. *Briefe an einen Unbekannten*, (Cologne: M. DuMont, 1960), 36-37.
78. Werefkin's political leanings were liberal but also sympathetic to a certain extent to the problem's Russia's government faced. She supported government efforts to improve the standard of living for the masses for example, but also recognized the difficulty with which this could be realized. She had access to such information from her older brother Peter, who was governor of Kovno Province from 1904 to 1911 and then of Vilnius Province from 1911 to 1916. For a discussion of the situation and her views, see Werefkin to Jawlensky, Fond 19-1458, 17-18 and 27-28 as reprinted in Lauckaite-Surgailene, "Marianna Verevkina. Zhizn' v iskusstve", *Vilnius* (March 1992) no. 3, IX: 128, the second part of a two-part article. The first part, under the same author and title is found in the February issue, no. 2: 92 -104.
79. Ibid, no. 3: 128.
80. Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter, dated 9 September 1905, Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung, as quoted in Jelena Hahl-Koch, *Kandinsky* (NY: Rizzoli, 1993), 220.
81. See Kandinsky, "Rückblicke" in Wassily Kandinsky, *Kandinsky 1901-1913* (Berlin: Der Sturm, 1913), xxvi, unnumbered footnote and xxvii-xxix for his discussion of Moscow and foreigners' contradictory notions of it and its citizens.
82. Although personal, it's worth mentioning that they returned to Russia in 1902 for the birth of Jawlensky's son Andreas, whose mother Helene Nesnakomoff was Werefkin's servant. While it may have been a means of bring them closer to family and the support they could provide, it also avoided any acknowledgement of the relationship to the German public and the scandal and gossip it would likely initiate. Werefkin and Jawlensky continued to publicly present themselves as a couple for years after Andreas' birth, as they had done previously.
83. Their travels during these years were more extensive than I am able to report here. For details of Werefkin and Jawlensky's trips in the context of their artistic development, see Fäthke, *Marianne Werefkin*, 64-70. Kandinsky's travels are discussed in Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich* and Washton-Long *Kandinsky* but for his Parisian period in particular see Jonathan Fineberg. *Kandinsky in Paris 1906-1907*, Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, 44 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984 (1975)) esp. 36-37 for his discussion of the artist's interest in French artistic sources. See Heller *Gabriele Münter*, 9-30 for a detailed account of Münter and Kandinsky's travels within the context of Münter's life and artistic development.
84. The arrival of refugees, mostly women and children, began after the Bloody Sunday uprising. Although a total number of refugees is difficult to ascertain, some 2400 Russian refugees into the city between January and August of 1905. Karl Drechsler "Zur Solidarität der deutschen Arbeiterklasse mit der russischen Revolution 1905-1907," in *Die Auswirkungen der ersten russischen Revolution*, ed. by Leo Stern, LI.
85. For a discussion of Kandinsky's populist beliefs see Carol McKay, "Modernist Primitivism?: The Case of Kandinsky", *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1993): 21-36.
86. Armin Zweite, *The Blue Rider in the Lenbachhaus Munich* (Munich: Prestel, 1989), 28.
87. Lindsay, Kenneth C. & Peter Vergo, eds. *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art*. 2 vols. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982). See also Shulamith Behr, "Wassily Kandinsky and Dimitrije Mitrinovic; Pan-Christian Universalism and the Yearbook 'Towards the Mankind of the Future through Aryan Europe' " *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Manifest Destiny (1992): 81-88.
88. Letter from Jawlensky to Werefkin, December 1909 as reprinted in Laima Lauckaite, "Pisma Alekseia Iavlensogo Marianne Verevkinoi," in *Baltiiskii archiv* IX, (2005): 282.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid. Werefkin was in Russia at the time visiting relatives, although Jawlensky's letter indicates she would have agreed with his position and not sided with Kandinsky.
91. Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Munich: Piper Verlag, 1912 (1911), 10 as quoted in Long, *Kandinsky*, 66 and 173, n.10.
92. Long, *Kandinsky*, 72 but also chap. 5 for an in depth discussion of his hidden construction technique. See also Rose Carol Washton Long, "Kandinsky and Abstraction, the Role of the Hidden Image." *Art Forum* X, 10 (June 1972): 42-49 and "Kandinsky's Abstract Style: The Veiling of Apocalyptic Folk Imagery," *Art Journal* XXIV, 3 (Spring 1975): 217-227.
93. Long, *Kandinsky*, 66.
94. For a detailed analysis of the painting. see Long, "Kandinsky and Abstraction...", 47-49.
95. Long, *Kandinsky*, 55.
96. Letter from Jawlensky to Werefkin October 1906 as reprinted in Lauckaite, *Baltiiskii Archiv*, 278.
97. Letter from Jawlensky to Werefkin December 1909 as reprinted in Lauckaite, *Baltiiskii Archiv*, 283.
98. Werefkin to Jawlensky, Letter dated 17 December 1909 as reprinted in Lauckaite, *Ekspressionizmo*, 233.
99. Heller, *Gabriele Münter*, 19. For a discussion of Composition V, its relationship to the theme of the Last Judgement and hidden imagery, see Long, *Kandinsky*, 113-116.
100. The Blaue Reiter exhibition showed from December 18th until January 1, 1912. The NKVM dissolved after the third exhibition in 1912, in part See Rossel Gollek, ed. *Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München. Katalog der Sammlung in der Städtische Galerie*. 2nd ed. (Munich: Prestel, 1982), 10-11 and 388-413 for lists of all participating artists and works included in NKVM and Der Blaue Reiter exhibitions.
101. Reprinted in Gollek, *Der Blaue Reiter*, 404.
102. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds. *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*. New Documentary Edition. Reprint. Edited by Klaus Lankheit. New York: Viking (Da Capo) Press, 1974; *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*. Documentary edition, (Boston: MFA Publications, 2005).
103. Stanislaw Fabianski (1865-1947) was a well-known painter and wood carver from Krakow. He began his studies as a wood carver in Lviv in 1880. From 1883-1888 he studied in Krakow before leaving for Munich, where he pursued studies with Alexander von Wagner at the Academy of Arts. For general information on the artist and a bibliography of sources in Polish, see Polska Akademia Nauk, Institut Stuki. *Słownik Artystow Polskich i obcych w polsce dzialajacych*, 2. (Wroclaw: Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1975), 183-184. Further information on the dispute over the painting has been difficult to acquire in light of the destruction of Künstlergenossenschaft records during World War II. Letter from Barbara Oberländer, Münchener Künstlergenossenschaft to author, dated 9 Dec. 2004. However, as this article is published, the current location of the painting has been identified with the collections of the Lviv Art Gallery,

Lviv, Ukraine. I wish to thank Dr. Vita Susak, Curator of the gallery, for recently sharing that information with me.

104. "Bayerisch-Russisches in der -Kunst," *Münchener Post* 150, (1 July 1910).
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid. See also "Russische Bilderzensur in München," *Fränkische Tagespost*, 150 (30 June 1910).
107. Behr, "Wassily Kandinsky and Dimitrije Mitronovic: Pan-Christian Universalism."
108. Lauckaite, *Ekspresionizmo*, 247.

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