Lyonel Feininger's Process of Creation: from Thumbnail Sketches without Nostalgia to Cubism in Umpferstedt, High Houses, and the Yellow Village Church

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Initial version: September 30, 2022; substantial revision of § 7.5.6 – § 8: May 8, 2023;
substantial revision of § 7.5.8 – § 7.5.9: May 22, 2025

Abstract

Lyonel Feininger is very popular nowadays, but still misunderstood. The large number of exhibition catalogs and illustrated art books on Feininger contrasts with a noticeable lack of in-depth scholarly research. Although he was in an exhibition community with the great abstractionists Klee, Kandinsky, and Jawlensky, he is still seen as an artist who, unlike them, could never detach himself from representationalism. Our overall goal here is a first step toward a new perception of Feininger. Initially, we will clarify a few points: Feininger's longing, but by no means nostalgic character, his spiritual point of view on expressionism, the essential function of his thumbnail sketches, and the intension and extension of his very special variant of cubism. Armed with these partly new insights, we will then extensively and intensively examine three groups of Feininger's works: Umpferstedt, High Houses, and the Yellow Village Church. Among other things, we will present here a graphic analysis of the oil painting "Umpferstedt [I]".
— coherent in all its parts for the first time — and a precise determination of the location of the original motifs of the High Houses and the Yellow Village Church. While we do not pursue a strictly goal-directed, but a factually balanced, open and rather exhaustive approach in the examination of these three groups of works, we finally return to the questions of representationalism and of demand for further in-depth investigation in the case of Lyonel Feininger in a final speech of the defense.

Keywords: Lyonel Feininger — nostalgia, expressionism, cubism, representationalism — thumbnail sketches, golden sections, false vanishing points, beam points, dynamic symbols — abstraction, alienation, variation, multiple representation — Umpferstedt, High Houses, Yellow Village Church

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1 Introduction

1.1 Short biography of Lyonel Feininger

The American painter Lyonel Feininger—born on July 17, 1871, in Manhattan, where he also died on January 13, 1956—was the son of renowned musicians of German descent: solo violinist and composer Karl Feininger (1844–1922) and singer and pianist Elisabeth Feininger (1849–1927), née Lutz. At the age of just 16, he traveled alone to Germany to perfect his violin playing. But although he was a born musician, played the violin, piano, and organ throughout his life, and composed a dozen demanding fugues, he studied *art instead of music* in Hamburg, Berlin, and Paris. For decades, he lived in Berlin and Paris as one of the most sought-after political cartoonists.[1] In 1901, he married the pianist CLARA Fürst (1879–1944) and had two children with her: the photographer and pop song composer Lore (1901–1991) and Marianne (1902–1999).[2] From April 1906 to February 1907, he published one or two[3]full comic strip pages almost every week in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*.

However, none of these events are particularly relevant to us here. What interests us is Lyonel Feininger's time in Germany from 1907 to 1937, i.e., from the age of 37 to 66. During this period, in the first half of which he developed autodidactically into one of the leading European painters and graphic artists associated with Expressionism and Cubism, we are interested in his conception of art and, in particular, his artistic creative process.

Feininger gained the psychological and financial independence to free himself from his lucrative but often hated career as a caricaturist (1890–1915), which imposed artistic restrictions on him, in conjunction with the artist and publicist JULIA Feininger (1880–1970), the daughter of Jewish merchant and Berlin commercial judge Bernhard Lilienfeld (1844–1925) and his wife Jeanette (1852–1909), known as Jenny, née Zuntz. Julia and Lyonel fell in love in 1905 during a trip to the Baltic Sea resort of Graal together with the cartoonist Hermann Abeking, the painter GUSTAV Fürst (CLARA'S father), and other friends, but without their spouses, from whom they separated that same year.[4] They married in London on September 25, 1908, and had three children: the photographer Andreas (1906–1999), the papal musicologist Laurence (1909–1976), and the painter and photographer Lux (1910–2011). JULIA was initially Lyonel's painting teacher, then his muse, driving force, manager, and, through her father, at times also the family's financier; finally, she became his novel reader while he painted. Little else is known about Julia's life and the details of her marriage to Lyonel.

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[1] See [LUCKHARDT, 1987; 1998a].

[2] Lore wrote the autobiography [FEININGER, 1987]. All that is known about Marianne is that she married Moritz Noack (1896–1980) in 1924 and bore him two daughters (Renate (*1926), Brigitte (*1928), cf. [EHLERT, 2017]), who were then raised in his second marriage to Eva Noack-Mosse (1902–1990), which took place in 1934 (cf. [Noack-Mosse, 1945, p. 5]), who came to Theresienstadt in 1945, survived, and wrote a diary about it: [Noack-Mosse, 1945; 2018]. Moritz Noack's parents were the archaeologist Ferdinand Noack and his wife Else, née Hartleben, cf. note 8.

[3] 2 series: "„ The Kin-der-Kids,"," Wee Willie Winkies World," cf. [Blackbeard, 1994], [Jacobs, 2008b].

[4] See [Krenzlin & EHLERT, 2021, p. 39].

[5] Probably the only paragraph on the subject of their second marriages can be found in [Lieberman, 1974, p. 9f.], to which Lux FEININGER reacted with annoyance, cf. [NISBET, 2011b, p.13f.].

Lyonel Feininger's most important honor was to be appointed as *the* very first *master* at the *Bauhaus* in 1919—the most significant higher education institution for fine arts, design, and architecture. The Bauhaus was founded in Weimar in 1919 as a working community of the most creative modern artists of the time, as well as craftsmen and students, in association with the *Grand Ducal Saxon Academy of Fine Arts in Weimar* – which earned the Bauhaus masters the *title of* professor – with the great legacy of the *Grand Ducal Saxon School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar,* which closed in 1915 and owed its foundation and excellent reputation to the great achievements of the art reformer, designer, and architect Henry VAN de Velde. The Bauhaus founder and architect Walter Gropius appointed Feininger because he understood the spatiality and constructiveness of the lines in Feininger's works and therefore wanted to recruit Feininger as a teacher for his architecture students. (6) Also due to Velde's modern achievements, the small town of Weimar seemed the best choice for the Bauhaus – because no one could have foreseen in 1919 that Weimar (as the capital of the state of Thuringia, founded in 1920, which later became the Nazis' "German model district") would very early on become the main location for the Nazis' cultural-political experiments in Gleichschaltung and their bourgeois and reactionary supporters. Due to political persecution, the Bauhaus had to relocate twice, despite or perhaps because of its dynamic development and immense international recognition: in 1925/26 to Dessau, where Feininger was granted a special position among the masters by being released from all duties (with a salary fixed at the rent for his half of the master's house); and in 1932/33 to Berlin, where, after temporary closure by the Nazis, it had to be dissolved in 1933.

Incidentally, Lyonel and JULIA Feininger always lived in the far west of Berlin: initially from 1908 to 1919, they rented a house in the south-west, in Zehlendorf, which was only incorporated into the city in 1920.[7] In the fall of 1933, they moved a little further west to the house of their friends, the archaeologist couple Ludwig and Annemarie Pallat, who were living in Greece at the time, in Wannsee.[8] In the spring of 1934, they all went to Deep on the Baltic Sea, and from the fall of 1934 to the spring of 1937, they rented an apartment in Siemensstadt. (9)

Feininger spent most of his life and his most creative period almost entirely in Germany and felt connected to the German side during World War I, even though his mobility in Germany was restricted as an enemy alien after the United States entered the war. It was only when the shadow of Nazi rule began to fall over Germany that he remembered his American citizenship and emigrated permanently to the US in 1937, where he continued to develop significantly as an artist from 1940 onwards – moving even more towards *line* and watercolor on *thin* paper.

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[6] See [Gropius, 1956], [Anon, 2009].

[7] 1908–1919: Königstr. 32, Zehlendorf-Mitte (since 1920: Berlin, Zehlendorf district; today: Steglitz-Zehlendorf district).

[8] 1933–1934: Otto-Erich-Str. 9, Wannsee (since 1920: Berlin, Zehlendorf district, today: Steglitz-Zehlendorf). The street name refers to Annemarie's brother, the poet Otto ERICH Hartleben. Their sister Else Noack was the mother-in-law of FEININGER'S daughter Marianne, see note 2.

[9] 1934–1937: Lenther Steig 21, Siemensstadt, Berlin, Spandau district (until 1920: Spandau city district).

[10] FEININGER did not produce classical watercolors on thick, heavy paper, cf. [FEININGER, 1992, p. 12].

1.2 Feininger's artistic circle of friends

In Germany, Feininger was in lively exchange with the *Brücke* group of artists and the artists of the *Der Blaue Reiter* network, in particular with Schmidt-Rottluff, Heckel, Kubin, Marc, Klee, and Kandinsky. These artists are listed here in the order in which they first came into contact with Feininger, which took place with Schmidt-Rottluff, Heckel, and Kubin—probably in that order—no later than 1912:

Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and **Erich Heckel** exchanged their own works of art with Feininger and corresponded extensively until Feininger's death. In 1911,they moved to southwest Berlin (as did Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and, in 1908, Max Pechstein), less than 9 km from Feininger in Zehlendorf.[12] Schmidt-Rottluff took a steamboat trip to Werder an der Havel with Lyonel and JULIA Feininger on April 26, 1912. In 1915, Schmidt-Rottluff painted his portrait of Feininger—now on loan to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. According to a letter from Feininger to him in 1950,([13])Schmidt-Rottluff was his only *personal* friend among painters, which, given his friendship with his son Lux Feininger and his close friendship with Mark Tobey, can only refer to his time in Germany.

Alfred Kubin exchanged his own artworks with Feininger, maintained an important artistic correspondence (1912–1919), and met Feininger twice, namely in 1913 at Feininger's studio in Zehlendorf and in 1931 at the Bauhaus in Dessau.[14]

Franz Marc, after removing Feininger from his invitation list in April 1913, then invited him by letter in July—probably under Kubin's influence—to exhibit with the Blue Rider at the "First German Autumn Salon."[(15)]

Gerhard Marcks was a Bauhaus master (1919–1925). As a sculptor, he shared with Feininger not only drawing in common with Feininger, but also a special interest in observing nature, spatiality, and object reference, as well as a strong orientation and loyalty to the original Bauhaus concept of the "cathedral" [16o f] 1919, which pursued the coexistence of art and craftsmanship in the Gothic cathedral workshop idea—in contrast to Gropius' later emphasis on technology (1921) and the reorientation toward industrial reproducibility (1923).

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[11] See [GERLINGER & Spielmann, 1998].

[12] FEININGER: Königstraße 32, Zehlendorf. Schmidt-Rottluff: Niedstraße 14, Friedenau. Heckel: Markelstraße 60, Steglitz. ERNST Ludwig KIRCHNER: Durlacher Straße 14, Wilmersdorf. Pechstein: Kudamm 152 from 1908; Durlacher Str. 14, Wilmersdorf 1909; Offenbacher Str. 1, Friedenau 1912; Offenbacher Str. 8, Wilmersdorf 1913.

[13] Letter dated November 12, 1950. Cf. [GERLINGER & Spielmann, 1998, p. 64].

[14] See [March, 2011], [LUCKHARDT, 2015].

[15] The First German Autumn Salon was an exhibition of international art in Berlin in the fall of 1913. Due to the outbreak of war in 1914, it was also the last of its kind.

FEININGER participated with the following five paintings (title/year/Hess number): Tall Houses I/1912/85, [Teltow I]/1912/86, The Cyclists/1912/89, accidentally also [Village Street in Alt-Sallenthin II]/1913/97, replaced after the first six days by [Jesuits II]/1913/114; cf. [Breloh, 2006, p .115], [Anon, 2019, p.4f.]. Other participants: Archipenko, Campendonk, Chagall, Sonja and ROBERT Delaunay, Max Ernst, ALBERT Gleizes, Marsden Hartley (who lived in Berlin from 1913 to 1915, where he met Feininger in October 1915 and then exchanged letters with him for a short time), Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Klee, KOKOSCHKA, Kubin, August and HELMUTH Macke, MARC, Metzinger, Mondrian, Münter, Rousseau, Werefkin, and several other, somewhat less progressive artists.

The two exchanged their own works of art from 1920 to 1952, and after World War II there was a lively correspondence between them, primarily concerning financial support for Feininger's daughter Lore through the sale of Feininger's works in Germany and the magnificent Marcks exhibition in New York in 1951.[17] Marcks visited the Feiningers in 1950, during which time Lux Feininger took photographs of the two friends on the sun deck of their New York home.[18]

Paul Klee and **Wassily Kandinsky** were Bauhaus masters: Klee from 1920 to 1931, Kandinsky from 1922 to 1933. As a professional violinist, Klee, like Feininger, was a member of the chamber music circle at the Bauhaus. The great mutual admiration between the friends Klee and Feininger, for whom architecture was a decisive influence in their art, is also reflected in the fact that they appeared together in four double exhibitions between 1919 and 1932.[19] Klee was internationally renowned and best represented at the time and is now considered the most historically important of the great Bauhaus painters – well ahead of Kandinsky, with whom he was close friends from his time in Munich before World War I until his death.

As early as late summer 1922, Feininger and the Kandinskys spent a vacation together at Walter Gropius's private home in Timmendorfer Strand, which JULIA Feininger also joined at the beginning.

Feininger, Klee, and Kandinsky formed a conservative group at the Bauhaus that enjoyed special privileges [20]and was characterized by strong and very close cohesion, which was only disturbed from time to time by differences of opinion. It was this close cohesion among artists who held each other in the highest esteem that kept Feininger in Dessau at the end of the 1920s, where the three lived with their families as neighbors in the master houses on Burgkühnauer Allee, maintaining close contact with each other.

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[16]In [Gropius, 1919a] we read (quoted from [BUSHART, 2003, p.115]): Let us will, conceive, and create the new architectural concept together. Painters and sculptors, break through the barriers to architecture and become co-builders, co-creators of the ultimate goal of art: the creative conception of the cathedral of the future, which will once again be everything in one form, architecture and sculpture and painting."

This cathedral of the future is symbolized by Feininger's large woodcut on the title page of the first Bauhaus leaflet [Gropius, 1919b]. Although this woodcut, in almost metaphysical symbolism, shows a broad, radiant church on a hill with buttresses extending even to its three towers crowned by intensely shining stars, it is popularly known as the "Cathedral of Socialism," because already on the second page of Gropius' manifesto, instead of the cathedral of the future, the artist speaks only of a more concrete "building of the future" under the primacy of craftsmanship. The reworking of the above quotation can now be found in the last paragraph of the manifesto [GROPIUS, 1919b, p. 2]:

„So let us build a *new future for craftsmen* without the class-dividing arrogance that sought to erect a haughty wall between craftsmen and artists! Let us together desire, conceive, and create the new edifice of the future, which will be everything *in one form*: architecture, sculpture, *and* painting, which will rise toward the heavens from the millions of hands of craftsmen as a crystalline symbol of a new coming faith."

[17]„ Gerhard Marcks, Oct. 16–Nov. 10, 1951, Curt Valentin Gallery (formerly Buchholz Gallery), 32 East 57th Street, New York.

[18] See [Gerhard Marcks Foundation, 2011].

[19] See [Helfenstein, 1997, p.121].

[20] FEININGER was exempt from duties in Dessau. Klee and Kandinsky received a higher salary for many years, cf. [Helfenstein, 1997, p.121].

In 1924, **Alexej von Jawlensky**, together with Klee, Kandinsky, and Feininger, founded the exhibition group *Die Blaue Vier* (*The Blue Four*), which was initiated and represented by Jawlensky's long-time close friend GALKA Scheyer and was intended to popularize and market the four artists in the USA.[22] With his conciliatory personality, Klee became the center of Die Blaue Vier and sold significantly better in the USA than the others.

Feininger had a sporadic exchange of his own artworks with Klee (since 1923), Kandinsky (since 1925), and Jawlensky (since 1934) – in no way comparable to the very intensive exchange between Klee, Kandinsky, and Jawlensky. Despite their tendency toward abstraction/representationalism, Klee and Feininger were more responsive to each other in their art than the others.

Mark Tobey exchanged his own artworks with Feininger and maintained an intense correspondence with him from 1944 until Feininger's death. During this period, Tobey created calligraphic paintings that consisted almost entirely of densely packed, curved lines. The close friendship between Tobey and the Feiningers, whom he visited several times, went hand in hand with Feininger's renewed enthusiasm for lines in his old age, which he ultimately even placed above color—even though Feininger's lines always remained quite straight and loosely placed.

1.3 Approaches and objectives: Si tacuisses ?

After Lyonel Feininger's death in 1956, his widow JULIA, together with their sons Lux and Andreas, took care of promoting Lyonel's artistic work and archiving his estate until her own death in 1970. Julia donated important paintings by Feininger to leading American museums: to the MoMA in New York, among others, she donated "Great Revolution" (Hess 52) from 1910, one of Feininger's most important caricature-like paintings, and "Manhattan I" (Hess 398) from 1940; the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., with Zirchow VII (Hess 189) from 1918, one of the oil paintings particularly cherished by Feininger himself, alongside Umpferstedt [I]. Institutions affiliated with Harvard University were gifted (in some cases via third parties) with a large portion of the estate, most notably the Busch–Reisinger Museum with approximately five thousand of Lyonel's drawings and the Houghton Library with well over a thousand letters from Lyonel to Julia.

These letters offer—even more than any other statements or publications by Lyonel and his closest relatives and friends—essential insight into Feininger's artistic vision and creative process. However, these letters are neither carefully considered statements nor philosophically and intellectually elaborate works intended to provide his art with a certain superstructure or substructure. [27]

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[21] The Feiningers lived at Burgkühnauer Allee 3 (today: Ebertallee 63, 06846 Dessau-Roßlau) (semi-detached house with Lázló Moholy-Nagy); the Klees and Kandinskys at Burgkühnauer Allee 5 and 6 (shared semi-detached house; today: Ebertallee 69 and 71).

[22] See [BARNETT & Helfenstein, 1997], [Jacobs, 2008a].

[23] See, for example, Feininger's oil painting Architecture with Stars (Hess 276) from 1927 and Klee's pen-and-ink watercolor "German City BR" (1928.152) from 1928, which may have been similar to the lost "Upper City T" (1930.197) given to Feininger as a gift in 1935.

[24] See [MOELLER, 2006].

Rather, these are Lyonel Feininger's spontaneous attempts to grasp his formal will and the intentions and problems of his artistic creative process and to discuss them with his wife JULIA, who had already achieved a professional level as a painter before him.

Another important source of inspiration for Lyonel Feininger's creative process was his third son, Lux (1910–2011), who was born in Berlin and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and who also became a professional painter and an outstanding art teacher.[28]

From 1924 to 1935 the father spent many months with his son Lux in the seaside resort of Deep, located on both sides of the mouth of the Rega River where it flows into the Baltic Sea, 10 km north of the old German trading town of Treptow on the Rega River in Hinterpommern. There they drew and painted side by side and discussed things with each other on long walks on the beach. While JULIA used to point out to her son Lux, who was still in his forties, that his father was a genius and he was not, the father considered his son to be a more gifted painter than himself in some ways. In any case, father and son benefited greatly from each other, especially in terms of painting and photography, as different as their works sometimes were.

Unlike many of his Bauhaus colleagues and closest artist friends, Feininger had no natural urge to expound on the nature or development of the visual arts in programmatic, philosophical scenarios. Nor did Feininger generally think much of the content of such writings, which he considered to be, at best, popularization—even when they concerned the programs of the Bauhaus, which he so admired.

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[25]The history of what later became the Busch–Reisinger Museum (see [Haxthausen, 1982]) began in 1903 as a collection of German art founded by Germanists at Harvard University with the support of German Emperor Wilhelm II. The benefactor, Adolphus BUSCH (*1839 in Mainz, +1913 in Taunus), who was very successful as the founder and buyer of several US breweries and co-founder of the Anheuser-Busch brewing dynasty, donated the enormous sum of US$ 265,000 between 1906 and 1910 for the construction of a museum building. The art collector Hugo Reisinger (1856–1914), who was born and died in Germany, had founded the Busch-Reisinger family in 1890 with Edmee Busch (1871–1955), daughter of ADOLPHUS Busch, and bequeathed to the museum upon his death in September 1914 an endowment of US$50,000, the income from which was to cover administrative costs. Edmee BUSCH donated US$5,000 in 1948 (to ensure the museum's survival) and another US$200,000 in 1949, whereupon the Germanic Museum was renamed the Busch–Reisinger Museum. Today, the Busch–Reisinger Museum is part of the Harvard Art Museums at Harvard University in Cambridge, MA.

[26] The Houghton Library, named after its principal benefactor ARTHUR A. Houghton JR., was spun off from Harvard University's Harvard Library in 1942 as a library for manuscripts and rare works.

[27] In this sense, see also [DEUCHLER, 1991, p. 17]; FEININGER did not express himself as extensively and didactically about his art in theory or in writing as his Bauhaus colleague Paul Klee (1879–1940) did. The texts and letters known to date do not allow us to reconstruct any actual 'aesthetics'. In the following, we will clarify that Feininger was in no way interested in such an aesthetic.

[28]Lux FEININGER studied at the Bauhaus in Dessau (where he distinguished himself early on with his dynamic snapshots and played jazz in the Bauhaus band) and taught at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York (1950–1952), at the Fogg Museum (Harvard University) in Cambridge, Massachusetts (MA) (1953–1962), and at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts (Tufts University) in Boston (1962–1975).

[29]Treptow on the Rega had Lübeck city rights since 1277. Deep and Treptow are now Polish, are called Mrzeżyno and Trzebiatów and are located in Województwo Zachodniopomorskie, i.e. Polish West Pomerania. The river is still called Rega.

In fact, Feininger was not really an intellectual, but rather a born musician and great artist who did not believe that the essence of music or art could be expressed in words or that language could contribute significantly to clarifying the psychology of their creativity.[31] As a Bauhaus master, he referred to others (such as Alois Schardt) when his art was to be explained, and when a Bauhaus student reported to him on a remarkable occurrence of the golden ratio in one of his works, he is said to have simply fetched a dazed bird from his studio and said:

> „Don't you think this linnet is also structured according to the golden ratio? It looks that way and knows nothing about it. Neither do I!" [32]

The latter is also supported by the fact that, in his later years, he liked to have JULIA read novels to him while he was painting, about which Hermann KLUMPP remarks:

> „"This distracted his consciousness and freed up his unconscious, irrational powers for the continuation of his painting." (33)

Undoubtedly, it was not usually a mathematical construction that led to the golden ratio in his works, but rather his excellent eye, which in his feeling went far beyond anything that could be achieved mathematically. (34)

In his letter to JULIA dated June 4, 1932, Feininger's aforementioned aversion to linguistic dissection of art is evident, and it also becomes clear how difficult our endeavor to understand his creative process is likely to be:

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[30]Many of Lyonel Feininger's letters to Julia FEININGER are full of praise for Lux FEININGER as a painter, but these passages may be colored by the parental relationship and the frequent painting difficulties of the father, from which the son did not suffer at first. However, the letter [Feininger, 1943] to his son about his exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York appears to be unquestionably sincere. The fact that this letter was still in the possession of the addressee in 2010 and was allowed to be published is a strong indication that the son accepted and appreciated the praise: I wanted to tell you that I was deeply impressed by your paintings at the Modern Museum. I have known most of the paintings on display for years, but even I, who, like your mother, have always loved them, was amazed by their beauty. And behind their quality as paintings lies such a world of adventure, of a fierce desire to recreate a world that is forever lost, which you, like no other painter of American art, have visualized in the past glory of ships, steamboats, locomotives, and the now historic railroad. I feel the pain behind these paintings, the total devotion to every touch of color you used in their completion, and the magical recreation of the characteristic forms (even down to the tiniest detail) that are so familiar to me, but which you seem to have seen in some previous life.

[31]Formally, FEININGER is undoubtedly right about the inadequacy of language, because even the nature of natural numbers cannot be expressed in language, although mathematicians have created the most powerful language of mankind for this purpose with modern logic and proof theory, cf. [Gödel, 1931], [HILBERT & Bernays, 1934; 1939]. Bernays, 1934; 1939].

Creativity in mathematics is also difficult to grasp with language, although some of the great mathematicians have attempted to clarify the psychology of creativity in mathematics, cf. for example [Hadamard, 1949].

Since art and music are practically always dependent in some form on natural numbers or elementary geometry—which cannot be doubted in FEININGER'S CASE in PARTICULAR—FEININGER must be considered correct, at least formally, in his assessment of language.

[32] [Muche, 1956].

[33] [Egging, 2011, p. 59, r.].

„There is not much to report in terms of external events; however, almost every moment is occupied with experiences that pass through the mind and spirit, and then, of course, *everything* is simply an event. These are often things that to describe would be to dissect them. That is why I sit on the beach for hours and think of you without being able to write a word. These thoughts (and how the sea, spread out before you, with the immeasurable light high sky above it, is capable of conjuring up thoughts from the most hidden depths of your inner being), which revolve around the inexpressible, form the impulses for the creation of images, which ultimately constitute my language to you. Words will never be able to reveal this process. One cannot speak in words about great happiness, just as one cannot speak in words about great misfortune. Fear of excessive communicativeness keeps people silent.

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[34] Broader investigations into the golden ratio in Feininger's works therefore seem hardly appropriate : FEININGER probably valued pure and highly complex emotion and therefore used the extremely laborious process of trial, error, correction, and even washing away, but mostly avoided the rather simple, precise mathematical construction. However, given the current state of data, this type of construction alone could be the subject of a scientific study on the golden ratio in Feininger's work, and would probably yield insignificant results because feelings lack precision.

This preference for sensing the golden ratio distinguishes FEININGER from painters such as Paul Klee (cf. [Fredel, 1998, p. 30]) and CASPAR David FRIEDRICH (cf. [BUSCH, 2008; 2021]), who often constructed their works with precise mathematical precision. This is all the more surprising given that FEININGER otherwise has many similarities with Klee (as already briefly described) and with FRIEDRICH (as follows). It is astonishing that Friedrich undoubtedly painted St. Mary's Market Church and the Red Tower of Halle (FEININGER'S favorite motifs in Halle an der Saale) into a seaport (probably Greifswald) in his painting "The Sisters on the Balcony at the Harbor" (1820), cf. [Börsch-Supan & Jähnig, 1973, p. 358, no. 236], [Börsch-Supan, 1980, p. 42, no. 67], [Hüneke & März, 1991].

A more important similarity between FRIEDRICH and FEININGER is their religiosity (cf. § 2.1), which probably also plays a very similar role in the studio due to its strict reliance on nature notes, in contrast to their very arbitrary image composition, cf. [Börsch-Supan, 1960, p. 52ff.], [Busch, 2008]. However, the most interesting similarity between the two for us is their aversion to excessive verbalization: For FEININGER, compare the following quote in the running text; for FRIEDRICH, compare his quote in [Börsch-Supan, 1987, p. 74f.] against the overconfident conceit that " " (the artist is the creator of the world). holy punishment only, seen and recognized only in faith; finally to know and understand clearly!" "

To conclude this note, let us venture a more substantial speculation: While FRIEDRICH attached great importance to having his nature notes, which he often assembled precisely into paintings in his studio according to simple mathematical principles, copied in every detail (from spatial depth and viewing angle with horizon line, to the incidence of light and the branch structure of trees), because he wanted to affect the viewer of his paintings religiously (in SCHLEIERMACHER'S sense) through the divine in nature and also in mathematics (cf. [Busch, 2008; 2021]), Feininger is not directly concerned with the representational in his studio compositions, but rather with expressing his own affectation of the representational when confronted with the motif, as remembered through his nature notes.

Unfortunately, compared to Friedrich's deep religiosity, we know little about the nature of Feininger's religiosity, because it was hardly ever mentioned in his letters and was no longer a major topic of general discussion in Feininger's time. Nevertheless, Feininger's rejection of his own abstract art, which no longer abstracts anything from the representational, and the extremely high value he placed on his nature notes can ultimately only be understood on the assumption that his nature notes were also based on experiences that could certainly be described as religious, such as those Friedrich wanted to evoke in the viewer, while Feininger wanted to directly depict his own experiences, which he perhaps understood as religion in a similar way to how his father understood music.

And that is why, for FEININGER, the golden ratio had to be felt rather than constructed, if possible. Probably only once DID Feininger—after a very unpleasant experience with a very slight but conspicuous and irritating deviation from the golden ratio—consciously construct it when he returned to it, cf. § 7.3.2.

> My silence is more productive than my words. But it is often a heavy burden; where would I be if you did not understand me so well? [35]

Should we follow Feininger's lead and abandon our study of his creative process altogether? At the very least, this quote forces us to seriously consider whether it makes any sense at all to talk or write about Feininger's art.

Admittedly, talking about art does not always achieve the goal of conveying information. The main reason for this communication problem lies in the nature of artistic creativity. Art has also never developed a precise, general technical language that is not limited to its own history; this distinguishes it from such diverse disciplines as mathematics, jurisprudence, and medicine.

If, on the other hand, one largely refrains from the often futile attempt to convey the true nature of art and its superstructure in general, but instead confines oneself to simple objective facts about less concrete works of art, then communications about art can very well create a basic initial understanding that would be difficult to convey by other means. In this simple sense, we are convinced that we can communicate some interesting and fundamental information to friends of Feininger's work in the following and thereby avoid the response „Si tacuisses."

In our opinion, even in places where he is popular, Feininger is still far from being in all his uniqueness. According to a private statement by Wolfgang Büche, Lyonel Feininger is today a highly respected artist worldwide, but in many respects still not properly understood to this day."[36] We see this statement as a call to action, which was put on the research agenda by Peter Nisbet a dozen years ago and has not yet been sufficiently pursued:

> „It is time to revise the image of Feininger on the basis of a more precise, in-depth examination of individual works, their successes and failures." [37]

In order to pave the way for a more fundamental understanding, we will now attempt to make a significant contribution to the understanding of the creative process in this study, using the means outlined here, i.e., by concentrating on simple facts about less concrete works of art, especially in areas where, in our opinion, Feininger is still not properly understood to this day.

A very significant improvement in the quality of citations has proven to be an essential technical step in this reconstruction, especially in the case of Feininger, something that even current German publications on Feininger still lack. We, on the other hand, always follow the rules *of good scientific practice:* not only in correct and clearly marked citation, but also in the rather generous inclusion of the context necessary for understanding and disambiguation.

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[35] [FEININGER, 1932a, p. 1f.].

[36] [Büche, 2020].

[37] Cf. [NISBET, 2011b, p.17]. In the English original [NISBET, 2011a, p.16]: "„The time has come for a reconstruction of Feininger's reputation based on a clearer and more detailed engagement with individual works of art, their successes and their failures."

Particularly in the case of Feininger's letters, their many ambiguities make it absolutely essential to work only with the original handwritten copies – and not with JULIA Feininger's typewritten copies of these letters, as Feininger's handwriting is very legible and these copies can only lead to distortions. [38] one should certainly not work with JULIA'S abridged, embellished, and comprehensibility-enhanced translations into English; and certainly even less with the erroneous reprints of these translations in [Ness, 1974], a source that is sometimes grossly inaccurate.

1.4 Outline

This study is structured as follows:

- Above all because Feininger understood his art as something essentially spiritual and referred in this context to the personal and transpersonal (cf. § 2.3), when writing about his work—contrary to our original intention of to avoid comments on Feininger's *person and personality*, we repeatedly found it necessary to make brief remarks on this topic, almost all of which we have summarized in advance in § 2 so that we can then devote ourselves exclusively to his *work* and allow our arguments to flow unhindered by digressions on this topic.

  While we were able to keep § 2.1 on religiosity and sociability quite brief, § 2.2 ended up being somewhat longer because, while drafting these brief preliminary remarks, we encountered the myth of Feininger's "nostalgia," which is based on substantially incorrect quotations from Feininger's letters in English-language literature. Here, a correction in line with our objectives([39]) was urgently needed! In § 2.3, in addition to Feininger's spiritual, personal, and transpersonal understanding of art mentioned above, we must also point out the narrowing of his concept of expressionism over the course of his life.

- In § 3, we must clarify a fundamental aspect of Feininger's art: What did he mean by his *nature notes*, and what essential function did they have for his art? Here, we attempt to deal comprehensively and in the necessary breadth with the complex character and function of the nature notes.

- In § 4, we must first clarify another fundamental aspect of Feininger's art, namely his relationship to Cubism. Since this provides the last essential prerequisite for § 5, the first core section of this study, we will go into depth rather than breadth here.

[38] In addition to Julia Feininger's very frequent text manipulations, [Ness, 1974] contains, for example on page 86f., a nonsensical recomposition of sentences from two different letters [Feininger, 1916a] and [Feininger, 1916c] in chaotic order; cf. § 2.2.6.

[39] See end of § 1.3.

- In § 5, the first of the three core sections of this study, we present—as an illustration of Lyonel Feininger's practice of repeatedly revisiting a motif over several decades—a list of all known representations by Feininger that feature the small church in the farming village of Umpferstedt near Weimar as their main motif.

  In line with our objective of working with *a small number of* artworks, we then analyze only *one* of these works, namely the oil painting Umpferstedt [I] from 1914. „

  We describe the exact nature of the constructive structure in a complete and coherent manner, thereby presenting the first coherent proposal as to how the parts of the little church depicted several times in this picture actually fit together, and make it clear that although the little church of Umpferstedt is strongly cubist in style, it is by no means fragmented in the manner of Picasso and Braque's cubism.

  The reason for choosing this particular work is its fourfold special status: its particularly large format for Feininger, Feininger's closest approximation to Cubism, its extremely high complexity, and the perplexity in the literature regarding the analysis of its graphic representation.

- Section 6 discusses the important group of works entitled "Hohe Häuser" (Tall Houses). „ Among other things, this is done in order to introduce the problems of locating the original motifs—among the particular difficulties posed by Feininger's special kind of cubist alienation, abstraction, and formal composition—with a group of works in which the respective original motifs can be determined with some skill and without really great effort by searching for their preliminary work in almost every one of the houses depicted, right down to the exact address in Paris.

  In addition to the oil paintings Tall Buildings I and II from 1912 and 1913, which sparked Feininger's career as a painter and became his trademark, so to speak, we will also briefly discuss the lesser-known paintings III and IV from 1917 and 1919. In doing so, we will pursue our goal of[40] analyze these works in detail and determine Feininger's success with them more precisely.

- In § 7, we examine the group of works „ entitled Yellow Village Church, which consists of three woodcuts and three oil paintings created in the 1920s and 1930s before Feininger left Europe for good. Here, too, we pursue our goal of focusing on a small number of works, identifying their interdependencies, and analyzing their successes and failures in detail. A significant difference from the previous sections is that it is not the oil paintings but the woodcuts that represent the primary and most important works in this group, which served as the *only direct* models for all the other works in the group. Furthermore, there are clear indications in one of these woodcuts that Feininger, exceptionally, constructed the golden section precisely in advance.

[40] See end of § 1.3.

In a subgroup of three of these works, the title is actually just "Village Church," and we wonder how the title "Yellow Village Church" came about, which is insignificant for the mostly yellow village churches in the Weimar region. We assume that all six works are based on two nature sketches of the same motif with only slightly different viewpoints, make a meaningful suggestion for the first time as to which church in which location this might be, and are surprised to find that it is a not very yellow church in a town in the Weimar region.

The search for the two nature notes has so far been unsuccessful, but we can verify the identity of this town and church with the motif of one of the woodcuts in the work group and also document that Feininger made a large number of nature notes of this church from other perspectives.

1.5

Works from the catalogue raisonné of Feininger's oil paintings, compiled by JULIA Feininger and found in [Hess, 1959, pp. 245–300], are referenced according to the standard pattern, i.e., „(Hess 99)" for the oil painting with the number 99.

For works from the catalogue raisonné [Prasse, 1972] of Lyonel Feininger's prints with (Prasse W249)" for the woodcut numbered 249 (W= woodcut). With the exception of seven lithographs, all prints are monochrome.[41]

If a symbol in the form|2 appears in quotations, this indicates the position of a page break in the original—in this specific case, a break from page 1 to page 2.

Optional texts are enclosed in square brackets [. . .]. In Feininger's image titles, these optional brackets indicate those parts of the title where it is unclear whether they originate from Feininger himself or whether they can even be considered part of the title. In literature references, however, these brackets are moved slightly upward for clearer identification: [.. .] instead of [. . .].

Texts that are available to us in the form of a photograph or a photographic scan of the original are quoted without any correction of characters, even if there are obvious spelling mistakes, such as the capitalization of "Stundenlang" in the penultimate quotation in § 1.3 from Feininger's letter [1932a] to JULIA. Feininger's emphatic underlining is always reproduced in italics here, as in "Alles" in this quotation. When quoting from printed texts, the spelling was almost always retained, even if it did not conform to any standard of orthography.

[41] Of Feininger's well-known traditional prints, only the lithographs (Prasse L5, L7, L9, L10, L11) (L= lithograph) and the lithographs [Das Tor, Ribnitz] are *printed in multiple colors* (cf. [Egging & Winter, 2012, p.118], [Egging, 2013, p. 24]) and [Alte Dorfkirche in Middelhagen]" (cf. [BÜCHE et al., 2006, pp. 41, 135], [Egging & Winter, 2012, pp. 13, 103]), which are unfortunately missing from the catalogue raisonné [Prasse, 1972] of FEININGER'S prints. In addition, there are several monochrome prints BY FEININGER that he colored by hand himself. Finally, there are also multicolor prints to which Feininger added further colors by hand; for example, Fischer-Flotte (Prasse L10), on which Feininger wrote "ROT" (red) at the very bottom of the sheet with a red colored pencil and vigorously recolored the sun—in addition to the black, blue, green, yellowish light brown, and brownish red of the print. This sheet is probably only printed in full in [BÜCHE et al., 2006, pp. 32, 135]; however, it can be found with "ROT" cut off at the bottom and incorrectly labeled in [Egging & Winter, 2012, pp. 92, 105f.]; with cut edges and in black and white in [Prasse, 1972, p. 100].

2 A little about Feininger's personality

First, it may be necessary to clarify a few characteristics of Feininger's personality, as these have been systematically misrepresented in the past and are not widely known. We also want to avoid digressions about Feininger's character traits in the following chapters on his creative process. Readers in a hurry who are only interested in Feininger's creative process may be satisfied with the following judgments, which are not explained further, and proceed directly to § 3:

1. Feininger loved having his family, friends, and colleagues close by, but preferably in a neighboring house so that he could work completely undisturbed whenever he felt like it. He was also sociable, but not at all fond of official communities.

2. He was deeply religious at heart, but very rarely spoke directly about this topic. He was regularly overcome by a great longing for his religious states of mind when encountering his motifs on site, and he later conjured up these states of mind in his studio with the help of his nature notes made on the spot.

3. Although he was particularly enthusiastic about literature from the first half of the 19th century and although he preferred Biedermeier fashion, steam locomotives, sailing ships, and old village churches as his motifs, Feininger was by no means nostalgic.

In explaining these judgments, we will be brief and limit ourselves to those points that are not generally known.

2.1 Not a friend of communities, but religious and ly sociable

First, we will briefly outline Feininger's relationship to communities and religion.

When he wanted to find out about exhibitions where his own works were on display, he usually sent his wife JULIA there and otherwise bought a ticket anonymously. He did this to avoid attracting attention and participating in vernissages and larger gatherings of artists and collectors.

However, his abstinence from organized communities of any kind—he even declined an invitation to *join Die* Brücke—should not be interpreted as meaning that Feininger was unsociable or irreligious.

For example, he went out with other artists in search of motifs, even with painters who not only took notes on nature but actually painted, as was often the case in Paris in the fall of 1907 with Oskar Moll and in May 1911 with Richard Götz.

[42] See [Salzmann & Salzmann, 1975, pp. 39 l., 40 l.].

[43] See [FEININGER, 1911a; 1911b; 1911c].

Feininger also greatly enjoyed evening entertainment and socializing: in addition to belles-lettres and cinema, he loved celebrating in small circles and participating in student parties at the Bauhaus. After renting a live-in studio in Paris (*242 Boulevard Raspail)* with Julia at the end of July 1906—just 400 meters south *of the Café du* Dôme—he rarely interacted with the local artist circle,[44] but regularly and intensively—and even invited his mother's acquaintances [45] Marg and Oskar Moll, his close friend [46] Jules Pascin, who, like Feininger, drew incessantly at the time, Hans Purrmann, Rudolf Levy, Walter Bondy, Rudolf Grossmann, and/or Richard Götz to dinner in his studio apartment. (47)

However, Feininger had little interest in traditional religious communities or national communities. When with the Jesuits in Liège, Lyonel Feininger described himself as a Protestant, whereas when with Protestants, he described himself as coming from a family that had always been purely Catholic.

In the Vogue article about a home interview with Feininger shortly before his death, which has been used as a source in many other studies, we read:

> „His was a musical family; the father, a violinist and composer; the mother, born in America, a pianist and a singer. When they were away on concert tours, young Feininger spent much time in Connecticut with a farmer's family who were religious, and there he saw the Bible for the first time. In his own words, he remained 'fundamentally deeply religious'. [49]

2.2 : Not a nostalgic

Since § 3 could easily give the impression that Lyonel Feininger was nostalgic, and since this myth also haunts Feininger literature, we would like to counteract this impression in advance with a brief description of Feininger's position on nostalgia and by exposing the phantom sources of the myth.

2.2.1 Capturing motifs

As we will demonstrate in § 3.1, Feininger did not value the past per se, but rather the past in the sense *of memories of states of mind* that he himself had experienced when encountering and capturing the motif. He also loved the untouched, the natural, the rural, and the ancient *as motifs*. Admittedly, he found steam locomotives, sailing ships, and paddle steamers more visually interesting than their more modern successors, which hide much more of their technical functionality behind smooth surfaces—but that was and is probably the majority opinion among visual artists. In any case, his entire family apparently agreed that Feininger cannot even be accused of nostalgia in his early work.

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[44] See [Purrmann, 1961a, p. 78] and [Purrmann, 1961b, p. 34].

[45] See [Salzmann & Salzmann, 1975, pp. 40 l., 44 l.].

[46] See [Purrmann, 1961a, p. 133].

[47] See [Salzmann & Salzmann, 1975, pp. 40 l., 44 l.]. p. 40 l.: „ Großmann". p. 44 l.: „ Goetz."

[48] See, for example, [FEININGER, 1963, p.113].

[49] See [Liberman, 1956, p. 92]. Since this may be the only source on Feininger's religiosity, the speculations on this subject in notes 34 and 51 may also be of some relevance.

[50] See [FEININGER, 1986, p. 61, right column, penultimate paragraph].

2.2.2 No nostalgia

Feininger can by no means be described as a „"nostalgic" – at least not in today's sense of the word, for he lacked all the negative aspects of nostalgia that are so prevalent today: longing for the past, escapism, cult worship.

2.2.3 Supernatural homesickness

Even nostalgia (as opposed to nostalgicism) can only be spoken of in a very outdated sense when it comes to Feininger, namely in the sense of a special form of homesickness. But even Feininger used the term "*supernatural* homesickness" instead of „"nostalgia" in this case.[51] Even his *worldly* homesickness, which he only experienced as a teenager living without his parents in Hamburg and Liège, was merely a contradiction to his father's external determination of his place of residence and a longing to return to his American homeland, but not the pain of the irretrievable. [52]

2.2.4 A typical American

In keeping with his birthplace of Manhattan, he was what one would expect of a modern New Yorker: he was and remained a typical American in his demeanor and ultimately positive outlook on life, was impressed by the modern architecture of the Bauhaus and the skyscrapers of Manhattan, and preferred private motor vehicles as a means of transportation to an elegant two-horse carriage.

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[51] In [FEININGER, 1927c, p. 4] we read: "And I am overcome by an irrepressible longing, a supernatural homesickness, for the realization of certain images. Somehow *completely* different from the way an artist usually creates his works—I am not thinking of images in the usual sense—I do not paint in order to create 'art'; it is such a deeply painful human desire to give form to innermost experiences, to lift them out of the past. Perhaps completely wrong! But: in the present, there is only the *act of painting* itself; for us Expressionists, the *driving force* lies in the longing for lost happiness."

In the translation "unearthly nostalgia" by "überweltliches Heimweh" in [FEININGER, 1927d], Julia FEININGER Both words are poorly chosen: Although "nostalgia" is not as unusual in English as a synonym for "homesickness" as "Nostalgie" is in German as an outdated synonym for "Heimweh," there is no good reason to choose the ambiguous and etymologically more distant word "nostalgia" as a translation for "Heimweh." And "unearthly" means "otherworldly," "extraterrestrial," "supernatural," "eerie," but not "superworldly." And Feininger probably meant something like Heinrich Laufenberg's poem from 1430, which reads as follows in the Protestant hymnal: I wish I were at home and could do without all the world's comforts. I mean, at home in the kingdom of heaven" …

For FEININGER, however, the kingdom of heaven consisted of the thoroughly religious states of mind and inner experiences he had when finding and drawing the original motifs on site, as well as the memories of these states of mind in his studio with the help of his nature notes.

A suitable translation of "überweltliches Heimweh" would then be "transcendent homesickness." The only place we know of where FEININGER himself uses the word "nostalgia" – probably as a reference to A translation of the very poor English translation, which we will quote and discuss at the beginning of § 2.2.6, can be found in a letter to Hermann KLUMPP (August 4, 1953): Only one thing is constant: the longing, the homesickness, the nostalgia that drives me." [FEININGER, 1953].

[52] In the letter [FEININGER, 1890] to his childhood friend Frank KORTHEUER, we read: "I am very homesick for America and I like Germany less and less. In fact, I consider it a prison and would give anything to get back to America."

([53]) See, for example, the section of his letter printed in [FEININGER, 1963, p.118] „ Kuhtz, October 10, 1934."

2.2.5 Progressive, but not Jewish

Lyonel Feininger was perceived by the German public as so progressive that he was considered to be of Jewish descent,[54] even though he was not a typical intellectual,[55] the Jewish ancestry of his two wives was not public knowledge, he had no known Jewish ancestors, and he himself was not of the Jewish faith.

The reason for the assumption that he was Jewish was probably simply that, despite his habitual private indulgence in wistful memories and Bach fugues, he was perceived in public as a person who was not very attached to tradition, but rather very progressive: in his art, in his inclination toward teaching methods that were considered alternative at the time,[56] in his rejection of any class consciousness, in his social abstinence, and in his refusal to teach at the Bauhaus and to use his professorial title:

> „He refused to be addressed by the title of professor conferred on him by the state government, either in his private life or in public. And until the end, he enjoyed the trust and moral support of his students." (57)

2.2.6 But a nostalgic?

The only contradiction to our assessment that Lyonel Feininger was not a nostalgic person has developed from a *phantom quote* that haunts American literature about Feininger. It is falsely claimed that Feininger wrote the following in German in 1916:

> „The older I get, the more I am concerned with the problems of awareness, recollection, and nostalgia. It seems obvious that the artist must strive to answer these questions, for longing is the impulse and mainspring of creative achievement." (58)

However, the source of this quote is unknown. Part of the quote, namely "awareness, recollection, and nostalgia," became the title of the exhibition catalog [Heller, 1992], in which the presumably *erroneous assumption* is made that Feininger was an artist driven by the homesickness of German emigrants to America. Despite its misleading use as a title, the above quote appears in [Heller, 1992] only in a modified form, with reference to [Ness, 1974, p. 86f.]:

> „Everything is so precious in one's recollection, and all of a sudden one is struck by the realization of how happy one has been. The older I get, the more I am concerned with the problem of awareness and nostalgia." (59)

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[54] See, for example, the letter [FEININGER, 1935a] to Johannes Kleinpaul.

[55] For example, he only spoke when it was really necessary, cf. [FEININGER, 1966]: He needed privacy but detested solitude: he greatly enjoyed the presence of his family — but in another room; when friends gathered around, he was often content to listen, or to give the appearance of friendly attention, rather than actively participate in a general conversation. "I love to hear others talk," was one of his sayings. He was unwilling to speak in public; but when it was quite inevitable, he spoke well and to the point.

[56] Examples include Feininger's choice of the progressive *Neue Schule Hellerau* for his two younger sons, Laurence and Lux, in 1924 (see also § 3.6.1), and his choice of the progressive Landerziehungsheim *Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf* for Laurence from 1926 to 1929.

In [Ness, 1974, 86f.], reference is made to the translation [Feininger, 1916b]. However, if one looks up the German original [Feininger, 1916a], one finds that there is nothing of the sort in it.[60] Rather, this quotation apparently comes from the translation [Feininger, 1916d], and the original text [Feininger, 1916c, pp. 2–4] reads in context (August 2, 1916):

> „Yesterday evening was so indescribably beautiful, the large mowed meadows with sheaves of grain on them—in the west, everything was gold and purple. – in the east, the delicate violet evening magic lay over everything – a cleansed sky – just like back then in Graal, when we wanted to look at the world upside down – which Abeking's dirty laughter prevented us from doing. Oh, I remember! – Yesterday, as we walked along *our* old paths, it seemed to me as if the last time had been countless years ago; and yet our few walks this spring have remained so precious and vivid in our memories. Perhaps our nerves and senses were weary at the time – afterwards, one becomes so deeply aware *of how* happy we were. The whole question of consciousness and memory, or longing, is one that preoccupies me more and more the older I get. It stands to reason that the creative artist seeks to understand this – for longing is the driving force behind everything."

However, this is not a reference to nostalgia, or even homesickness, but only to the question of longing. This refutes all the arguments we have heard that Feininger was a nostalgic.

In conclusion, we have now exposed the use of the word "nostalgia" in all these English quotations as highly inadequate and misleading. And we can only hope that the myth of Feininger's nostalgia will not be perpetuated any longer.

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[57] Cf. [FEININGER, 1965b, p. 52].

[58] See [Prasse & WIGHT, 1951, p. 10].

[59] This quotation is flawed simply because it appears exactly as it is reproduced here; it is taken out of context and thus supports a false association in both sentences.

The first sentence is reminiscent of the statement of a person who, as a result of a traumatic experience, can only feel happiness in dreamlike memories (which would then support the assumption made in the current text, but probably erroneous, by [HELLER, 1992]). However, this impression disappears immediately when the essential context is quoted. Then the quote becomes one of FEININGER'S delightful, indirect expressions of longing and love for his wife Julia:

„— it reminded me of that evening in Graal, when you and I tried to view the world upside down, and only the laughter of Abeking, who met us just at the right moment, prevented us from standing on our heads. It is like yesterday to me, yet, on the other hand, as if it were a hundred years ago that we walked here together last spring. Everything is so precious in one's recollection, and all of a sudden one is struck by the realization of how happy one has been." [Ness, 1974, p. 86]

The second sentence also changes its character when the essential context is quoted. For then, from awareness and nostalgia as private states of mind, longing is abstracted as essential to his art:

„The older I get, the more I am concerned with the problem of awareness and nostalgia. It seems obvious that the artist must strive to answer these questions for himself, for longing is the impulse and mainspring of creative achievement. [Ness, 1974, p. 86f.]

([60])Whether this is a primary error already in [FEININGER, 1916b] or rather a secondary error in [Ness, 1974, 86f.] is ultimately irrelevant.

2.3 Expressionism in the broader sense: Art as an intellectual

Despite his aforementioned distrust of language's ability to capture the essence of art and music, Feininger understood his art as something essentially spiritual and, in the early decades of his painting career, often used phrases such as "like us Expressionists" [61]to express the spiritual orientation of his art.

Shortly before his death, however, he apparently no longer saw himself as an Expressionist (autumn 1955):

> „I wanted to tie myself down, tie down the ego. It was my ideal to eliminate all the traces of the personal and do the suprapersonal. I do not like the Expressionists; they draw their insides" [62]

Starting from a multiple active commitment to Expressionism in his first decades as a painter, Feininger developed a certain aversion to the Expressionists at the end of his life. Within this development, his conception of the spiritual in his art also changed from the thoroughly subjective and personal to *the suprapersona*l.

A plausible explanation for such a departure from Expressionism can only be found—if at all—in a combination of the following two changes in Feininger in his old age (which, however, is not the subject of our consideration here):

1. a narrowing of the term "Expressionism," which had never been used uniformly or even defined by consensus, and
2. a certain apotheosis of his own creative ideal.[63]

Despite Feininger's complete turnaround on Expressionism toward the end of his life, it is important to emphasize the consistency of Feininger's spiritual conception of his art, which went far beyond the material. Furthermore, in this study we will follow his conception of Expressionism during his first decades as a painter, because this period is the focus of our investigation.

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[61] See quote from [FEININGER, 1927c, p. 4] in note 51.

[62] See [Liberman, 1956, p. 93, r.].

[63] Here, we can assume above all a hypostatization of his originally personal goals into a suprapersonal concept. One of the very few places where FEININGER addresses this suprapersonal (or, as he uses it synonymously, super-personal) is two profound sentences that suddenly appear in a rather mundane reflection on the growth of contemplation in old age, in his letter at the turn of 1952/53 to his closest painting colleague and close friend MARK Tobey, who was very religious and occasionally quoted Baha, the founder of the Bahai religion, to which he had converted, in his letters to the Feininger couple. Feininger writes here to Tobey (cf. [Moeller, 2006, p. 145]): As to *when a* work is achieved, that is a most elusive thing; the more you imagine you've succeeded, you'll find the less deep the secret, and consequently the work is not yet pushed to a stage where intuition pure has been present. The Super-personal has not been arrived at. In sheer desperation I go then to Bach and stark concentration in the greater art.

One must assume that Feininger's three decades as a painter in Germany were marked by clearly *subjective* content, both in terms of his concept of expressionism and his view that his art was something spiritual and transcendent. We can also glean this from a passage in a book by Feininger's Bauhaus student Hermann KLUMPP:

> „The transcendence of the so-called Expressionism is based primarily on the validity [*sic!*] of subjective experience. Objective being is primarily subjective consciousness, is subjective experience. The diversity of individual experiences of non-pictorial objects and their relationships to each other, but even more so to the experiencing individual self, dominate the design." [64]

KLUMPP, whom Feininger called "Rochus" and regarded as his son, completed this book between September and October 1932 while staying with Feininger in Deep.[65] He undoubtedly wrote the quoted paragraph after discussions with Feininger and with his consent, as the two were already close friends at the time and had absolute trust in each other; from 1933 to 1937, KLUMPP saved a large number of Feininger's works from Dessau, Halle, and Berlin from the Nazis.

In accordance with Feininger's original use of language, we will therefore understand Expressionist art here as an *essentially spiritual* art form—that is, as an art form in which spiritual values, inner formal will, and other intended and possibly subjective content count, which, based on the artists' intentions, address the viewer as implicitly coded messages. We regard these intentions of the Expressionist artists – beyond the material results of the creative processes – as essential components of their works of art.

We therefore understand Expressionist art here as an international, major, and highly diverse movement in the visual arts at the beginning of the 20th century—a declared departure from Impressionism toward an emphasis on something explicitly spiritual in the artist's intended expression. We share this very broad concept of Expressionism, which is appropriate for our considerations here, not only with a number of contemporary art historians, but also with a number of German Expressionists and leading art historians of the first half of the 20th century[67] – although this definition of the term is, of course, as controversial today as it was then.[68]

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[64] Cf. [KLUMPP, 1932, p. 66].

[65] See [MOELLER & MOELLER, 2011, p. 156].

[66] In the field of music, this essential transcendence of a work of art beyond the material—in this case, the notes and performance instructions—is far more obvious than in the visual arts: It is obvious to every born musician that the notes of Bach's *Goldberg Variations* or Beethoven's *Eroica*, for example, cannot define these works of art on their own, but that any non-trivial understanding must include the broader intentions of Bach or Beethoven. Music lovers will probably always argue about whether Glenn Gould and RENÉ LEIBOWITZ were right or wrong in their famous recordings in terms of the composers' presumed intentions. And this dispute about the artists' intentions is *essential for these and many other works of art* – not only for works of music, but also for those of expressionist visual art.

[67] See, for example, [Justi, 1921], [SCHARDT, 1930; 1931a; 1931b], [SCHREYER, 1957].

[68] See, for example, [WESTHEIM, 1917], [Faass, 1999b, p. 62].

Expressionism in this broader sense includes (in addition to Lyonel Feininger, Die *Brücke,* the *Rhenish Expressionists*, and the *French Expressionists in the narrow historical sense)* also include artistic developments such as those of Picasso throughout his long life, or those of Matisse up to his great students Levy and Purr-mann, which of course does not always correspond to the historical view of these artists themselves and their contemporary connoisseurs and critics.([69])

[69]Just as Lyonel FEININGER would not have been happy if he had been described as a Cubist in the French sense without any qualifying restrictions, Rudolf Levy would not have been happy if he had been described as an Expressionist (of the French school), as is often the case today (cf. [Thesing, 1990, p. 7]); because the painters of the *Café du Dôme* circle and the *Académie Matisse* considered themselves superior to the German Expressionists in many respects and, above all, and probably rightly so, more cultured (cf. [Purrmann, 1961a]).

3 Feininger's Nature- e Notes

Having established a sufficient basis in sections 1–2, we now come to our actual topic, Lyonel Feininger's creative process. In this section 3, it is particularly important to clearly define what Feininger understood by his *nature notes* and what practically indispensable function they had for him.

3.1 No work of art without longing

In his second publication about his father, Lux Feininger writes the following about Lyonel Feininger's creative process:

> „My father was one of those people who value the past more than the present. He knew it himself—there was no changing it! How often did I hear him say that no work of art can be created without longing! I would venture to add to this statement that it is not places that one longs for, nor events, but nothing but states of mind. It is these that one longs for, and only after they are over, and one conjures them up by means of symbols. The moon
> |106 shines everywhere, but it seems as if in the dune grass from the Deeper beaches, in which he was reflected, contained a very special power. Here, art can have an explanatory effect on the artist. The Impressionist is, after all, the man who can capture the moment itself. (70)Without wishing to say a single word against the art of Monet or Renoir, I may assume as proven that the reasons from which the aforementioned artists drew their inspiration are quite opposite to those from which my father drew his artistic essence. Nor was he alone in his creative approach. Even SEURAT, whose harbor paintings breathe the essence of the sea, painted only in his studio, and in the case of Constable, it can be said that the sketches painted on site are superior to the studio paintings. Why? Because he did not have the power of evocation. Thus, he is rightly counted today among the precursors of Impressionism. He whose senses are so attuned that he can say to the moment: "Stay awhile" (71)cannot know, in enjoying this beautiful gift, what the longing soul is capable of. For the other, who seeks only the spirit—because he must and cannot do otherwise—misses almost everything that can be called "enjoyment." His senses may be highly developed, but they are servants in a higher cause. For him, memory is the key to explanation: what it brings is the poetry of what was once experienced." (72) ,

[70]The woodcut-like simplification of the concept of Impressionism, which complements Lyonel Feininger's concept of Expressionism from his first decades as a painter (cf. § 2.3), can be accepted here and in the following. For it is quite obvious that this concept of Impressionism can only serve as an extreme abbreviation and cannot be meaningful beyond this text: Max Liebermann, for example, developed his award-winning oil painting Die Netzflickerinnen (The Net Menders) from 1889, based on sketches from nature, over a period of years in his studio—in a manner very similar to Lyonel FEININGER'S creative process, which will be described below. This work by a leading representative of German Impressionism would therefore not fall under this concept of Impressionism – in stark contrast to the bathing scenes of the Brücke Expressionists, which were quickly painted on canvas in changing sunlight.

In Lyonel Feininger's case, the symbols mentioned here, with which he evoked the states of mind he experienced, were mainly to be found in what he called his *nature notes*. These are quick pencil sketches that captured his personal feelings when he saw churches and other buildings, landscapes, sailing ships, steam locomotives, and people in a pretty realistic way right there on the spot. In addition to symbols that were perhaps only recognizable and understandable to him, these nature notes were occasionally accompanied by written color references or, in some cases, cartoon-like abbreviations.

In summary, we will ultimately come to the following conclusion about Feininger's creative process:

> *For Lyonel Feininger, his nature notes were essentially the only way to arrive at a finished painting*.

A good two decades after Feininger first began using this indirect working method—with nature notes as an intermediate step—Feininger wrote retrospectively to Johannes Kleinpaul (Dec. 3, 1935):

> „When I was a young man, already at the academy for many years, and outside where something was drawing me in, I was so helplessly overwhelmed by a motif that captivated me that I simply lost all my skills. It was enough to make me tear my hair out! Later, I made 'notes', and then it came naturally. In order to encourage or inspire you, I sent you such notes, which made no claims from the outset and yet (sometimes viewed many years later) conveyed to me the experience of that time. My most mature pictures are based solely on such 'notes' – and the less that can be seen in a 'note' in terms of execution, the more 'content' they have for me and my purposes."
>
> „I have always hated *sketchbooks*! I use a notepad and soft lead; I find that a bound *book* is restrictive from the outset; *loose sheets*, on the other hand, are no loss if they turn out badly and do not spoil the whole pretty sketchbook like a failed page does. But it should also be said that the failed sheets are usually the most valuable when you look through them later (at home!)." ([73])

[71] In Goethe's Faust I (Study), Faust declares that the devil can have his soul if he would say to the moment: "Stay! Thou art so beautiful!" (Rest, please! Thou art so fair!). Contrary to the previous reference to the Impressionists (to whom the son belongs just as little as the father), there is a subtle criticism of them here—at least in the sense that they are not Faustian people. "

In this context, the dedication to Faust immediately comes to mind as an apt positive description of Lyonel Feininger's path to the finished painting by conjuring up his memories, which he then captures in the reality of the painting. It ends with the words:

„ I see what I possess as if in the distance, And what has disappeared becomes reality to me.

[72] [FEININGER, 1963, p.105f.]. This text is not necessarily clear on first reading and may be a little too poetic in terms of its purpose. For example, a sentence such as "For the artist, the question of this power becomes clear as he further develops his motifs" would have been far more helpful than the sentence "In this, art can have an explanatory effect on the artist." Nevertheless, given its significant content, the question arises as to why this text does not appear to have been quoted elsewhere.

[73] [FEININGER, 1935b].

3.2 Nature notes are not impressionistic works of art.

Feininger generally did not attribute any particular artistic value to his sketch-like nature notes for the general public [74] – in contrast to his *pictorial designs* (or *compositions*) in pencil, ink, charcoal, or chalk, and even more so in contrast to his oil paintings, but also to his very special watercolor ink drawings.[75] For Feininger himself, however, these nature notes were invaluable, and he carried them with him in a suitcase on longer trips. They were indispensable to him when he was in his studio, helping him to rediscover the feelings and visual associations that had often prompted him to spontaneously make nature notes on the spot several years earlier. Feininger did not see himself as an Impressionist, and he typically did not see his nature notes as Impressionist works of art. To confirm this once again, here (and then again in § 4.2) is a quote from a very revealing letter to the graphic artist Alfred Kubin (Jan. 21, 1913):

> „ Dear friend!
>
> My work has now been sent to you today, this time without any delays.
> Fall on the strict post office. As you will see from the contents of the package, I have selected a little of everything. It was important to me to show you some of my work in nature so that you can see what I mainly do outdoors—because my entire study consists *solely* of *drawings*; I simply cannot bring myself *to paint* outdoors. How *could* I? The best work, directly from nature, as an end goal (i.e., painted as a picture), would bore me and seem pointless. This is taken very badly here. Instead, I draw what interests me spontaneously and almost instantly, but such drawings are never intended to be turned into paintings. No, first I must be seized by an irresistible longing to create, and *then,* sometimes years later, there is a picture that represents reality as I experienced it – only that when I happen to see the 'real reality' again, it looks very sad to me compared to my picture and is fraught with all kinds of unpleasantness." (76)

3.3 The nature sketch, that is almost a pictorial design

In addition to pencil drawings created in the studio, which are neither nature notes nor could they serve that function, there are also—as he reports to Julia—nature notes created on site since 1913 that have the status of pictorial compositions (May 18, 1913):

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[74] In [Lieberman, 1974, p. 5f.], WILLIAM S. Lieberman, a close confidant of Julia Feininger, writes in his introduction to Lyonel FEININGER: During his many travels, he constantly made sketches. His pencil strokes were so quick that he sometimes drew without even looking at the paper. Many of these sketches taken on the spot have survived and are mostly kept at the Busch–Reisinger Museum at Harvard University. They are generally dated and carefully classified. However, Feininger never considered them to be works of art. In fact, they served more as working notes, references, and sources of inspiration for his drawings, watercolors, and paintings.

[75] These watercolor ink drawings are excellently described in their very special nature and particular diversity in [Büche, 2006, pp. 28–31].

[76] [FEININGER, 1913a, p. 207].

„The picture depicts tall Parisian buildings destined for demolition. It is based on a composition that was first created in Heringsdorf in 1908, but then improved and redone in 1910. And recently, here in Gelmeroda, in Vollersroda, Mellingen, Taubach, in many places, even larger, bolder pictures have come to me; I'll get to them soon! I had hardly dared to hope that I would be able to both absorb *and* create at the same time! But that is the case, and it will become ever stronger in me. This is probably the *first period* of maturity in my artistic existence.

Until now, I have only been capable of such an increase in drawings. When I was working outside in recent days, I fell into a state of formal ecstasy; by the end of one afternoon, I had become completely instinct and ability. I stood in one and the same place and drew the same motif 3–4 times over and over again until I had captured *it* as I *felt* it. This goes far beyond observation or observation; it is a magnetic union, a liberation from all shackles." ([77])

In the lines preceding this quotation, Feininger had written about his seminal oil painting Hohe Häuser II (Hess 99) from 1913 (cf. § 6), on which he had worked very successfully over the previous two weeks. Thus, in this quote, the word "create" primarily refers to the successful work in the studio on this oil painting, while the word "absorb" refers to the work on site on the nature notes. In fact, the entire sentence in which these two words appear is translated by JULIA as [Feininger, 1913d]: „Up to now I did not dare hope to be able to absorb impressions and do creative work at the same time. In any case, this quote shows that Feininger occasionally produced drawings on site" that were of a caliber beyond that of a brilliant sketch.

3.4 Woodcuts and charcoal drawings instead of nature notes

Since 1927, Feininger has succeeded in transferring *the essential function of his nature notes* (i.e., pencil or colored pencil sketches made on site) to *monochrome images or compositions*; such as compositions in charcoal or pen and ink—which he calls *"recordings"* when they were created on site—and even to woodcuts and other monochrome studio compositions. The new dual function of some charcoal sketches—as independent works of art on the one hand and as nature sketches on the other—initially surprised him when he was in the process of transferring such sketches into color, even though only four days earlier he had been of the opinion that this was not possible. This is evident from the following three quotations from two of his letters from September 1927. In the first of these letters, we read (Sept. 24, 1927):

„I painted *a lot* today, from early morning until 5 p.m. Strange: my charcoal compositions are also 'things in themselves' and, as drawings, little more than a stimulus for the painting, which is subject to completely different laws. It is not possible to simply transfer these studies into color; today I had to work completely freely." [78]

[77] [FEININGER, 1913c, p. 2f.].

[78] [FEININGER, 1927f, p. 3].

The phrases "barely more than a suggestion for the picture" and "I had to work completely freely today" can be understood to mean that the charcoal drawings were not suitable as nature notes for him on that day. Therefore, he had to recall his state of mind when he made the charcoal drawings on site (before he could transfer them to oil painting) in his studio—without the usual help of nature notes and their symbols—freely from memory, which suggests that the charcoal drawings were made on site in the summer of 1927, i.e., in Deep on the Baltic Sea.

But just four days later, he wrote (Sept. 28, 1927):

> „I have a picture in front of me on the easel that really promises to become a painting—the same thing in *color* that I managed to achieve *graphically* for the first time this summer with extreme concentration in a few charcoal and pen drawings. Based on a charcoal drawing – but not imitated in tonal values, but in areas of color that have nothing to do with tonal drawing per se. It seems to me to be a step away from what has gone before, onto a new path. Yesterday I began to unravel the mystery, and only today (although I am not feeling well with my sore throat) |(2)through tenacious perseverance, I have progressed so far that I can speak of 'painting' – not laborious reworking of areas until they are sufficiently dematerialized, but rather areas and forms conceived piece by piece as color. But it would be wrong for me to write much about it now; I want to continue working quietly and have only *good hopes*! [79]

The „charcoal drawing in question was therefore actually created in the summer of 1927, when he was making notes in Deep, and thus probably on the spot, directly in front of the object. He was unable to produce such a charcoal drawing just four days earlier.
„ but only "transferred it into color,„ which he now succeeds in doing for the first time "in a new direction.„ He has thus succeeded in taking "a step away from what has gone before."

The dual function of charcoal and pen drawings—as nature sketches on the one hand and, on the other, as compositions roughly equivalent to watercolors and oil paintings—becomes even clearer later in this letter (Sept. 28, 1927):

> „The hard work in the summer, during which I did not allow myself to be misled,[80] helped me progress, and if I did not produce *any* watercolors, it was the right thing to do, because I didn't want to 'bubble over,' to use Mann's expression.[81]

[79] [FEININGER, 1927j, p. 1f.].

[80] *Sic!* The word "ließ" has always been spelled with "ß" except in Switzerland and Liechtenstein, but „ FEININGER apparently never uses this character.

[81] This obviously refers to the novelistic study [Mann, 1905], in which a poet suffers from a cold and a work of his art, rather than from catarrh and a work of visual art: And if that, the ill-fated work, caused him to suffer, wasn't that all right and almost a good sign? It had never bubbled before, and his mistrust would only really begin when it „ did. Only with bunglers and dilettantes did it bubble, with the easily satisfied and the ignorant, who did not live under the pressure and discipline of talent. For talent, ladies and gentlemen down there, far away in the stalls, talent is not something easy, not something frivolous, it is not simply a skill. At its root, it is a need, a critical knowledge of the ideal, a Insatiability that does not acquire and improve its skills without torment."

> And right now, the breakthrough to color is all the stronger in *painting* (as it was in the summer in *charcoal*, which is wonderfully related to the means of painting)." [82]

Five years later, this new dual function of charcoal drawings as a means of bridging the gap between nature sketches and oil paintings had become clear to him (June 4, 1932):

> „ I have already indicated that in recent weeks I have been preoccupied almost exclusively with image design and *preparatory* work. Charcoal drawing, which is very similar to pure painting in that it gradually emerges from the nebulous chaos of imagination to take on firmer contours. A representation that remains halfway through is full of hints of further development—nothing is completely final until it has gone through every possible clarification in the painted image. For me, this time is a deliberate, necessary period of emotional reorientation."

Already between the two letters quoted from 1927, he wrote, also to JULIA (Sept. 26, 1927):

> „A series of new paintings has been started: 2 Gelmerodas, and a few more village scenes, all 80 x 100." [85]

In terms of canvas size, the village paintings must include [Yellow] Village Church [I] (Hess 281)[86]and Church Above Town (Hess 290)[87], both of which are characterized by a joy in color that had previously become quite rare in Feininger's work. The first of these two paintings was undoubtedly painted after the *woodcut [*Yellow Village Church 1] (Prasse W249) from 1923.([88]) Feininger was now able to paint in oil in true color, not only from charcoal drawings, but even from woodcuts.

In summary, it can be said that, since the fall of 1927, Lyonel Feininger was occasionally able to transfer the memory function of his nature notes to charcoal sketches made on site as well as to studio compositions, regardless of the technique used, provided that they were not too many years old and were monochrome: pencil, monochrome colored pencil, charcoal and pen and ink, woodcut.([89])

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[82] [FEININGER, 1927j, p. 2].

[83] *Sic*! Today's spelling is „gradually."

[84] [FEININGER, 1932a, p. 2].

[85] [FEININGER, 1927h, p. 2].

[86] Cf. [Hess, 1959, pp. 113–114, 274], [März, 1998, p. 151]. Cf. also our § 7.

[87] Cf. [Hess, 1959, p. 275], [März, 1998, p. 149].

[88] See [Prasse, 1972, p. 226]. See also our § 7.

[89] It is not yet clear whether Lyonel FEININGER also used monochrome chalk drawings or lithographs of this kind, although there are clear indications that he used etchings, cf. note 136.

3.5 Significant progress throughout 1927, including in painting

The significant progress in 1927 described in § 3.4, which manifested itself in the first successful use of detailed charcoal and pen-and-ink sketches instead of nature notes for the composition of paintings in the studio, does not only refer to our current core topic — the function of nature notes in the creative process — but also to the results of this process in the studio. This change in the oil paintings since 1927 will be briefly explained here, which will also play a role in § 3.7. Already a week before the letter of September 26, 1927, last quoted in § 3.4, the painting was going really well (September 20, 1927):

> „I am painting, and it is as if for the first time in a long time I have regained my eyesight and the skill and cunning to find the right solution to every trap set for me in terms of form and color. |Colors that were previously just bright become resonant again and subordinate themselves to the whole; they are not only tinted with black, according to Ostwald, but also lead their own lives in the shades. And above all, air, light, and atmosphere come to the fore again. The painting of the (greatly altered) Treptow church, painted before the trip, has now turned out well; I would not have undertaken it in the first place if the flaws had not been so glaringly obvious. But now I am beginning to transfer the incomparably more powerful new compositions to canvas [*sic!*]. *It* will be a real joy to tackle this." ([92])

Since there is no oil painting entitled "Church of Treptow" from the relevant period,[93] the painting mentioned by Feininger can only be "Church above City" (Hess 290), which we already mentioned in § 3.4. Compared to the original Treptow church and also to the nature sketch BR63.2802 from the Busch–Reisinger Museum ([94]), which is quite similar to the painting, this painting has indeed been significantly altered in the upper part of the tower—with the exception of the two groups of tower windows, which are also greatly simplified. However, significant changes to the vertical extension of church towers and their dome shapes are quite common in Feininger's work.

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[90] However, the reduction in difficulties with oil paintings had already begun in February 1927, namely with the steamship Odin II (Hess 273), as can be seen from [FEININGER, 1927a, p.1]:

„Today I worked with great concentration, always on the image of the steamboat entering the harbor, and achieved a power of vision and technique that I have hardly attained since the intense war years. If I am not mistaken, the picture now stands there alive and full of power, in a way that would only be possible on the basis of this stage of composition from 1917. The liberation from the merely static is, after the works of the last seven years [*sic!*], an achievement in itself. It is a completely different pictorial form, I know; but it makes me happy and confident to have achieved it."

The last sentence is intended to convey that the image does not belong to its current "image form": the steamboat no longer belongs to the creative phase that began in 1926. See also [Hess, 1959, pp. 110–114].

[91] The chemist and philosopher WILHELM Ostwald (1853–1932), winner of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1909, developed a scientifically based color system with light-dark gradations for the German Werkbund during World War I, which was banned for art instruction in Prussia in 1925—neither PAUL Klee nor Feininger recommended it for this purpose (cf. [Feininger, 1992, p. 15]) – but nevertheless still in 1926/27 at the Bauhaus in Dessau by Ostwald himself, at an advanced age, in a series of lectures.

[92] [FEININGER, 1927e, p. 1f.].

[93] Except for Vita Nova (Hess 471) and Church of Alt-Treptow (Hess 493), which, however, have hardly any color and were probably only begun in America.

[94] https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections?worktype[]5D=drawing&q=Feininger+Trep.

3.6 Alois Schardt, Halle an der Saale, and Photographs as Nature Notes

3.6.1 Alois Schardt

JULIA and Lyonel Feininger agreed that Alois Schardt understood their art better and more in line with their intentions than anyone else.

The art historian Alois Schardt (1889–1955), son of a farmer from Frickhofen in Nassau-Hadamar, received his doctorate in Würzburg in 1917 and became friends with the Feininger family after World War I.

From 1923, Schardt headed the progressive *Neue Schule Hellerau*, a boarding school in the north of Dresden, where both of the younger Feininger sons, Laurence and Lux, were enrolled in 1924 (when the Bauhaus finally began its exodus from Weimar) and where Lux attended for a year until the school closed in 1925.

Schardt was appointed director of the Municipal Museum of Art and Applied Arts in Halle an der Saale in 1926 and, in this capacity, arranged the commission from the city of Halle for Feininger's series of 11 oil paintings of the city in 1929.

3.6.2 Photographs as nature notes

From 1929 onwards, Feininger worked with his own photographs in addition to his usual drawn nature notes—especially for his 11 oil paintings of the city of Halle an der Saale, which, despite their small number and independent nature, are so incredibly diverse.

Based on several photographs and nature notes, he first produced small-format charcoal sketches, then larger charcoal compositions in his studio in Deep. It was only on the basis of this body of preparatory work that the famous oil paintings of the city of Halle were created between 1929 and 1931 in Feininger's studios in Dessau and in the gate tower of Moritzburg Castle in Halle.

This experiment of supplementing drawn nature notes with photographs also clarifies the function of primary, realistic nature notes in the creative process. The change was very stimulating for Feininger, but working with photographs proved to be no less difficult than working with drawn nature notes, which he clearly preferred to photographs after completing the Halle paintings.

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[95] This can already be clearly seen in the woodcuts of the (Yellow) Village Church (various domes and vertical extensions) and the Mellinger Church (increased number of vertical elements).

[96] Lyonel FEININGER used to refer to SCHARDT when asked to explain his art. Julia Feininger [1931] wrote to Lyonel Feininger: "What you write about Schardt speaks from my soul. We probably agree that he is the only person, at least that we know, who thinks about art in this way, who views and feels it and speaks about it accordingly, as we ourselves do."

[97] See [Büche, 2010a], [Hüneke, 2013].

The sketched notes on nature in Halle probably remained there during Feininger's trip to Paris in the summer of 1931 and were only found there in fragmentary form in the mid-1990s. This probably explains why Feininger later in America, although he continued to look back fondly on his time in Halle until his final years, produced very few compositions based on Halle motifs (again based on his own old photographs). On the other hand, his sketches of nature from the Weimar region, Erfurt, Lüneburg, and the Baltic Sea coast inspired him to produce watercolors and oil paintings much more frequently than his photographs of Halle.

3.6.3 The Halle pictures

The discussion of the Halle pictures in [Hess, 1959, pp. 117–123] is based on the insufficient knowledge available at the time and, probably under Julia's influence, is extremely negative:

> „Two reasons contributed to these paintings not achieving the greatness and scope of the works from 1927. The Halle paintings had been commissioned; they were anticipated, viewed, and discussed. It was Feininger's first public commission, and he felt an unfamiliar sense of responsibility. He strove to be "understood." Thus, the object drew him to a closeness to nature that he had already overcome.
>
> Another reason can be seen in the fact that, for the Halle compositions, Feininger used photographs he had taken for the first and last time in his life. [98]

The „last time" in the last sentence is, as I said, incorrect. Also, the motifs are merely highly recognizable, but not particularly naturalistic: "The cathedral" (Hess 339), for example, where the Renaissance superstructures with false vanishing points to the right above the picture suppress the spirit of Gothic architecture on the choir side – reinforced by the choice of the vanishing point of the choir structures *below* that of the nave structures – is a masterpiece, closer to the original Bauhaus concept of the "cathedral" than to nature, which breaks a lance for the free spirit of Gothic architecture, which then succeeds in the "cathedral choir" (Hess 335), succeeds in completely freeing itself from the oppression of the Renaissance and the confinement of the Baroque functional building. Overall, the magnificent Halle paintings clearly show that art does not require strict limitations on the means used and that the artist's suffering in the creation of a work does not necessarily lead to a later failure to achieve the intended goal.

Although Alois Schardt's true strength was his free speech, the transformation process described in [Schardt, 1931a] from Feininger's representational photographs to his paintings, which were quite unnatural, at least for the public at that time, is certainly valuable, not only for the broader audience at that time, but also today for the dynamic understanding of Feininger's image-finding processes. p.122], this description is certainly valuable, not only for the wider audience at the time, but also today for the *dynamic* understanding of Feininger's image-finding processes.

An objective and now probably final assessment of this overall successful photographic experiment in Halle can be found in [Büche, 2010a] – taking into account the latest discoveries of works and the insights gained from them.

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[98] [Hess, 1959, p.121f.].

3.7 Dating and the rule of " " titling

As we discussed in detail in sections 3.1–3.6, for Lyonel Feininger, the path to a finished painting fundamentally led only through the emotional states he felt in the depths of his soul when directly encountering the motif and through his often long-delayed, wistful memories of these emotional states — memories that he typically conjured up by searching for and looking at the nature notes he had once made directly in front of the motif.

While he usually dated his nature notes on the front cover on the exact day they were created and also wrote down a description of the objects depicted, the oil paintings, if the signature does not include the year of completion, bear at best the *approximate year of creation* on the back, and in rare cases also a title. In such cases, the year and title were often added several years after completion, and not always by Feininger himself.

In keeping with the logic of this working method, the title of each of his studio compositions is *usually* the title of the nature notes he used as a reference; in other words, a description of the objects noted in writing in the respective nature notes and captured in a representational depiction—such as the respective location, building, ship, or cloud formation.

Among the buildings—which will be our main focus here—there are only a few exceptions to this *rule* of titling studio compositions. Four titles in particular stand out. Arranged according to the date of the first work under the respective work group title, these are as follows:

„Bridge": This is the title, perhaps not originating from Feininger himself, of eight [99] oil paintings by Feininger, which, according to the nature notes, are called " Bridge in Ober-Weimar."
because the bridge over the Ilm in Oberweimar [100] is almost always the primary motif in Feininger's paintings in which a bridge is visibly spanning a river. [101]

„Church above City": This is only the title of one of Feininger's oil paintings, for which we have already made a suggestion for the primary motif in § 3.5.

"Tall Houses": This is the title of a group of works consisting of four oil paintings and several compositions by Feininger in ink, charcoal, and watercolors, the primary motifs of which can probably all be found in Paris, as we will explain in § 6.

"Yellow Village Church": This title, given to three woodcuts and three oil paintings by Feininger, remains a mystery to this day, one that we will address in § 7.

In all four cases, it can be assumed that these titles, which deviate from the *norm* and are relatively unspecific in relation to his paintings as a whole—whether they were given by Feininger himself or not—prevailed due to the relatively low recognizability of the respective motifs.

[99] With two exceptions, these oil paintings are usually referred to as "Brücke" with the following serial number. Arranged by year of creation and Hess number, preceded by the serial number (or the deviating title), the following works are included: 0/1912/75, I/1913/100, On the Bridge/1913/111, II/1915/127, III/1917/174 (in contrast to the rather colorful and bright illustration in [Finckh, 2006, p. 137] and in [Moeller, 2021, no. 184], this picture is in the Museum Ludwig in Cologne, where the original is located to the left of the brightly colored and very wide Türme über der Stadt (Halle)" (Towers over the City (Hall)) (Hess 341)
from 1931 is dominated almost exclusively by Braque's earthy dark brown and therefore appears very dreary, rigid, and war-depressed despite its consistent cubist design and „perfection in composition" [Hess, 1959, p. 81].

rigid, and war-depressed), IV/1918/191, V/1919/193, „" Old Stone Bridge"/1943/ 440. By FEININGER himself Only the title („Bridge of Weimar") for („Bridge IV") comes from this. While („BridgeI–V") and („Old Stone Bridge") only show the bridge from the side, („Bridge 0") also shows the top; („On the Bridge") only shows the top.

[100] Today, the Ilm Bridge in Oberweimar is surrounded by walls and vegetation to such an extent that it cannot be seen without a canoe.
can only be seen from above, and therefore seems downright grotesque as a main stop on the Feininger Cycle Route of Weimarer Land Tourismus e.V.: even in the photographs in the information folders for the cycle route, this bridge can only be seen from above, whereas FEININGER usually depicted it from the side. There is a Feininger painting that shows only the top of the bridge (cf. "Auf der Brücke"/1913/111 in note 99), but even this does not help today in terms of FEININGER'S motif: the distinctive supports of the side walls facing the roadway have long since been sacrificed to motor vehicle traffic, which now races across the bridge in alternating one-way traffic light cycles – close to the gravitational limit, which has been increased by a reduction in the formerly more distinctive central bend. Due to the removal of these two most striking features of the upper side of the bridge, which would have to be restored in the interests of urgently needed traffic calming, it is no longer possible to establish any connection to FEININGER'S motif.

([101]) The exception to „ Brücke in Ober-Weimar" as the prevalent motif in Feininger's paintings of bridges visibly crossing a river is (alongside the bridge over the Rega in front of Treptow Church) another bridge over the Ilm, located 2 km downstream, i.e., already in Weimar itself. Since the mid-17th century, this other bridge has connected the then newly built city palace, which was burned down during the Thirty Years' War (burned down again at the end of the 18th century and rebuilt under Goethe's direction) and still stands on its west side today, with the no longer existing Wegestern (star of paths) of the park on the Ilm on its east side. For this reason, this bridge is usually called " " Sternbrücke" (Star Bridge), which is historically correct, but also "Schlossbrücke" (Castle Bridge), which is factually correct. Due to an oval recess in each of its three bridge piers and its almost completely flat roadway, the Sternbrücke cannot really be confused with the Oberweimarer Brücke. Sometimes, however, this does happen, for example in [Anon, 2018, p. 7], where, in addition to two nature notes and a contemporary photograph of the Sternbrücke, the Oberweimarer Brücke is also depicted in at least two nature notes labeled "Sternbrücke, Weimar."

Feininger's image of a bridge crossing an invisible river is the oil painting of *the Pont Neuf* in Paris (Hess 5) from 1907, cf. [MOELLER, 2021].

4 Feininger's „ Cubism"

In this last of the preparatory chapters, it is now important to understand a little of what distinguishes Feininger's *"constructive Cubism"* from *the disruptive, actual Cubism* of Picasso and Braque.

4.1 Feininger's encounter with Cubism

Today, it may seem surprising that Feininger did *not* encounter Cubism *before* 1911—neither in works of art nor as a term. Two exhibitions played a role in his first encounter: the well-known *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris—and perhaps also an exhibition by Paul Cassirer in Berlin a few months earlier.

Both Lyonel and JULIA Feininger exhibited their own paintings at the 27th and 28th *Salon des Indépendants* in 1911 and 1912, respectively.[102] They traveledtogether to *the 27th Salon des Indépendants*, in which they each participated with six paintings[103] and which was open from April 21 to June 13, 1911,[104][105] at the end of April [106]. JULIA returned to Berlin on May 9 [107], while Lyonel did not leave until the morning of May 16 [108].

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[102] See [SOCIÉTÉ des Artistes Indépendants, 1911, p.154] and [MONNERET, 2000, p. 357, r.], where Julia is listed only under the name Julie Feininger. Kandinsky also exhibited here during these years (as well as in 1907 and 1908), cf. [Monneret, 2000, p.188]. In the years 1911–1913, this exhibition of *the Société des Artistes Indépendants,* which had taken place almost every year in Paris since 1884, was held in the *Baraquements du Quai d'Orsay, au Pont de l'Alma*; cf. [Monneret, 2000, p.137].

[103] According to [SOCIÉTÉ des Artistes Indépendants, 1911, p.154], the following were exhibited at *the 27th Salon*:

Lyonel FEININGER (Year/Hess No./Catalog No./Title): 1909/44/2179/„ *Le pontvert* " („ [Green Bridge I]", 1909/48/2180/„*Longeuil* " (*sic!,* Longueil, Normandy), 1910/50/2182/(„) *Les* vélocipédistes " ((„) [„Draisine Riders]"), 1910/51/2183/(„)Fin *de Séance*, 1910/52/2178/(„) *Emeute* ((„) [Great Revolution]"), 1910/53/2181/(„) La *locomotive ancienne* ((„) [„Old American Locomotive I]").

Julia FEININGER (catalog no./title): 2184/„ Cocha„„ 2185/„ Théatre„„ 2186/„ *Valéry* Marnefle," 2187/ „ Carnevale, 2188/„ *Bar*, 2189/„ *Parc*.

[104] See [MONNERET, 2000, p.137].

[105] See [Faass, 1999b, p. 35, § 3.1, paragraph 1], according to which they stayed at the Hôtel des États-Unis, 135 Boulevard du Mont-parnasse (see also envelope from [FEININGER, 1911f]), where there is no longer a hotel today.

[106] On May 2, Lyonel FEININGER had already made a colored sketch of the *Pont du Carrousel*, looking northwest toward the Louvre from a vantage point on the left bank (a few meters closer to the bridge than GOGH was for his 1886 painting); cf. [Deuchler, 1992, No. 55; pp. 98, 118]. The picturesque and striking steel bridge DEPICTED BY Van Gogh and FEININGER has long since been replaced by a concrete one.

[107] On the evening of May 9, there is already a postcard from Lyonel in Paris to Julia in Berlin, who is still believed to be in Bonn, on her way from Paris via Cologne and Bonn to Berlin, cf. [FEININGER, 1911a].

[108] The postcard [FEININGER, 1911d], dated May 17 in blue pen, bears a Paris postmark from May 14. FEININGER writes to Julia: "But I expect now to leave here on Tuesday or Wednesday, early in the morning, so as to arrive at about 1 o'clock at night. I have the keys." FEININGER'S last letter to Julia from Paris is [Feininger, 1911f] dated May 15 ("I am writing to you for the last time"), in which he says he will be home (in Z., i.e., in Zehlen) on May 17 (Wednesday around (1) 1o'clock at night").

village near Berlin).

Although the radical Cubist forms of Picasso and Braque were absent from *the* 27th *Salon des Indépendants*, the excitement surrounding the Cubist works, which were all gathered in one room (No. 41) that year, led to the first popularization of Cubism: There, alongside works of Cubist reduction with an unbroken pictorial relationship to the representational by Metzinger, Gleizes, Le Fauconnier, and Léger, was, above all, an oil painting by Robert DELAUNAY depicting the Eiffel Tower from all directions, *broken* and juxtaposed.[109] Feininger may have already seen the cubism of Picasso and Braque in Berlin at the beginning of 1911, in Paul Cassirer's fiercely contested takeover of the II. Ausstellung der Neuen Künstler-Vereinigung München (Sept. 1910). Regardless of this, an intensive encounter with Cubist works by Picasso and Braque was completely unavoidable for the Feiningers on their trip to Paris in 1911, where they also met Robert DELAUNAY again. ([110])

4.2 Feininger's concept of form and his „Cubism"

Feininger wanted to give form to the impression. Here, form should by no means be understood as the natural form, but rather as the inner, true form in the artist's longing. This is further elaborated in the second part of the letter to Kubin from 1913, the beginning of which we have already quoted in § 3.2 and which was resumed, completed, and sent a good two weeks later (February 8, 1913):

> „In your last [letter], you touch on the subject of Cubism. [(111)] Let's leave it at that, even if the term is inadequate and I find any kind of "ism" abhorrent – but what you say about it is correct, and for me there is nothing that can exist without *form* (not imitated natural form!).

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[109]Picasso never exhibited at *the Salon des Indépendants*. Braque did not exhibit here in 1911, cf. [MONNERET, 2000, p.155f.]. In [MONNERET, 2000, pp.166], ROBERT Delaunay is not listed for the *Salon des Indépendants* of 1911; in [SOCIÉTÉ des Artistes INDÉPENDANTS, 1911, pp.122], however, the placeholder title Paysage Paris is listed three times under numbers 1705–1707; according to [Grautoff, 1911, p. 433] Delaunay definitely exhibited La Tour Eiffel (1910) here in 1911. According to [BOHN, 1997, p. 77], this is undoubtedly the version that burned in Berlin in 1945 after BERNHARD Koehler purchased it from an exhibition (Blauer Reiter in the Berlin Sturm Gallery) in March 1912. Marcel DUCHAMP, on the other hand, exhibited three paintings at *the Salon des Indépendants* in 1911, but these did not yet reflect his shift towards Futurism and Cubism, which began in 1911. can be seen, cf. [SOCIÉTÉ des Artistes Indépendants, 1911, p.139], [MONNERET, 2000, p.173].

In the Fauvist room, where Matisse was represented with his two paintings for the 1911 exhibition (*L'Espagnole*, *Gitane*, cf. [MONNERET, 2000, p. 206]), also featured the six paintings BY Lyonel FEININGER, cf. note 103. When Matisse removed one of his paintings to revise it, he is said to have remarked that it could not otherwise stand alongside FEININGER'S „*Le pont vert*," cf. [Teller, 1917, p. xxvi].

[110] According to [Hess, 1973, p.18], Lyonel FEININGER and Delaunay first met in 1906. whom the Feiningers then probably met in 1911, together with his wife Sonia (married in November 1910).

[111]This refers to a paragraph in Kubin's letter [1913]: It's a pity you didn't see Pascins' work at the Secession. I wonder if he will get anywhere? He is often extremely fine. Although I don't understand much about it myself, I am extremely interested in Cubism – I have already seen some magnificent works in this style. But it takes courage to stick with this breakneck, daring system. Courage and vision."

> I would very much like to discuss this one (main) topic with you and have not given up hope that you will come here. Cubism is also very strong in your work; without it, your paintings would not be so enchantingly luminous. Like you, I could not resort to purely abstract form—because then all progress would cease—but impressionism brought into form is probably what we want to achieve. One only needs to refine one's eye, to deal *intensively* with problems of light, problems of volume, of light and color, and then one realizes that the laws of nature are just as strict as any mathematical law that we humans can establish. (112) Isn't it strange that such artists are then viewed with contempt or mistrust here because they *think?* Especially in the much-praised land of thinkers! But Germans have no form, basically, and are generally not very creative." (113)

Feininger wrote more about his understanding of form four years later to the art critic Paul Westheim (March 14, 1917):

> „We live constantly in longing, and no salvation can come from outside, only the *inspiration* for form. *Nature* is our inexhaustible treasure trove of form, but most of us are incapable of creating the ultimate *image form before* it. There always remains a residue of rationalistic reproduction in such an image, created before nature, which is our first task to overcome; for we have the *inner* vision to seek and give our own, uninfluenced *final* form for the expression of our longing. No approximate form; never anything other than the *final* form we are *capable* of creating. In my opinion, the artist should be judged solely on this ability. All *accessories,* the 'appeal' of the representation, the 'manner', fall away in the face of the success of the one requirement. For far too long, painting has seen its task as being 'appealing', 'captivating', if you will. But it is not 'entertainment', but *the ultimate goal* of deepened *expression;* my artistic fanaticism extends to this goal, everything else is irrelevant." (114)

For a particularly insightful explanation of Feininger's relationship to Cubism and his nature notes, we refer here to Lux Feininger's first essay about his father, which was written shortly before his death with his advice and approval and soon thereafter appeared as the sole article in an entire issue of the magazine *Chrysalis* under the title "*Two Painters: Lyonel and Lux Feininger*" on the occasion of a lecture[115] by Lux at a double exhibition of father and son. The following three-paragraph text from this essay is particularly relevant to us:[116]

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[112] For an interpretation of this sentence, see also [Peters, 2006].

[113] [FEININGER, 1913a].

[114] [FEININGER, 1917, 1st paragraph].

[115] [FEININGER, 1956].

[116] [FEININGER, 1956, p. 5f.].

„Intimately connected with this background [as an illustrator and cartoonist] is the lifelong habit of rapid pencil sketching, or"thumbnail sketching" [117]as Lyonel Feininger called it. From his earliest days through the 1930s, he built up a vast storehouse of nature studies, from which the artist drew until the time of his death. His method of composing consisted of re-casting and re-drawing a given composition, abandoning it and then taking it up again a day or a year or twenty-five years later, in any and all of the media: charcoal, pen and ink, pen and wash, watercolor, oil; to which may be added, for a period ranging from the beginning[118] of the First World War to the early 20s, the medium of the woodblock print. I heard my father say that the initial nature transcription of the first sketch must be re-worked 'so that its own mother would not recognize it'. In other words, compositional considerations prevail throughout. One of the key words to his approach, his attitude toward nature–art relations, was 'translation'. The terms of nature had to be translated into the language of the artist's own lifelong making.

This language was still evolving until the morning of his death in his 85th year, a sign of the fantastic vitality of this work. Considering Lyonel Feininger's enormous inventiveness and sensitivity to color, it was certainly interesting to hear him state, regarding his own work, that form, rather than color, had been the determining factor in his approach. That is to say, form was what he was striving for; his knowledge of color was one of his tools. Analogous to this, I believe, was the relative unimportance that representation of objects, as such, had for him from the beginning. Knowing that he could draw and render with photographic accuracy, the representation of objects in terms of impressionistic light and shade was no challenge to him. His early ideal of painting, before he set brush to canvas himself, was a distinctly two-dimensional organization of the picture space; he expressed it in his admiration for certain images he saw in a shooting gallery, I forgot whether in Germany or in France. He wanted to paint ‘Schießbuden-Bilder’ — a statement sometimes misquoted.

Concerning the main aspect of his visual terms — the geometrical plane — Lyonel Feininger did not consider himself indebted to the cubists at all. The designation of cubism was loosely and, as we now know, sloppily
|applied in German contemporary criticism of the first twenty-five years of the century. Indeed, the first indications of his own sign language appeared
, I would rather lean towards the idea of a parallel development (in some principal features, such as the interpenetration of crystalline forms in invertible perspective, strikingly alike) with different aims. Lyonel Feininger's aim was a deeper, more searching presentation of landscape, figure, and architecture than the conventional means of linear and atmospheric perspective offered; but he was never interested in breaking up form. His forms are not broken up; they are, rather, built up. What we see, to continue the metaphor, are the joints of component parts; not fracture lines of a cracking structure. The geometrical plane (for the most part rectilinear, although there are important compositions in circular and spiraling forms, whether pure or derived) is the unifying factor in his compositions; carrier of formal and color ideas both." (119)

Unfortunately, the issue of the magazine containing this article has now disappeared from even the last public libraries in the world.[120] We deeply regret this, not only because this article is Lux Feininger's most carefully crafted and, for us, most important essay about his father, but also because it has received far too little attention—let alone citations—to date. This disregard is particularly striking in relation to Feininger's Cubism. Lux Feininger's comments on this subject, which are included in the *quotation—not destructive,* but constructive!—are ignored in many publications: Based on [Hess, 1959, p. 59], Feininger's „cubism" is regularly characterized with the words „breakage„ "process of destruction„ „disassembly," "tears apart," and „devastation."

4.3 Cubism concepts by Martin Faass and the Feiningers

Another example of ignorance regarding the English essay cited in § 4.2 can be found in the most comprehensive work on Feininger's Cubism [Faass, „1999b], where this fundamental English-language publication by Lux Feininger does not appear at all in the otherwise quite extensive bibliography. In this dissertation, Martin Faass expands the scope of the historically developed term „Cubism" as follows:

> „Cubism, on the other hand, represents a radical break with previous artistic creation. It realizes design elements that fall outside the pictorial organization of the image as a whole as additions, disturbances, or breaks, such as structural edges that cut through the composition in a straight line or gaps in the outlines of objects. These design elements, typical of Cubist art, can be understood as *a negation of representation*, following the idea that everything that is incongruous refers in contradiction to the system it breaks through. Therefore, the basic form of the Cubist image is the confrontation of representation with its negation." ([121])

This intensionally defined term is meaningful and subsumes the historically developed concept of Cubism. However, it is perhaps somewhat too broad—even when applied solely to Feininger's works. It encompasses Feininger's early works described below, which cannot be described as Cubist according to general consensus.

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[117] *Feininger thumbnail sketches* (literally: thumbnail sketches) are, of course, nothing other than his nature notes.

[118] We know nothing about Lyonel Feininger's woodcuts prior to the *final* year of World War I; FEININGER therefore probably did not begin his woodcuts until 1918 (or toward the end of 1917), and not in 1914.

[119] [FEININGER, 1956, p. 5f.].

[120] In 2020, the journal *Chrysalis* is still listed at the University of Albany (NY), but unfortunately can no longer be found. CLAUS-PETER WIRTH was unable to locate the cited article in any public library worldwide, but a copy still exists in his private library.

[121] [Faass, 1999b, p.14f.].

Several of Feininger's figurative oil paintings from 1908 and 1909 fall under this category: Zeitungsleser I (Newspaper Reader I) (Hess 34) from 1908 and Carnevale (Hess 39) from 1909 feature not only caricatures and exaggerated perspectives, but also breaks in perspective that negate the representational character of the images. Even clearer are the numerous breaks in perspective in the watercolor ink drawing The Disparagers from the summer of 1911,[122] not only in the depiction and positioning of the human figures, but also in the bridge spanning the entire picture. This bridge is seen from above on its upper side, but from below under its arches, i.e., it is depicted as *broken*. Furthermore, the vanishing point of the bridge on the right of the picture is incorrect, because the train shows us the backs of its carriages and is thus moving away from the viewer to the left. When the viewer looks from left to right across the drawing, the underside of the arches suddenly *jumps* in his perception of the picture from the assumption of a *real* vanishing point to the right of the picture to the realization that this must be a false one; because only from the middle of the picture does the view of the blue sky make it clear that the view of the arches is not looking at the *left* inner side of each pillar, but at the right. This numerous occurrence of the most diverse refractions of the imaging function makes this drawing one of Feininger's most cunning works; what he himself would probably have described as "most cunning." Three months later, Feininger executed the same motif with the same title as a monochrome etching (Prasse E38), which (like all his etchings) is *reversed*, so that the viewer must look at the etching from right to left in order to experience the shift described above.

Of these three works, only The Disparagers was created *after* the Feiningers' trip to Paris in May 1911, during which Lyonel Feininger had his first decisive encounter with French Cubism.[123] Since there are no alternatives from 1911 [124] and The Disparagers was created *very soon* after this trip, this drawing must be regarded as Feininger's first *conscious* engagement with Cubism, in the sense that he now *knew* that—in addition to the first indications of his own sign language (cf. "first indications of his own sign language" in the last paragraph of the last quotation in § 4.2) in the above-mentioned oil paintings from 1908 and 1909—there was already a parallel development („parallel development" ibid.) called "Cubism."

If one assumes that Lux Feininger's argument about the intellectual primacy of
matters of Cubism in the last paragraph of the last quotation in § 4.2 Sincerity, one can conclude that he regarded a larger number of his father's early works as related in their nature to French Cubism – and in particular, then, probably also

[122] The Disparagers, 242mm× 314mm, SUNDAY, July 16th, 1911, Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York. Cf. [LUCKHARDT & Faass, 1998, p. 64] or https://www.moma.org/media/W1siZiExNTU5OCJdLFsicCIsImNvbnZlcnQiLCItcXVhbGl0eSA5MCAtcmVzaXplIDIwMDB4MTQ0MFx1MDAzZSJdXQ.jpg?sha=9d0e33146b4012db.

„The Disparagers" literally means "The Belittlers" (of perspectives?) or "The Mockers." According to [LUCKHARDT & Faass, 1998, p. 209 l.o.], Feininger additionally titled some of the prints "Die Ausgestoßenen" (The Outcasts) (cast out of perspective?), which seems strange both because of the incorrect translation and because of the („) ß", and we have not yet been able to verify this. (123) See § 4.1.

124 In terms of oil paintings, the only work that can be considered an engagement with Cubism in 1911 is Les Masques (Hess 63, Aqueduct of Arcueil behind yellow houses) can be considered an exploration of Cubism in 1911, but it does not go much further than the above-mentioned (Hess 34), (Hess 39) and was therefore probably created before the trip to Paris in 1911, based on the nature notes from October 1906 (as was („) [Arcueil I]" from 1907 (Hess 24)), not those from May 1911.

three works just mentioned, which are not generally considered cubist today, nor would they have been described as cubist before World War I.

The works of his father, which Lux Feininger considered cubist, could thus be precisely those that fall under Martin Faass's expanded, intensional concept of cubism, which would then have proven itself extensionally. Just in case the extensions of these concepts are not identical after all, it should be noted that Lux Feininger's concept of Cubism and the concept that his father referred to as "my Cubism" are relevant to us here, but not any deviations from Martin Faass's concept of Cubism. In any case, however, the extension and intensional definition of the concept of Cubism in [Faass, 1999b, p.14f.] must be considered very successful.

4.4 Feininger not a Cubist? Or perhaps the original Cubist?

Since Feininger's essay, from which the quote in § 4.2 was taken, was written with his father's advice and approval, we can assume, given the great familiarity the two had with each other, even in matters of art, that their concepts of Cubism were at least extensionally identical with regard to the father's works. This assumption now provides a probable answer to the question of why, since 1911, the father had always resisted the appropriation of his art under the label "Cubism" whenever it was used in its unmodified French form: He saw his "Cubism" as a further development of his own primary form and sign language under the influence of his encounter with French Cubism, but not as a variant of the French Cubism of Picasso and Braque developed from 1911 onwards. That is why he repeatedly emphasized his transformative, constructive search for inner form, which ran counter to the intentions of French Cubism. Five years after the Feiningers' trip to Paris in May 1911, Lyonel Feininger described it as follows (letter to Kubin, Sept. 28, 1916):

> „Suddenly, in the spring of 1911, during a three-week visit to Paris, it dawned on me. Cubism! Or rather, the *form* that Cubism was the *right path* to. Afterwards, it was amazing how I discovered that I had already been on that path for years! In very old drawings from *12–14 years* ago, and also in individual, overly bold compositions from *20 or more years* ago, Cubism is clearly evident.[125] Only in 1911 *did* I *see* for the first time, *did* I *hear* for the first time, that such a thing existed!" [126]

This account is coherent and credible, and so we have no reason here to ask the very difficult question[127] of whether Feininger was actually already on the path to a form of Cubism before 1911, or whether this account is a self-protective measure in terms of his own originality.[128]

In any case, it is evident that Feininger had realized, at the latest when he was confronted with Cubism in Paris in early May 1911, that Cubism was in a sense his own path; for he wrote from Paris to his wife JULIA, who had returned to Berlin a week earlier (May 14, 1911):

> „How I look forward to our beloved Heringsdorf; I am in dire need of rest, and it is precisely the work that drives me and keeps me active that wears me out at night, a sign that I am nervous. I constantly dream of taking notes, and in my dreams I constantly have to carefully shade the windows of houses. Recently, I dreamed that I was a cubist and had to shade lots of squares diagonally |(5) from top to bottom." (129)

The work that wore him out at night can hardly have been the few nature notes he made during the day (even if some of them are outstandingly well-executed drawings).[130] Rather this work undoubtedly refers to his intellectual engagement with Cubism. That is why he also mentions his dreams of being subjugated by Cubism—dreams he must have had in Paris, i.e., within the last two weeks, probably even after JULIA'S departure from Paris, i.e., within the last five nights.

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[125] The question of which drawings and compositions FEININGER is referring to here seems completely open. If FEININGER'S dates are correct, then we must look for them in the years 1902–1904 (according to the drawings; according to [Ruhmer, 1961, p. 25]: 1889) and before 1897 (according to the compositions). With the exception of the few prints of the caricatures that still exist, almost none OF FEININGER'S works from these years seem to have survived. Furthermore, these are likely to be precisely those works that were rejected by editors because of their progressiveness and therefore never printed. But in [PREETORIUS, 1955, p. 105] we read: However, long before 1911, at the turn of the century, when FEININGER was living in Berlin, even in his earliest drawings that we know of – caricatures for Berlin satirical magazines – his striking tendency to render forms in a crystalline, faceted manner and to fit them together prismatically can be seen. The word "crystal" in the sense of a centuries-old metaphor (well illustrated in [MARCH, 1997]) is often found in the literature on Feininger, but here it is probably meant more concretely. "Prisma-ism" is a word that FEININGER himself used a few times in letters to describe his variant of Cubism, but which, because of its reference to the refraction of light, would be far more suitable for the Futurist Boccioni. (see § 5.5.1) or rayonism.

If the second falling object next to the falling man (train driver?) at the bottom left of the lithograph Die tobsüchtige Lokomotive (The Raging Locomotive) [FEININGER, 1904] is a cubist representation of a man (stoker?), then FEININGER was undoubtedly right in his anticipation of cubism in his own unique form; otherwise, this lithograph at least makes it likely that he was right based on similar earlier works. However, before anything further can be said on this question, an extensive search would first have to be successfully completed with the aim of comprehensively finding and cataloging FEININGER'S proto-("cubist" works from the years before 1905.

[126] [FEININGER, 1916e].

[127] See note 125.

[128] Although this assumption is suggested in [Faass, 1999b, p. 43], it is nevertheless extremely unlikely—especially in view of FEININGER'S open self-doubt (even in the same letter to Kubin!), his sincere modesty, and the entirely reasonable expectation that his pen pal Alfred Kubin would have inquired about these works, which—despite the lack of evidence in the surviving correspondence—may indeed have happened; then the sending of these works to Kubin could also explain their absence from FEININGER'S estate to date.

[129] [FEININGER, 1911e, p. 4f.].

[130] Cf. [DEUCHLER, 1992].

[131] Cf. § 4.1.

5 Umpferstedt: Feininger's „Cubism" par excellence

The small farming village *of Umpferstedt* [132]is located five kilometers east of Weimar on the road to Jena. There is only one church there. Externally, it consists solely of a slate-covered church tower with two small naves covered with red tiles, which inside contain a very small parish room on the west side and a tiny chancel on the east side of the tower.([133])

Lyonel Feininger depicted this small village church many times—usually with the church tower as the main motif above the tiny nave of the altar area. To illustrate Feininger's practice of repeatedly revisiting a motif over several decades, which has already been mentioned several times, we will list his depictions of this church (§ 5.1). After a brief characterization of the studio compositions in this group of works (§ 5.2), one of these compositions—the oil painting Umpferstedt [I]—will be analyzed in detail as an example of Feininger's closest approach to Cubism (§ 5.3). After our concluding insight into Feininger's special variant of Cubism (§ 5.4), we can then finally conclude our reflections on this topic with a literary comparison of "Umpferstedt [I]" (§ 5.5).

5.1 Feininger's depictions of the Umpferstedt church

We would like to list all of Feininger's depictions of the tiny church in Umpferstedt from *a short distance*, in which *more of the church is visible than just the spire*, including both his nature sketches and studio compositions. We group these works according to the viewing directions and arrange these groups according to the date of creation of their first work. Our list should then include almost all of Feininger's depictions of this church, because Feininger almost exclusively depicted this church from a short distance. However, our list does not include depictions with a tiny Umpferstedt church tower above a landscape, country road, or the entire village.

As already mentioned, our list is intended to document Feininger's practice of repeatedly revisiting a motif over several decades using a specific example. There may be various reasons for the variations in the depiction: in the Umpferstedt group of works, the angle of view already varies in the nature sketches. In addition, formal, mostly graphic ideas for variation certainly also contributed to the revisitations. Perhaps even the change in Feininger's memory of the emotional states he felt when encountering the original motif([134])played a certain role here, for example due to his advanced age or repeated recall of the memory, including the inevitable subsequent refreshing of the memory, which inevitably varies.

([132]) The name *Umpferstedt* probably goes back to the word „ Unfriede-Stätte" (place of discord) because of a tithe dispute around the year 800.

[133] From the parish hall, you can see four towers, but they are not visible from the outside.
bare round arches, which appear to form a crossing, although the entire transept consists of only two of the four round arches.

[134] See § 3.1.

Hollow old lime tree at the Umpferstedt church with ARIANA Wirth inside, 2021.

Tower and nave of the church in Umpferstedt from the north, 2021.

5.1.1 From June 16, 1913: Depictions from the north

Feininger's first depictions of the Umpferstedt village church are probably the nature notes dated June 16, 1913. Three of these nature notes show a view from *the northwest.* (137) Two others show a view of the little church *from the* northeast—one of them only from the tower with the clock and spire, and the other only from the eastern nave. (138)

There is another sketch of the church in Umpferstedt from *the northwest*, but it was made exactly three months later and shows another sketch on the same page, namely a detailed sketch of the tower in the upper right corner.[139] Finally, there is a faint sketch from *the north* of the east nave and the stump of the tower.[140]

However, none of the sketches from the north ever served as a template for further works.

[135] On the far left of the picture is a small part of what is perhaps the hollowest tree in Germany (see illustration on page 46), a magnificent and almost fairy-tale-like old lime tree, which no one seems to be interested in, simply because FEININGER paid little attention to it compared to the little church.

5.1.2 From September 16, 1913: Views from the southeast

Only two of the four nature notes from September 16, 1913, could serve as models for the small but fundamental *charcoal composition Umpferstedt I from the fall of 1913*, because these are the first known depictions from the southeast:

(1) The main template was the one from the nature notes dated 16.IX.13, which is shown in [March, 1998, p. 82, top right] and measures 202 *mm*× 158 mm.

(2) The template used exclusively for the house on the right edge of the charcoal composition (which is missing from the nature sketch indicated under (1) and the oil painting Umpferstedt [I]) was probably the one from the nature sketches dated 16.IX.13, which is reproduced in [Faass, 1999a, ×p. 46] and measures 204 mm by 159 mm.

The provenance of these nature notes is Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York. From these two nature notes and—as the main template—from the charcoal composition from

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[136] In [DEUCHLER, 1996, p.163] we read: „ In the drawing Umpferstedt, created on September 25, 1912, the spire is multiplied across the entire sheet [Anon, 1987, No. 42]. This would then be an even earlier appearance of the Umpferstedt motif in Feininger's work. The catalog entry for [Anon, 1987, p.17, No. 42] indeed reads: *reproduced on page 27,* [Umpferstedt," Church and Houses] ××1912, (a village near Weimar), charcoal on paper, 24.1 x 20.5 cm (motif), 30.3 × 24 cm (sheet), signed lower left and dated lower right." Reproduced under [Anon, 1987, p .27, no. 42], but with the signature "Feininger" and the date "Sept. 25, 1912," one finds the church of " *Gelmeroda* with the clock *on the right side* of the steeple; and, especially in the sky, multiplied across the entire " sheet: mirrored house gables and upward-pointing triangles. " but which resemble house gables more than spires. "

But this is definitely not the church in Umpferstedt!

Since the clock of the church in Gelmeroda actually has two dials on the church tower (one on the north wall and one on the east wall), both of which are located on the *far left* of the respective church tower wall, this is likely to be a drawing based on a mirror-image print, for which only the etching „Masken" (Prasse E46) from 1912 (E= etching).

[137] „ [Church of Umpferstedt from the northwest]," nature note, „ 16.VI.13," 203 mm× 165 mm, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163617, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163617, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1501.

„ [Church of Umpferstedt from the northwest]", Nature note, „ 16.VI.13", 203mm× 165mm, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163618, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163618, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1502.

„ [Church of Umpferstedt from the northwest]", Nature note, „ 16.VI.13", 202mm× 164mm, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/218886, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/218886, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1503.

[138] „ [Church tower shaft of Umpferstedt from the northeast with both double windows, helmet base, and clock]," Nature Note, „ 16.VI.13," 165mm× 200mm, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163619, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163619, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1504.

„ [Eastern nave of the church in Umpferstedt from the northeast with houses in the background on the left]", Nature Note, „ 16.VI.13", 165mm× 200mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/164091, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/164091, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1496.

[139] „ [Church of Umpferstedt from the northwest with detailed sketch of the tower at top right]", Nature Note, „ 16.IX.13", 202 mm ×× × 159 mm, [Faass, 1999a, p. 47], Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York.

[140] „ [Umpferstedt church tower stump from the north with east nave and road to its left]," Nature Note, undated, 162 mm× 200 mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/161385, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/161385, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.4235.

[141] „Umpferstedt I," charcoal composition, „Friday, Oct. 3, 1913," 292 *mm*× 242 mm, [LUCKHARDT, 1998b, p. 86], Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York.

In the fall of 1913, two magnificent oil paintings emerged in *1914* as significant further developments, namely "Umpferstedt [I]" and „Umpferstedt II."[142]

Three weaker compositions also emerged from the nature notes (1) and (2):
From (1) one in pen and ink,[143] and from (2) much later two watercolors.[144] In these two watercolors, Feininger pushed the little church in Umpferstedt, which for Feininger was probably always a symbol of village culture, decency, and faith, so far back that the entire east wall with its three windows can be seen from the street; both watercolors date from 1933, the year in which Germany pushed culture and decency away from itself.

The two other nature notes from "16.IX.13" are, in addition to (1) and (2):
(3) „ [Umpferstedt from the southeast with a couple walking arm in arm toward the church]" [145] and
(4) „ [Umpferstedt from the southeast with a couple standing separately in front of the church].[146]

Compared to (1) and (2), both show a little more of the road in the foreground and therefore lack the dominance of the shed on the left front, which is clearly evident in the nature sketch (1), the charcoal composition from autumn 1913, and the two oil paintings from 1914. The nature sketches (3) and (4) probably served only as templates for the rather unsuccessful, multicolored crayon compositions from „9.I.14." [147]

Another nature sketch from the southeast dated "8.VI.14" [148] can be ruled out as a template not only for
the charcoal composition from autumn 1913, not only because of the date, but also for the two oil paintings from 1914, because the east windows of the eastern nave are missing. However, this nature sketch probably served as a model for four much later works: three compositions from „July 9, 1930" [149] and a watercolor ink drawing from „July 11, 1930." [150]

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[142] „ Umpferstedt [I]" (Hess 119), 1914, 1315 mm× 1010 mm, [March, 1998, p.83], [LUCKHARDT, 1998b, p.87], Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf.
„Umpferstedt II (Hess 120), 1914, 1006 mm x× 803 mm, [Hess, 1959, p.73]. From 1932: Louise and Walter AHRENSBERG Collection. From 1950 (accession no. 1950–134–88): Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (PA).

[143] „ Umpferstedt III, probably changed from „II to III „at a later date, pen and ink composition, Wednesday, d. March 29, 1916," 240 mm× 200 mm, [Faass, 1999a, p. 74], State Graphic Collections, Munich.

[144] „ Umpferstedt II," pen and ink watercolor, „ September 13, 1933," 762 mm ×× 457 mm, https://collections.lacma.org/node/2109859, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles (CA).
„ Umpferstedt II", pen and ink watercolor, „ 16.9.33", 416 mm× 310 mm, [Faass, 1999a, p.110], private collection.

[145] „ [Umpferstedt from the southeast with a couple walking arm in arm toward the church]," Nature note, „ 16.IX.13," 201 mm× 157 mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/198538, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/198538 (The Wedding), Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1590.

[146] „ [Umpferstedt from the southeast with a couple standing separately in front of the church]," in the catalog [Anon, 2018, p. 9, bottom left] incorrectly labeled as „Klein-Schwabhausen," nature note, „ 16.IX.13", 202mm× 158mm.

[147] „ [Umpferstedt]," colored pencils, „ 9.I.14," 200 mm× 160 mm, [NISBET, 2011a, p. 35], [NISBET, 2011b, p. 35], https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/317144, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/317144. Busch–Reisinger Museum, 2009.100.22.

[148] „ [Umpferstedt from the southeast]", nature note, „ 8.VI.14", 203 mm× 258 mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163816, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163816, Busch–Reisinger Museum, BR63.1664.

[149] „ Umpferstedt," charcoal, „ 9.7.30," 409 mm× 286 mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/317182, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/317182, Busch–Reisinger Museum, 2010.279.
„Umpferstedt, charcoal, („ 9.7.30, 384 mm× 292 mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/317183, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/317183, Busch–Reisinger Museum, 2010.280.
„ Umpferstedter Kirche (Umpferstedter Church), ink and chalk, „ 9.7.30, 410 mm× 286 mm, https://www.lempertz.com/en/catalogues/lot/943-1/53-lyonel-feininger.html, auction 28.05.2009, whereabouts unknown.

5.1.3 From June 8, 1914: Depictions from the east-northeast

From *the east-northeast*, on the other hand, there are nature notes from „ 8.VI.14,"[151] which were probably the models for the masterful *pen-and-ink composition „ Umpferstedt II[I]"* from 1916,[152] and finally for the oil painting „ Umpferstedt III" (Hess 201) from 1919.[153]
With a little more distance from the church, *from a slightly more northerly angle (but also from the east-northeast)* and with a house gable in the central foreground, three very similar compositions in ink and charcoal were created in 1927 and 1932,[154]and then, after World War II, three more reworkings: in 1946, a very successful oil painting in his typical late style with the nonsensical title [Church on the Hill] (Hess 466) ([155] and, in the 1950s, two weaker drawings in watercolor in black and pale orange. ([156]

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[150]„ Umpferstedt, watercolor ink drawing, „ 11.7.30, 295 mm× 235 mm, [Sabarsky, 1979, p. 79], https://www.lotsearch.net/lot/umpferstedt-1930-aquarell-und-tuschfederzeichnung-links-unten-signed-48111354, auction 7.12.2019, whereabouts unknown.

[151] Versions with the numbers 1, 2, and 4 in the upper corner surrounded by a semicircle are known from the church in Umpferstedt from east-northeast, dated 8.VI.14" and signed by Feinin. All have verso stamp „„ Feininger estate." The dimensions are 200 mm× 155 mm (nos. 2, 4) or 205 mm× 155 mm (no. 1). No. 1: https://www.kollerauktionen.ch/en/496940----------1199-LYONEL-FEININGER.-Umpfer

http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/umpferstedt-2VUGPaVbEUSvFJiz0_cCNQ2 (German). No. 2: http://www.artnet.com/artists/lyonel-feininger/kirche-in-umpferstedt-nHZ5-J157FP
Dr-jNXT-JJA2,
https://www.karlundfaber.de/de/auktionen/212/moderne-zeitgenoessische-kunst/2120967/ (German). No. 4:
http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/umpferstedt-5JcBL5HbppVtc8BnrIKsDQ2o.

[152]„Umpferstedt II[I]", pen and ink composition on Ingres paper, Friday„March 31, 1916", 300 mm× 245 mm, [DEUCHLER, 1996, p. 146], [LUCKHARDT & Faass, 1999a, p. 75], https: Faass, 1998, p . 91], [Faass, 1999a, p . 75], https://sprengel.hannover-stadt.de/search, Sprengel Museum, Hanover.

The title is actually just "Umpferstedt II." However, since this pen-and-ink composition does not even resemble the oil painting of the same name in terms of perspective, and the 1927 composition in ink and charcoal, which is very similar in terms of perspective, clearly bears the title "Umpferstedt III," which was already transferred in [Hess, 1959], we have added a n "I" marked as optional to the title of this pen-and-ink composition from March 1916, thereby correcting a very confusing lack of systematicity.

Other additions of a similar nature marked as optional are also not found in the original work, but have been added by us or others to facilitate systematization.

[153]„ Umpferstedt III (Hess 121), „ 19, 1010 mm× 800 mm, http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/14574/umpferstedt-iii, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

The black-and-white illustration in the catalogue raisonné in [Hess, 1959, p. 266] shows a temporary or another version of the oil painting „ Umpferstedt III", whose whereabouts were unknown at the time. [154]„ Umpferstedt III[a]", pen and ink and charcoal, „ 20.8.27", 406mm× 283mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/316280, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/316280, Busch–Reisinger Museum, 2010.362.

„umpferstedt [IIIb]i)x," charcoal and pen and ink,„6.9.32," 303 mm x× 232 mm, [Büche, 1994, p. 63], [Büche, 2019, p. 50], apparently abandoned in favor of:

„ umpferstedt [IIIb]ii)x," charcoal and pen and ink, „ 6.9.32," 330 mm× 230 mm, https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/316210, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/316210, Busch–Reisinger Museum, 2010.316.

[155]„ [Church on the Hill] (Hess 466), 1946, 997 mm× 807 mm, https://collection.themodern.org/objects/1324/church-on-the-hill, Collection of the Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, 1957.181, gift of Mr. William E. SCOTT, currently not on view. The title is nonsensical because there is no hill, either in reality or in the picture, where only house gables are visible in the foreground in the center, but no hill far and wide. A systematic title would be something like „[Umpferstedt IIIc]".

5.2 Characterization of the Atelier 's compositions

Incidentally, there are no known prints of the Umpferstedt motif, neither lithographs nor etchings, not even woodcuts – probably because Feininger did not begin woodcutting until the turn of the year 1917/18.

All compositions based on the church in Umpferstedt are influenced by Feininger's variant of Cubism – with the exception of the nature sketches, of course.

The charcoal composition "Umpferstedt I" from autumn 1913, the pen-and-ink composition "Umpferstedt II[I]" from March 1916, and the oil paintings "Umpferstedt II" from 1914 and "Umpferstedt III" from 1919 show a degree of approximation to Cubism that was not unusual for Feininger at that time. "Umpferstedt III," despite intensive transformation, the recognizability of the motif due to its lucid color design, whereas "Umpferstedt II" requires a trained eye and a good memory of the original motif in order to recognize that there has been no cutting or dismembering here, but rather that the pictorial character is not profoundly questioned and that there is even a certain proximity to the nature notes (1) and (2) (cf. § 5.1.2) and to the original.

However, the oil painting Umpferstedt [I], the largest of these works both physically and artistically, takes the cubist dissection and transformation much further, as will become apparent from the following analysis—further than any other work by Feininger.[157]

[156] According to [LUCKHARDT & Faass, 1998, pp. 60, 213f.], the incorrect title "Gaberndorf" at the bottom center of the front comes from FEININGER himself, although the line in the title is quite different from the signature and date to the left and right of it; Watercolor in black, blue-gray, and pale orange over black pen-and-ink drawing, some of whose lines are slightly reinforced with charcoal; 15.VII.52"; 319 mm× 265 mm; [Luckhardt, 1992, p.101], [BÜCHE, 1994, p. 57], [Faass, 1999a, p.120], [Mössinger & Drech-sel, 2006, p. 251]; Chemnitz Art Collections, Loebermann Collection. Unfortunately, the effect of the impressive line structure is diminished by the black or dark blue watercolor, which is irritatingly broad on the right half of the picture—even for a late work by Feininger—especially from the top of the tower, but also in the upper right corner of the east gable of the church.

„Umpferstedt"; watercolor in black and pale orange over black pen and ink, some of the lines slightly reinforced with charcoal; " 12.VI.55"; " „302 mm× 224 mm; " " [LUCKHARDT, 1992, p. 111], [Büche, 1994, p. 63], [Faass, 1999a, p. 127], [MÖSSINGER & Drechsel, 2006, p. 264], Chemnitz Art Collections, Loebermann Collection. Here, too, the intensity of the black watercolor on the right side of the tower dome is distracting.

[157] A candidate for second place, far behind, would be the oil painting Vollersroda„III (Hess 164) from 1916, [Faass, 1999a, p. 72], in which a very narrow house was elevated and, at the very top, instead of a normal gable front, was given a spire that mirrors, in a smaller form, the spire of the church in Vollersroda.

Another candidate would be Bridge V (Hess 193) from 1919. For while in "Bridge IV" (Hess191) from 1918 the small tree in front of the bridge pier to the right of the main arch of the Oberweimar Bridge is still just recognizable due to its lighter green color, in "Bridge V" any recognizability has been sacrificed to cubism, mainly through the following changes compared to "Bridge IV": (1) the slight counterclockwise rotation of the reflection of the small tree in front of the bridge pier to the left of the main arch,
(2) by merging the small tree with the trees behind the bridge, (3) by further progressing the perspective-defying shift of the two highest points of the bridge to the right and by obscuring these points.

5.3 Analysis of the oil painting „Umpferstedt [I] "

5.3.1 Context and subject matter

The oil painting „Umpferstedt [I]" ××(Hess 119) from 1914, measuring a good 130 cm by 100 cm, is one of Feininger's larger-format paintings, as his preferred canvas size was 100 cm by 80 cm, which meant that he did not have to stand so far back when painting in order to take in the whole picture. The oil painting Umpferstedt [I] also hung in „Feininger's studio in Dessau and remained in the family's possession after his death. For decades, it hung in a prominent position on the second floor of the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen in Düsseldorf on the Rhine. While color illustrations did not appear until the 1970s, it is now reproduced in various widely distributed catalogs of Feininger's paintings.[159] The dominant color of the painting is a varied, slate-like blue-gray that plays into various greens; the coloration is rather subdued (toned down with black, gray, or white), but in contrast to the often earthy, dull colors of French Cubism, there is a gentle glow characteristic of Feininger.

However, our analysis will not deal further with technical data, provenance, colors, or painting technique, but exclusively with the graphic form of the picture; for only in this respect can we contribute anything substantially new to the literature on Feininger's very special variant of Cubism: We will describe the exact nature of the constructive structure and the refraction of the representational function, probably for the first time in a complete and, we hope, coherent manner.

5.3.2 Preliminary work that has obviously gone into the painting

The oil painting belongs to the group of depictions of the small village church in Umpferstedt from the southeast and originates from a line of development from the following works in this group (cf. § 5.1.2):

- the nature notes (1) and (2) from „ 16.IX.13" and
- the charcoal composition „Umpferstedt I" from Friday, Oct. 3, 1913" – as the main basis for the oil painting based on these two nature notes.

Based on the nature sketch (1), only the two sheds in the foreground are clearly recognizable in the oil painting: the dark one at the bottom left and the lighter one at the bottom right in shades of white as an axis reflection in complementary brightness. If we then also take the charcoal composition as our starting point, we can see that the first houses on the left and right of the street in front of the church have also been transferred relatively unchanged from the charcoal composition to the oil painting.

[158] The oil painting can be seen on the left edge of the photographs Feininger's Studio in Dessau and Studio Dessau around 1930 [another corner of my studio], cf. [Hess, 1959, p. XII below] and [FINCKH, 2006, p. 215]. According to [Hess, 1959, p. 258], after Lyonel FEININGER'S death it was in the possession of Andreas Feininger, New York, N.Y.

[159] Larger and better illustrations can be found in [März, 1998, p. 83] and [LUCKHARDT, 1998b, p. 87].

The church in Umpferstedt from the southeast, 2019. [160]

[160] On the right of the picture is a small part of what is perhaps the hollowest tree in Germany, an ancient lime tree (cf. photograph on page 46), which probably no one is interested in because FEININGER always seems to have omitted it – unless one understands the surprising appearance of lime green above the roof of the house on the right in the oil painting „Umpferstedt [I]" as an abstraction of this lime tree.

5.3.3 The core idea of the analysis

In order to understand the further construction of the oil painting Umpferstedt [I] – after the initial confusion of probably every viewer – a special, apparently non-trivial approach is now required, which, however, once found, quickly becomes clear.

Feininger's Cubism tends toward *straight* edges, which often converge to form cuboid projections or polygonal shapes, especially triangles and quadrangles. However, when *round* edges and shapes do appear, these are – in contrast to the French Cubists – taken from the original motif with very few exceptions ([161]), typically from arches (such as those of bridges) or clock faces.

Apart from tiny details and a few semicircular window arches, the *only round* feature on the exterior of the village church in Umpferstedt is the clock face on the tower. This church's *only* clock face is located on the east side, directly above the concave bend of the Echter tower spire ([162]), i.e., the point where the spire changes from a flat to a steep incline and, in a flat section, from a square to an octagon.

However, *two* round shapes can now be clearly seen in the oil painting: a circular shape in white slightly to the left above the center of the picture and a semicircular shape in red slightly below the center. In terms of color and tone, both round shapes appear spherical and solid and can therefore only be representations of the tower clock rather than the window arches.([163]) From this we can conclude that Feininger depicted the church tower—in addition to the representation at the very top with a slate-colored spire and without a round shape—in two other places below, both times with a spire in the red color of the nave roof. To confirm this, in the middle of the two tower depictions, the tip of the spire can indeed still be seen at the very top in a dark red tone, while in the lower tower depiction it appears to be folded away to the rear right.

As we shall see, Feininger depicted the southeastern view of the little church almost[164] in its entirety in this one painting *three times* on top of each other, i.e., *in a fragmented manner*. Similar

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[161] These exceptions are works in which FEININGER has consistently replaced the straight lines of his Cubism with curves, which is the case in five oil paintings from the period of World War I: [Jesuits III]" (Hess 135), from 1915, [The Abandoned Child], [Green Bridge II], [Newspaper Reader III] (Hess 157, 163, 165) from 1916, and Steamboat Odin I / Leviathan (Hess 176) from 1917. The first two are smaller in size (approx. 75 cm x× x 60 cm), while the next two *exceed* FEININGER'S standard format of 100 cm x× x 80 cm, which is found in landscape format in the last of these paintings.

([162]) Named after Julius ECHTER von Mespelbrunn, Prince-Bishop of Würzburg from 1573 to 1617. However, the *tower* is not an Echter tower, but Romanesque and probably half a millennium older than its spire, which was probably rebuilt at the end of the 16th century, when the slate-covered Echter spire was considered the standard spire for church towers, not only in Franconia. Such spires typically sit on top of a square church tower, starting with a flat roof pitch and then bending into a long, steep octagonal spire, with four sides aligned with the four sides of the tower and the four additional sides aligned with the corners of the tower.

[163] Any remaining doubts about the only semi-circular lower red shape representing the *full* circle of the tower clock can be dispelled by referring to the closely related oil painting "Umpferstedt II": There, the lower round shape is neither red nor half, but light brown and bordered by a (as in the charcoal composition Umpferstedt I") significantly smaller, here spherically shaded, *full* circle, which can be found under the lowest spire, which – not folded away to the rear right here – rises straight up above the round shape; the left side is bright blue-violet, the right side is blue-black.

[164] However, the bottom illustration only shows the tower; the tiny east nave of the little church is missing.

Before World War I, this was only found in a few Cubist-influenced paintings by Robert Delaunay from 1909 onwards: in his Saint-Séverin series, the wandering gaze of an observer from a specific vantage point is *continuously* summarized in a single image, leading to *the* renewed *curvature* of Gothic lines; and in his Eiffel Tower series, the views of an observer circling around and above the Eiffel Tower are depicted side by side and *fragmented*.[165] Probably the only painter of his time—with the exception of the Futurists' depictions of movement—Feininger here, however, nestles three very similar, almost complete representations of the same object from identical viewing angles on top of each other in one and the same image. To our knowledge, Feininger never otherwise took such a big step toward *negating the representational character* and thus toward the general essence of Faass's Cubism. But here he really did take that step:

The *Romanesque double window* dispels any remaining doubts. The *original Umpferstedter church* has only two such double windows, both on the tower shaft, one on the north side and one on the east side; therefore, only *one* such window is visible from the southeast. However, *since the painting* clearly and unmistakably shows *such a double window* in light blue-green gray under each of the two round shapes, the two other depictions below the obvious top one become evident once again.

5.3.4 Details of this triple depiction

Once you have taken in this *triple* representation of the little church in this *single* image, you can notice the following details in these representations:

The viewer often recognizes **the upper depiction** first, simply because they know that tower spires are at the top and because this depiction overshadows the others, so to speak. This depiction of the tower also includes a *darker* outline of the gable wall of the east nave, which is more difficult to recognize:

- In its vertical lines, this outline appears as follows:
  - On the left, from the left edge of the *dark* part of the left house.
  - On the right, from the right edge of the *dark* shading that meets the left vertical edge of the light-colored house on the right.
- In its gable, this outline corresponds to the lower, gently sloping part of the red Echter tower helmet in the middle illustration.

The middle depiction of the tower can be recognized as the primary one, based on the charcoal composition already identified as the basis, namely from the overall image layout with the two houses on the left and right. The omission of the clock in the upper depiction of the tower also supports this primacy.

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[165] Although FEININGER may have been influenced by these fascinating images and his personal connection to them, Although Delaunay's influence in Paris in the spring of 1911 prompted him to focus on architecture, he did not adopt Delaunay's attention to detail and spatiality, nor did he adopt any of the simultaneous representations found in Delaunay's work: neither that of the *bent* space or *fragmented* object (Saint-Séverin/Eiffel Tower), nor that of simultaneous contrast (Chevreul illusion) from the Window series. For a discussion of Delaunay's influence on Feininger, see [Luckhardt, 1985].

[166] See § 4.3.

The Romanesque double window in the lower tower depiction then takes on an additional function in the middle depiction, which consists of the depiction of the two windows on the south side of the east nave (cf. photograph on page 53).

Feininger achieves this dual function by slightly pulling the two window sections apart and by raising the lower edge of the double window to the right in the lower depiction, with *a false vanishing point* to the right outside the picture—together with the lower and upper edges of the red tower spire in the lower depiction, which also forms the red roof of the east nave in the middle depiction, as in the original.[167]

This false vanishing point from the sills of the church windows and the eaves of the roof is also noted in [Faass, 1999b, p. 74]:

> „On the south wall [of the east nave], however, Feininger does not reverse the alignment of the edges (see diagram opposite) over the entire length of the building. On the far left, he leaves the lower edge of this wall in a perfectly regular relationship to the eaves edge; only after two-thirds of its length does he add a kink to it, in order to then bring it closer to the eaves edge in an a-perspective manner, just like the sills of the church windows.

The only problem with this analysis is that the extension of the last third of the lower edge *misses* the common, *incorrect vanishing point* of the roof ridge, eaves edge, and sills on the right outside the image *far above*. [168]

Since something like this would hardly happen by accident to an artist with Feininger's superb eye for proportion, a better explanation must be found for the alignment of the right third of this lower edge.

In any case, one point that is relevant here is located about two centimeters below the lower frame of the picture, where *five dominant lines* intersect; from left to right, these are the following edges:

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[167] In order to hit the false vanishing point, one must orient oneself at the upper edge of the red tower helmet (or, in the view of the middle illustration, at the ridge of the red nave roof) using the slightly lighter red left part of this edge, which abuts directly against the church tower shaft—but not the unclear, dark shading to the right of it. This edge (with the confusing dark shade to its right) is very clearly visible in the charcoal composition („Umpferstedt I") that has already been identified as the main basis.

[168] Unfortunately, the problematic situation of this incorrect vanishing point cannot be reviewed a second time using the "Umpferstedt I" coal composition, which has already been identified as the main basis, because no vanishing point can be reliably identified here at all.

Since two non-parallel lines in a plane always intersect somewhere, a common intersection point of at least three lines is required in order to be able to identify a vanishing point as such with any certainty. Referring to an intersection point of only two lines as a vanishing point may correspond to the subjective perspective of a viewer, but it always lacks any evidential value in arguments.

In the charcoal composition, however, the extension lines of the roof ridge, the eaves edge, the sill of the left window, the sill of the right window, the additional but unbroken lower edge of the nave, and the right third of Faass' broken lower edge (which is therefore probably not the lower edge of the south wall of the nave) have no point at all to the right of the horizontal center of the picture where the three intersect.

1. the right vertical edge of the dark part of the left house;
2. the conspicuous edge from the left end of the eaves edge down to the left, which in the original corresponds to a retaining wall running in exactly the same direction between the south walls of the tower and the east nave;
3. the very short edge at the bottom left, which originates at the vertical center of *the left* edge (offset on the right!) of the lower left double window;
4. the slightly less steep edge that runs from the top point of the left vertical edge of the right house (red roof on the left, dark wall of the east nave on the right) through the center of the right lower double window; and finally
5. the right third of Faass's broken lower edge.

For reasons of perspective, the intersection of these dominant lines cannot be interpreted as a vanishing point, as it lies *below* the image. However, due to their partial coverage by building edges, the rays it emits toward the lower center of the image cannot be interpreted in a meaningful way as rays of light (such as from a spotlight on the ground). For all these reasons, we will refer to this as a *ray point* in the lower center of the image. While this term is also used in physics and advertising with different meanings in each case, we are taking it here from the field of geometric construction (e.g., in map projections or fractal structures) because Feininger uses *a purely abstract, non-representational, two-dimensional construction technique* in connection with this ray point that is very similar to such constructions.

Despite the considerable shift in the geometric positions in the oil painting compared to the charcoal composition "Umpferstedt I," which is already identified as its main basis, this very point of intersection of five dominant lines is already present in the charcoal composition, albeit as a point of intersection of only four edges. However, this smaller number is by no means due to one of the edges missing the point of intersection in the charcoal composition, but rather to the fact that the short edge (3) does not yet exist in the charcoal composition that serves as a template.

Finally, with a lot of goodwill, two of the three larger windows on the east wall of the church can also be seen as part of the middle representation—albeit only because of their particularly dark tint and with the help of the charcoal composition.

The lower illustration is less clearly recognizable than the two others above it. This is because the red spire is bent sharply backward to the right and the corresponding eastern nave is completely missing. But our argument remains essentially valid even if one were to dispute this depiction of the tower—despite the completely unmotivated red round shape.

Apart from the lower illustration, where the entire nave is missing, little of **the roofs** of the eastern nave seems to have been incorporated into the oil painting – with two small but not entirely insignificant exceptions:

1. the use of *the red* found only on the nave roofs in the original for the two lower spires, and
2. the dual function of the tower helmet folded back to the right in the lower illustration as the nave roof in the middle illustration.

5.4 Final comparison of Feininger's Cubism with that of Picasso and Braque

5.4.1 Differences in color, light-dark gradation, and spatiality

Braque in particular, but also Picasso, prefers earthy, dull colors and creates spatiality through light-dark gradation; Feininger's colors, on the other hand, have an almost gentle glow, even when they have been toned down. Light-dark gradations often have no spatial significance in Feininger's work. Instead, he constructs spatiality through straight lines in an almost mathematical, technical drawing style, whereby the light-dark gradation often signifies transparency: thus, the light-dark gradation of the house on the left in Umpferstedt [I] has little to do with the house as an object, but rather with the view through it to the nave of the church behind it in the upper part of the painting.[169]

5.4.2 Highly complex repetition of the main motif only in Feininger

The triple representation described for the first time in § 5.3.3 for the oil painting Umpferstedt [I]—by means of repetition or mirroring of the main motif already depicted in the original pictorial context—distinguishes Feininger's Cubism from the original French Cubism of Picasso and Braque, for which instead, breaks in outlines, collages, and small-scale surface breaks with shifts, which occur rarely or not at all in Feininger's work.

The details described in § 5.3.4 of the three highly complex, interlocking representations of the church in a single image demonstrate Feininger's extraordinary geometric intelligence; in particular, the reuse of parts of one representation in another must be described as ingenious in terms of the geometry of the plane. Ultimately, it is irrelevant[170] whether Feininger's construction was a conscious one or – as in his application of the golden ratio[171] – was probably found subconsciously through experimentation. In French Cubism, on the other hand, there is – to our knowledge – no evidence of such geometric genius, not even in Robert Delaunay's *image-distorting* or *refracting* paintings in his Saint-Séverin and Eiffel Tower series.

5.4.3 Feininger always preserves the main motif as a whole in the context of the picture.

Unlike Picasso and Braque, Feininger always retains the main motif as a crystallized whole in the context of the picture—even in Umpferstedt [I], probably the most cubist of his paintings of this kind. In Picasso and Braque's cubist works, on the other hand, this wholeness of the motifs – as an essential aspect of the pictorial character – is rarely negated.

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[169] See also note 178.

[170] For Feininger's *works,* this is irrelevant anyway!

[171] See § 1.3.

The only thing that Feininger seriously dissolves or destroys in Umpferstedt [I] in any sense is the *unity*[172] of the little church, especially in the sense that it exists only once, and thus perhaps in a certain sense also the individuality of the little church.

The main difference between Feininger and the Cubism of Picasso and Braque is that Feininger does not negate the unity of his motifs—one of the essential aspects of representational art—any more significantly through his crystalline construction than classical painting has done from time to time for centuries in its choice of perspective, framing, and composition.

5.4.4 Reduction, negation, two-dimensionality, knowledge-based perception, and intellectuality are common features, but Feininger employs construction and inversion rather than dissection and provocation.

In order to convey the difference between Feininger's constructive Cubism and the primarily fragmented, actual Cubism of Picasso and Braque from an experiential perspective, here is a more or less personal, concluding insight:

> I would find it very regrettable to be allowed to immerse myself for less than three quarters of an hour in Feininger's oil painting Umpferstedt [I] in Düsseldorf, which, due to its artistic execution, can hardly be copied or photographed and can therefore only be truly appreciated on site. I would find it equally regrettable to have to spend more than a quarter of an hour in front of Picasso's Les demoiselles d'Avignon from 1907 during a short visit to the MoMA in Manhattan, whose extremely ingenious qualities are almost unrestrictedly accessible even through a good art print.

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[172] After Leibniz and Wolff introduced the word "unity" into the German language (cf. [GRIMM & Grimm, 1854ff., Unity]), Kant already used it frequently and meaningfully with an ideal reference, both in the meaning of "uniformity" still common today (e.g., in Kant' GRIMM, 1854ff., Einheit]), Kant already used it frequently and characteristically with an idealistic reference, both in the meaning of "uniformity" that is still common today (for example, in KANT'S category of unity, which concerns the fact that all objects that fall under a certain concept are uniform in that they also fall under a certain other concept), and in the meaning of "uniqueness" (English: "oneness") – i.e., in the sense that something exists or can exist only once in a certain context (just as "I think" can exist only once in a rational person, cf. [Kant, 1787, p. 132], [GRIMM & GRIMM, 1854ff., Einheit, 2], [GRIMM & GRIMM, 1965ff., Einheit, A2a]).

Unfortunately, the word "Einzigkeit" used in Feininger's Kirchlein is a rare word in German and not nearly as clear as "oneness" in English, as it also has the different meanings of "constancy," "uniqueness," "singularity," and "identity" (cf. [GRIMM & GRIMM, 1965ff., Einzigkeit]). The Duden dictionary [Anon, 2022] only lists the divergent meaning " " (uniqueness) for "Einzigkeit" (uniqueness) and "Einheit" (unity) (in addition to physical and organizational units) for " " (unity) (alongside physical and organizational units). , "connectedness," and "unity." " "

Since the form of uniqueness we need here plays a fundamentally important role in mathematics, the technical term "uniqueness" (or "injectivity") of mappings is available for this purpose, but unfortunately this does not help us in our context either.

Thus , „unity,„as we have chosen here, remains the best choice in our context.

But why do I, and perhaps other viewers, feel this way?

Both works are deeply spiritual and deliberately two-dimensional, but the tasks they impose on the viewer differ significantly:

- With Picasso, this imposition remains an eternally unredeemed provocation—perhaps also because Picasso's admirable reductionist achievement is accompanied by a certain sensory impoverishment. Picasso forces me, and perhaps all art lovers, to grapple with the dismemberment of these "young ladies" and to come to terms with the picture to such an extent that peace of mind can be found again on a higher level.
- Feininger, on the other hand, will invite me and the small group of his deep admirers to return to his painting again and again: after a period of contemplation – and the only partially conscious inversion of Feininger's construction, back to the nature sketch, to the original or to the idealized image or childhood memory of a Christian village church – the imposition then gives way to a feeling of purification.

However, what both images have in common is the mutual interdependence of dissection and construction, as well as the *knowledge-based task of perception* that must be performed by the viewer, which cannot be solved without precise knowledge of the objects depicted. If the viewer, perhaps due to an upbringing foreign to our culture, had no deeper knowledge of the two-dimensional projection of naked human bodies, European churches, or stringed instruments, he or she would only be able to perceive the respective works by Picasso, Feinger, or Braque[173] as abstract mosaics. And with the loss of the perception of *the representational character,* its *negation,* which we already mentioned in § 4.3 as an essential element of Cubism, would also be lost.

These works also share a spiritual character, which was not only intended by these painters—as Feininger, for example, formulated in his letter to Paul Westheim—but must also actually be realized in a collective consciousness or unconscious—simply because this character is actually perceived by every viewer as the essential element. After all, who would hang one of these pictures in their waiting room for the amusement and light entertainment of their patients because of its captivating charm?

[173] Consider, for example, Georges Braque's Violon et palette from the fall of 1909, which now hangs in the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York.

[174] Compare our quotation in § 4.2 and the references there.

5.5 Comparison of our analysis with the literature on " "

Although our analysis in § 5.3.3 is certainly communicable, we first had to develop it, which we did not succeed in doing immediately and, as far as we know, no one else had succeeded in doing before us.

5.5.1 Hans Hess remains without any significant reference to the image.

Hans Hess, for example, apparently had little interest in the oil painting Umpferstedt [I], if he had even seen it at all, because in [Hess, 1959], among the many illustrations of paintings in the text section, some of which are full-page and in excellent color, there is no illustration of Umpferstedt [I]" in the text section, some of which are full-page and in excellent color; only in the appendix, in Julia Feininger's *catalogue raisonné*, is there a tiny black-and-white photograph of the painting. Furthermore
In his otherwise very detailed text, Hess devotes only a seven-line paragraph (p. 72) to the two oil paintings "Umpferstedt [I]" and "Umpferstedt II":

> „*Umpferstedt I* and *II* are conceived in both a cubist and futuristic manner. Perspective is destroyed. The simultaneity of events creates a multitude of forms, but traces of observed nature remain recognizable in the image. These are works from a transitional period in which the past has not yet been completely overcome and new possibilities have not yet been fully developed. Feininger's goal was not to destroy forms, but to find new ones. In these images of the transitional period, forms of existing and emerging reality still interpenetrate."

In this paragraph, Hess describes Umpferstedt [I] as "both cubist and futurist in conception," although in this[176] undoubtedly contains no form of representation of movement or even destruction of materiality through movement, light, speed, or noise in the manner of the Futurists; for despite the repetition of outlines, there is neither movement, light change, noise, nor destruction in this image, but rather calm, crystallization, construction, and reflection. Since Hess does not mention the triple representation of the church in Umpferstedt [I] at all, it is also unlikely that by "interpreted as futuristic" he is alluding to ROBERT DELAUNAY'S simultaneous representation of different perspectives (as in his famous Eiffel Tower paintings) and that he counts DELAUNAY among the Futurists (despite the latter's protests!). We can only assume that Hess interpreted the lines of light-dark contrasts in Umpferstedt [I] as *rays of light*, similar to the painting Testa+luce+ambiente (1912) by the futurist Umberto Boccioni; but we already pointed out in § 1.1 that Feininger was appointed Bauhaus master by Gropius because of the *spatiality* of his lines. Feininger's straight lines almost never represent rays of light – at least definitely not in "Umpferstedt [I]".

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[175] In our opinion, there is no event whatsoever in „ Umpferstedt [I]."

[176] However, there are a few paintings by Feininger that can certainly be described as "futuristic," such as [The Velocopediasts/Draisine Riders]" (Hess 50) from 1910 and The Cyclists (Hess 94) from 1912, both of which depict speed through their bright colors and horizontal stretching, as well as Trumpet Players I (Hess 78) from 1912, due to the representation of noise through bright green areas, distortions in the aqueduct, and the congruence of the outlines of the trumpet players.

5.5.2 Art Collection North Rhine-Westphalia in Düsseldorf

However, Hans Hess is not the only one who could not make much sense of Umpferstedt [I]. Even the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen in Düsseldorf, which has owned the painting for decades, offers no insight here: the text accompanying the painting in its official publication provides no interesting information about the work,(177) and the comparatively long informational text that hung next to the painting until 2022 is largely incomprehensible. In 2022, the painting finally disappeared into storage—despite its excellent condition and a downright depressing excess of free wall space. All in all, this can only mean that the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen neither understands nor appreciates or values this work.

5.5.3 Feininger's large painting catalogs?

Even the text in the wonderful catalog [March, 1998, p. 82] fails to offer any advice on recognizing the very similar nature notes and even suggests that this painting is an irritating puzzle, although according to our analysis, there is neither a puzzle nor any intention to confuse the viewer:

> „This topographical situation, captured in the sketches, is barely recognizable in the painting, because Feininger has altered the representation in *Umpferstedt I* in a much more abstract way than in other compositions. Through the deliberate juxtaposition of outlines and the linear connections between the buildings, which replace the perspective relationship, neither a coherent pictorial space nor individual building structures can be discerned. In their place, Feininger inserts a confusing puzzle of physically protruding forms that have nothing to do with the subject. In hardly any other painting does Feininger experiment so freely with the motif and its representation.

Finally, reference is made to [Luckhardt, 1998b, p. 86f.] as literature, where the charcoal composition Umpferstedt I, which we identified in § 5.3.2 as the main basis, is finally illustrated and, moreover, discussed in a profitable manner:

> „At the center of this [charcoal] composition rises the massive tower crowned by a pointed spire, adjoined on the right by the low nave. Obstructed by houses on the left and right edges of the picture, the church motif recedes into the background. But even in the [charcoal] drawing, it is clear that this fragmentary limitation is repeatedly dissolved in the overlapping of the angular forms that make up the entire representation, and that the background motif points forward through the interpenetration of the house architectures. (178)

177 The only thing in [SCHMALENBACH, 1979, pp. 28–31] that has any relevant reference to the image is the occurrence of the following two passages: "Delaunay's Eiffel Tower" and "blue-green colors prevail, in contrast to the gray-brown monochromy of the French Cubists."

178 This probably refers to the view through the house on the left edge of the picture to the nave behind it, which we mentioned in note 169 on page 58. FEININGER symbolizes this in the charcoal composition, just as in the oil painting, through a chiaroscuro gradation of the house that is otherwise hardly motivatable.

> In the painting of the same name, executed the following year based on this drawing, Feininger breaks away from these perspectival references. The spatial context is largely eliminated as a comprehensible pictorial element through the intensification of forms that refer less to the overall composition than to the details. Only the interplay of geometrically faceted forms with nuanced, coordinated colors and dramatic lighting creates a new, unreal space.

Contrary to our analysis, it is also claimed here with regard to Umpferstedt [I] that the "spatial context" is "largely eliminated" as a comprehensible pictorial element. The "dramatic lighting" is indeed present, but one must be careful not to confuse it with the guidance of rays of light—for example, in the sense of Rayonism. And "new, unreal space" only exists in the upper and lower depictions of the church; the middle depiction and the houses on the street, on the other hand, are very close to the charcoal composition and even to the nature sketches.

5.5.4 The cubist analysis of Martin Faass's work

While the literature considered so far hardly goes into depth, Martin Faass attempts to do so in [Faass, 1999b, § 4] by examining the typical manifestations of the negation of pictorial organization in Feininger, attempting to find and describe each of these manifestations in various works. In the case of an artist as cunning in his composition as Feininger, such an approach, as recommended by Nisbet,(179) seems to go into depth in the case of individually selected works,(180) but has the great disadvantage that one cannot really get to the bottom of Feininger. This is particularly true, of course, for a work as superlatively cubist as Umpferstedt [I]; and so we have already seen[181] how Faass—despite his far better approach than in the literature considered so far—does not quite get to the bottom of the painting Umpferstedt [I] because he has not followed the lines of flight with the care required by Feininger and has probably missed the lower depiction of the church. The same applies, incidentally, to the upper depiction of the church, because otherwise Faass would not have included Umpferstedt [I] once again as an example of the design of "contour congruences." (182)

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179 See end of § 1.3.

180 The entry "einzel" (in addition to "einzeln") is no longer found in today's Duden [Anon, 2022], but can still be found in the 1934 edition [BASLER, 1934] and, above all, in its entirety in Grimm [GRIMM & GRIMM, 1854ff.].

181 Compare this with the discussion on the middle representation following the Faass quote on page 56 in § 5.3.4.

182 In [Faass, 1999b, p. 79f.], Umpferstedt [I] serves as an example of the design of outline congruences. However, this is a poor example because the outline congruences that occur here are dominated by the effects of transparency. This transparency is created by darkening the right side of the house directly to the left of the church. Here, the view of the church in the *upper* part of the oil painting Umpferstedt [I]" in exactly the same way as the view of the only depiction of the church there was provided in the charcoal composition Umpferstedt I, which served as a model, but which corresponds to the *middle* and not the upper depiction of the church in the oil painting Umpferstedt [I], cf. note 178.

5.5.5 Summary of the literature comparison

If we have not overlooked any other important published literature, there seems to be no mention anywhere of a coherent or even complete analysis of the graphic form of the painting Umpferstedt [I]. We, on the other hand, may have succeeded in describing, for the first time, the exact nature of the constructive structure and crystalline refraction of the representational function in Feininger's special form of Cubism in the painting Umpferstedt [I] in a complete and coherent manner.

6 „Tall Buildings I–IV: Paintings Without a common thread?

Before we discuss the group of works entitled "Yellow Village Church" in detail in § 7, we will first take a look at the important group of works entitled "Tall Houses" as an introduction in its own right. This is done, on the one hand, to fully explain our list of non-standard titles of Feininger's architectural paintings from § 3.7, but also to introduce the problems of locating the original motifs—amid the particular difficulties posed by Feininger's special kind of cubist alienation, abstraction, and formal composition—with a group of works in which the respective original motifs (where available) can be determined with little effort, down to the exact house number, with the help of known preliminary sketches for almost every one of the houses depicted.

The oil paintings in the more narrowly defined group of works entitled "Tall Buildings" are usually referred to by this title and the serial number below. Arranged by year of creation and Hess number, preceded by a serial number, these are the following four works, all of which are clearly influenced by Feininger's version of Cubism: I/1912/85, II/1913/99, III/1917/172, IV/1919/198.

6.1 The oil painting „Tall Houses I" (Hess 85) by , 1912

The oil painting Hohe Häuser I (Tall Houses I) from 1912 was purchased by Bernhard Koehler in the fall of 1913 for 600 marks while it was still on display at the First German Autumn Salon[184] but was then probably destroyed along with the Koehler collection during an air raid in World War II. However, a black-and-white photograph of this painting still exists, as well as a charcoal composition very similar to this illustration, subtitled as follows: Feininger signature, "Hohe Häuser I," Wednesday, Dec. 18, 1912. This charcoal composition is quite obviously a preliminary work for the oil painting of the same title, which must have been created at the very end of 1912, although there are eleven higher Hess numbers for 1912. In fact, the black-and-white photograph of the oil painting differs from the charcoal composition only in a slightly higher degree of abstraction.

Even though we no longer know the exact coloring of the oil painting "Hohe Häuser I" (Tall Houses I), the photograph suggests a predominance of light and dark and a reduced color palette. Feininger enthusiasts will have no difficulty coloring the photograph in light, greenish, and bluish gray. Beyond the successful composition of the image, the photograph is impressive for its tremendous variety of angles and expresses such *dramatic dynamism* that it is difficult to comprehend how this can be manifested in the lines and surface design: the tree to the right behind the wall groans in the wind blowing in from the top left. The couple must be young and strong. Their umbrella is about to flip over to the right! The junk on the sidewalk at the bottom right will soon be blown away!

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[183] The oil painting Rue St. Jacques (Hess 523) from 1953 also belongs to this broader group of works. [184] See note 15 for the First German Autumn Salon and [BRELOH, 2006, p. 117f.] for the purchase by KOEHLER.

[185] Well reproduced in [LUCKHARDT, 1998b, p. 31]. See also the Catalogues Raisonnés [Hess, 1959, p. 255, r.] and [MOELLER, 2021]. Approximate dimensions of the oil painting: 1000mm× 800mm.

[186] Dimensions: 310 *mm*× 242 mm; auctioned in Cologne on December 4, 2002; cf. https://www.lempertz.com/de/catalogues/lot/831-1/704-lyonel-feininger.html. The existence of such a charcoal composition was already described in [MARCH, 1998, p .78] as certain, but no longer verifiable.

In any case, the oil painting Tall Houses I is one of the first to show Feininger at the height of his artistry, and probably the first [187] in which he truly succeeded in his later signature style of Cubism. Hans Hess aptly describes the nature of this novelty: " In *Tall Buildings I,* Paris (No. 85) and *Teltow I (*No. 86), he created his own spatial architecture for the first time, in which the tectonic masses are firmly connected to the surrounding space to form a new unity."

Both compositions (in oil and charcoal) feature an unsigned note with Feininger's handwritten subtitle "Paris Tues APR 7 08" in the lower right corner of the front. On the back, an unknown hand has written: "Preliminary study for the tall buildings I at B. Köhler." [189] Compared to both compositions, the nature sketch actually lacks only the couple with the umbrella and the line structures on the houses, which are intended to carry over the spatiality of the representation in the nature sketch into the two compositions—despite the cubist abstraction and reduction.

Since Feininger probably only made nature notes in *Montmartre* on April 7, 1908 [190] and since the nature note for "High Houses I" shows extreme inclines, which in Paris occur almost exclusively in Montmartre, it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that the original motif for „High Houses I" is also to be found in Montmartre.

The nature sketch, described as the "original study," shows a small street that runs from the right runs from the lower corner to the lower left edge. Almost in the middle of the picture, a path branches off very steeply to the right and up. At this street corner, the small street and path are bordered by a man-high wall, at the corner of which stands a gallows-shaped street lamp. Towering above the wall are bare trees (about four stories high), which apparently stand on an undeveloped plot of land on the small street, in turn towered over by a block of two five-story houses with two attics. The left-hand house stands on the small street and shows its firewall facing the undeveloped plot in full width. The house on the right is probably located on the upper parallel street to which the path leads, and shows us not only the firewall on this parallel street, but also, to the left of it, the full width of the window front facing the backyard, which it forms with the first house and which is still open at the front due to the undeveloped plot.

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(187) For the magnificent oil painting Trumpet Players I (Hess 78), from the same year as Tall Buildings I (Hess 85), is ingenious in its cubist-futuristic representation of noise, but unfortunately remained without successor in FEININGER'S OEUVRE. „ „

188 [Hess, 1959, p. 54].

189 At https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/217716, you can find the following additional details about this nature sketch: Busch–Reisinger Museum, Object Number: BR63.599; Persistent Link: https://hvrd.art/o/217716; Medium: Brown and gray crayon on paper; Dimensions: 31.9× 24.6 cm. Unfortunately, the image is not currently available online, and there is also a little blue crayon next to brown and gray on the nature note.

The existence of this nature sketch is already vaguely referred to in [Hess, 1959, p. 54]: "The drawing accompanying Feininger's painting dates from 1908 in Paris." According to [März, 1998, p.78], this is a nature sketch from April 7, 1908, at the Busch–Reisinger Museum. Only in [Faass, 1999b, p.73, note 128] is the following (slightly inaccurate in terms of dimensions, object number, and reverse label, but nevertheless very helpful) reference found: Colored pencil on paper; 33.3× 25.2 cm; unsigned; dated u.r.: Tues APR 7 08, inscribed on the reverse: Study for the HohenHäusernI at B.Köhler; Busch–Reisinger Museum, Cambridge (USA), Inv. No. 1963.599 F."

190 See "Shady Alley in Montmartre," "View of Place Jean-Baptiste Clément, Montmartre," "Ascent to Montmartre," "Ascent to Montmartre with Figure" [Deuchler, 1992, nos. 40–43, pp. 53, 110, 111, 55; p. 96].

The only two-story block of this kind in Montmartre can still be found today (albeit with chimney walls raised by a good meter), if you consider the small street to be the upper *Rue Lepic*: the house there would then be the corner house at *85 Rue* Lepic/2 *Rue Girardon,* which is the corner house at *21 Rue* Norvins/4 *Rue Girardon* in the parallel street – both with five floors plus two attics. The undeveloped plot would then have been built on with the houses *at 87 Rue Lepic* and *19 Rue Norvins*, and the path would have been closed off by a small wall with a steel door; in any case, before 1900, there was only a garden and two very narrow, two-story houses on the site of today's corner house at *85 Rue Lepic*.

Without consulting the nature sketch, it is no longer possible to clearly discern *the fork in the road to the upper right* in the charcoal and oil compositions, even though the spatiality of the depiction is supported in these compositions by the retention of the gallows-shaped street lamp and the addition of the couple with the umbrella.

While the C-shaped structure of the two-block building—with the two ends of the C corresponding to the firewalls on the two streets—can still be clearly recognized in the nature sketch due to the representational, traditional depiction, this is no longer so easy to do in the two compositions. Probably in order to mitigate this shortcoming somewhat, Feininger changes the two compositions in two further respects:

1. First, he extends the short courtyard wall adjoining the right-hand firewall and adds three windows per floor instead of two. This serves to support the main change: he adds new lines that do not appear in the nature sketch, which make the floors visible on the extended courtyard wall. He has these lines converge at a false vanishing point to the right of the upper right corner of the picture. Feininger connoisseurs will immediately recognize the corner of the courtyard to the left of the extended courtyard wall, with the wide window front of the house on the right, to which Feininger has also added a few lines of floor levels that converge at a false vanishing point to the left of the composition. An unspoiled viewer, on the other hand, who quite rightly perceives the two new vanishing points as genuine vanishing points in traditional painting, must see this as a corner of a house – instead of the undoubtedly intended corner of the courtyard formed by the two window fronts of the house on the right.
2. In addition, Feininger adds new lines to the two fire walls, which look like the floors and gables of demolished houses, but were not present in the nature sketch. Due to the large trees on the undeveloped plot adjacent to the fire walls, it becomes clear that such lines had never existed in reality. In addition to the dynamic dramatization of the depiction, these lines also serve to improve the representation of space and compensate for the loss of recognizability due to the cubist alienation and abstraction in the compositions compared to the nature sketch.

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[191] See photographs of *the* directly *adjacent Moulin Galette*, *83 Rue Lepic*, from 1899 by Eugène ATGET in [ABBOTT, 1979, plate 121], [Gautrand, 2020, p. 548] (http://www.artnet.com/WebServices/images/ll00028lld9KvGFgpeECfDrCWvaHBOcPJVD/eug%C3%A8ne-atget-moulin-de-la-galette.jpg) and from 1885 by an unknown artist (https://medium.com/thinksheet/how-to-read-paintings-dance-at-le-mou lin-de-la-galette-by-renoir-193f4cd2e364).

[192] This change in the vanishing point functions has already been illustrated very clearly in [Faass, 1999b, p. 73f.].

However, Alois Schardt, who was particularly appreciated by the Feiningers, offers the following alternative explanation for the lines added by Feininger to the compositions, which is admittedly less related to the details and the representation practice:

> „When in the 1880s the young Feininger walked through the streets of New York, he was astounded by the first skyscrapers, those predecessors of today's giants. They were so steep that they made him dizzy. In 1912, he created his first oil painting on the theme of *tall buildings.* It had taken him many years to transform the impression of his childhood into an artistic theme and to develop the form appropriate to the vision of a modern artist. (194)
>
> „Since material objects lose their significance, foreground and background become meaningless. The different planes of actuality combine and merge into a single plane. |17
>
> In one of his first paintings constructed on this new basis, Feininger dealt with the theme *High Houses*. The composition deals with earthbound energies trying to disengage themselves. The conflict between the aspiring verticals and the gravitating horizontals results in diagonal forms. From them the dynamic ascent proceeds. In this way a vivid impression of his childhood has been transformed into a symbol of human life." 195

6.2 The oil painting „High Houses II" (Hess 99) by , 1913

The oil painting „Tall Houses II was probably completed in the fall of 1913 and has *three unique features* within „the Tall Houses series: It bears the problematic title *"Demolition Houses"* and shows *support structures* made of roughly hewn tree trunks and a *silhouette* common to all works in "Tall Houses II," which is probably the most characteristic of all Feininger's works and forces the viewer to perceive it immediately, like a pictogram, even from a distance:

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193 See note 96.

(194) [SCHARDT et al., 1944, p. 14]. This raises the question of whether The *Tall Houses* is actually based on Feininger's childhood memories of New York or rather on his more recent memories of Paris, which he not only visited with Julia in October 1908 and May 1911, but where he also studied from November 1892–May 1893 and rented a studio apartment with Julia *at 242 Boulevard Raspail* at the end of July 1906 (until mid-1908 (?), cf. [MOELLER, 2006, p. 185], absent in the summer of 1907) – only 400 meters south of *the Café du Dôme,* where he had been in close contact with the local circle of artists since 1906.

However, due to the very close relationship between the FEININGER couple and SCHARDT, FEININGER would probably have corrected Schardt's article before publication if his childhood memories of New York had not played a role in his view of the Parisian houses that served as motifs. In addition, the New York that Feininger himself had known before World War I was only the New York of his childhood: still free of actual skyscrapers and not so unlike Paris. See also the further discussion in § 6.7.2.

195 [SCHARDT et al., 1944, p.16f.]. Since "Tall Buildings II" has more diagonal lines than "Tall Buildings I" and since only "Tall Buildings II" is reproduced in [SCHARDT et al., 1944] (p. 16) of these two oil paintings, it may well be that SCHARDT is referring to "Tall Buildings II" here, although he does not explicitly mention it anywhere in the text. See also the further discussion in § 6.7.2.

×196 The oil painting is now in the Neuberger Museum of Art, Purchase College (SUNY), Purchase (NY), is reproduced in [March, 1998, p. 79] and measures 1013mm x 810mm. It bears the inscription ABBRUCH HÄUSER (HOHE HÄUSER II MAI 1913) on the back, cf. in particular [Moeller, 2021]. According to [MARCH, 1998, p. 78], work on this oil painting had already begun on March 18, 1913, but was still ongoing on September 18, 1913, as a birthday present for Julia's father, so that, contrary to the inscription on the back, it cannot have been finished in May 1913.

1. This silhouette is formed from left to right (on the woodcuts from right to left) by the following components: houses in the distance with tree trunks as supports on demolition walls, followed by a demolition wall on the side of an extremely tall house with smaller windows on the top floor. This house appears very narrow because only two horizontally shortened window columns of this house are visible. Then, in front of an elevated dark chimney wall, there are more demolition walls on the side of a house with a pointed gable roof. Finally, there are houses in the foreground that are by no means elevated, but apparently much too small, extending to the right edge of the picture.
2. The obviously arbitrary, extreme elevation of the narrow house, together with the exaggerated chimney wall, forms a *double-tower structure* exactly in the horizontal center of the picture. This structure partially touches the upper and lower edges of the picture and, in the context of the street, has a perspective-defying, *monumental* extension.

Presumably based on very different, unfortunately unknown nature notes, Feininger's new cubist formalism triumphs here in a unique way. The viewer recognizes houses as objects in a no longer representational composition and, after numerous attempts, must finally realize that all questions about an original motif of the painting as a whole lose their meaning in this perspective-defying composition of houses with proportions that cannot be reconciled.

While Feininger's extreme cubism in Umpferstedt [I] from 1914 may still have a certain connection to Robert Delaunay's Eiffel Tower paintings, the oil painting Hohe Häuser II (Tall Buildings II) from 1913 already presents an extreme yet subtle cubism that is unique to Feininger[197] and which questions the representational function in a completely different and much more subtly disturbing way—but no less so—than the Cubism of Picasso and Braque.

According to [Feininger, 1913c] (quoted by us in § 3.3 (p. 28)), the original composition for the oil painting was created in Heringsdorf in 1908 and an improved version in 1910. According to [März, 1998, p. 78], these two works are lost and are the *aquarelle pen-and-ink drawings* Das hohe Haus (The Tall House) from 1908 – which is undoubtedly incorrect[198] – and "Abbruch Häuser" (Demolished Houses) from August 24, 1910. Although the whereabouts of this 1910 drawing may still be unknown, it is reproduced in black and white at the top of the same page 78, without further reference, as is the text according to which it is supposed to have been lost.

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[197] In fact, traditionally slightly elevated castles—standing alone in the countryside—are something completely different.
as extremely disparate, exaggerated houses in a street that defies all laws of perspective, as only the drawing The Disparagers (discussed in § 4.3) does. FEININGER'S cubist arbitrariness, found in "Tall Houses II," actually has no relation to paintings that appear to have been drawn through a concave mirror—such as Caspar David FRIEDRICH'S 20th-century masterpiece in oil, apparently mistakenly (cf. [OHARA, 1984]) after Dresden's Ostragehege with his masterpiece in oil entitled "Das große Gehege" [Börsch-Supan & Jähnig, 1973, pp. 145, 431, no. 399], [Börsch-Supan, 1980, p . 80, no. 147].

[198] The pen-and-ink drawing „„ The Tall House" from 1908 has since been auctioned (see http://www.artnet.com/artists/lyonel-feininger/das-hohe-haus-xpVquIh3hUecqEuM8Cxs1Q2) and reprinted (see [Fontán & Capa, 2017, p. 199]). This is clearly the same motif as in the drawing of a steeply sloping street corner in [DEUCHLER, 1992, No. 34, pp. 48, 95] from Sat Apr 20 07"; on the same day, FEININGER also drew the *Tour Ste. Geneviève* from the northern side of *the Place du Panthéon* (cf. [Deuchler, 1992, No. 32, pp. 47f., 95]), where the motif of the sloping street corner can also be found. In any case, the watercolor pen-and-ink drawing („ The Tall House"
from 1908, no motif that could be found in any work related to „Tall Buildings II.„

Hans Hess reproduces the oil painting "Tall Buildings II" in black and white on a full page, but has only the following to say about it:

> „*Tall Buildings II* (fig. p. 178), a memory of Parisian buildings[,] which were destined for demolition. The original composition was created |63|(6 4)|(65) inHeringsdorf in 1908 and a modified version in 1910. T h e painting, closely related to *Tall Houses I (No*. 85), is rendered in bold blue-gray tones. It is an almost cheerful picture, despite the shadow hanging over the fate of the houses." (199)

Upon closer inspection, Hess's claim of a close relationship to "Hohe Häuser I" turns out to be rather superficial—at least based on the black-and-white photograph:[200] A similar pointed gable and a barely discernible courtyard between two house fronts—but in different positions—are common to both
images, but our three unique features of „Hohe Häuser II" are completely absent from „Hohe Häuser I."

Hess' intuition that this is an almost cheerful picture, but one overshadowed by a dark cloud, is revealing. As we will see in § 6.6, these Parisian houses, contrary to the title *Abbruch Häuser* (Demolition Houses), were never intended for demolition, and so there was no dark cloud hanging over their fate, but there are moments here that could seem threatening: After the destruction of World War II in Germany, the huge amounts of rubble lying in the streets and the houses propped up against collapse must have evoked terrible memories, which at the time of creation were only known in connection with isolated earthquakes or volcanic eruptions. In addition, one may feel sorry for the man with the crutch, who appears particularly pitiful in the watercolor pen-and-ink drawing "Demolished Houses" from 1910 because he is not looking at the women, but shows signs of extreme corpulence, which already made him look very grim in the lower right corner of the oil painting "Great Revolution" (Hess 53) from 1910. The obvious association with a medieval castle, whose menacingly steep appearance prevented any conquest at all times (as in the case of Marksburg Castle in Braubach on the Rhine), may have been rather romantically idealized at the time "Hohe Häuser II" was created. Ultimately, however, most viewers will find that the impression of cheerfulness far outweighs these shadows: a man in Paris, looking around with relish at coquettishly posing ladies under a bright sky and friendly, glowing houses . ..
"

But now we must return to the hard facts and describe the entire Hohe „Häuser II series, which is essentially defined by the three unique features mentioned above. Almost all of these features can also be found in six compositions that are very similar in motif to the oil painting Hohe Häuser II, which we will briefly describe here in the order in which they were created:

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199 [Hess, 1959, p. 62, 65].

200 However, much more than the black-and-white photograph of Hohe Häuser I could be evaluated at the time of Hess's assertion, due to the loss of the original during World War II.

(1) We have no notes on Hohe Häuser II. The only accessible work on Hohe Häuser II without cubist distortion is therefore the last-mentioned *watercolor pen-and-ink drawing from 1910*,[201] with Feininger's signature on the lower left and the strangely even lower subtitle Abbruch Häuser (Demolished Houses). This drawing may therefore also be the origin of the problematic title *Abbruch Häuser*, which otherwise can only be found on the back of the oil painting Hohe Häuser II. This drawing is by no means a nature sketch, but rather a studio composition, and already bears all three of our distinguishing features.

(2) A charcoal composition that is even more similar to the oil painting than the pen-and-ink composition (1) has the following subtitle: "Feininger signature, Tall Houses II," Thurs., May 15, 1913." ([202]) Without a doubt, this is a direct preliminary work for the oil painting, in which only the title "*Demolished Houses*" is missing from our three unique features.

(3, 4) Of the woodcuts, only
„Rue St.Jacques, Paris" (Prasse W46) from 1918 and „Parisian Houses" / „ Old Paris" / „Tall Houses" (Prasse W184) from 1919, about which [Prasse, 1972, p. 200] notes: „Subject is described by the artist, 'Rue St.Jacques, condemned houses.'"

(5) There is a photographic negative dated August 30, 1925, that is very similar to the watercolor pen-and-ink composition (1), with the subtitle "Old Houses on Rue St. Jacques, Paris."[203] This title again refers to *Rue St. Jacques*, which exists only in Paris, but not in New York, and also improves the title from *Demolished Houses* to *Old Houses*. With these clues, we will then once again search in § 6.6 for the original motifs from which „ Tall Houses II" may have been assembled.

(6) Finally, "Rue St. Jacques" is also the title of a painting by Feininger from 1953 (Hess 523), [204]which is similar to the oil painting "Hohe Häuser II" (Tall Houses II) – not in style, but in motif. However, due to its high level of abstraction, this late oil painting lacks not only the title *Abbruch Häuser (Demolished Houses),* but also the supporting structures made of tree trunks. Yet the striking silhouette is still present, even if the double-tower structure has shifted slightly from the center to the left and the houses on the right edge of the picture, which are much too small, have become a little more imposing by extending to the bottom edge of the picture.

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[201] Depicted in black and white in [March, 1998, p. 78, o.]. According to [March, 1998, p. 78, p. 369, r.], this pen-and-ink composition is lost despite the illustration and measures 257mm× 213mm.

[202] Illustrated in [March, 1998, p. 78, u.]. Dimensions according to [March, 1998, p. 369, r.]: 354mm× 203mm. However, the ratio resulting from these dimensions is much too large to fit the illustration in the same work. The dimensions according to http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/hohe-h%C3%A4user-ii-ta ll-houses-ii-Iyk2JVhhWA1aofNQWzCig2 and [Fontán & CAPA, 2017, p. 199] are therefore much more likely: 324 mm× 235 mm.

[203]Harvard Art Museums/Busch–Reisinger Museum, Gift of T. Lux Feininger, BRLF.659.8, https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/29714, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/29714.

[204]Dimensions according to [Hess, 1959, p. 299, m.]: 914mm× 704mm.

6.3 The oil paintings „Tall Buildings III" (Hess 172) from 1917 and „Tall Buildings IV" (Hess 198) from 1919

The oil paintings "Tall Buildings III" [205] and "Tall Buildings IV" [206] differ from their two predecessors, I and II, in that the viewer's perspective now appears to be at the level of the upper floors rather than at street level.

The oil painting IV is characterized by great calm and orderliness, which probably resulted from Feininger's personal reassurance following his appointment to the Bauhaus. The painting is particularly successful in terms of its coloring and is once again significantly more abstract than his already very abstract preliminary work: a charcoal drawing with the following subtitle: ([207]) Feininger signature, Street, Sunday, May 9, 1915. This title alone makes it clear that this is probably not a concrete street, but a fictional studio montage of houses that are already so abstract in the charcoal drawing that it will probably never be possible to assign concrete original motifs to them, especially since there are no known notes on nature relating to either the title or the houses depicted. A comparison between Oil Painting IV and the charcoal drawing, which is almost identical in terms of its graphic composition but which is by no means calm and tidy, suggests two interesting points: firstly, how tremendously Feininger was able to change the pictorial expression with his abstract simplification of lines and surfaces in combination with his economical but very skillful coloring technique; and second, how much his state of mind seems to have brightened between the war in 1915 and his appointment to the Bauhaus after the war in 1919. On the other hand, however, Oil Painting IV completely lacks the diverse, very powerful visual moments of its predecessors I–III, so that in comparison to them it can be described as soothing, calming, pleasant, and extremely successful, but not particularly fascinating; and one can understand why Hans Hess has only one succinct sentence to say about IV, namely that it is a "calm painting in golden tones and warmer tones."([208]) We too, will not concern ourselves further with this small group of works, „Tall Houses IV."

The oil painting "„T High Buildings III" is – especially in contrast to the one labeled IV marked by great restlessness and dynamism. It is so crowded on the right side of the canvas that it should rather be called "Narrow Houses." In addition, the houses seem to be dancing a front dance; in any case, the picture appears very lively. It is reminiscent of the fascinating liveliness of a child's composition, with its enthusiastic glances from various roof hatches. In contrast to this association, however, the execution of the oil painting is absolutely subtle and masterful: above all, the skillful superimposition of the individual houses, the multiple drawings of the windows, and the economical but successful use of color make this painting unique.

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[205] See in particular [MOELLER, 2021]: Dimensions: 1011 mm× 815 mm. Current location: Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa (ON).

[206] See http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/hohe-h%C3%A4user-iv-T745gx_Z1 wwOreEH0CPeAQ2: Dimensions: 1010 mm× 810 mm. Auctioned at Villa Grisebach in 2006, whereabouts unknown.

[207] Cf. https://collections.artsmia.org/art/120446/street-lyonel-feininger, dimensions: 167 mm× 222 mm. Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis (MN).

[208] See [Hess, 1959, p. 91].

among Feininger's oil paintings. Despite all this, there is not a single sentence about this magnificent painting in [Hess, 1959] – presumably because Hess did not want to address its special stylistic position.

In Oil Painting III, the view does not extend quite as far to the right as in a poorly executed watercolor charcoal sketch from March 1917, which was probably discarded as a preliminary sketch and features similarly narrow houses, which Feininger gave the confusing and otherwise unusual „title Hohe HäuserV (Tall Houses V).[209] Only in the oil painting does the view extend from top to bottom onto the street, slightly slanted to the left. In both works, however, the view falls on the colorful shop windows of *small stores on the ground floor*.

6.4 The Nature Note „Rue St. Jacques, Paris" from May 14, 1911

The small shops on the ground floor of the two works in the small group of works "Tall Houses III" mentioned above resemble those that Feininger depicted in a drawing with the subtitled „Sun. May 14 11," Rue St.Jacques, Paris."[210] This detailed
This exceptionally successful nature sketch, colored with colored pencils, naturally lacks any cubist distortion, which now makes it our first clear point of reference for more precisely determining the original motifs of the Hohe Häuser II–III series of works centered around *Rue St.Jacques*. For the original motif of this nature sketch can still be easily identified on site today: the view looks east-northeast down *Rue St. Jacques* from the intersection with *Boulevard St. Germain*.

Incidentally, the old houses numbered 27, 25, 23, 21, 19, 17, 15 (viewed from right to left down the street) are still standing there today, with almost unchanged facades; they were probably never scheduled for demolition.

House 27 is quite distinctive with its very tall windows on the first floor and its backward slant from the first floor onwards. The recess in the row of houses to the right of House 27 tells us that the old buildings *at 29 & 31 Rue St.Jacques* had already been demolished at that time and had probably already been replaced by a single new building, which filled the entire gap left by the demolition, *had significant horizontal grooves*, and still stands today with the number 31 and a uniform front to the old building still standing to its right, the corner house *at 33 Rue St.Jacques* facing *Rue Dante*.

Now that we have been able to determine the probable original motif of the „oil painting "Hohe Häuser I" (Tall Buildings I) in § 6.1 using the available nature notes, we will now attempt to do the same for the oil paintings in the „Hohe Häuser II–III" (Tall Buildings II–III) series, using the nature notes from May 14, 1911 as a clear guide.

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[209] See [Fontán & Capa, 2017, p. 199]. Subtitle: Feininger signature, Tall Houses V, March 1917„ Dimensions: 316 mm× 233 mm. See also http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/hohe-h%C3%A4user-v-tall-houses-v-sVSQFJ-Cyw7-UEIhfPozpA2.

[210] Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York, Inv. No. 585. Unsigned. Dimensions: 174mm x× x130mm. Cf. [DEUCHLER, 1992, No. 47, front cover, p. 97, l., p.115].

6.5 The original motifs of the narrow houses on „Tall Houses III"

Hohe Häuser III (Tall Buildings III) is, so to speak, the continuation of the drawing from May 14, 1911, beyond its right edge, with a higher viewing angle, but also looking toward the east-northeast. In detail, the oil painting shows the following from right to left: at the bottom right corner, a small corner of the sidewalk of *Boulevard St. Germain,* then the corner building *at Boulevard St. Germain/Rue Dante* with a reddish-brown storefront on the ground floor, then *Rue Dante* and, in front on its left side, the corner building *at 33 Rue St. Jacques* with its two typical large chimney walls on the roof (the color of which is a light brown in the oil painting) and with a light-colored front facing *Rue Dante,* a very dark corner front, and a bluish, strongly shortened front facing *Rue St. Jacques*. This is followed by the new building *at 31 Rue St. Jacques,* already described in § 6.4, in which the central section with three windows per floor has fallen victim to cubist reduction, but the two slightly protruding turrets on the left and right are depicted in cubist transformation with concave folds towards each other and can be clearly identified by their significant horizontal grooves on the sides (cf. § 6.4), which were missing in the two predecessor buildings *29 & 31 Rue St. Jacques*, which were of equal width.([211])Finally, at the far left edge of the image, we find the house *at 27 Rue St. Jacques,* already depicted on the nature note on the far right, where the projection from the new neighboring house at *31 Rue St. Jacques* into the street is swallowed up by the cubist folds of this house. Nevertheless, in the given context, there is no doubt about the identification of the house *at 27 Rue St. Jacques* – both because of its slight backward slope from the first floor and because of its very high windows on the first floor.

6.6 Original motifs of the extremely exaggerated houses on „Tall Houses II"

In "Hohe Häuser II" (Tall Buildings II), the view extends toward the north-northeast, down *Rue St. Jacques* to the Seine and *Rue du Petit-Pont*. Due to the absence of cubist distortion, the aquarelle pen-and-ink composition (cf. § 6.2(1)) is the most important guide in our search for the original motifs – even more so than the charcoal composition Tall Houses II (cf. § 6.2(2)) and the oil painting of the same name. In each of these *three works*, the following can be found from right to left: At the right edge of the picture, a very narrow strip of a greatly exaggerated chimney wall can still be seen, even though only the pen-and-ink composition shows a chimney pipe emerging at the top. Apparently, the view extends into the gap between the demolished old buildings *at 29 & 31 Rue St.Jacques*, with a view of the rear sides of houses on *Rue Dante* with further chimney walls above the roofs. In the pen-and-ink composition, a shadow is cast to the right of the house *at 27 Rue St.Jacques,* which is now directly adjacent on the left, with its fairly light gable wall with horizontal broad stripes of the demolished floor slabs. However, shadow casting as a classic means of representational painting is no longer available due to the cubist abstraction and alienation in the charcoal drawing and oil painting depicting the gap between *Rue St. Jacques* and *Rue Dante*. As a meager substitute

[211] The old buildings at 27, 29, 31, and 33 *Rue St. Jacques* can be clearly seen in a photograph from 1898, with the corner building at 33 *Rue Dante* on the right, and they have no horizontal grooves.
Photograph: http://www.lemarmitondelutece.fr/Files/90368/Img/17/img-13.jpg,
explanation: http://www.lemarmitondelutece.fr/PBCPPlayer.asp?ID=1187972.

Feininger then draws additional lines for the floors of the second house from the right edge of the picture and, contrary to perspective, has them converge on a false vanishing point at the bottom right of each picture. In the charcoal composition, these lines are still very sketchy and were apparently added after the windows and, above all, the eaves of the house had already been drawn in natural perspective sloping to the left. This shows very nicely that Feininger did not proceed here according to an abstract system he had established *a priori*, but rather developed *ad hoc* the means that were necessary for a partial maintenance of the representational function in his special kind of cubist abstraction and alienation. The house with the newly added lines, together with the house to its right, which already has such lines in the watercolor charcoal drawing from 1910, is probably intended to form a kind of courtyard again, but here the situation is somewhat less clear than in the very similar courtyard corner of „Hohe Häuser I" (Tall Houses I).

But back to our description of the houses depicted in our three works,
in its horizontal center, namely on the still completely unobstructed, quite bright, horizontally striped gable wall of the house *at 27 Rue St.Jacques*, which still protrudes by almost half even after the gap between the buildings has been closed. The rest of *Rue St.Jacques* seems to have merged into an extremely shortened block with heavily elevated blackish chimney walls. The bright house directly adjacent to the left of this block, with mostly two visible windows on each of its approximately six floors*,* is in fact already the corner house *at 17 Rue du Petit-Pont* on *Rue Galande,* namely the recessed new building for the houses at 17 & 19 Rue du Petit-Pont, which were demolished in 1907. 19. This new building still stands today, has six floors and an attic, and is set back on the south side towards *Rue Galande* and *Rue St.Jacques* on the fifth and sixth floors across its entire width to make room for a continuous balcony, which is secured by a filigree steel railing on the fifth floor and a low wall on the sixth floor. In the pen-and-ink composition "Demolition Houses," this low wall is indicated by a line below which the windows are cut off. This line can also be clearly seen in the charcoal composition from 1913 and in the late"oil painting from 1953 (cf. § 6.2(6)). In the oil painting from 1913, however, this line has become the eaves. However, this corner house is extremely exaggerated: just compare the height of the windows and floors with those of the house at the very front right of the picture!

However, the houses depicted further to the left in our three works, i.e., at the location of *the Rue du Petit-Pont*, cannot be identified there in reality. Incidentally, the striking support structures made of tree trunks can only be found in *Rue du Petit-Pont* in these three pictures*:* in the pen-and-ink composition and the charcoal composition only *behind* house number 17, and in the oil painting also directly *on* this house.

All the buildings on the west side of *Rue du Petit-Pont* were demolished starting in 1907, and the plots were then rebuilt with houses that did not protrude so far into the street. As can be seen in a photograph by Eugène Atget from 1907/8,([213]) the supported houses on the west side are not located directly on *Rue du Petit-Pont,* but in the second row. The houses were therefore supported in order to protect them during the demolition of the adjacent

Thus, the title components „Abbruch Häuser" and „condemned houses" (cf. § 6.2(1, 4)) should be better rendered as:

[212] See point 1 in § 6.1, as well as note 192.

„Partition walls exposed by the demolition of houses and partially supported by tree trunks to protect neighboring houses that remain standing."

The house with the slanted dark stripes at the front left of the photograph—probably from demolished stairwells—as also found in the pen-and-ink composition "Hohe Häuser II" (Tall Buildings II) with a different pattern, is undoubtedly today's corner house at *4 Rue St. Séverin* on *Rue du Petit-Pont*; The hypothesis that "Hohe Häuser II" shows *Rue du Petit-Pont in a southwesterly direction* is refuted by the fact that at that time there was no support for the lighter, house-shaped silhouette with a pointed gable in front of the dark, heavily elevated chimney wall. Unfortunately, only the old corner house *at 19 Rue du Petit-Pont* on *Rue Galande* can be seen on the east side of the photograph; this photograph from 1907/8 must therefore have been taken before the demolition of this corner house together with *17 Rue du Petit-Pont* and its reconstruction as the recessed corner house at *17 Rue du Petit-Pont*.

Since all the other houses on the east side of *Rue du Petit-Pont* and houses 27, 25, 23, 21, 19, 17, 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, 5 on the east side of *Rue St.Jacques* remained standing,[214] all three of our works to the left of center (from the left side of the light gable wall of house *27 Rue St.Jacques*) must show motifs that do not exist there, exposed by the demolition of houses and partly supported by tree trunks; only the new corner building *at 17 Rue du Petit-Pont* is located at an extreme elevation in approximately the correct position. Since Feininger only incorporated additional demolition motifs into the east side of *Rue St. Jacques* and *Rue du Petit-Pont* in the works Hohe Häuser II (Tall Houses II), the additional titles *Abbruch Häuser (*Demolished Houses) and *Condemned Houses* only appear in these works, but nowhere in the work groups I, III, and IV.

6.7 Summary of the group of works „Tall Houses"

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize once again that the four oil paintings in the "Tall Houses" series differ fundamentally in all essential aspects—apart from the fact that Feininger depicts quite tall houses in them.

6.7.1 Primordial motifs are missing or diverge

The extent to which questions about Feininger's primal motifs belong to art in general or only to historiography may remain open.

[213] Cf. [Harris, 1999, p. 143], [Harris, 2003, p. 131] (slightly cropped on the left) or (slightly cropped at the top and right) https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1a/Atget_rue_du_Petit-Pont.png, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rue_du_Petit-Pont and [Gautrand, 2020, p. 225]. It is a shame that editors almost always feel compelled to crop ATGET'S photographs, thereby losing all symmetry and golden ratios and perpetuating the myth of the artistically unambitious photographer, a myth that was reinforced by his self-irony, which was misunderstood by editors. To get an impression of the incredibly extensive demolition work on the west side of *Rue du Petit-Pont* and *Rue St.Jacques* and around the Church *of Saint-Séverin*, we nevertheless highly recommend [Harris, 1999, pp. 107–177] (photographs identical to [Harris, 2003, pp. 95–165]) is nevertheless highly recommended.

[214] In addition to houses 29 and 31, already mentioned in sections 6.4 and 6.6, only houses 1 and 3 on the east side of *Rue St. Jacques* were demolished (cf. color drawing "Sunday May 14, 1911, Rue St. Jacques," [DEUCHLER, 1992, No. 48, p. 97, l., p. 116]). Today, the new house 1 is set back and has swallowed up the space of No. 3.

In the case of the "Tall Buildings" group of works, however, it must be admitted that our examination of these questions has certainly contributed to the evaluation of Feiniger's artworks and a deeper understanding of his creative process.

Thus, we have clarified here for the first time that the original motifs of the "Tall Houses" series do not exist in the form of nature notes, but are in any case different for each of the oil paintings I–IV:

I. "Tall Buildings I" has its original motif in Montmartre, *on the right bank of the Seine* in Paris.

II. „Tall Buildings II, on the other hand, is a fictional construction based in part on an original motif that encompasses the right side of the street from *33 Rue St.Jacques* to *17 Rue du Petit-Pont*, which Feininger then fictionally continues with buildings that could never be found on this side in reality. Here, however, all of the original motifs are undoubtedly located in Paris *on the left bank of the Seine*.

III. The partial motif of this highly distorted composition, which is realistic neither in its composition nor its perspective, "Hohe Häuser II" (Tall Buildings II), overlaps with the motif of the now more realistic painting "Hohe Häuser III" (Tall Buildings III), which depicts the northeast side of the intersection of *Rue St.Jacques* and *Boulevard St.Germain* and shows the following buildings from right to left: the corner building at *82 Boulevard St. Germain/Rue Dante,* then the corner building *at Rue Dante/33 Rue St. Jacques*, and finally its neighboring buildings at *31 & 27 Rue St. Jacques.*

IV. „High Houses IV is a purely fictional and, for Feininger, extremely abstract and simplified studio composition based on an already very abstract charcoal composition with a very similar graphic layout—but not in terms of expression—with the abstract title Street, for which there was probably never a natural reference or even a recognizable original motif.

In his prominent essay quoted at the very end of § 6.1, the renowned Feininger expert Alois Schardt clearly assumes that the motifs of "Hohe Häuser I" and "Hohe Häuser II" are very similar and refers in the text only to the first oil painting on this theme from 1912, i.e., undoubtedly "Hohe Häuser I," but then only depicts "Hohe Häuser II"—without ever mentioning this painting in the running text—and the further description of the painting fits the latter far better than the former.

Similarly, Hans Hess—as quoted by us in § 6.2—claims in his work [1959], which is fundamental to Feininger not least because it is the first catalogue raisonné of Feininger's oil paintings, that these two pictures are closely related. We, on the other hand, must conclude here that these four oil paintings have nothing significant in common in terms of motif, even though the original motifs of paintings II and III overlap in reality.

The situation with the original motifs of the Hohe Häuser group of works is therefore – quite contrary to expectations and previous knowledge – completely different from that of the Brücke group of works, for which we have already clarified in § 3.7 that there is a single original motif for the entire group of works. The latter fact may well have led some authors to assume that the same situation applied to the Tall Buildings, with a single original motif.

6.7.2 Hardly any similarities in character and expression

Finally, it could be that these paintings, despite their different original motifs, have similarities in character and expression or the like, or are based on a similar motivation on Feininger's part. In fact, in our quotation at the very end of § 6.1, Alois Schardt refers to something like the feeling of vertigo that is known to be triggered in the visual cortex when looking up at skyscrapers or overhanging cliffs for the first time. Feininger must have told Schardt about this feeling when looking at tall buildings, otherwise Schardt would not have written:

> „They were so steep that they made him dizzy."

And the tall buildings in Paris and New York were and still are, in fact, significantly taller in many places than in Feininger's long-time home of Berlin, where building regulations usually only allowed four stories. However, it is hardly credible that Feininger, who grew up in Manhattan, could remember a childhood vertigo in New York or, after a long stay in Berlin, experienced such vertigo in Paris at that time; for this, the one or two additional stories in Paris are hardly sufficient. It is more likely that Feininger told Schardt about his feeling of vertigo when he first saw Manhattan again after a good forty years in the 1930s during a conversation about "tall buildings" and that Schardt misunderstood him a little. The fact that Feininger did not correct this quote before printing suggests that *looking up* at the tall buildings in Paris did indeed play a significant role in Feininger's state of mind when he made his nature notes on site. But even this would not be relevant for oil paintings III and IV, because in these two oil paintings, the view seems to go *down* from one of the upper floors to the street.
(cf. § 6.3). Ultimately, neither the main attributes „lively and vibrant" of Oil Painting III nor „calm and warm" of Oil Painting IV apply to any of the other oil paintings in the „Tall Buildings" group of works.

This leaves only Oil Paintings I and II, if one wants to speak of *a theme* tall buildings, as Schardt does towards the end of the same quotation:

> „The composition deals with earthbound energies trying to disengage themselves. The conflict between the aspiring verticals and the gravitating horizontals results in diagonal forms. From them the dynamic ascent proceeds.

But a dynamic *rise* of the buildings from forces directed toward the earth can only be seen again in "Tall Buildings II„" while the more dramatic dynamics in "Tall Buildings I" arise more from „ *descents* from heavenly heights. There, the storm bends the tree to the right and down, and the dominant diagonals run from the height of Montmartre down to the left. At best, the earthbound forces of the diagonals of the left firewall counteract a slide down from Montmartre.

The conclusion is therefore that there are no significant similarities in character and expression among the four oil paintings in the "Tall Buildings„" series. Even the marginal similarities between paintings I and II in terms of motivation and theme, as well as the very superficial similarity that Feininger obviously depicts tall buildings in them, do not change this.

7 Yellow Village Church: The woodcuts as the crowning glory of the " "?

The question of the original motifs of the "Tall Houses" series has been answered comprehensively in § 6. However, it seems much more difficult to answer the question of the original motif of the series of six works entitled "Yellow Village Church" for the following reasons:

1. Despite the obvious variation and diversity in the works of the Gelbe Dorfkirche group, we suspect that—as with the Brücke group—all works in this group are based on the same original motif with only slightly altered viewer perspectives; otherwise, however, we would be just as misled by this assumption as other authors were with the group of works „Hohe Häuser" (Tall Houses).
2. No nature notes or preliminary sketches are known to exist for this title.
3. The three oil paintings in this group of works are significantly more abstract, but above all more simplified than the oil paintings Tall Buildings I–III, although not as much as the oil painting Tall Buildings IV, in which no original motif could be found. Strangely enough, however, the three woodcuts in the Gelbe Dorf-kirche (Yellow Village Church) group of works—despite their smaller format and contrary to their nature as woodcuts—are more structurally rich and less abstract than the oil paintings.
4. Yellow was already the typical color of village churches in the Weimar region in Feininger's day—and it still is today.

In fact, Feininger wrote to his wife JULIA from Weimar in 1913:

> „They have so many villages! And every village has a church, and most of them are yellow with slate roofs." [215]

But how did this – completely insignificant – title „Yellow Village Church" come about?

Since the three woodcuts are mostly printed in black on white, the title—in order for it to make sense for a depiction from the Weimar region—can only come from an oil painting in the series in which the color yellow dominates in a special way! However, there is only one such painting in the "Yellow Village Church" series, namely "Yellow Village Church II" (Hess 354) from 1933. Beyond this unique feature, this composition clearly combines the main characteristics of the series.

Therefore, this oil painting should be considered here together with the woodcut „[Yellow Village Church 2]" (PrasseW240) from 1921 (§ 7.1), even though it was created after [Yellow] Village Church [I] (Hess 281) from 1927, the first oil painting in this group of works. Since we must first consider the important woodcut "Yellow Village Church 3" (Prasse W270) from 1930 (§ 7.3), we will examine that first oil painting only after this woodcut.
act; together with the other works in the group, the woodcut „[Yellow Village Church 1]" (PrasseW249) from 1923 and the oil painting „[Yellow] Village Church [III]" (Hess 382) from 1937, as a subgroup „Village Church" of three very similar works (§ 7.4).

In the following, we will refer to the woodcuts briefly by their Arabic numerals 1, 2, and 3 and the oil paintings with their Roman numerals I, II, and III.

[215] Cf. [FEININGER, 1913e, page 3 with sheet numbering „ 2" at the top right].

7.1 Yellow Village Church 2 (PrasseW240, 1921) & II (Hess 354, 1933)

In the oil painting Yellow Village Church II (Hess 354) from 1933, the extreme similarity to the woodcut [Yellow Village Church 2] (Prasse W240) from 1921, which is a dozen years older, immediately catches the eye—the original work of the entire group of works, which we will briefly refer to as „Woodcut 2."

7.1.1 Technical specifications of Woodcut 2

×According to [Prasse, 1972, p. 222], the following applies to woodcut 2: Its woodblock measures 164 mm *by* 201 mm, and Feininger wrote "29.VI. 21" in pencil on the back of this woodblock, while the print depicted there on carbon paper is 2 mm wider. One of the other prints is on yellow kozo, i.e., the very bright yellow paper that Feininger liked to use. On the back of one of the prints is a pencil note by Julia Feininger reading "Yellow Village Church/2nd Version." However, this cannot be a second version, because Woodcut 2 is the very first work in the "Yellow Village Church" series and no earlier versions are known to exist.

Now to other prints not mentioned in [Prasse, 1972]: Feininger signed a print on Japanese handmade paper in the lower left corner with lavish flourish and his full name, and someone else wrote "Kirche" (church) in small letters in the lower right corner in a different handwriting.[216] On another print, behind a similar signature, is Feininger's typical edition number "2/03" (i.e., second print of a small series of three prints) and the dedication "To Miss Grunow, with warmest regards! Weimar, April 1924,"[217] but no title. We are not aware of any further editions. Based on these two prints, one might surmise that the insignificant title "Yellow Village Church" did not yet exist at that time. In any case, however, it must be noted that the only thing that was certain at the time of its creation was that the yellow in woodcut 2 was the very strong yellow of printing paper.

7.1.2 Technical specifications of Oil Painting II

The oil painting II measures 400 *mm*× 480 mm[218]or 402 mm× 480 mm,[219] which, despite its small format, is almost six times the size of Woodcut 2, and was inscribed in ink on the stretcher in Feininger's estate with "Lyonel Feininger: Yellow Village Church II."[220] We do not know its whereabouts after the 2018 auction at Christie's.[221]

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[216] See https://www.neumeister.com/kunstwerksuche/kunstdatenbank/ergebnis/125-10/Lyonel-Feininger/. Dimensions: 246 *mm*× 270 mm.

[217] Gertrud Grunow left the Bauhaus in 1924, where she had been teaching since 1919.

[218] See [Hess, 1959, p. 282]. There is also a tiny black-and-white illustration here. Unfortunately, Oil Painting II is not mentioned anywhere else in [Hess, 1959].

[219] See https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6127374 and http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/yellow-village-church-ii-1RxjJd6EFFlHSBLojjaU7g2. The only color illustration known to us can also be found here.

[220] See note 218. [221]

See note 219.

7.1.3 Reversed oil painting: Woodcut as template

It should be noted that Feininger always worked without a mirror when creating his prints, meaning that all of his etchings and woodcuts are reversed compared to the original.

Since the nave in Oil Painting II, as in all woodcuts in the series, is on the *left* side of the tower, while the other oil paintings in the series show it on the *right* side of the tower, it must be assumed that Feininger did not use a nature sketch for Oil Painting II, but rather a reversed print. However, only the extremely similar woodcut 2 comes into question for this. According to [Hess, 1959, p.130], the oil paintings with Hess numbers 355 and 356 are based directly on woodcuts by Feininger, which, given the Hess number 354 of Oil Painting II, strongly suggests that a woodcut was also the model here.

In the nature sketches for the series Gelbe Dorfkirche (Yellow Village Church), which ultimately inspired the woodcut 2 directly and other works such as the oil painting II indirectly, the nave must in any case be depicted *to the right* of the tower, and Feininger must have seen it this way—at least from the vantage points from which he captured the church for these specific motifs.

7.1.4 Description, characteristics

The trademark of the entire group of works—apart from the church—is an unbroken, blackish group of house roofs at the bottom of the picture, which is structured almost exclusively by variations in height.

Only in Oil Painting II and Woodcuts 2 and 3 does this group of rooftops culminate in a black square with sides of approximately equal length and upper and lower edges sloping slightly to the right. This square encloses—in the woodcut 2 and the oil painting II exactly in its center—a small light square measuring about one-ninth of the area of the large black square.

The large black square is separated from the gable of the highest black roof by a light line. This line continues as a black line or as a color boundary to the left of the bottom of the square, giving the impression that this square still belongs to the church and not to the roofs of the houses. This impression is reinforced by the fact that the black square, as a roof, cannot have any meaningful connection to the houses in front of the church in the depiction.

Directly to the left of the black square, we find another light-colored square of approximately the same size, whose right side coincides with the left side of the black square. In the oil painting, this light-colored square is painted in a light yellow shade with greenish-brown-gray shading from above. Together with the black square, this light-colored square forms something like a bay window in the nave roof, in which the small light-colored square appears as a dormer, i.e., a roof window or hatch.

In Oil Painting II, the yellow square could also be interpreted as part of the church tower rather than the nave roof, but the logic of Feininger's rough hatching on the square in Woodcut 2, which corresponds to the yellow square in the oil painting, leaves no doubt that this is not the case: the rectangles on the right and left tower walls are hatched alternately. If this four-

Now, if we look at the tower, it should also be shaded alternately, i.e., horizontally; however, it is shaded vertically. In addition, on woodcut 2, to the left and above this large, bright, vertically shaded square, you can see the roof connection of the bay window of the nave roof in the form of lines sloping to the right toward the square. However, this roof connection is completely missing in oil painting II.

Finally, on the oil painting to the right of the church tower, you can see the light blue sky above a red house roof, which extends the upper line of the lower rectangle of the church tower with its ridge, reaching higher than all the black house roofs and ending in a house gable on the right. Once you have recognized this in the oil painting, you can see that in woodcut 2, this house roof with gable only slightly lower to the right touches the church tower; but here you can also see another roof with a gable and similar orientation directly in front of the church tower, which was initially difficult to spot in oil painting II due to its yellow roof color.

Finally, in woodcut 2, at the far right edge of the picture above the upper right gabled roof, you can see a very tall object that almost reaches the height of the church tower spire. This object is far too tall for a village building. Despite the lack of resemblance, it must therefore have been a Douglas fir, fir, pine, or similar tree in front of the cubist abstraction. In oil painting II, this object can only really be recognized by the blue of the sky on the left, as the green-black of the hatching is of little help here, but at least suggests a conifer.

7.1.5 Evaluation of Oil Painting II

The oil painting II is undoubtedly very appealing, decorative, and wonderfully yellow with sufficient contrasting black on the spire and at the bottom of the picture; lots of transparent, light brick red on the roofs that are not at the bottom of the picture; a little transparent blue in the sky to the right of the church and a little transparent green unmotivated all around.

Had it been painted two decades earlier, it would have to be described as a successful step forward in the development of Feininger's version of Cubism—very tidy, pleasantly serene, and decorative. As a painting from the period of Feininger's greatest artistic maturity, however, the picture lacks the depth one would expect in terms of graphics, color, space, and also spirit.

But the oil painting was painted in the terrible year of 1933, when the Nazis seized power in January and finally closed the Bauhaus in Berlin, destroying it forever. All of Germany was covered by a suffocating plague that lasted twelve years instead of twelve hours until the day of liberation came, but which many artists did not live to see and therefore have not received a fraction of the recognition they deserved and would otherwise have achieved.[222] In 1933, Feininger was apparently not in the mood to paint, as he completed only five other oil paintings besides Oil Painting II—two of them also based on woodcuts—and was only able to regain his spiritual depth when he wanted to return to caricature: completely contrary to his habit, he began an oil painting in the summer of 1934! In fact, the painting Der rote Geiger (The Red Fiddler) (Hess 359) was not only begun in Deep in the summer of 1934, but also completed there. ([223]) It is

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This is a reworking of a very similar, untitled charcoal and ink watercolor dated Monday, December 27, 1915."[224] With the motif of the red violinist, Feininger probably expressed the artist's feeling of loneliness—in a world gone haywire, full of depraved people who scurry through the picture like rats, like shady characters.

Furthermore, Oil Painting II is also inferior in every respect to the much smaller Woodcut 2, because Feininger, without the corresponding nature notes, was no longer able or willing to comprehend the spatiality of the original motif when he produced the oil painting a dozen years later, thereby abandoning much of the graphic structure. Ultimately, Oil Painting II appears to be a forced painting based on a woodcut, which achieves its serene and decorative character at the cost of a significant loss of graphic and spatial effect.

7.1.6 Evaluation of the woodcut 2

Woodcut 2 is one of Feininger's brilliant woodcuts—despite its small format. The woodcuts by Alfred Kubin and Kirchner mostly lack the reduction of motif details that is common in the works of Heckel, Pechstein, Schmidt-Rottluff, and Feininger. However, this is extremely useful in woodcuts: both to avoid complications in carving and printing techniques and to increase the black-and-white contrast. Feininger achieves this reduction here in a special way that goes far beyond what is usual among his Brücke friends*, without any significant loss of complexity.*

A lingering gaze at this truly gifted graphic, which ranks among Feininger's best prints, is always a feast for the eyes in vibrant black and white, making me feel awake and alive. Lyonel Feininger himself must have felt the same way, because otherwise he would not have reprinted this woodcut, which he had neglected, years later[225] in terrible times – perhaps cheered up by a print on the wonderfully antidepressant, summer-joyful yellow of Kozo printing paper – as probably the only source and hopeful stimulation for a medium-sized oil painting.

Since the woodblock, of which only a few trial prints and a very small print run of three copies have been made to date, still exists according to [Prasse, 1972, p.222], it is high time to follow the commandment not to hide one's light under a bushel and print a proper edition of it!

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[222] First and foremost, Rudolf Levy, the spiritual leader of the *Café du* Dôme circle and later (after Hans Purrmann) also treasurer (*Massier*) of *the Académie Matisse*, comes to mind. He was the only one of Matisse's students who, before Purrmann, equaled Matisse in his own field of color effects, and perhaps even surpassed him in his own way. Before [Thesing et al., 2023] and [Egle et al., 2023], only [Thesing, 1990] had made a serious attempt to adequately appreciate and document this absolute genius of color. Levy was killed upon arrival in Auschwitz on February 6, 1944 (cf. identical entries, p. 386 r. and p . 409 r. in [PICCIOTTO, 1992; 2002]) and was therefore not officially admitted to the concentration camp.

[223] See [FEININGER, 1963, p.108], [LUCKHARDT, 1998b, p. 144f.] and [Hess, 1959, p. 282].

[224] See [LUCKHARDT & Faass, 1998, p. 89]. There is also an ink and watercolor painting with the same title and dated „Feb. 1921„but its design differs greatly; cf. [Luckhardt & Faass, 1998, p. 121]. ([225])The only known use of woodcut 2 between the printing of the small series of three copies before the summer of 1924 (cf. § 7.1.1, note 217) and its use as a template for oil painting II in 1933 was its use in 1930 as a template for woodcut 3, its revised version.

7.2 Development of the title „Yellow Village Church"

Although not one of Feininger's large paintings—neither physically nor artistically—the oil painting II, with its abundance of wonderfully antidepressant midsummer yellow, is most likely the origin of the title „Yellow Village Church."

Feininger himself gave the woodcut 2—the very first work in the series Gelbe " Village Church—never proven to have been given a title. And the title Yellow Village Church/2nd Version, probably noted by JULIA Feininger on the back of a print in the US, which was insignificant for both the woodcut and its motif, could only make sense after the oil painting II in the estate had been inscribed on the back of its stretcher by an unknown hand with the words Lyonel Feininger: Yellow Village Church II" on the back of its stretcher. This title then gradually became established for all works in this series.
group. The numbers „I, II, III" were probably assigned even later for the oil paintings and „2, 1, 3" for the woodcuts (ordered according to the date of creation).

7.3 Yellow Village Church 3 (PrasseW270, 1931) by 1930

The woodcut Yellow Village Church 3 (Prasse W270, 1931) from 1930, which we will refer to here as Woodcut 3, is a further development and technical optimization of Woodcut 2 from 1921.

7.3.1 Technical Specification

×According to [Prasse, 1972, p. 234], the woodcut print on Japanese paper shown there measures 189 mm *by* 226 mm, and on the back of the same print is Lyonel Feininger's pencil note "1 print, Dec. 1, 1931." Contrary to the statement "Block destroyed" found there, the woodblock is undestroyed and was in the possession of Griffelkunst Hamburg, where a few posthumous editions were printed. Since 2014, the woodblock has been in the possession of the Feininger Gallery in the Ottonian imperial city of Quedlinburg, where they were kind enough to inform me by email that the dimensions of the woodblock are 189 mm× 227 mm× 10 mm and that it is dated on the back by Feininger's hand with "Nov. 30, 1930.", so it can be assumed that work on the wooden stick was completed before 1931, the year to which it had been dated in [Prasse, 1972, p. 234] due to the wooden stick being believed to have been destroyed at that time. A new dating therefore seems necessary here, even if one were to assume that the pencil note above reads „1st print" instead of „1print."

7.3.2 Description and characteristics of woodcut 3

In woodcut 2, the straight line ran continuously from the right edge of the black square of the bay window on the church roof to the right edge of the highest black roof of the houses below, at the bottom of the picture. This had the disadvantage that the bay window did not stand out clearly from the house roof and church tower. In woodcut 3, on the other hand, the bay window has moved slightly away from the church tower to the left, so that the black house roof in the foreground now extends partially to the right beyond the

bay window. As a result, it is now virtually impossible to mistake the bay window for part of the house roof or the church tower.

Without compromising the now clearly recognizable bay window, the lines sloping diagonally to the right to mark the connection between the bay window and the roof could be completely eliminated in woodcut 3, and the white dividing line between the black square of the bay window and the black roofs of the houses could also be broken.

Although the black strip of rooftops at the bottom left of the picture has disappeared and has become so narrow on the right that it could almost be considered part of the black and rather thick lower frame of the picture, the large black area of the bay window and rooftops, which rises from the bottom edge of the picture to the center, remains a hallmark of woodcut 2 (and more or less the entire group of works) remains fully intact.

The tree on the right edge of the image looks much more like a tree in woodcut 3 than in woodcut 2.

In the case of the houses, the reduction in structural complexity has a pleasant effect, even if it does mean that some of the enormous dynamism of the houses in woodcut 2 is lost. However, the nave roof on the far left is somewhat more structured than before: Instead of *the triangle in woodcut 2, which is difficult to interpret,* the triangle in woodcut 3 now has an almost vertical left edge, so that the triangle can now be interpreted as a steeper roof on a nave that tapers to the left; and the newly added, upright square to the left of the triangle can then be interpreted as a porch. Note that such an interpretation can only be obtained as a result of *knowledge-based perception* and is highly prone to error.[226]Although it seems extremely unlikely, based on our empirical knowledge in the field of church depictions, that what we see here is a towering house roof instead of the nave roof and the protruding remnant of the nave roof behind the porch roof, we will find this unlikely situation exactly as it is on a nature note of the little church! [227]

The main change in woodcut 3, however, took place at the church tower. It is now only half as wide and slightly taller, which is why the spire had to be reduced in height and simplified to a minimum in terms of structure.

The improvements to the visibility of the bay window and porch also serve to approximate the *horizontal symmetry* of the church in woodcut 3, which is completely absent in woodcut 2: On the one hand, the bay window moves more toward the horizontal center of the church, and on the other hand, the lower part of the tower is reflected in the porch, with now roughly vertical edges on both sides of the church. The improvement in horizontal symmetry may well have been Feininger's initial motivation for revisiting the extremely successful woodcut 2. And indeed, there is another form of horizontal symmetry here: the *right horizontal golden ratio* of the image runs (as a *vertical* line) exactly through the *black spire of the church* and the *slightly pointed white corner* formed by the vertical edge and the edge sloping slightly to the left of the

[226]As already briefly mentioned at the end of § 5.4.4, an observer unfamiliar with the culture who has never seen a European church would hardly have the opportunity to see a reduced and slightly cubist-style church here, but would at best interpret it as a dilapidated tower above an uncharacteristic building.

[227] See § 7.6.1.

black areas at the bottom right of the picture. One does not even need to have Feininger's excellent eye to be unpleasantly struck by the fact that in woodcut 2 these two[228] points are very close—but still clearly recognizable—a few millimeters to the right and left of this golden ratio.

In mid-1930, Feininger completed the painting Marienkirche mit dem Pfeil, Halle (St. Mary's Church with the Arrow, Halle) (Hess 333), according to our dating in § 7.3.1, about six months before the woodcut 3, on which he once again adds a black arrow, this time at the lower right edge of the picture in the form of a pointer pointing to the lower of the two distinctive points of this golden ratio, thereby losing any recognizability as a block of black rooftops. Feininger, who several years earlier at the Bauhaus had spoken out against the deliberately pre-constructed golden ratio,[229] probably wanted to tell us that this time, after his unpleasant experience with the golden ratio in woodcut 2, he had constructed it after all. Feininger was probably particularly affected by this slight but clear deviation from the golden ratio, which could no longer be corrected in woodcut 2, due to his exceptional sense of proportion.[230]

This intention to achieve the golden ratio horizontally with both the spire at the top and the white corner at the bottom immediately results in the reduced width of the left side of the tower and the slight *inclination of the tower* (and thus the entire church) *to the left* instead of to the right (as in woodcut 2). The assumption that the reduced width of the left side of the tower is due to the viewer moving to the right is refuted by the fact that the black square-shaped bay window behind the rooftops would then have had to shift to the right in comparison to those on the right, whereas in fact it has shifted to the left compared to woodcut 2.

The black and white hatching and the distribution of the black windows have been completely redesigned throughout woodcut 3 compared to woodcut 2. This redesign is particularly evident in the church tower and the block of black roofs at the bottom of the picture.

But the left edge of the image has also been significantly improved: Despite the extreme reduction in the height of the house on the left edge of the image, which clearly detracted from the height effect of the church in woodcut 2, woodcut 3 even manages to remedy another minor weakness of woodcut 2: there, the sky *open* to the left edge of the image allowed some of the vibrant power of the strong black-and-white contrast to flow away from the image. However, these vibrations are now captured on the left edge of woodcut 3 by three vertically hatched triangles and reflected back to the church. After flowing through the nave and the church tower, they are now reflected back again by a fourth triangle of the same type, but mirrored.

Finally, in the upper right corner of the image, a cubist-style
interpreted, very large cuboid humorously greet; it is probably not just a self-deprecating

[228] In Oil Painting II from 1933, however, where the church spire hits the right horizontal golden ratio exactly, this deviation only occurs at one of the points, namely the lower one, where the deviation also clearly shifts to the left again.

[229] See § 1.3 with notes 32 and 34.

[230] This may also be the reason why FEININGER, as it seems, made almost no prints of the otherwise extremely successful woodcut 2.

Reminiscent of Feininger's earlier version of Cubism, which once dominated the skies, its main purpose is to ironize and reduce the otherwise alienating function of the new "bridge" between the upper floor of the church tower and the tree on the right edge of the picture, namely to inhibit the vibrational force at the drain upwards.

This "bridge" also seems to push the entire church at the top slightly to *the left* away from the treetops—which, compared to the inclination of all the objects depicted in woodcut 2 to *the right,* is indeed the case. Since it is only through this *engineering* feat that the spire is moved from its previous position to lie exactly on the golden ratio, this "bridge" can also be seen as a further indication that Feininger *explicitly* constructed the golden ratio here in advance.

All these captured vibrational forces can now no longer escape anywhere and must continue to oscillate in the area of the church—even if these vibrational forces are, of course, only to be understood metaphorically.

The fact is, however, that the four new "triangles" have no representational character whatsoever and cannot be described as cubist or futuristic; because they lack any kind of outline, they certainly do not interfere with the representational character here and do not suggest any kind of movement. The "bridge" between the tower and the tree also loses its representational character—not least because of the ironically inserted giant block. However, this "bridge" and the "triangles" undoubtedly illustrate Feininger's emotions and states of mind, which he has succeeded in capturing here in a truly spiritual-expressionist form. Feininger's means of expression are by no means representational, futuristic, or seriously cubist, nor do they have the significance of noise or physical movement as found in symbols in comic drawings. Rather, the peculiarity of Feininger's means of expression here approaches in a thoroughly independent way the peculiarities of the abstract works of his friends in the Blue Four: Klee, Jawlensky, and Kandinsky.

7.3.3 Evaluation of woodcut 3

Compared to what is apparently its only direct model, woodcut 2, which is already considered one of Feininger's best prints, woodcut 3 radiates a newfound sense of calm and tidiness. The following changes are essential to this new aura:

1. the approximation of horizontal symmetry of the church through changes to the porch and the positioning of the bay window,
2. the precise and apparently deliberate alignment of two main points on the right horizontal golden ratio,
3. the almost continuous, abstracting, and simplifying structural reductions, and
4. the complete restructuring of the white and black hatching inside the frames.

The great, somewhat vibrant power of the original is, however, carried over into the only seemingly contradictory calm of woodcut 3, at least if the viewer follows our interpretation of the newly added, non-representational elements, i.e., the

new bridge ironized by the cuboid and the four new triangles, which consist only of unlined hatching and are therefore not actually triangles in a purely geometric sense. In any case, however, woodcut 3 offers a more spiritual, peaceful, and prominently featured church than woodcut 2, which appears to be a better refuge and, with its slimmer and taller tower, also points more strongly to the sky.

In 1921, when Feininger carved the woodcut 2, he was, despite all the political intrigues from outside, safe in the arms of the Bauhaus; and very few artists of the modern era have had a better, more supportive, more wonderful environment than the Bauhaus in general—but also, once again, especially for the quiet Feininger, who taught primarily by example. The foundations and family life were also right: he was a professor with a very secure income for the time; his wife sacrificed her career as a professional, highly artistic painter entirely for the family and, above all, for Feininger's further development as an avant-garde painter, supporting him in all areas of life; and finally, he and his highly talented, adolescent sons—who in 1927 even paved the way for him to take up photography with a darkroom in the basement of his Dessau house—were able to encourage each other.

In 1930/31, when Feininger carved and printed the woodcut 3, the Bauhaus had been expelled by a nationalist state government from Weimar to Dessau, where it then – after the resignation of director Walter Gropius in 1928, who had appointed his Bauhaus co-founder Feininger as the first Bauhaus master in 1919, and due to the gradual departure of his closest painter and musician friend Paul Klee, which dragged on until mid-1931 – ultimately offered little security. In 1931, the Nazis even became the strongest faction in the Dessau city council and demanded the immediate demolition of the Bauhaus. In this life situation and state of mind, the redesign of the Yellow Village Church in woodcut 3 can be seen not only as an artistic optimization, but also as an urgently necessary adaptation due to Feininger's need for a stronger and safer refuge.

Despite their common line of development, the differences between Woodcut 2 and Woodcut 3 are so great that at first glance it may not be apparent that the two are related in terms of template and direct further development. Therefore, the two woodcuts are not direct competitors, and thus the high esteem for Woodcut 3 cannot actually diminish that for Woodcut 2. Feininger may have seen things differently, as he was clearly influenced by the creation of Woodcut 3 as an improvement on Woodcut 2. In any case, he printed quite a large number of copies of Woodcut 3, but only made trial prints and a small edition of three copies of Woodcut 2.

Since woodcut 3 adds maturity, serenity, and cheerfulness to the genius and power of woodcut 2, it can be considered the crowning glory of the entire „Yellow Village Church" series for the time being.

Woodcut 3 was highly regarded—despite its shamefully small print run
in [Prasse, 1972, p. 234] – was also highly regarded by the buying public; in any case, there is still a clear demand for prints of this woodcut, despite numerous editions (even long after Feininger's death) and, roughly estimated, a total of a good five hundred printed copies.[232]

[231] Cf. [MUIR, 2011, p.19].

7.4 „Village Church": Prasse W249 (1923) and Hess 281 and 382 (1927 and 1937)

The woodcut

- „[Yellow Village Church 1]" (Prasse W249) from 1923,

which we will refer to here as "Woodcut 1," is, despite its number, already the *second* woodcut by Feininger in the Yellow Village Church series. It differs significantly from the other two woodcuts, 2 and 3, and from the smaller, particularly yellow oil painting II from 1933, which probably gave the series its name, but not so much that one would have to assume a different original motif, but merely a slightly altered point of view.

However, woodcut 1 bears a very strong resemblance to the two larger oil paintings in the series:

- „ [Yellow] Village Church [I]" (Hess 281) from 1927 and
- „ [Yellow] Village Church [III]" (Hess 382) from 1937,

which we will refer to here as " Oil Paintings I and III" and which are are in fact the first and third oil paintings in the series.

7.4.1 Reversed

Although Oil Paintings I and III are not reversed, we will reproduce, examine, and discuss them here in reverse order in order to achieve better and easier comparability with the other four reversed works in the "Yellow Village Church" group.

7.4.2 's „Village Church" subgroup

The similarity between these three works, which are yet to be discussed, is so great that they must be considered a *subgroup* of highly similar works within the „Yellow Village Church" group.

Oil painting III bears an extreme graphic resemblance to woodcut 1. This
This also applies to oil painting I, which is, however, significantly more abstract than woodcut 1. But the similarity between these three works extends even to the *non-representational* division of space to the left and right of the spire, and therefore cannot be based solely on a nature sketch common to all three works. It can therefore be assumed (at least until lost nature notes are found[233]) that the two oil paintings were painted *directly* after woodcut 1 as the sole model, which means that all oil paintings in the "Yellow Village Church" group of works would have been painted directly after woodcuts 1 and 2 as the sole model in each case.

[232] According to the light brown stamp on the back, COSMOPRESS, Geneva, alone printed 100 copies numbered in Arabic numerals on Hahnemühle handmade paper and 50 copies numbered in Roman numerals on Kogei-Shi-Japan in 1978.

[233] This is because only the vertical lines on the roof of the house to the left under the nave roof have been graphically added to the oil painting I in contrast to the woodcut 1 and could therefore originate directly from a nature sketch.

While in the three works of the "Yellow Village Church" group that do not belong to this "Village Church" subgroup, one can still see the left side of the church tower parallel to the nave, in this subgroup one sees the opposite, right side of the church tower instead. The bay window of the church roof and the tree on the far right no longer appear in this subgroup, and the houses and roofs in front of the church are also completely different.

These common changes indicate that the woodcut 1 from 1923 on the one hand (as the model for oil paintings I and III of the subgroup "Village Church") and woodcut 2 from 1921 (as the model for the remaining works II and 3) are based on different nature sketches, whereby the viewpoint in the nature sketch for 1 would have to be slightly to the right of the viewpoint in the nature sketch for 2.

7.4.3 Technical specifications of woodcut 1

×According to [Prasse, 1972, p. 226], the surviving woodblock from woodcut 1 from 1923 and the print on carbon paper depicted there measure 164 mm × 205 mm; and on the respective reverse sides, Feininger has noted in pencil
wooden block „cut on Nov. 9, 1923," which seems consistent, and JULIA Feininger wrote "1st version" on one of the prints on Mino copy paper, which makes no sense.[234]

Lyonel Feininger did not give Woodcut 1 a title in the 1920s, but (as with Woodcut 2) a print by an unknown hand notes the obvious subject „Church" in the lower right corner as a provisional title.

Finally, Woodcut 1 is probably also the model for the miniature woodcut „[Church with House and Tree]" (Prasse W290) from 1936, which Feininger used as a letterhead, but which, beyond the significantly different title, should no longer be considered part of the "Yellow Village Church" group of works due to several additional motifs.[235]

7.4.4 Technical specifications of oil paintings I and III

The oil painting I from 1927 measures 800 *mm*× 1000 mm[236]or 813 *mm*× 1040 mm,[237]which is Feininger's standard landscape format. It is on permanent loan from a private collection to the Neue Nationalgalerie of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.[238]

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[234] In terms of time, this is already the second version of the Yellow Village Church as a woodcut, and there is no later reworked version of woodcut 2, as can be seen from the preserved woodblock.

[235] Cf. [Prasse, 1972, p. 241].

[236] See [Hess, 1959, p. 274]. There is also a tiny black-and-white illustration here.

[237] See `https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj02532314`. This is also the only freely accessible, complete, digital color illustration known to us.

[238] See notes 237 and 245.

The oil painting III from 1937 also measures 800 mm× 1000 mm [239]or 800 mm× 1003 mm.[240] It was donated in June 1956 by JULIA Feininger to the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph F. Collin, New York, with the inscription "Lyonel Feininger, 1937 'Village Church'." [241]We do not know where it ended up after the 1995 auction at Christie's,(242) but in 1999 the painting was acquired for the *Würth Collection*, where it remains to this day; unfortunately, it is no longer possible to view this painting, and there are no plans to exhibit it publicly.(243)

7.4.5 Characteristics and evaluation of woodcut 1

In contrast to woodcuts 2 and 3, woodcut 1 has no relation to horizontal symmetry and no strong relation to the horizontal golden ratio.

The tree has moved out of view, the bay window in the roof of the nave is obscured by a house roof, and instead of the left side, the right side of the church tower is visible.
There are also no hatched, unlined, dynamic „triangles" or a „bridge" from the top floor of the church tower.

The structure of the black rooftops, which protrudes strikingly from the lower center of the image toward the center of the image in woodcuts 2 and 3, is only found in woodcut 1 without the black bay window directly adjacent to the church roof and, in addition, is also greatly flattened and moved far to the right.

The hatching is far less dynamic and is also restrained by five black windows instead of just three; only on both sides of the church tower spire have a few strong vertical lines been added, which are probably intended to refer to the sky above the church tower, which has been significantly truncated in its visible height—an effect that Feininger achieved much more successfully seven years later in woodcut 3, which directly follows woodcut 1 in the series "Yellow Village Church."

Woodcut 1 basically lacks all the powerful elements of the other two woodcuts; it is pleasant, calming, and conventional. While the other two woodcuts exemplify Feininger's ingenious, independent achievements in the art of woodcut printing, which requires not only age but above all graphic mastery, woodcut 1 is almost exclusively suitable as preliminary work for the two larger oil paintings in the series and for its trivialization as a letterhead.

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[239] Cf. [Hess, 1959, p. 284]. A tiny black-and-white illustration can also be found here.

[240]See https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-171351 and http://www.artnet.com/artists/lyonel-feininger/yellow-village-church-iii-8oIRY5GIOEtZYtB1OUg8Ag2, where the only online illustration known to us can also be found. The only color print known to us is in [MAUR, 2005, p. 26], which is of better quality, less cropped at the bottom and right, but with what is probably the incorrect dimensions of 80 x 103 cm.×

[241] See note 239.

[242] See note 240. Following my inquiry to christies.com, Christie's representative in Frankfurt am Main informed me on May 9, 2022, that after 27 years, they did not have sufficient material to contact the buyer to inquire about the whereabouts of the work and the right to information about it.

[243]Following my inquiry tomuseum@wuerth.com on April 29, 2022, I received this sad news in two emails sent on May 12 and 13 fromKirsten.Fiege@wuerth.com.

[244] According to the shift in the viewer's perspective to the right in woodcut 1, as assumed at the end of § 7.4.2, this structure in the foreground should have shifted significantly to *the left*.

7.4.6 Characteristics and evaluation of oil painting I

Roland März writes about Feininger and Oil Painting I:

> „At the Bauhaus in Dessau, he developed his "static prismatism" (cf. [p.] 48: Teltow II, 1918) into a more variable, strictly surface-oriented pictorial style focused on glassy sounds. In the as yet unlocated [illegible] (45) village church from 1927, the yellow symbolizes the sun, which, as a concealed source of light, radiates through all planes and immaterializes them. Feininger 1927: 'Surface and form conceived as color'." (245)

If we take the phrase "glass sounds" here exclusively in a synesthetic sense, i.e., in the sense of glass tints in church windows, but not in the sense of sound events with the sharp harshness of the sound of vibrating glass plates, then we can certainly agree with this quote here.

For us, this quote is indispensable because it is the only statement we know of in literature that indicates that it has not yet been possible to locate the original motif of the Yellow Village Church—at least insofar as one assumes *a common original motif* for the "Yellow Village Church" group of works.

While the oil painting I is not discussed in [March, 1998, p. 151], but it is reproduced very well in color, Hans Hess reproduces it only very small in black and white in the catalogue raisonné, but at least devotes a sentence to it in a short paragraph:

> „One of the architectural paintings of the period is *Dröbsdorf I* (No. 301), which surpasses all previous paintings in terms of lightness and transparency. The color plays [illegible] its assigned role of inner illumination. The surfaces in *Dorfkirche (Gelbe Dorfkirche I)* (No. 281) do not permeate each other with dynamic force, but in their transparency, overlaps form in space and become a transparent reality." (246)

Although these two oil paintings must indeed be credited with an enormous "transparency" in the sense of being illuminated by stained glass windows, the word "lightness" does not apply to the church in the paintings Dröbsdorf " (Hess 294) from 1927 and "Dröbsdorf I" (Hess 301) from 1928, nor to the clumsy force of oil painting I, which at best must be accorded a special role as *a* very insightful *lightweight* among Feininger's oil paintings; for it cannot really convince in terms of color and even less in terms of its graphic quality, which cannot compete with the other two works in his subgroup „Village Church."

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245 See [März & SCHNEIDER, 1998, p. 44f.], where there is also a tiny color reproduction of the oil painting I of poor quality. The Feininger quote comes from [Feininger, 1927j, p. 2 above] and is quoted more correctly and in greater detail in § 3.4 on page 29. Roland MÄRZ may even have assumed that the painting to which Feininger's quote refers is Oil Painting I, but we can rule this out because that painting *must have been based on* a *charcoal and pen drawing from the summer of 1927,* i.e. probably from Deep, where there was no such church motif, while the oil painting Iis probably based exclusively on the woodcut 1from 1923.

246 [Hess, 1959, pp. 112, 114].

7.4.7 Characteristics and evaluation of oil painting III

Hans Hess reproduces Oil Painting III only very small in black and white in the catalogue raisonné, but devotes a whole paragraph of comparatively considerable length to it:

> „The paintings that Feininger created during his final period in Germany date from the winter of 1936/37. In *Yellow Village Church III* (No. 382), one can discern a new striving for monumentality. The painting is constructed with few surfaces, the forms are simplified, and the colors are strong. Space is interpreted differently. Color fulfills the function of spatial design, which was previously carried out by layers of overlapping surfaces. The painting contains no less spatial depth and movement, but it is achieved by the means of an older painter who no longer seeks to explore form, but carries it within himself in a consolidated form. The representation becomes simpler and more summary. Color is assigned two tasks—to form and to expand. The color becomes denser, more opaque, and yet gains luminosity. Another, usually improbably paradoxical color plays an independent role on the base color. The color holds and breaks through the surface—without real transparency, the surface becomes translucent and unstable in its position. The surface exists, but questions itself. Black appears for the first time and, as always in Feininger's contradictory manner, he uses black both as light and as dark. Here it is used darkly, in other paintings the brightest light, the sun itself, is painted in black." (247)

First of all, we must correct the obvious nonsense that black was used here for the first time, for which it suffices to refer to Oil Paintings I and II. Nor is it actually possible to discern a new striving for monumentality.

The further remarks on color can already be applied in the same way to Oil Painting I—with two important exceptions, however:

- „The color becomes denser, more opaque, and yet gains luminosity." This is indeed a characteristic of the red, the blue-green, the green, and even—by means of the green-colored hatching—the black that can be admired here.
- „The color holds and breaks through the surface—without true transparency, the surface becomes translucent. This truly remarkable translucency in colors that are not actually transparent perhaps makes Oil Painting III unique.

Furthermore, Oil Painting III is very successful overall, far better than the more abstract Oil Paintings I and II, which pale in comparison to Oil Painting III. Oil Painting III is thus undoubtedly both the crowning glory of its subgroup "Village Church" and of the oil paintings in the entire "Yellow Village Church" group of works. [248] "

[247] [Hess, 1959, p.136].

[248] However, before we could even consider placing Oil Painting III above Woodcuts 2 and 3, which are very different in character, we would first have to have the opportunity to examine it—which is impossible for the time being due to its current owner, who strictly prohibits any inspection. cf. § 7.4.4 and note 243.

7.5 The search for the original motif of " "

At the very beginning of § 7, we already pointed out the particular difficulties in determining the village whose church served as the original motif for the Yellow Village Church.

In § 7.4.6, we then quoted the statement by Feininger expert Roland März[249] that the village church in oil painting I had not yet been located. We will therefore now attempt to tackle the difficult task of locating it.

7.5.1 The main search template and the focus of the search

Since the first known work in the "Yellow Village Church" group, *woodcut 2*, which thus becomes our main search template, dates from 1921, we can probably focus on the *Weimar region* for this localization:

- The village and church do not in fact resemble either of the two alternative search areas, the Harz Mountains or the Berlin area, and the special dome shape of the church tower is even typical of the Weimar region.
- Furthermore, the first depiction of the resin in a woodcut is likely to date from 1918/19 rather than 1921.[250]

7.5.2 Reversed

From now on, we will swap left and right so that not only will the motif of all works in the "Yellow Village Church" group be presented and treated upside down (including the non-upside-down oil paintings I and III), but also all villages and churches in the Weimar region and their photographs. However, the cardinal directions will continue to be addressed correctly here.

7.5.3 Search filter

As a three-layer filter for the village churches in the Weimar region, we will use the conjunction of the following three conditions, which we have taken primarily from woodcut 2 with the help of the very similar oil painting II:

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[249] See note 245.

[250] The hypothesis that there were earlier depictions of this motif as woodcuts under other titles can also be refuted: the most likely candidates would be "Harzer Dorf 1 und 2" (Prasse W62 and W63) from 1918, cf. [Prasse, 1972, p.148], and Troistedt (Prasse W182) from 1919, cf. [Prasse, 1972, p.199], and in the case of these two, there is only a very slight similarity in terms of the motif and its distinctive features, and secondly, the regular titles here – some of which are already quite abstract – were chosen by Feininger himself, so that in all likelihood he would not have dropped them.

Tower and dome: The church tower has a roughly square floor plan. Its dome tapers above the masonry, then transitions into a slightly bulbous[251] shape and then, still below the spire, into a long, very narrow tube, whose lantern, if present, does not allow for a particularly wide view.

Position of the nave: A visible nave is attached to the church tower. The viewing point must now be chosen so that this nave is on the left [252]side of the church tower, its roof is obscured by houses at the lowest point, and no other extensions can be seen on the church tower.

Roof of the nave: From this viewpoint, the roof of the nave has exactly one bay window (not quite in the center, but in the lower right quarter) and its ridge does not meet the left tower wall in the middle, but rather in the area of the rear left corner of the tower.

If, for example, we apply this filter to the little church in Troistedt, eight kilometers southwest of Weimar, the conditions for the tower and dome would still more or less apply, even though the lantern beneath the dome is somewhat too wide and has too wide a view. Once the correct viewpoint has been selected, the second setting of our filter for positioning the nave of village churches in the Weimar region is usually transparent, so that this condition, rather than excluding anything, sets the task of correctly determining the correct viewing position. In fact, village churches in the Weimarer Land region are usually surrounded by houses and have exactly one attached nave (exceptions: *Gelmeroda, Lehnstedt, Possendorf, Udestedt, Ulla, Umpferstedt)*. Troistedt also fulfills our second condition here, once a suitable viewing point has been chosen southeast of the church. Ultimately, however, Troistedt gets caught in the last stage of our filter – even regardless of the choice of viewing point due to its previous position: this is because the nave roof has three bay windows on each side and meets the tower wall in the middle.

On the way back from Troistedt to Weimar, after a good two kilometers, we first come to *Obergrunstedt*, whose ancient village church [253]does not have a dome on its tower, but a gabled roof with a ridge parallel to the nave, and is therefore filtered out from the very first location. After another kilometer or so, we arrive in *Niedergrunstedt,* whose village church is filtered out in exactly the same way as the very similar church in Troistedt – as are, incidentally, the churches in *Ballstedt, Göttern near Magdala, Großschwabhausen, Klettbach, Markvippach, Niederreißen*, and *Tröbsdorf (* in Feininger: *Dröbsdorf)*. The same applies to the churches of *Hammerstedt* and *Süßenborn,* except that these have no bay windows on the side roofs of the nave.

[251] See the white hatching on the hood in woodcut 2.

[252] According to § 7.5.2, this is actually on the *right-hand* side!

[253] FEININGER probably only made a few drawings of the picturesque village church in Obergrunstedt, which is now Protestant: At `https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections?worktype%5B%5D=drawing&q=Feininger+Obergrun` you can find two nature notes dated „14.V.13" (BR63.1427, BR63. 1429) and another dated „18?.VII.13" (BR63.1530). However, the Busch–Reisinger Museum has not classified another nature sketch without a date as Obergrunstedt: BR63.4329, `https://hvrd.art/o/161040`. Apart from this, only one other work by Feininger remains to us from the little church in Obergrunstedt. Well known: the ink and watercolor painting („Ober-Grunstedt I") from 1920, cf. [Büche, 2019, p. 33].

The Feininger cycle path from Niedergrunstedt also leads nowhere: Gelme-roda and Possendorf (see above), *Vollersroda (* tower with tent roof instead of dome), *Mellingen (*three bay windows in the nave roof with central ridge joint to the tower wall), *Taubach (*genuine tower spire, two bay windows, central joint), *Ehringsdorf* and *Oberweimar (*tower with hipped roof).

Other failures: *Daasdorf am Berge* and *Rohrbach* (two bay windows, dome without spire); *Daasdorf near Buttelstedt* (no bay windows, tower with tent roof); *Denstedt* (three bay windows, hardly any houses in front); *Gaberndorf (*cupola without spire, tower on the ship's side); *Kleinschwabhausen* and *Sachsenhausen am Ettersberg (*Echter tower helmet); St. Vitus in *Schwabsdorf (*tower in the east, but no houses to the north); *Frankendorf, Hohlstedt*, and *Kötschau* on the Weimar–Jena road; *Killiansroda, Kromsdorf, Legefeld, Linderbach, Nermsdorf, Oettern, Ottstedt am Berge*, and *Ottstedt near Magdala, Saalborn, Tiefurt (*incorrect dome or number of bay windows).

7.5.4 Rafters that meet the church towers at the back left, and special hoods

The Wigberti Church in *Niederzimmern*, eleven kilometers west of Weimar, is interesting because the ridge of the nave roof meets the church tower exactly at the rear left corner, but the tower has a striking battlement crown with a dry slate spire in the center.

The Church of St. Vitus in the neighboring village *of Hopfgarten* stands out because it has what is probably the only concave tent roof with a lantern at the top of the spire in the Weimar region.

At another St. Vitus church in *Zottelstedt* (two kilometers north of the town of Apolda, fourteen kilometers east of Weimar) and at the Protestant town church of St. Johannis in the town *of Magdala* (a dozen kilometers southeast of Weimar), the ridge of the nave roof also meets the tower quite close to the rear left corner; but in Zottelstedt, the narrow tube between the vault and the top of the dome is missing, as are the houses in front of the church when viewed from the southeast; and in Magdala, the dome tube is too wide and too short, and the nave roof has six bay windows.

Incidentally, the St. Vitus Church in Zottelstedt should not be confused with the *Seierturm tower* in Zottelstedt, which Feininger often depicted and which is certainly church-like, but where the ridge meets the tower in the middle, there are two bay windows, the dome initially lacks a belly, and, above all, the lantern is much too wide.

Finally, there is another church where the ridge of the nave roof roughly meets the left rear corner of the tower, namely in *Eichelborn*, where, however, in Feininger's time, we find a genuine spire with a stepped top as an exclusion criterion. [254]

[254] Compare the historical postcard „Greetings from Eichelborn": https://static.arkivi.de/thumb/920000/arkivi_927811.jpg or https://www.arkivi-bildagentur.de/articles/a927811.

The church in Eichelborn was almost completely demolished in the 1970s. The current new building, based on the stump of the tower, bears no resemblance to the former church, which was sketched several times by FEININGER; see the nature notes BR63.1527, BR63.1528, BR63.4144 at https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections?worktype%5C%5B%5C%5D=drawing%5C&q=Feininger+Eichel.

Admittedly, according to § 7.5.2, the ridge in the nature notes and in past reality roughly corresponds to the *right* rear corner of the tower.

Evangelical St. James' Church in Oberreißen, reversed, August 2021.

7.5.5 Oberreißen and the nave porch from woodcut 3

Although Feininger probably never depicted the small church in Niederreißen, which was already excluded in § 7.5.3, there are at least two works that show the small church in Oberreißen and are nevertheless titled „Nieder-Reissen":

1. A pen-and-ink drawing [255] – subtitled on the front with Feininger's signature , „Nieder-Reissen„ „Sun. January 6, 1924."
2. The oil painting „Nieder-Reissen (Hess 245), also from 1924.[256] On the stretcher frame of this painting, the title Nieder-Reissen „was crossed out and replaced with Village „Church—probably by JULIA Feininger, who already knew that the motif was actually the church in Oberreißen.[257]

In both works, there is a hood that is quite indefinable from the illustration and only one bay window, but this is in the wrong – i.e., the *left* [258]– lower quarter of the nave roof. In contrast, the left [259]porch in these two works looks very similar to that in *woodcut 3*.

However, there are only two nature notes from Oberreißen.[260] These are dated July 3, 1923. On BR63.2219, you can also see a second bay window, half-covered by an unidentifiable object, at the bottom right of the nave roof, and Feininger has written out the planned colors for the oil painting (Hess 245) in plain text, but did not follow all of these color specifications in the oil painting: For example, the painting has yellow instead of "Cölin" blue in the sky to the right of the church tower.

However, a visit to the site and a photograph taken of the Oberreißen church still make it clear today: there are no houses in front of this little church! And in reality, the roof of the nave has two bay windows on each side, the lantern of the dome is too light and too wide, and the ridge of the nave meets the tower in the middle.

Nevertheless, the little church in Oberreißen is the first of our candidates that bears a certain resemblance to the Yellow Village Church, especially in terms of the woodcuts, but the absence of any houses on the south side is an insurmountable criterion for exclusion.

However, the left [261] porch of the church looks extremely similar to that *in woodcut 3* in reality. Can we conclude from this that Feininger not only confused Oberreißen with Niederreißen in 1924, but also with the location of the Yellow Village Church we are looking for when he created this woodcut in 1930? [262]

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[255] See http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/lyonel-feininger/nieder-reissen-qXIn5ncz_jBmgC4mLBFEsQ2; dimensions: 236 mm× 386 mm.

[256] Sprengel Museum, Hanover; https://sprengel.hannover-stadt.de/search; dimensions: 507 mm× 775 mm. Well illustrated in [Faass, 1999a, p.100].

[257] Cf. [Hess, 1959, p. 271, l.].

[258] According to § 7.5.2, this is actually in the lower *right* quarter!

[259] According to § 7.5.2, on the works with the Oberreißen motif, the porch is *to the right* of the nave!

[260] BR63.2218: https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163075, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163075. „Ober-Reissen„ („) 3 7 23." Dimensions: 143 mm× 213 mm.
BR63.2219: https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/194970, persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/194970. „ Ober-Reissen", „ 3 7 23". Dimensions: 143 mm× 216 mm.

[261]According to § 7.5.2, the porch is actually *to the right* of the nave!

7.5.6 Bull's eye!

Since Feininger demonstrably confused Oberreißen with Niederreißen and apparently also with the location of the yellow village church we are looking for, we should now take a look at the churches in the vicinity of Oberreißen. Since Pfiffelbach and Liebstedt were probably never depicted by Feininger, he must have left the village of Oberreißen on his way back to Weimar by bicycle either via Rohrbach or via Nermsdorf and Buttelstedt. Since we have already ruled out Rohrbach and Nermsdorf, we will now focus on ***Buttelstedt***, which is located ten kilometers north of Weimar and can be easily reached by bicycle via a gently sloping dirt road from Oberreißen, which is a good two kilometers further east.

The Lutheran Church of St. Nikolai [263]– in the center of the town of Buttelstedt[264], which was not insignificant in the Middle Ages – is now *the only village church in the Weimar region that* passes our search filter without any problems when viewed from the southeast, from the southern bank of the small stream Scherkonde, and fulfills all conditions without any restrictions: *a perfect match!*

And what's more: the strange triangle on the left side of the nave roof in woodcut 2 now turns out to be two of three identical triangles forming a semicircle in the photograph of St. Nikolai Church from the southeast (see page 100). All three triangles together now form an east-facing church roof above three apse windows, in front of which the altar stands inside the church in Buttelstedt.

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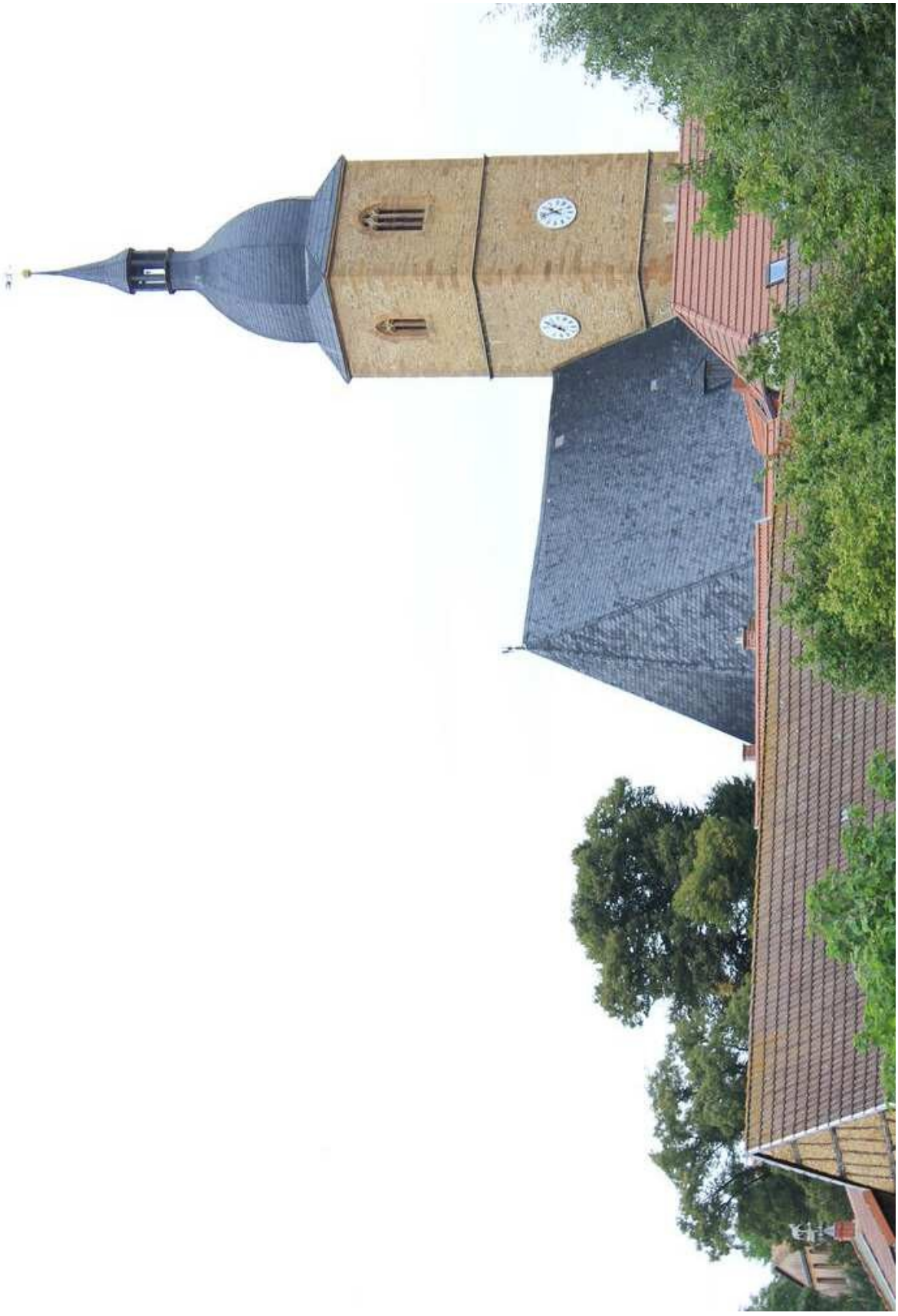
[262] The question of the validity of this abductive conclusion will also have to be addressed in the last paragraph of § 7.6.1, because it will present an alternative explanation for the shape of the church nave porch, which differs so strikingly from that in woodcut 2.

[263] Important composers were baptized in the town church of St. Nikolai in Buttelstedt: in 1688, Johann FRIEDRICH FASCH, five of whose overtures were copied in part by Johann Sebastian BACH himself, cf. [Engelke, 1909, p. 278, note 3]; in 1690 Johann Tobias Krebs, who was cantor and organist here from 1710; in 1713 his son Johann Ludwig Krebs; both composers, organists, harpsichordists, and pupils OF BACH: the father twice a week with Bach in Weimar, from about 1710 to 1717 (cf. [Löffler, 1940ff., p . 137]); the son was a master student of Bach in Leipzig from 1726 to 1735 and BACH'S trusted music copyist. Since 1992, the "Förderkreis Krebs–Fasch und Kirche Buttelstedt" (Friends of Krebs–Fasch and Buttelstedt Church) has been successfully campaigning for the revival of this tradition of early music and the restoration of the Peternell organ.

[264] Buttelstedt (cf. [Wenzel, 1970]) had market rights from 1334 and town rights from 1454, which were only transferred to the rural community of Am Ettersberg in the north of the Weimarer Land district in 2019.

Despite the town's infrastructure, which is now fully restored (around a thousand inhabitants in the historic town center, home to the Lyonel Feininger Gymnasium secondary school; only the small railway station with a connection to Weimar's main station was unfortunately lost again after World War II), things had become very quiet in Buttelstedt for about two hundred years because traffic on an old section *of the Via Regia* had shifted away from Buttelstedt further south. This is the section from Erfurt via Buttelstedt and Eckartsberga to Leipzig. In the 1780s, the old Weimar–Umpferstedt–Kötschau–Jena road had been expanded under Goethe, and at the beginning of the 19th century, the Weimar–Apolda–Eckartsberga road connection was also built. The *Via Regia,* which once ran north through the lower village of Buttelstedt via a ford (later the lowest of the Buttelstedt Scherkonde bridges) and then via the streets "Vor dem Tore" at the Obertor outside the town (where the post station for Weimar was located and the escort fee had to be paid) and, after the construction of the new bridge at the Untertor, ran via Lange Gasse (today: Kölledaer Str.) to the Obertor, enlivening the town with detours to the escort house and across the Krämerbrücke to the market, but was then completely overgrown in the first half of the 19th century. Basically, Buttelstedt has retained a rather village-like, charming character to this day, so that one can forgive the unknown namesakes for calling the town church of St. Nikolai a "yellow *village* church" – especially since Feininger painted the church of the town of Buttelstedt and the respective Churches in the villages of Oberreißen and Niederreißen have been confused with each other on several occasions.



Lutheran town church of St. Nikolai in the center of Buttelstedt from the southeast, reversed, August 2021.

This roof over the three-part apse can only be seen from the southeast, but not from the southwest, because of the resulting 60-degree angle to the nave roof, and is therefore not depicted at all in the works with the viewpoint slightly further to the right (subgroup „Village Church": woodcut 1, oil paintings I and III).

The photograph also clearly shows that the ridge of the nave roof
The tower is not in the center, but on its left rear flank, which is already visible in woodcut 2 and oil painting II and was therefore already a condition in our search filter. In addition, the dome shape of the Buttelstedt church tower fits very well with the dome shape we found in woodcuts 1 and 2.

7.5.7 Feininger's exact viewpoint in woodcut 2

Looking southeast from the bay window of the nave roof, the only possible original motif for the central, sloping part of the black area protruding from the lower edge into the center of woodcut 2, the upper part of which represents this bay window, is the hipped roof of the house at Schmiedeberg 2. Feininger's viewpoint then emerges in the extension sharply above the ridge of this house towards the hipped side, which brings us to the middle height of a small forest on the southeastern slope of the Scherkonde, about thirty meters west of the point where the path that runs directly above this forest forks downhill in three directions towards the east.

Due to the current forestation, it was unfortunately not possible to take a photograph of the church from Feininger's original vantage point. Crossing the small forest, which is only about fifty meters wide, is also impossible due to the topography, as the path behind the forest, where Feininger had his vantage point, lies directly on the mountain ridge.[265]

Compared to our photograph, which was taken directly below the grove, this vantage point must have been located slightly further to the right and somewhat higher up on the steep slope of the Scherkonde: Then the red hipped roof, which now obscures the lower part of the church tower in the photograph taken from the southeast, would have moved with the left side of its ridge directly under the bay window in the nave roof, thus forming the striking, characteristic black formation of roofs protruding into the center of the image at the bottom edge of woodcut 2, as we described in § 7.1.4. In fact, despite the renovated roofs, the photograph taken from the southeast still shows a course of sloping ridge lines that is remarkably close to the lower left edge of woodcut 2. Since the photograph on the right-hand side is unfortunately not helpful due to the tall trees in the foreground, we can conclude our examination of it with the remark that at the far left in the background, one can see a small "house" ([266] at the far left in the background, which, from Feininger's original viewpoint, would be shifted slightly upward and to the right toward the church and would then look quite similar to the little house on the far left in woodcuts 2 and 3.

[265] However, because of the deciduous trees, you could try again in winter when the view through the bare trees is clearer.

[266] In reality, this „little house" is the dormer of the very large house at „Burgplatz 1a."

Postcard of the town church in Buttelstedt from the southwest, reversed, 1930 or earlier.

Town church of Buttelstedt from the southwest, reversed.
Original photograph: Bärbel Hebestreit, April 2023, see acknowledgments.

7.5.8 Feininger's exact viewpoint in the woodcut 1

On a picture postcard of the Buttelstedt church from the southwest, shown at the top of page 102, with a Gothic stamp "Gewerbe-Ausstellung 1930" (Trade Exhibition 1930) and, as always, reversed, several houses can be seen around the church, which play a key role in the following argument and which we will therefore refer to here only by their house numbers; because in front of this house number, their postal address in Buttelstedt is simply "Markt": *No. 2* is the house directly to the right of the church with the ridge at the edge of the field of vision. Two other houses with the next highest ridges show us their hipped gables: *No.* 12's ridge meets the eaves edge of the nave roof; its hipped gable faces forward to the right and has a *small extension* with a gable to the left. *No. 14* almost completely obscures the right half of No. 2. On its hipped roof gable facing forward to the left, you can see an extension with a pointed gable facing forward to the left as well, with open half-timbering, whose ridge extends to the window directly below the hipped roof gable. This extension to No. 14, as well as its current new building, are referred to as *No. 14a*.[267]

Due to its position, its ridge alignment, and its pointed gable, only No. 14a can be the house that obscures the lower right corner of the nave roof with the bay window in woodcut 1. However, such an obstruction requires a very low vantage point. In order to still be able to see something of the church roof, the vantage point must be on the only low viewing axis from the southwest direction to the church, which can be traced very well from the bay window of the nave roof. This axis runs from Feininger's viewpoint through the roof of No. 14a and then to the right of the right corner of No. 12 to the bay window in the nave roof. It follows that Feininger's viewpoint is located on a line from the southeast corner of the post office at Weimarische Str. 2 to the southwest boundary fence of the parking lot of the pizzeria at Kölledaer Str. 5. The last color photograph shown was also taken just a few meters away from this fence.

The current new building at No. 14a has a new, taller extension on the left rear side, replacing a small fragment of a demolished house on the postcard with a light-colored half-gable facing the front left. However, the only significant difference here is that the central ridge joint of the new building at No. 14 is a good meter lower than on the previous half-timbered building. As a result, the gable of No. 14a, which protrudes into the church roof in woodcut 1, is now also a good meter lower. This in turn means that the viewpoint of the color photograph, in which the right gable perfectly obscures the bay window of the nave roof, is a little too close to the church.

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[267] However, this designation is controversial, both historically and today, as it also inconsistently refers to the municipal administration of Buttelstedt at No. 14. But who can escape the confusion nowadays, given that the official address of the savings bank is No. 14 Markt 14, 99439 Am *Ettersberg*!

[268] The post office, at Weimarische Str. 2, located directly on the left bank of the Scherkonde, which can be seen on the postcard in front of No. 14, can be ruled out as an alternative bay window covering for three reasons: 1. The southern gable of the post office is a hipped roof gable. 2. If you look from the bay window of the nave roof over this gable, you end up on the lowest path of the southwestern Scherkonde slope. If Feininger had stood here, he would have seen the bay window and certainly depicted it, especially since the bay window was obviously too interesting for him to omit from the earlier woodcut 2. 3. Finally, the other buildings depicted in woodcut 1 are not actually present around the post office. Feininger did tend to omit buildings, but he did not add any.

With the help of the ridge of the new extension, which is a good meter higher, Feininger's exact position can be determined: at the higher part of what is now the western boundary fence of the pizzeria's parking lot, quite close to the building.

The house at the bottom left edge of woodcut 1, with a gable on the left and a longer roof extending to the right rear, now corresponds to the small extension at No. 12 mentioned above. This can be verified on another picture postcard of the Buttelstedt church from the southwest from 1915 or earlier, shown on page 104 below, with the inscription "Karlsplatz" and, as always, reversed, and on Feininger's three nature notes with the numbers BR63.4126, BR63.4128, and B63.1896 from the Busch–Reisinger Museum on pages 190f.; for on these four, one can see the aforementioned demolition house directly in front of the church tower, here still completely intact and with its gable facing left, still complete in front of the hipped roof of No. 12 with the small extension on the left. And in front of this extension, you can see a *very specific, tiny little house* with a gable facing to the right, which can already be found here in woodcut 1 with an upward irritation at the top of the gable, but which is missing in oil paintings Iand III.

The black object at the lower right edge of the woodcut and the house at the far right edge of the image correspond today to a kind of winter garden of the pizzeria and the south gable of the guesthouse at Kölledaer Str. 6, as can be seen on the far right of the color photograph above—albeit with house No. 14 above it, which is completely missing from the woodcut, presumably for aesthetic reasons, as is the high gable of No. 12 on the left with its entire ridge extended by further houses (with the exception of a gable tip floating at the left edge of the woodcut and perhaps also with the exception of the lines extending the nave ridge to the left).

Postcard of the town church in Buttelstedt from the southwest, reversed, 1915 or earlier.

7.5.9 Verified: Woodcut 1 undoubtedly dates back to Buttelstedt!

We should now take another closer look at the picture postcard from 1915 or earlier shown at the bottom of page 104. It shows house number 12 in the background, directly to the left of the Buttelstedt town church and directly in front of the church tower, the house that was partially demolished by 1930 but is now completely demolished, which we have already mentioned twice in § 7.5.8 under the heading "demolished house." To the left of these two houses, as mentioned above, is the southern extension to house no. 12 and in front of it the *very distinctive, tiny cottage;* to the right of these houses, the gable of house no. 14a with its open half-timbering can be seen on this postcard.

Due to the striking similarity of woodcut 1 both to the houses in the photograph mentioned above (see § 7.5.8) and to Feininger's nature notes BR63.4126, BR63.4128, and B63.1896 in the Busch–Reisinger Museum[269], we have undoubtedly provided sufficient evidence for the following verification of the identity of this original motif with the Buttelstedt town church, which significantly goes beyond the previous discovery of the original motif of the yellow village church obtained by a process of elimination:

Woodcut 1 undoubtedly goes back to Feininger's inspection of Buttelstedt (possibly indirectly via a nature note or an unknown photograph).

In fact, on this postcard, the three houses can be seen centrally around the church, from the left to the middle of woodcut 1, as described in § 7.5.8: on the left, the low extension to No. 12; on the right, the old building No. 14a with its open half-timbering; and, above all, in the foreground, the very specific, tiny house, which is of greatest significance here. Of course, house No. 12 has been omitted from the woodcut for aesthetic reasons, and the part of the demolished house that is still standing is obscured by the old building at No. 14a or has also been omitted. However, the only significant difference between woodcut 1 and the postcard is that on the postcard, the view of these houses and the church comes from a slightly more southerly direction: The photographer stood east of Weimarische Straße at the northwest corner of the house at Weimarische Str. 1, while the painter stood directly on the other side of this street, where the pizzeria parking lot is today, just under thirty meters away in a westerly direction. Thus, Feininger's vantage point was, in a sense, about twelve meters to the right behind the house on the right edge of the postcard, which protruded into today's street because the left-hand curve from Weimarische Straße into Kölledaer Straße had not yet been straightened.

7.5.10 Meaningless and even inaccurate title „Yellow Village Church"

Finally, the question arises as to why it took so long to locate the original motif of the Yellow Village Church. The answer is probably that there are many well-known works by Feininger with the title "Buttelstedt," which are not only based in part on other motifs in Buttelstedt, but above all depict the church of Buttelstedt from completely different directions and perspectives, as we will document in § 7.6.

This multitude of different works under the one title „Buttelstedt," which is in accordance with the rule [270], may also have been the reason why Feininger did not also include the (

[269] See §§ 7.5.8 and 7.6.3, in particular both § 7.5.8 and notes 288 and 289 in § 7.6.3.

[270] See § 3.7.

wanted to give this title to the completely different works of the "Yellow Village Church" group. In the end, it was probably the yellow of the printing paper and, above all, of the oil painting II that influenced the new title – because the color of the Buttelstedt church is the brownish beige of its quarry stone masonry, which means that it is not nearly as yellow as many other churches in the Weimar region that are painted in true yellow.

This means that – apart from the trivial title component "church" – the components "yellow" (instead of brownish *beige*) and "village" (instead of *the town* of Buttelstedt), which provide additional information about the picture, are irrelevant to the original motif of the Yellow Village Church!

This shows once again very clearly that Feininger used objects and representational art solely as inspiration for his moods, his inner vision, and his own, uninfluenced final form for expressing his longing. [271] *Thus, he was not a representational artist, but merely an artist inspired by objects.*

In fact, the title "Yellow Village Church" is only descriptive of the works, not of their original subject matter; and Feininger never insisted on the structure of the object and its graphic representation in his nature notes anyway.

7.6 Buttelstedt

As mentioned above, we may have taken an interest in Buttelstedt only at the very end because there are many nature notes, two woodcuts, and one oil painting under this title that, at first glance, have nothing to do with the yellow village church in terms of their motif.

The digital catalog of the Busch–Reisinger Museum contains a charcoal, ink, and colored pencil drawing from 1934 as well as thirty nature sketches, which, insofar as they are dated, originate from the years 1920–1925.[272] Two of these nature notes undoubtedly show St. Michael's Church in *Buttstädt* north of Niederreißen with its octagonal tower;[273] but since Feininger incorrectly labeled them "Buttstedt," one of the two in the Busch–Reisinger Museum was mistakenly classified as *Buttelstedt*. One nature sketch shows Daasdorf near Buttelstedt instead of the town center of Buttelstedt.[274] Six nature sketches show the town of Buttelstedt without the church.[275] Seven actually show only the tower of the church. One shows the church from the west, five from the north, three from the east, but at least five show the church from the south, which is of interest to us here, with a clearly recognizable part of the nave roof.

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[271] This wording is taken almost verbatim from Feininger's letter to Paul WESTHEIM dated March 14, 1917, as quoted by us on page 39 below in § 4.2.

[272] Until 2022: `https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections?worktype=drawing&q=Feininger+Butt`. In spring 2022, thirty nature notes and one drawing in charcoal, ink, and red and blue colored pencil were found here. In spring 2023, unfortunately, only twenty-nine (without the drawing) can be found at: `https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections?worktype=drawing&q=Feininger+Buttelstedt`.

[273] 1986.156, BR63.2231.

[274] BR63.2118.

[275] BR63.1818, BR63.2213, BR63.2258, BR63.2259, BR63.2290, BR63.4129.

[276] 1986.155, BR63.1895, BR63.1898, BR63.2260, BR63.2261, BR63.2262, BR63.2263.

[277] BR63.4125.

[278] BR63.1814, BR63.1815, BR63.1816, BR63.2116, BR63.4127.

[279] BR63.1817, BR63.4130, BR63.4131.

We will first examine these five nature sketches and the charcoal, ink, and colored pencil drawing before moving on to the two woodcuts, the oil painting, and finally a pen-and-ink drawing, which is somewhat incorrectly titled "Buttelstedt."

7.6.1 The nature sketch from July 25, 1921, from the south-southeast and the woodcut 3

One of the five nature notes from southern directions shows a view from the south-southeast and bears Feininger's inscription at the top right on the front: "Buttelstedt," 25 VII 21," Feininger signature. [280] Feininger's vantage point here is at the southern end of Grünsee Street. The distinctive half-timbered gable on the right edge of the picture can still be seen today, to the left behind the new large barn "Grünsee 15," which is missing from the nature sketch. The viewpoint is so close to the church that the roof of the house "Schmiedeberg 1" [281] *only allows the far left corner of the church roof to be seen.*

In fact, the roof that appears to abut the church tower on the left is not the nave roof; as can be seen from our two photographs,[282] the nave roof extends only as far as the church clock and by no means as far as the upper horizontal cornice dividing the church tower shaft. In addition, to the left below this highest roof ridge, a small section of the end of the nave roof with the apse crowned by a weather vane or similar can be clearly seen.

The fact that, contrary to all expectations of a typical church depiction, this is a house roof instead of the nave roof explains why—instead of a *narrow bay window* on the *right* side of the roof—there is a *very wide bay window* in the middle of the roof and why the roof seems to meet the church tower more *in the middle* than in the *rear* left corner.

Although this nature sketch—due to its proximity to the church and the resulting concealment of the right side of the church roof by a house roof—cannot be the template sought for woodcut 2, it does offer aresulting from the right side of the nave roof being obscured by a house roof – cannot be the template sought for woodcut 2, it does offer an alternative explanation for the stepped porch to the left of the nave roof in *woodcut 3* to the confusion with the Oberreißen church that we have already mentioned:[284] In this alternative, the steps on woodcut 3 would result from right to left from the house roof in the nature sketch, which appears very high due to its close proximity, as the top step, then the visible part of the nave roof with the apse, and finally another house roof below – in other words, very similar to the situation found on the nature note when you cut it off to the left of the bold black chimney.

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[280] https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163336; persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163336. July 25, 1921. Object number BR63.1897, Busch–Reisinger Museum. Dimensions: 143 mm× 184 mm.

[281] The ridges of the new roofs of the neighboring houses on the right, Markt 7, 8, were a few meters lower and further north than today (as can be clearly seen on the picture postcard from 1930 on page 102), so that the house at Schmiedeberg 1 did indeed tower above all its neighboring houses at that time, just as Feininger depicted it, especially when viewed from the south; for the ridge of the neighboring house on the left Schmiedeberg 2 Schmiedeberg 2" i s still lower and further north today.

[282] See pp. 100, 102.

[283] See note 227 on page 85 in § 7.3.2.

[284] See the last paragraph of § 7.5.5 on page 98 and note 262 on page 99.

7.6.2 The drawing from February 14, 1934, from the south-southeast

The alternative explanation in the last paragraph of § 7.6.1 applies not only to woodcut 3, but also to the aforementioned drawing in charcoal, black ink, and
red and blue colored pencil with the subtitle: Feininger signature, „Thuringia, Buttelstedt,„ „14 II 34."[285]

This drawing from 1934 is probably based primarily on the nature sketch from July 25, 1921, discussed in § 7.6.1, because the bay window is positioned to the left rather than to the right of the center of the roof, as is otherwise only the case in this nature sketch, and because the degree of abstraction is much lower than in woodcut 3 from 1930. However, it can be assumed that woodcut 3 from 1930 also served as a further template for the charcoal, ink, and colored pencil drawing from 1934, as this drawing shows the following very specific features that are otherwise only found in this woodcut: on the one hand, two of the three dynamic triangles on the left edge of this woodcut[286] in a significantly altered form [287] and, secondly, the "nave extension" with the slight slant of the vertical lines and the resulting acute angles of the upper roof corners.

7.6.3 The three nature notes from the south-southwest

Three more of the five nature notes from southern directions show a view of the Buttelstedt church from quite close up from the south-southwest. Two ([288])of these bear the inscription "Buttelstedt" at the bottom of the front„ with "Mellingen" crossed out underneath„ but nothing else; there is also no date on these two. The third bears the date "25 VII 21„ Feininger's signature, and "Buttelstedt" at the top of the front· ([289])

Feininger's point of view in these three nature notes is identical to that of the photo.
graphs on the postcard on page 104 below. According to § 7.5.9, this vantage point was just under thirty meters east of Feininger's vantage point in woodcut 1, directly in front of the gable wall of the house at Weimarische Str. 1, on the southwest corner of Karlsplatz, which, as can be seen on the postcard, looked very different then than it does today.

The house that obscures the rest of the church roof to the left in these three nature notes is the old building at Markt 12, which still stands today, with its hipped roof facing west and the typical chimney on the very short ridge, which does not quite reach the height of the slightly recessed ridge of the neighboring house at Markt 11.

[285] https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/316219; persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/316219. February 14, 1934. Object number 2010.324, Busch–Reisinger Museum. Dimensions: 232 mm× 272 mm.

[286] See page 86 in § 7.3.2.

[287] Despite this change in shape, these two pointed triangles do not actually suggest very flat house roofs.

[288] https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/161522; persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/161522. Undated. Object number BR63.4126, Busch–Reisinger Museum. Dimensions: 140 mm× 225 mm.
https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/161443; persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/161443. Undated. Object number BR63.4128, Busch–Reisinger Museum. Dimensions: 140 mm× 225 mm.

[289] https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/163335; persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/163335. June 25, 1921, object number BR63.1896, Busch–Reisinger Museum. Dimensions: 143 mm× 184 mm.

7.6.4 The rough nature sketch without a date from the southwest

The last of the five nature notes from southern directions shows a view from the southwest and bears the inscription "Buttelstedt" at the bottom of the front, but nothing else. [290] The date is also unknown.

The house that can be seen here directly in front of the church tower is Markt 14, and directly in front of it is Kölledaer Str. 6. If you extend this line, you would have arrived at the former Buttelstedt railway station after just under half a kilometer. It is difficult to say today where Feininger's vantage point may have been on this line: the drawing looks as if it was made from a distance of less than a hundred meters; however, the sketch-like nature and the absence of a date suggest that he stopped drawing when his train arrived in Weimar.

In any case, this nature sketch from the southwest—indeed, almost from the west-southwest—cannot be the one used for woodcut 1, simply because the latter nature sketch has a viewpoint directly toward the southwest.

7.6.5 The two woodcuts

In addition to the nature notes and the drawing, there are two woodcuts with "Buttelstedt" in the title:

„ Buttelstedt" (Prasse W208) from 1920,[291] published as [Feininger, 1920]. This woodcut, taken from a short distance south-southwest of the Buttelstedt church, is very different from the three nature sketches from the south-southwest [292] taken from roughly the same vantage point: the nave roof and the houses to the left of the church have vanished into thin air, and the house to the right of the church has been given a cross on its gable to replace the vanished nave. This impressive but fictional composition, which lacks any substantial illustrative character, is out of the question as a template for the Yellow Village Church.

"Manor house in Buttelstedt" (Prasse W212) from 1920.[293] In this rather unsuccessful, overcrowded woodcut of an unknown manor house, the church in Buttelstedt, so we need not concern ourselves with it further here.

7.6.6 The oil painting „Buttelstedt"

The oil painting "Buttelstedt" (Hess 245) from 1924 is also of little help in integrating the yellow village church into Feininger's works with „Buttelstedt in the title, because it is greatly simplified and only a tiny black-and-white photograph of it is available.[294]

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[290] https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/161521; persistent: https://hvrd.art/o/161521. Undated. Object number BR63.4124, Busch–Reisinger Museum. Dimensions: 140 mm× 216 mm.

[291] Cf. [Prasse, 1972, p. 209]. Dimensions: 203 mm× 155 mm. Reportedly very rare as an artist's proof. Three editions of perhaps five hundred copies in total.

[292] See § 7.6.3.

[293] Cf. [Prasse, 1972, p. 211]. Dimensions: 162 *mm*× 247 mm. Four trial proofs, but no edition known.

[294] See [Hess, 1959, p. 271, l.f.]. The dimensions given there are 425 *mm*× 490 mm.

on which one can only see that the long roof next to the church tower has a chimney on the ridge and must therefore be the roof of a house—not the nave of the church.

7.6.7 Other works with „Buttelstedt" in the title

There is also a heavily browned, pure pen-and-ink drawing of a church between houses with very dense, dashed lines. This drawing has the subtitle: Feininger signature: Buttelstedt, 12 I 35,[295], the "Buttelstedt" that appears very close to the signature at the bottom left seems to have been added later and possibly incorrectly by someone else, especially since there is no resemblance to the church in Buttelstedt and Feininger always placed his picture titles in the subtitle—with very few exceptions—either in the center or on the right.

We are not aware of any other works by Feininger with „Buttelstedt" in the title.

7.6.8 Conclusion for Buttelstedt with a shortcoming in the nature notes

In conclusion, we must admit that among the works by Feininger that we have found which bear the word "Buttelstedt" in their title, there is not a single one of the original works in the "Yellow Village Church" group, i.e., woodcuts 1 and 2, which could be said to have an identical viewpoint, direct reference character, or truly similar motif.

However, with regard to the discovery of further studio compositions based on the viewpoints of these two woodcuts, it can be assumed that there were none beyond the "Yellow Village Church" group of works.

We carefully examined all 5,468 nature notes and drawings that the Busch–Reisinger Museum made available online in 2022, but we were unable to find a single nature sketch or drawing that exactly matches woodcuts 1 and 2.

Overall, this is a shortcoming in relation to the former existence of nature notes from the two locations we identified in the southwest and southeast of the Buttelstedt church, which can be assumed with certainty based on Feininger's working methods.

This shortcoming should be remedied in the future, if possible, by finding at least one nature sketch from each of the two vantage points.

At least we were able to prove that Feininger spent several periods of intensive drawing in Buttelstedt, coming within less than 200 meters of the two locations we identified for woodcuts 1 and 2, and in the case of woodcut 1, even within 30 meters.

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[295] See https://www.karlundfaber.de/de/auktionen/259/ausgewaehlte-werke-moderne-zeitgenoessische-kunst/2590535/. Accordingly, ACHIM MOELLER confirmed the authenticity of this pen-and-ink drawing on work printing paper, which is not really in doubt.

[296] See https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections?worktype%5B%5D=drawing&q=Feininger.

[297] See § 7.5.9.

7.7 Final comment on the Yellow Village Church ( )

While the oil paintings undoubtedly represent the main works in the Umpferstedter Kirchlein and Hohe Häuser groups, the woodcuts are at least on a par with the oil paintings in the Gelbe Dorfkirche, if not superior to them.

A primacy of oil paintings is to be expected from Feininger. For with these, he usually proceeded experimentally and iteratively, i.e., creatively searching—but mostly without elaborate preliminary construction. He experimented and varied by means of overpainting and washing away, with great emotional involvement—sometimes frustrated and, in his letters to JULIA Feininger, downright desperate, but ultimately tirelessly and with great creative joy—until he finally achieved an effect that appealed to him and sufficiently expressed the moods he had conjured up (when encountering the original motif *in situ)*.

In contrast, with woodcuts, as with pen-and-ink drawings, such an iterative process is only possible to a very limited extent; namely, with woodcuts by converting black to white—and with pen-and-ink drawings, just the opposite: by adding lines, areas, and colors.

Of course, even with woodcuts and pen-and-ink drawings, there remains the impure form of reworking in the form of a completely new work—as Feininger did with woodcut 3 as a reworking of woodcut 2 in The Yellow Village Church.

Interestingly, in this revision of woodcut 2 in the form of the newly begun woodcut 3, we have been able to identify signs of anticipatory, conscious construction that clearly go beyond the sketchy marking of preliminary work on the still empty image carrier that was quite common for Feininger at that time. This involved the construction of the golden ratio, which was narrowly missed on the right and left in woodcut 2, and whose deliberate construction Feininger had rejected just a few years earlier.

While the important oil paintings of the Umpferstedt church and the tall houses were completed *before* Feininger's most intensive phase of woodcut work in 1918–1920, all of the oil paintings of the yellow village church were begun *after* this phase, and even after the primary woodcuts 1 and 2, which were also completed after this phase of most intensive woodcutting. The very first woodcut 2 then served as a template for oil painting II, and woodcut 1, created two years later, served as a template for oil paintings I and III.

During his intensive exploration of woodcut printing, Feininger not only acquired a high level of mastery in this ancient art, but also overcame the strict primacy of oil painting in his art, in favor of a more purposeful, neither iterative nor highly experimental approach in the three woodcuts of the "Yellow Village Church" group of works, which are among Feininger's later woodcuts. The three oil paintings in this group of works are so unique in Feininger's oeuvre that one can confidently say that without the

[298] See § 7.3.2 for indications of the golden ratio in woodcut 3. See § 1.3 (with notes 32 and 34) for Feininger's statements against anticipatory, conscious construction of the golden ratio.

Woodcuts 1 and 2 cannot be created—even if, in our view, only number III of the oil paintings can be considered truly successful.

In addition, we have significantly advanced the state of knowledge about the original motif of the Yellow Village Church with the discovery of a candidate – *Buttelstedt in the Weimar region* – which is the first of its kind in the literature.

In a further step, which was only successful two years later, we then verified that the woodcut 1 undoubtedly originated from Feininger's possibly indirect inspection of the Buttelstedt town church of St. Nikolai,[301] and also *verified* the similarity of the original motif of the Yellow Village Church *with exactly this particular church*.

Finally, however, it remains on the agenda to remedy the shortcoming discussed in § 7.6.8, i.e., to find at least one of the nature notes for each of woodcuts 1 and 2 that must have served as models for the respective woodcut in the studio.

[299] However, the question of whether the oil painting III is truly successful or not cannot be decided as long as the current owner refuses to allow anyone to view it, cf. § 7.4.4 and note 243.

[300] Of course, the *universal exclusion method* used to find the painting is considered problematic from the perspective of the philosophy of mathematics (see, for example, [HILBERT & Bernays, 2017a], [WIRTH, 2021b]) and, from a scientific perspective, prone to error due to the potentially incomplete formation of the universe.
In our specific case, however, this is irrelevant, simply because it has led us to the correct goal, cf. § 7.5.9.

[301] See § 7.5.9.

8 Closing argument

It would be difficult to write anything interesting and new about Caspar David Friedrich, because almost all of the profound questions about him have already been asked and examined, and only secondary questions remain open, such as the plausibility of the results of the studies. In addition, excellent illustrated books about Friedrich have been published. And the situation is similar for most of the great painters of the last millennium.

There are wonderfully illustrated volumes and digital collections of Lyonel Feininger's works[302] and a multitude of publications that are aimed at least as much at the large number of Feininger enthusiasts as at a specialist audience, but in the case of Feininger (compared to Friedrich, for example), there is a clear *lack* of studies that really delve deeply into his work and creative process – as is the case, for example, with Martin Faass's doctoral thesis [1999b] on Feininger's special variant of Cubism.([303])

This deficiency is likely to be felt particularly keenly by scholars who do not regularly publish on Feininger. And so it was Peter Nisbet who was probably the only one to publicly express this deficiency—and then in a very diplomatic manner, as we have already quoted and discussed. ([304])In the same place, we also quoted a private statement by Wolfgang Büche, which likewise alludes to the discrepancy between Feininger's worldwide reputation and the lack of scholarly analysis of his achievements.

In some conversations with experts, we even heard opinions that accepted or even approved of this shortcoming: A deeper examination of Feininger's work and creative process is not a priority and is not worthwhile either in terms of content or personal advancement, because Feininger did not manage to break away from the representational together with his colleagues of the Blue Four, but rather elevated his attachment to the primal motif (and the emotional states experienced during his initial encounter with it) to a principle.

Although these statements used as justification do not seem entirely unfounded at first glance, objectivity must never be misused to discriminate against a historical artist or their works

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[302] The following sources are particularly recommended for illustrations of Feininger's works: By *type of work*: Nature Notes `https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections?classification=Drawings&q=Feininger`, watercolor drawings [LUCKHARDT & Faass, 1998], prints [Prasse, 1972], oil paintings [MÄRZ, 1998], [Luckhardt, 1998b].
By *location* of the motifs: Weimar and Dessau [Büche, 1994], [Faass, 1999a], Halle an der Saale [Büche et al., 1991], [Büche, 2000; 2010a], Lüneburg [Dylla, 1991], Kolberg [Schulz-Vanselow, 1992], Baltic Sea [TIMM, 1992].

([303])Or, as is also the case with the exciting series of three superbly written and illustrated volumes on Feininger's commissioned works for the city of Halle—including all preliminary work and their complex interrelationships—to which Wolfgang Büche contributed significantly from start to finish: [Büche et al., 1991], [BÜCHE, 2000; 2010a].

[304] Quoted from the English original [NISBET, 2011a, p. 16] in our note 37 on page 13 and from the German translation [NISBET, 2011b, p. 17] in the running text for this note ibid. at the end of § 1.3.

from the public[305] or academia.

Secondly, we will now briefly explain why these statements about Feininger are not entirely, but essentially, unfounded. In the course of this explanation, we will also summarize some of the most important findings of this study. This second look at our findings should make it clear that Feininger's compositions are not representational, either in the literal or figurative sense.

When assembling his landscape paintings from nature studies using special techniques, Caspar David Friedrich attached great importance to copying every plant in detail, changing the depth of space, viewing angle with horizon line, incidence of light, and branch structure of the trees only minimally and only when aesthetically necessary, because he considered this necessary to preserve the honor of God's creation.[306] Therefore, Friedrich would probably not have considered any of Feininger's paintings to be representational, and certainly none of those influenced by Cubism, abstraction, or alienation. As we have shown in §§ 6.2 and 6.6, Feininger did not concern himself in any way with ensuring that the demolition motifs assembled here in his oil painting "HoheHäuser II" were depicted in a compatible form; on the contrary, he abandoned any representational perspective in favor of the most striking building silhouettes in his works, thereby mocking all proportions related to the street.

Investigations into the golden ratio—excellently addressed by Friedrich in [Busch, 2008; 2021]—may be of lesser importance in Feininger's work.[307] The fact that this has not been noticed at all in the woodcuts of the Yellow Village Church can only be due to the fact that Feininger, who was supposedly naively attached to the representational, was simply not believed capable of such a thing. In § 7.3.2, in addition to the golden ratio and the evidence for its deliberate, mathematical construction in the woodcut Yellow Village Church 3, we also pointed out various constructive, neither representational nor seriously cubist, dynamic elements that one would expect to find in Klee or Kandinsky rather than in Feininger.

[305] Until the Kunsthalle Mannheim was expanded, the traditional hanging of its collection was one of the most professional in the world. After the expansion, however, the old collection underwent an anti-representational purge: obstacles were systematically placed exactly where one must stand to view a work properly. For this reason, FEININGER'S "Marienkirche I" (Hess 316) from 1929 can now hardly be viewed at all! The more representational Spitzweg fared even worse: his miniature "Auf der Bastei" (On the Bastion) hangs in a kind of junk room, not like other large works of art on the baseboard, but at a height of a good three meters, so that even with opera glasses it is impossible to see that the guard depicted there is yawning. And Lehmbruck's ingenious bust of FRITZ von UNRUH is still untraceable by the staff, even after repeated inquiries by email, so that one must seriously fear that this object has been disposed of for anti-representational reasons.

[306] See note 34. [307] See note 34.

In § 7.5.10, based on our discovery and verification of the original motif of the "Yellow Village Church" group of works, we came to the conclusion that this title, with its components "yellow" and "village," which provide additional information about the image, is only descriptive of the works, but not of the original motif. In accordance with the well-known saying *nomen est omen*, we took this as an opportunity to record the following important fact regarding Feininger's creative process:

> „*This shows once again very clearly that the subject and the representational served Feininger only as inspiration for his states of mind, his inner vision, and his own, uninfluenced final form for the expression of his longing. Thus, he was not a representational artist, but merely an artist inspired by the subject.*
>
> In fact, the title "Yellow Village Church" only refers to the works, not to their original subject matter; and Feininger never insisted on the structure of the object and its graphic representation in the respective nature notes anyway.

In § 5.3.3, we demonstrated for the first time that the Umpferstedt church in the painting Umpferstedt [I]" is superimposed three times from the same perspective, and that certain windows and roofs depicted here have different functions in two of these representations, with, for example, a slate roof on the tower taking on the red color of the nave roof.

In § 5.4.1 and notes 169 and 178, we made it clear that the building on the left in front of the small church on the right is darker for no apparent reason, because here, as in a construction drawing, a view of the nave hidden behind it is provided.

In § 5.3.4, we pointed out the ray point below the picture frame, which apparently no one had noticed before, even though five dominant lines intersect at this point.

This application of a purely two-dimensional, abstract construction technique, which is in no way motivated by the subject matter, can really only be overlooked if one views Umpferstedt [I] „with the certainty that Feininger was never able to detach himself from the representational. For just as it requires a highly knowledge-based cognitive process to recognize the subject of a church, which is no longer actually depicted in this painting, despite the cubism, abstraction, and alienation, one needs the unfounded prejudice that Feininger was attached to the subject matter in order to overlook this vanishing point and instead search for false vanishing points, even though no other point in question intersects more than two lines.

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[308] This wording is taken almost verbatim from Feininger's letter to Paul WESTHEIM dated March 14, 1917, as quoted by us on page 39 below in § 4.2.

Starting from the representational nature of a nature sketch means just as little for Feininger's compositions as it does for Jawlensky's paintings known as "Variations," because both start from a nature sketch or a view from the window, *but by no means remain there*.[309] Especially in the case of Feininger, who was more ingenious in terms of geometry and graphics, but also in the case of Jawlensky, this starting point provides an initial spark of factual complexity that is occasionally lacking in Klee, despite his unique creative construction and depth of thought.

As we have clearly outlined in § 3, Feininger's nature notes provided him not only with complex material for playing with variations, alienations, and abstractions, but also with emotional inspiration through the memory of his emotional states when encountering the primal motif.

Although Feininger probably planned and consciously reflected less than Klee and Kandinsky in his oil paintings, his creative process may ultimately be more complex due to the incorporation of structures and emotions from his nature notes. Further studies may elaborate on this. Here, we have limited ourselves to determining, at least once, the primal motifs of the works we have examined and studied as examples. One may criticize this endeavor, and this has indeed been done, especially in publications on the Halle paintings, but we consider it necessary for future insights and have made significant progress with the Yellow Village Church and the Tall Houses.

Finally, I would like to thank Lyonel Feininger for everything he has given me since my youth through his art and may continue to give me. The hope that this study might enable me to repay him a little for the wonderful experiences I have had viewing his works has finally helped me, in my old age, to overcome my difficulties in writing it down. Feininger saw his art as something essentially spiritual,(310) and the spirit of this art is not closed off, but can, supported by the sensory perception of his works, bring our hearts to life.(311)

[309] This refusal to remain confined to the representational applies in a certain, very limited way even to FRIEDRICH, who, despite all his representationalism, usually conveys a reference to God with his objects and their geometric arrangement.

[310] See § 2.3.

[311] Cf. Goethe's Faust I (Night): The „spirit world is not closed; your mind is closed, your heart is dead! Come, bathe, student, undaunted, your earthly breast in the morning light!

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[Blackbeard, 1994] Bill Blackbeard, 1994. *The comic strip art of Lyonel Feininger*. Kitchen Sink Press, Northampton (MA). ISBN 0878162933 (hardcover) and 0878162941 (softcover). 55 pp.

[Bohn, 1997] Willard Bohn, 1997. *Apollinaire and the International Avant-Garde*. State University of New York Press, Albany (NY).

[Börsch-Supan, 1960] Helmut Börsch-Supan, 1960. *Die Bildgestaltung bei Caspar David Friedrich*. Uni-Druck, Munich. Inaugural dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Free University of Berlin. IV+117 pp.

[Börsch-Supan, 1980] Helmut Börsch-Supan, 1980. *Caspar David Friedrich – Werkverzeichnis*. UllsteinKunstBuch. Verlag Ullstein, Frankfurt am Main. Catalogue raisonné of Caspar David Friedrich's oil paintings that still exist or are documented by pictorial evidence. First German edition. ISBN 3548360297. 96 pp.

[Börsch-Supan, 1987] Helmut Börsch-Supan, 1987. Berlin 1810. Fine Arts. A New Beginning Under the Pressure of Time. In [Kreutzer, 1987, pp. 52–75]. (*On p. 74f. First publication of a historical transcript of* CASPAR David Friedrich's *thoughts – probably from the period between autumn 1809 and summer 1810 – on the painting pendants („Monk by the Sea"/„Abbey in the Oak Forest") from 1810).*

[Börsch-Supan & Jähnig, 1973] Helmut Börsch-Supan, Karl Wilhelm Jähnig, 1973. *Caspar David Friedrich. Paintings, Prints, and Pictorial Drawings*. Studies on 19th-Century Art. Prestel-Verlag, Munich. Catalogue raisonné. ISBN 3791300539. 512 pp.

[Brand et al., 1987] Bettina Brand, Martina Helmig, Barbara Kaiser, Birgit Salomon, Adje Westerkamp (eds.), 1987. *Female Composers in Berlin*. Self-published, Berlin, and Furore Verlag, Kassel. ISBN 3927327239, iv+448 pp.

[Breloh, 2006] Anja Breloh, 2006. The Most Promising Gift—Feininger's Participation in the First German Autumn Salon and Its Consequences. In [Finckh, 2006, pp. 113–119].

[Büche, 1994] Wolfgang Büche, 1994. *Feininger – Works from his time in Weimar and Dessau*. Beck & Eggeling Kunstverlag, Leipzig. Ed.: Ute Eggeling. ISBN 3930919001.

[Büche, 1998] Wolfgang Büche, 1998. Nature Notes – Bridge between Reality and Vision. In [March, 1998, pp. 286–294].

[Büche, 2000] Wolfgang Büche, 2000. *Lyonel Feininger – Halle-Bilder: Die Natur-Notizen*. Beck & Eggeling Kunstverlag, Düsseldorf. Catalog accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Staatl. Galerie Moritzburg, Halle an der Saale, Dec. 16, 2000 – February 25, 2001. ISBN 393091929X, 135 pp. *(This book, which has been partially superseded by more recent findings, has been revised in [*Büche*, 2010a]).*

[Büche, 2006] Wolfgang Büche, 2006. Sailing ship with blue angler. In [Büche et al., 2006, pp. 24–36].

[Büche, 2010a] Wolfgang Büche, 2010a. *Lyonel Feininger – Die Halle-Bilder*. Hirmer Verlag, Munich. ISBN 377742241X, 175 pp. (*This is, in a sense, the revised edition of the catalog books [*Büche et AL., *1991] and [*Büche, *2000], which have been partially superseded by more recent findings).*

[Büche, 2010b] Wolfgang Büche, 2010b. Lux Feininger's Path to Becoming a Painter. In [Luckhardt & Thurmann, 2010, pp. 8–15].

[Büche, 2019] Wolfgang Büche, 2019. *Feininger – Klee – Bauhaus*. Verlag Galerie Utermann, Dortmund. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at Shepherd W&K Galleries, Manhattan, May 1–Aug. 16, 2019, at Galerie Utermann, Dortmund. Sept. 17 – Oct. 26, 2019, and at W&K – Wienerroither & Kohlbacher, Vienna, Oct. 14, 2019 – Jan. 18, 2020. Eds.: Cacilda Alves, LUKAS Minssen, Karin Schulze-Fieling, Galerie Utermann, W&K – Wienerroither & Kohlbacher. ISBN 392423633X. 104 pp. https://www.w-k.art/images/Feininger_Klee_Bauhaus_-_Exhibition_Catalogue-(720ff612-5a55-11e7-82dd-112b3adb7415).pdf.

[Büche, 2020] Wolfgang Büche, 2020. Email to Claus-Peter Wirth dated Sept. 7, 2020.

[Büche et al., 2006] Wolfgang Büche, Norbert Eisold, Andreas Hüneke (eds.), 2006. *Lyonel Feininger – Sailing Ship with Blue Angler. The Quedlinburg Collection of Dr. Hermann Klumpp: Prints, Drawings, Paintings, 1906–1937*. Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg, April 8–July 23, 2006. ISBN 3861051281, 144 pp.

[Büche et al., 1991] Wolfgang Büche, Andreas Hüneke, Peter Romanus, 1991. *Lyonel Feininger – The Halle Pictures*. Prestel-Verlag, Munich. Catalog accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Staatl. Galerie Moritzburg, Halle an der Saale, Aug. 29–Nov. 3, 1991. 1st edn. (2nd edn. 1999), ISBN 3791311557, 118 pp. *(This book, which has been partially superseded by more recent findings, has been revised in [*Büche*, 2010a])*.

[Busch, 2008] Werner Busch, 2008. *Caspar David Friedrich – Aesthetics and Religion*. Verlag C. H. Beck, Munich. 2nd edition (1st edition 2003). ISBN 9783406503085. 223 pp.

[Busch, 2021] Werner Busch, 2021. *Caspar David Friedrich*. Verlag C. H. Beck, Munich. ISBN 9783406777042. 127 pp.

[Bushart, 2003] Magdalena Bushart, 2003. Cathedrals of the Future. In [Stamm & Schreiber, 2003, pp. 104–121].

[Deuchler, 1991] Florens Deuchler, 1991. *Lyonel Feininger (1871–1956): Locomotives and Railway Landscapes – 40 Drawings and Sketches 1991–1913*. Langmatt Foundation Sidney and Jenny Brown, Baden (Switzerland). Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at Langmatt, Baden (Switzerland), May 11–Aug. 25, 1991. ISBN 3855450528. 80 pp.

[Deuchler, 1992] Florens Deuchler, 1992. *Feininger in Paris – Lyonel Feininger's Parisian Drawings from 1892 to 1911*. Published by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition Lyonel Feininger: The Paris Drawings from 1892 to 1911, on loan from Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York, in the Graphic Collection of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, June 6–August 30, 1992. ISBN 3926982241. 132 pp.

[Deuchler, 1996] Florens Deuchler, 1996. *Lyonel Feininger – His Path to Becoming a Bauhaus Master*. E. A. Seemann Kunstverlag, Leipzig. 263 pp. (*Although Lyonel Feininger is neither the author's core area of expertise nor does he have a deep connection to the subject, this excellent compilation contains more unpublished works and lists more facts than any other work on Lyonel Feininger, with the exception of [*Hess, *1959])*.

[Draeger, 1986] Wolfhart Draeger (ed.), 1986. *Lyonel Feininger – Early Works*. Conzett+Huber, Zurich. Issue of Zeitschrift *du – The Journal for Art and Culture* No. 543 (=5/1986). 104 pp.

[Duden Editorial Team, 2020] Duden Editorial Team (ed.), 2020. *Duden Volume 1 – German Spelling*. Duden Publishing House, Berlin. 28th, completely revised and expanded edition.

[DYLLA, 1991] Sabine Dylla, 1991. *Lyonel Feininger: Encounter and Memory, Lüneburg Motifs 1921–1954*. Kulturforum Lüneburg e.V., Lüneburg. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Kulturforum Lüneburg e.V., Gut Wienebüttel, from October 12 to November 10, 1991. 88 pp.

[Egging, 2010] Björn Egging (ed.), 2010. *Lyonel Feininger – Watercolors and Pen and Ink Drawings*. Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg. Catalog accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg, March 14–
June 27, 2010. With,, In Memory of the Deeper Strand—Hermann Klumpp and the Watercolors of Lyonel Feininger by Björn Egging, as well as the inventory catalog of watercolors and pen-and-ink drawings from the Dr. Hermann KLUMPP Collection. ISBN 9783910064010. 96 pp.

[Egging, 2011] Björn Egging (ed.), 2011. *Lyonel Feininger – A Symbol of Higher Reality*. Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg. Catalog book accompanying the exhibitions Lyonel Feininger. „A Symbol of Higher Reality. The Feininger Gallery Quedlinburg Visits the Spendhaus" at the Städtisches Kunstmuseum Spendhaus, Reutlingen, January 28 – April 15, 2012, and Lyonel Feininger. A Symbol of Higher Reality. Dr. Hermann Klumpp Collection" at the Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg, April 9–July 1, 2012. (*With insightful texts by Hermann Klumpp and a transcription of Feininger's letter [*Feininger, *1953] to him dated August 4, 1953)* ISBN 9783861050552 (Reutlingen) and 9783861050595 (Quedlinburg). 96 pp.

[Egging, 2013] Björn Egging, 2013. *Lyonel Feininger – Woodcuts*. Kerber Verlag, Bielefeld. Catalog accompanying the exhibition On the Way „to Becoming a Bauhaus Artist. Lyonel Feininger. Woodcuts at the Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg, Sept. 6, 2013 – Jan. 6, 2014, and at the Kunsthalle, Emden, Jan. 25 – May 11, 2014. With a catalog of woodcuts from the collection of Dr. Jan. 2014, and at the Kunsthalle, Emden, Jan. 25 – May 11, 2014. With inventory catalog of woodcuts from the collection of Dr. Hermann KLUMPP. ISBN 9783866788244. 272 pp.

[Egging & Winter, 2012] Björn Egging, Manuela Winter (eds.), 2012. *Lyonel Feininger – Etchings and Lithographs.* Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition From Caricaturist to Artist. Lyonel Feininger's Etchings and Lithographs at the Lyonel Feininger Gallery, Quedlinburg,
July 15 – Nov. 4, 2012. With inventory catalog of etchings and lithographs from the Dr. Hermann KLUMPP Collection. ISBN 9783861050692. 96 pp.

[Egle et al., 2023] Steffen Egle, Sören Fischer, Anette Reich (eds.), 2023. *Rudolf Levy (1875–1944) – Magician of Color.* Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin. Catalog accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Pfalzgalerie, Kaiserslautern, Oct. 28, 2023 –
Feb. 11, 2024. ISBN 9783422801660. 328 pp. *(Unfortunately without the Still Life with Hyacinths [* Thesing*, 1990, p.123 (in black and white)] from 1921, perhaps Levy's best oil painting in terms of color)*.

[Ehlert, 2017] Sebastian Ehlert, 2017. Lyonel Feininger biographía. In [Fontán & CAPA, 2017, pp. 354–367].

[Engelke, 1909] Bernhard Engelke, 1909. Johann Friedrich Fasch. Attempt at a Biography. *Anthology of the International Music Society (e.V.)*, 10th year (1908–1909):263–283. Edited by Max Seiffert. Published by Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig.

https://archive.org/details/SammelbndeDerInternationalenMusikgesellschaft 101908-09/page/263.

[Eyb-Green et al., 2012] Sigrid Eyb-Green, Joyce H. Townsend, Mark Clarke, Jilleen Nadolny, Stephanos Kroustallis (eds.), 2012. *The Artist's Process — technology and interpretation. Proc. of the 4th Symposium of the Art Technological Source Research Working Group (ATSR) (ICOM-CC) "Reflecting the Artist's Process", Vienna, 2010.* Achetype Publ., London. ISBN 1904982735. ix+217 pp.

[Faass, 1999a] Martin Faass, 1999a. *Feininger in the Weimar Region*. Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaft (VDG), Weimar. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Kunsthaus Apolda Avantgarde, Apolda (Thuringia, Germany), June 20– Sept. 12, 1999. Eds.: Weimarer Land district, district capital Apolda. *(Excellent text about Feininger's stays in Weimar from 1905 to 1925, about the springtime of his relationship with his second wife Julia, and about the significance of this springtime for Feininger's long love of the motifs of the Weimar villages)*.

[Faass, 1999b] Martin Faass, 1999b. *Lyonel Feininger und der Kubismus*. No. 336 in European University Studies: Series 28, History of Art. Peter Lang GmbH, Int. Verlag der Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main. Doctoral thesis at the Free University of Berlin, supervised by Eberhard König, 1998. ISBN 3631341431, 122 pp.

[Feininger, 1890] Lyonel Feininger, 1890. Letter dated March 18, 1890, from Berlin to Frank Kor-theuer in New York. Quoted (note 52, p. 19) from [Scheyer, 1964, p. 35].

[Feininger, 1904] Lyonel Feininger, 1904. The Raging Locomotive. *Der Liebe Augustin, Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig*, I(15):233. Lithograph, reprinted in [Luckhardt, 1981, p. 69, r.], very poor quality also in [Luckhardt, 1987, plate 33], much better in [Haskell, 2011, p.12], [Luckhardt, 1998b, p. 13], [Luckhardt, 1998a, p. 15], where it is claimed that there is no preliminary sketch, but there is: namely the drawing Von Brücke stürzende Lokomotiven (Locomotives Falling from a Bridge, 1904), first printed in [Deuchler, 1991, p. 25] and again in [Krenzlin & Ehlert, 2021, p. 32].

[Feininger, 1911a] Lyonel Feininger, 1911a. Postcard, postmarked Paris, XI – 9 MAY – 21(30) "From Paris to Mrs. Julia Feininger, Zehlendorf b. Berlin, Königstr. 32"; reverse side: print MUSÉE DU LOUVRE – REMBRANDT. – SON PORTRAIT EN 1966. – 12555 – (B. C. C.)"; in another handwriting: "Unfortunately arrived at the Gare du Nord one minute too late – Greetings, Goetz," which stands for Richard Götz, cf. also [Feininger, 1911b; 1911c], who had apparently just missed Julia, who had left the Gare du Nord in the morning, traveling via Cologne to Bonn. Based on a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1505 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

[Feininger, 1911b] Lyonel Feininger, 1911b. Postcard "Wednesday, May 10, 1911" from Paris to Mme Julie Feininger, Zehlendorf near Berlin, 32 Königstrasse, with comments on how tiresome Richard Götz is and how he is unable to concentrate, cf. [Feininger, 1911a]; Print on the reverse: 2890. St-CLOUD avant la Révolution – Le Pont et le Château vus de la plaine de Boulongne – E. M. Déposé. Based on a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1506 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

[Feininger, 1911c] Lyonel Feininger, 1911c. Postcard „Thursday, May 11, 1911, Billancourt, Paris, to Mme. Julie Feininger, Zehlendorf, near Berlin, Königstrasse 32, Germany, with text in another hand Leo experienced the greatest sensation of his life in Meudon: a high viaduct with two locomotives. Greetings, Götz," which stands for Richard Götz, cf. [Feininger, 1911a], [Hess, 1959, p. 51f.]; print on the back: MUSÉE DU LOUVRE. PISANO. – 11678 – PORTRAIT D'UNE PRINCESSE DE LA MAISON D'ESTE – (B. C. C.)" . Based on a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1507 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

[Feininger, 1911d] Lyonel Feininger, 1911d. Postcard „"Sunday" dated May 14, 1911 (mentioned in [Feininger, 1911e, p. 3] with reference to the print on the back as being from the same day; the date "May 17, 1911" added later in blue pencil is Feininger's date of arrival in Berlin, but it is a Wednesday and not a "Sunday"), postmark Paris - 25 – R. DANTON – 17[45] – 14 -5 – 11," from Paris to Mme Julia Feininger, Zehlendorf bei Berlin, 32 Königstrasse, Allemagne"; reverse side: print 2891. St-CLOUD avant la Révolution – Une aile du Château appelée la Maison de St-Cloud, E. M. Déposé." . Quoted (note 108, p. 37) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1513 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

[Feininger, 1911e] Lyonel Feininger, 1911e. Letter „Sunday, 5 o'clock in the afternoon, d. May 14, 1911" with Paris postmark but dated May 15, to Mme. Julie Feininger, Zehlendorf near Berlin, Königstrasse 32, Germany. Based on a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1509 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

[Feininger, 1911f] Lyonel Feininger, 1911f. Letter „Paris, May 15, 1911 (on the back of the envelope: " L. Feininger, Paris, 135 Bd. Montparnasse") to Mrs. Julia Feininger, Zehlendorf near Berlin, Königstrasse 32, Germany. Quoted (note 108, p. 37) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1511 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA).

[Feininger, 1912] Lyonel Feininger, 1912. Feininger par lui-même. *Les Tendances nou-velles: revue d'art illustrée et mensuelle*, 56:1338–1340. 6 ill. German translation of the text without illustrations in [March, 2014, p. 120f.].

[Feininger, 1913a] Lyonel Feininger, 1913a. Letter „ " (Zehlendorf M., Königstr. 32, January 21, 1913) (finished two weeks later with the date "February 8") to Alfred Kubin.
1913" (finished two weeks later with the date „February 8") to Alfred Kubin.
Quoted (pp. 27, 38) from Luckhardt, 2015, pp. 207–209]. English translation: [Feininger, 1913b].

[Feininger, 1913b] Lyonel Feininger, 1913b. Letter from Zehlendorf-Mitte, January 21, 1913, to Alfred Kubin. Shortened and simplified translation of [Feininger, 1913a] in [Ness, 1974, pp. 37–40].

[Feininger, 1913c] Lyonel Feininger, 1913c. Letter „Weimar, Sunday, May 18, 1913" to Mrs. Julia Feininger, Zehlendorf-Mitte (Wannseebahn), Königstr. 32". Quoted (p. 28) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1573 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–

1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA). English translation: [Feininger, 1913d].

[Feininger, 1913d] Lyonel Feininger, 1913d. Letter „Weimar, Sunday, May 18, 1913" to Julia Feininger. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1913c] by Julia Feininger. Quoted (Note 3.3, p. 28) from [Ness, 1974, p. 72].

[Feininger, 1913e] Lyonel Feininger, 1913e. Letter with sender Feininger, Kurtstr. 7a, Weimar, dated Tuesday, August 26, 1913, 8 p.m., to Julia Feininger at the Hotel Hess in Engelberg (Obwalden exclave, Switzerland). Quoted (p. 79) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:1602 (nos. 1505–1707, years 1911–1915). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA). English translation: [Feininger, 1913f].

[Feininger, 1913f] Lyonel Feininger, 1913f. Letter from Weimar, Aug. 26, 1913, to Julia Feininger. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1913e] by JULIA Feininger. Partly quoted in [Ness, 1974, p. 73].

[Feininger, 1916a] Lyonel Feininger, 1916a. Letter from Leo Feininger, Zehlendorf-Mitte, Königstr. 32, dated July 31, 1916, to Julia Feininger at the Spießberghaus (formerly a ducal forester's lodge, now a hotel) on the Rennsteig in Friedrichroda (Thuringia). Referenced (pp. 14, 21, 124) according to a photograph of the original: MS Ger 146.1:1731 (nos. 1708–1846, years 1916–1920). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA). English translation: [Feininger, 1916b].

[Feininger, 1916b] Lyonel Feininger, 1916b. Letter from Zehlendorf, July 31, 1916, to Julia Feininger. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1916a] by JULIA Feininger. Be warned that the partial quotation of this translation in [Ness, 1974, p. 86f.] is a perturbed cocktail of translations of phrases from two different letters, namely [Feininger, 1916a] and [Feininger, 1916c].

[Feininger, 1916c] Lyonel Feininger, 1916c. Letter with sender Leo Feininger, Zehlendorf-Mitte, Königstr. 32, dated August 2, 1916, to Julia Feininger at Spießberghaus in Friedrichroda (Thuringia). Referenced (pp. 14, 124, 124) and quoted (p. 21) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger 146.1:1733 (nos. 1708–1846, years 1916–1920). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA). English translation: [Feininger, 1916d].

[Feininger, 1916d] Lyonel Feininger, 1916d. Letter from Zehlendorf, Aug. 2, 1916, to Julia Feininger. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1916c] by JULIA Feininger in an unpublished typescript.

[Feininger, 1916e] Lyonel Feininger, 1916e. Letter from L. Feininger, Zehlendorf-Mitte near Berlin, Königstr. 32, dated September 28, 1916, to Alfred Kubin. Quoted (p. 43) from [Luckhardt, 2015, pp. 269–270]. English translation: [Feininger, 1916f].

[Feininger, 1916f] Lyonel Feininger, 1916f. Letter from Zehlendorf-Mitte, September 28, 1916, to Alfred Kubin. Shortened and simplified translation of [Feininger, 1916e] in [Ness, 1974, p. 48ff.].

[Feininger, 1917] Lyonel Feininger, 1917. Letter from Zehlendorf-Mitte, March 14, 1917, to Paul Westheim. Reprinted in [Schardt, 1931b, p. 216f.], [Vordemberge-Gildewart, 1932], [Schreyer, 1957]. Quoted (p. 39) from [Schreyer, 1957, Bekenntnis zum Expressionismus, pp. 18–20], identical to Schardt, 1931b, p. 216f.]. (*In this letter, which is probably a response to [* Westheim, *1917], Lyonel Feininger refers to his previous candid communication with Paul Westheim (I am moved to write these lines out of concern that I may not have expressed myself clearly enough on this matter recently."), which was misused for the negative criticism of Feininger in [*Westheim, *1917]. If this letter is reproduced in full in the above-mentioned publications, then one must admire Feininger's lack of any polemics or retaliation to Westheim's insults.)*

[Feininger, 1920] Lyonel Feininger, 1920. Buttelstedt. Woodcut on vellum with typed inscription on the reverse, without any connection to the text, bound between pages 204 and 205 in the article [Valentiner, 1920a] in the yearbook [Biermann, 1920] and not included at all in the separate print [Valentiner, 1920b].

[Feininger, 1927a] Lyonel Feininger, 1927a. Letter Dessau, 25.II.27" to Julia Feininger in Dresden. Quoted (note 90, p. 31) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1 (nos. 2045–2223, years 1926–1930), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); digitized with persistent URL https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3: FHCL.HOUGH:38601516?n=89. English translation: [Feininger, 1927b].

[Feininger, 1927b] Lyonel Feininger, 1927b. Letter from Dessau, Feb. 25, 1927, to Julia Feininger in Dresden. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1927a] by JULIA Feininger. Partly quoted in [Ness, 1974, p. 154].

[Feininger, 1927c] Lyonel Feininger, 1927c. Letter Deep, Aug. 2, 1927, to Julia Feininger. Quoted (note 51, p. 19) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:2076 (nos. 2045–2223, years 1926–1930), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); digitized with persistent URL https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL. HOUGH:38601516. English translation: [Feininger, 1927d].

[Feininger, 1927d] Lyonel Feininger, 1927d. Letter from Deep, Aug. 2, 1927, to Julia Feininger. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1927c] by Julia Feininger. Quoted (Note 51, p. 31) from [Ness, 1974, p. 156].

[Feininger, 1927e] Lyonel Feininger, 1927e. Letter dated Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1927, from Dessau to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Quoted (p. 31) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:2082 (nos. 2045–2223, years 1926–1930), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); digitized with persistent URL https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3: FHCL.HOUGH:38601516?n=172.

[Feininger, 1927f] Lyonel Feininger, 1927f. Letter dated Saturday, September 24, 1927, from Dessau to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Quoted (p. 28) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger146.1:2084 (nos. 2045–2223, years 1926–1930), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); digitized with persistent URL https://nrs.harvard.edu/ urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:38601516?n=182. English translation: [Feininger, 1927g].

[Feininger, 1927g] Lyonel Feininger, 1927g. Letter from Dessau, Sept. 24, 1927, to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1927f] by JULIA Feininger. Partly quoted in [Ness, 1974, p. 157].

[Feininger, 1927h] Lyonel Feininger, 1927h. Letter dated „Monday, Sept. 26, 1927" to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Quoted (p. 30) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger 146.1:2085 (nos. 2045–2223, years 1926–1930), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); digitized with persistent URL https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:38601516?n=186. English translation: [Feininger, 1927i].

[Feininger, 1927i] Lyonel Feininger, 1927i. Letter, Sept. 26, 1927, to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1927h] by Julia Feininger. Partly quoted in [Ness, 1974, p. 157f.], under the wrong date „September 16, 1927."

[Feininger, 1927j] Lyonel Feininger, 1927j. " " Letter from Dessau, Sept. 28, 1927, to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Referenced (pp. 92, 126) and quoted (pp. 29, 30) from a photograph of the original: MS Ger 146.1:2087 (nos. 2045–2223, years 1926–1930), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); digitized with persistent URL https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:38601516?n=194. English translation: [Feininger, 1927k].

[Feininger, 1927k] Lyonel Feininger, 1927k. Letter from Dessau, Sept. 28, 1927, to Julia Feininger in Berlin. Shortened English translation of [Feininger, 1927j] by JULIA Feininger. Partly quoted in [Ness, 1974, p. 157f.].

[Feininger, 1931] Julia Feininger, 1931. " " letter dated March 25, 1931, to Lyonel Feininger. MS Ger 146.1 (nos. 113–1162), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA); not yet digitized; no access since 2020. Quoted (note 96, p. 32) from [Büche, 2010a, p.165].

[Feininger, 1932a] Lyonel Feininger, 1932a. Letter „Deep, June 4, 1932, to Julia Feininger, Dessau, Anh., Stresemann-Allee 3. Quoted (pp. 12f., 30) after a photograph of the original: MS Ger 146.1:2310 (nos. 2224–2404, 1931–1935), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (MA). Partially and incorrectly quoted in [Feininger, 1963, p.118]. English translation: [Feininger, 1932b].

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[Purrmann, 1961b] Hans Purrmann, 1961b. Memories of the painter Rudolf Levy and the years of friendship spent with him. In [Levy, 1961, pp. 9–45]. Final version from 1951, authorized by Genia Levy, in which Purrmann presents his memories of Levy and his circle at *the Café du Dôme* in an artistic, anecdotal form, together with key biographical data. The penultimate version from 1950 was rightly criticized by Genia Levy because Purrmann criticized Levy's recklessness shortly before his arrest by the SS. However, this penultimate version, albeit fragmented and rearranged, can be found in [Purrmann, 1961a, pp. 11–14, 18–20, 62–84, 216–222]. Further information on its creation: [Billeter, 2023].

[Ruhmer, 1961] Eberhard Ruhmer, 1961. *Lyonel Feininger – Drawings, Watercolors, Prints*. F. Bruckmann, Munich. 68 pp.

[Sabarsky, 1979] Serge Sabarsky, 1979. *Lyonel Feininger — Drawings and Watercolors*. Serge Sabarsky Gallery, 987 Madison Avenue, New York. LCCN 79067489, 144 pp.

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[Sabarsky, 1993] Serge Sabarsky, 1993. *Lyonel Feininger — Drawings, Watercolors, and Prints*. Uwe Kraus GmbH, Murr, Germany. Catalog accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Abguss-Samml. Antiker Plastik, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Schlossstr. 69b, Oct. 30–Dec. 19, 1993. 120 pp. Content as in [Sabarsky, 1991], but reduced by two dozen drawings and watercolors and expanded by one and a half dozen prints.

[Salzmann & Salzmann, 1975] Siegfried Salzmann, Dorothea Salzmann, 1975. *Oskar Moll – Life and Work*. Verlag F. Bruckmann KG, Munich. 190 pp. ISBN 3765415456.

[Schardt, 1930] Alois J. Schardt, 1930. L. Feininger's new cityscapes: Some prerequisites. *Kreis von Halle. Monthly magazine for culture and the meaning of economics, Albert Neubert Publishing House, Halle an der Saale,* I(1):3+21–25. Reprinted in [Büche, 2010a, pp. 153–155], unfortunately without the photograph on page 3.

[Schardt, 1931a] Alois J. Schardt, 1931a. L. Feininger's Pictures of the City of Halle. *Yearbook of Monument Preservation in the Province of Saxony and Anhalt. Eds. Hermann Giesau, Ludwig Grote. Verlag August Hopfer, Burg bei Magdeburg,* 1931:48–59. With 8 photographs of works by Lyonel Feininger and 5 photographs by Feininger of the same motifs. Reprinted in [Büche, 2010a, pp. 156–158], but unfortunately without the 13 essential photographs. (*In combination with the photographs (which are not staged, but were taken before or at the same time as the works depicted), this is—despite* Schardt's *weak "static/dynamic" metaphor—the strongest, most important, and most controversial Feininger essay by Alois Schardt, who shared the artistic and painterly world of Lyonel and Julia Feininger like no other.)*

[Schardt, 1931b] Alois J. Schardt, 1931b. On Feininger's work. *Das Kunstblatt – Monthly magazine for artistic development in painting, sculpture, architecture, and crafts, edited by Paul Westheim, published by Hermann Reckendorf, Berlin*, XV(7:July):215–221. https://magazines.iaddb.org/issue/DKB/1931-07-01/ edition/15-7/page/27?query=.

[Schardt et al., 1944] Alois J. Schardt, Alfred H. Barr Jr., Monroe Wheeler, Mars-den Hartley, 1944. *Feininger — Hartley*. The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York. Catalog of the exhibition with the same title in the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York, Oct. 24, 1944 – Jan. 14, 1945; a double exhibition of works by both Lyonel Feininger (director: Dorothy C. Miller, https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3157) (1871–1956, Metropolitan Museum of Art laureate 1942) and Marsden Hartley (director: Hudson D. Walker, https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3155) (1877–1943). 96 pp.+ 2 color plates.

[Scheyer, 1964] Ernst Scheyer, 1964. *Lyonel Feininger — Caricature and Fantasy*. Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit (MI). LCCN 64015880. 197 pp.

[Schmalenbach, 1979] Werner Schmalenbach, 1979. *20 Masterpieces of Classical Modernism from the Art Collection of North Rhine-Westphalia, Düsseldorf*. Ed. Art Collection North Rhine-Westphalia, Düsseldorf, 90 pp.

[Schmidt, 1964] Diether Schmidt, 1964. *Künstlerschriften (Writings by German Artists of the Twentieth Century)*. No. 15/16/17 + 10/11 in Fundus-Bücher. VEB Verlag der Kunst, Dresden. Vol. I: Manifeste Manifeste – 1905–1933. Vol. II: In letzter Stunde – 1933–1945.

[Schreyer, 1957] Lothar Schreyer, 1957. *Lyonel Feininger – Documents and Visions*. Albert Langen & Georg Müller Verlag, Munich. (*Lothar Schreyer (1886–1966) was a Bauhaus master of the stage design class (1921–1923) and probably the only signatory of the pledge of loyal allegiance to Adolf Hitler in the "Rally of German Writers" in October 1933, who was exhibited and ostracized in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition Munich, 1937, and was ostracized).*

[Schulz-Vanselow, 1992] Hans Schulz-Vanselow, 1992. *Lyonel Feininger und Kolberg – Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Photographien, Briefe*. Verlag Peter Jancke, Hamburg. ISBN 3927996114. 52 pp.

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[Société des Artistes Indépendants, 1911] Société des Artistes Indépendants (ed.), 1911. *Catalogue de la 27 ^{me}exposition*. Paris, 1911. 470 pp. https://pv-gallery.com/downloadFile?objectId=36006512.

[Stamm & Schreiber, 2003] Reiner Stamm, Daniel Schreiber (eds.), 2003. *Building a New World. Architectural Visions of Expressionism*. Verlag der Buchhandlung Walter König, Cologne. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Kunstsammlungen Böttcherstraße, Bremen, March 23–June 8, 2003, and at the Bauhaus-Archiv, Museum für Gestaltung, Berlin, July 16–Sept. 15, 2003. ISBN 388375689X, 192 pp.

[Teller, 1917] Charlotte Teller, 1917. Feininger — fantasist. *The International Studio*, LXIII(249, Nov. 1917):xxv–xxx. German translation by Matthias Mühling in [Luckhardt & Mühling, 2003, pp. 19–23]. (*An homage to Feininger as the creator of*

*„City at the End of the World," referring here to the streets — populated with figures lost in themselves — of Feininger's non-Cubist paintings from 1907 to 1911, especially Green Bridge I (*Hess 44) *„from 1909, probably Feininger's most powerful painting before 1912, from which the story of Matisse's reaction to this painting is also published here for the first time, cf. note 109).*

[Thesing, 1990] Susanne Thesing, 1990. *Rudolf Levy – Life and Work*. Verlag für moderne Kunst, Nuremberg. ISBN 392253189X. 259 pp. (*Despite the large format, even the full-page illustrations are printed in small format, and despite the dominance of color in Rudolf Levy's work, the majority of the illustrations are in black and white.)*

[Thesing et al., 2023] Susanne Thesing, Vanessa Gavioli, Camilla Brunelli (eds.), 2023. *Rudolf Levy (1875–1944) – L'opera e l'esilio.* Electa S.p.A., Milan. Book-catalogue accompanying the exhibition of the same name at Palazzo Pitti (Andito degli Angiolini), Le Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, January 24 – April 30, 2023. ISBN 9788892823792. 184 pp. (*Unfortunately without the Still Life with Hyacinths [*Thesing, *1990, p.123 (in black and white)] from 1921, perhaps Levy's best oil painting in terms of color).*

[Timm, 1992] Werner Timm, 1992. *Lyonel Feininger – Experience and Vision: Journeys to the Baltic Sea 1892–1935.* Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg, Regensburg. Catalog book accompanying the exhibition of the same name at the Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg, Regensburg, June 28–August 30, 1992, and at the Kunsthalle Bremen, Bremen, September 15–October 27, 1992. ISBN 389188060X. 251 pp.

[Valentiner, 1920a] Wilhelm R. Valentiner, 1920a. Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. In [Biermann, 1920, pp. 189–212], with 16 illustrations and an additional woodcut by Lyonel Feininger, cf. [Feininger, 1920].

[Valentiner, 1920b] Wilhelm R. Valentiner, 1920b. *Karl Schmidt-Rottluff*. No. 16 in Junge Kunst. Published by Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig. 1 color plate (frontispiece), 16 pp. text, 32 illustrations (appendix).

[Villon et al., 1949] Jacques Villon, George Heard Hamilton, Thomas B. Hess, Frederick S. Wight, 1949. *Villon — Feininger*. Chanticleer Press, New York. Catalog of the exhibition with the same title in the Inst. of Contemporary Art in Boston, 1949; a double exhibition of works by both Jacques Villon and Lyonel Feininger. 46 pp.

[Vordemberge-Gildewart, 1932] Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, 1932. *Lyonel Feininger – Catalog for the 118th Exhibition of the Kestner Society, Hanover*. Kestner Society, Hanover. 8 pp.

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[Walter, 2015] Emily Walter (ed.), 2015. *Lyonel Feininger, The Early Years, 1980–1906 — Drawings from a private collection*. Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York. Catalog book on the occasion of an exhibition of the same title at Achim Moeller Fine Art, 35 East 64th St., New York, March 30 – June 26, 2015. ISBN 9780692396292. 80 pp.

[Weber, 2007] Christiane Weber, 2007. *Lyonel Feininger – genial – ostracized – famous*. 1st ed., ISBN 3937939725, Weimarer Taschenbuch-Verlag, Weimar (2nd rev. extd. ed. 2015, ISBN 3737402101, Weimarer Verlagsgesellschaft im Verlagshaus Römerweg, Wiesbaden). (*A very good and highly readable overview of the life of Lyonel Feininger).*

[Wenzel, 1970] Hartmut Wenzel, 1970. A contribution to the settlement history of the town of Buttelstedt. *Scientific journal of the University of Architecture and Civil Engineering Weimar, ISSN 05099773*, 17:65–79.

[Westheim, 1917] Paul Westheim, 1917. Lyonel Feininger. *Das Kunstblatt – published by Paul Westheim, Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, Weimar,* I(3:March):65–70. https://magazines.iaddb.org/issue/DKB/1917-03-01/edition/1-3/page/5. *(Negative Criticism of Lyonel Feininger's nature as a tragic figure who transcends the usual sufferings of creative people, based on the candid communication that preceded the letter [*Feininger*, 1917]. This critique attributes* Feininger's *weakness to his being a "man with three souls" due to his widely varying, alternating creative methods, then concludes that he turns out to be a romantic at heart, who is "full of lyrical feeling" in his work, and ends, completely out of context, with the senseless insult: "One could call him a* Spitzweg of Cubism*." The clothing of the figures in some of Feininger's early paintings may be reminiscent of Biedermeier fashion, and the top hat, a symbol of the Biedermeier period, is often found there, but these paintings are not Cubist. Even the irony of the Biedermeier period, which is still clearly recognizable today and sometimes drastic in the paintings of Carl Spitzweg (1808–1885), could be attributed to the alternation between quiet irony (cf. [* Deuchler, *1992, p . 10, r.]) and sly caricature in Lyonel Feininger's paintings and drawings, which refer more to Victor Hugo's Romanticism than to German Biedermeier, could hardly be more distant.)*

[Wirth, 2021a] Claus-Peter Wirth, 2021a. *A Most Interesting Draft for Hilbert and Bernays' "Grundlagen der Mathematik" that never found its way into any publication, and two CVs of Gisbert Hasenjaeger*. SEKI Publications, Bremen. https://arxiv.org/abs/1803.01386. SEKI Working Paper SWP–2017–01 (ISSN 1860–5931). 4th edn., June 25, 2021, ii+60 pp., revised to correspond with the blog "ETHeritage" https://etheritage.ethz.ch/2021/06/25/urschriften-zu-hilbert-bernays-grun dlagen-der-mathematik/ and the new subfolder Hs 973:41.1, ETH Library, University Archives. 1st edn., March 2018, ii+33 pp. 2nd thoroughly rev. & largely extd. edn., Jan. 2020, ii+44 pp. 3rd thoroughly rev. & largely extd. edn., June 9, 2021, ii+60 pp. The "Draft" mentioned in the title is [Bernays & Hasenjaeger, 1952(?)].

[Wirth, 2021b] Claus-Peter Wirth, 2021b. Gisbert Hasenjaeger and a most interesting unpublished draft for Hilbert and Bernays' "Grundlagen der Mathematik". *Siegen Contributions to the History and Philosophy of Mathematics, ISSN 2197-5590,* 14:1–56. Thoroughly rev. and improved version of [Wirth, 2021a]. https://www.universi.uni-siegen.de/katalog/reihen/sieb.

[Wolfradt, 1924] Willi Wolfradt, 1924. *Lyonel Feininger*. Published by Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig. Color cover+ 24 pp. Text+ 32 plates. *(First monograph on* Lyonel Feininger*)*.

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