

Christina Bartosch



Exhibiting Abstraction

Strategies in the Propagation
of an Avant-garde 1908–1915

DE GRUYTER

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Table of Contents

9	Acknowledgements
11	Note to the Reader
13	Introduction
13	Questioning the 'fathers of abstraction'
17	The interpretation of behaviours as strategies
18	Data-based: The method explained
21	Abstraction as 'symbolic capital', the exhibition as 'field of cultural production'?
22	The structure of the book

PART ONE

The Exhibition of Abstract Art, 1908-1915

27	The Form and Function of Modern-Art Exhibitions in the Early Twentieth Century
27	Quantifying exhibition history
28	The development of avant-garde exhibitions and the launching of abstract art on the public (1908-1915)
34	Strategies in the Presentation of an Avant-Garde
34	Target the audience
39	Experimenting at the periphery
41	The artist group as incubator
44	Dimensions speak: statements expressed by the inch
46	Chromatic coordination
50	The Impact of Exhibiting Abstraction: The Propagation of an Avant-Garde
50	Boroni and the hoax of abstraction
52	One consequential Salon: the exhibition as propeller
54	Successful strategies?
56	Conclusion

PART TWO

Case Studies: Artists and Exhibitions

61	Introduction & Disclaimer
62	Tentatively Exhibiting Abstraction: Balla's Behaviour with Different Audiences
62	Introduction
62	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
69	Balla's exhibition strategy
74	Conclusion
76	Boccioni: The Coexistence of Figuration and Abstraction
76	Introduction
77	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
83	Boccioni's exhibition behaviour
89	Conclusion

91	Kandinsky Strategizing: How to Target Various Audiences at Once
91	Introduction
92	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
98	Kandinsky's exhibition strategy
103	Written support: Kandinsky's publication strategy
105	Conclusion
106	When Less Is More – Kupka's Concentrated Exhibition Activity
106	Introduction
107	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
113	Kupka's exhibition behaviour
117	Conclusion
119	Suprematist Exhibition Behaviour: Malevich at the Centre of Attention
119	Introduction
120	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
127	Malevich's exhibition strategy
133	Conclusion
134	Mondrian's Consistency towards Abstraction
134	Introduction
135	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
141	Mondrian's exhibition strategies
145	Conclusion
147	Picabia: Ambassador of Abstraction
147	Introduction
147	Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution
155	Picabia's exhibition strategy
158	Conclusion
160	Women Artists Exhibiting (Abstraction?)
160	Introduction
162	Quantitative analysis
168	Conclusion
169	Première for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the <i>Sonderbund</i> in Düsseldorf, 1910
169	Introduction
170	Context: the <i>Sonderbund</i> and Kandinsky
171	The 1910 exhibition of the <i>Sonderbund</i> : content and abstraction
176	Reception of Kandinsky's works at the <i>Sonderbund</i> exhibition, 1910
177	Conclusion
179	Kandinsky Continues: The NKVM's <i>Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11</i> in Munich, 1910
179	Introduction
180	Context: the NKVM and Kandinsky
182	<i>Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11</i> : content and abstraction in Munich in 1910
187	Artist's writings and reception
188	Conclusion
190	From Munich to Moscow: Kandinsky's Abstraction at the <i>Jack of Diamonds</i> Exhibition, 1910
190	Introduction
191	Context: <i>Jack of Diamonds</i> and Kandinsky
193	<i>Jack of Diamonds</i> : content and abstraction
196	Artist's writings and reception
198	Conclusion

199	Picabia as Kandinsky's First Follower at the <i>Salon de Juin</i>, Rouen 1912
199	Introduction
200	Context: the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne and Picabia
201	<i>Salon de Juin</i> : content and abstraction
205	Artist's writings and reception
206	Conclusion
208	Abstraction Double Bill: Kupka and Picabia at the <i>Salon d'Automne</i>, Paris 1912
208	Introduction
208	Context: the Société du Salon d'Automne, Kupka and Picabia
209	<i>Salon d'Automne, 10^e exposition</i> : content and abstraction
212	Artists' writings and reception
215	Conclusion
216	Total Abstraction: The First Fully Abstract Exhibition: Picabia in New York, 1913
216	Introduction
216	Context: Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession and Picabia
217	<i>An Exhibition of Studies Made in New York, by François Picabia, of Paris</i> : content and abstraction
221	Artist's writings and reception
224	Conclusion
226	Famous Last Words – So What?

Appendix

227	A1: Exhibitions and Exhibited Artworks
313	A2: Comparative Table of Exhibition Statistics for the Seven Male Artists
315	A3: Table of Exhibitions by the 13 Women Artists
323	A4: Methodology Extended: Coding the Dataset
333	Register of Artist Names
336	Table of Figures and Tables
339	List of References
349	Illustration Sources

Addendum

359	Full List of Exhibitions and Exhibited Artworks
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Note to the Reader

In order to avoid misunderstandings, some clarifications are given below about certain concepts and terms used repeatedly in the book.

Exhibition dates

For all quantitative analyses in this study, exhibitions starting in one year and ending in the next are only counted for the year in which they started.

Discrepancies between catalogues raisonnés, exhibition catalogues, and secondary literature

In certain cases, the information gathered from the catalogues raisonnés, the main source used for the collection of data for this study, does not match the information given in the original exhibition catalogue or the secondary literature. Considering that exhibition catalogues might carry mistakes as to what exactly was exhibited (due to potential discrepancies between what artists announced they *would* provide versus what they ultimately submitted or what was approved), the information that is trusted first and foremost in this study is that which appears in the catalogue raisonné. This assumes that the editors of catalogues raisonnés had the resources to verify information in the exhibition catalogues, in addition to having more sources at their disposal in general (such as correspondence, press reviews, labels on the back of artworks, etc.), thus achieving a more rounded and accurate view of the inclusion of artworks in specific exhibitions. Cases of particularly consequential discrepancies are mentioned accordingly at relevant points in the chapters.

Language

Quotes are given in English, except when their original language is either English, German, French, or Italian, in which case the original language is quoted without translation.

In the case of exhibition titles, the title given in the original exhibition catalogue was used wherever possible, hence citing them in the original language. If that source was not available, the information from the catalogue raisonné was used, in whichever language the catalogue raisonné is written in. Only titles in non-Latin script (such as Cyrillic, for example) were transliterated.

Geography

Countries are named as per their historical geographical borders before the First World War. Therefore, certain cities are attributed to countries they are not part of at the time of writing (as is the case, for example, for Kyiv and Odessa). This clarification is particularly important and sensitive in the light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Work vs. catalogue entry

In this study, I repeatedly use the terms ‘work’ and ‘catalogue entry’. While ‘work’ stands for the individual work of art, the ‘catalogue entry’ stands for its presentation at exhibition and thus it having an entry in the exhibition catalogue. (‘Catalogue entry’ should therefore not be confused with catalogue raisonné number.) Therefore, if shown in more than one exhibition, a single work can result in several catalogue entries.

Avant-garde

I am aware that the term ‘avant-garde’ and its derivatives (such as ‘avant-gardist’) has had contested meanings over the course of the twentieth century. In fact, the term ‘avant-garde’ has led to an oversimplified understanding of certain aspects of art history, particularly Modernism. Despite its shortcomings, ‘avant-garde’ and its derivatives will still be used in this book, partly for lack of a better term. It is, however, a concept that I nevertheless wish to challenge to some degree in the present publication by showing that it is impossible to clearly demark the limits between the ‘avant-garde’ and less radical or even conservative art styles. Their actors cannot be neatly separated into just one camp; there is *de facto* regular overlap between them, as some of the results of my study will show.

Nevertheless, in the present context, the terms ‘avant-garde’ and ‘avant-gardist’ are mostly used in the sense of an art practice that distinguishes itself from the general practice *en vogue* at the time to create a kind of art that is unprecedented and consciously pushes the boundaries of what is known and accepted at the time of its creation.

Introduction

Questioning the ‘fathers of abstraction’

Art-historical discourse has made the time around 1910 the moment that abstraction was ‘invented’. I am aware that this sentence is highly problematic in many ways, not least because of its imprecision. Numerous publications repeat this (mis)conception, from entire exhibitions and their catalogues dedicated to the topic (for example, MoMA’s 2013 show *Inventing Abstraction, 1910–1925*), to monographic works about the various actors – first and foremost the artists themselves – seen as responsible for this (by all means certainly ground-breaking!) ‘invention’.¹ As Raphael Rosenberg has repeatedly shown since 2007,² abstraction was not in fact invented around 1910. Abstract images – or to use Rosenberg’s more precise term, *amimetic* images – existed long before Kandinsky’s abstractions or Malevich’s *Quadrilatère* (better known today as his *Black Square*), only they were not always considered art, let alone exhibited (at least not as such). Rosenberg claims that it was Kandinsky who, mainly through his writings, elevated (his own) amimetic images to the level of (capital A) Abstract Art, thus paving the way for the reception of this (not quite so new) innovation. Immediate predecessors who had produced abstract images in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were, for example, Hilma af Klint and Leopold Stolba. Slightly older examples of abstraction can be found in Georgiana Houghton’s works, or in drawings by JMW Turner and the writer Victor Hugo, among others, as Rosenberg convincingly shows. The innovative nature of some of these artists’ works has recently been acknowledged by respected international museums in the form of specially dedicated exhibitions. Hilma af Klint was granted a large exhibition (2018–2019) at New York’s Guggenheim Museum, while the Lenbachhaus in Munich simultaneously presented the art of Georgiana Houghton and Hilma af Klint (and that of Emma Kunze – irrelevant in the present context). Why have we never – or rather only very recently – come into contact with the names of artists that preceded the largely overtold story of the ‘invention of abstraction’, as approved, retold, and enshrined by the canon? Had the so-called ‘fathers’ of abstraction (Kandinsky & co.) even heard of these names and seen the pictures that these earlier artists had created?

The process I have just described anticipates the very concept to which this book is dedicated: the importance of exhibitions for the visibility and propagation of new ideas in art. Were these abstract artworks, by the so-called ‘fathers’ of abstraction as well as their predecessors, exhibited publicly around the time of their creation? If so, what impact did that have on the still-ongoing process of ‘invention’? Focussing on the years 1908 to 1915,

1 To name just a few examples: Duchamp 1957, pp. 156–157; Lemoine 2003; Maloon 2010; Dickerman 2012.

2 Rosenberg 2007, 2011, 2015, 2017.



the period that saw the move from mimetic images to abstract art, the following pages will specifically concern the exhibition of abstraction – or, to be more precise, art that can now be called abstract to lesser and greater degrees. Such a focus is necessary because ‘a broad understanding of the history of display and its effects still eludes us’.³

As hinted at above, the practice and importance of exhibiting art to the general public still prevails today.⁴ Exhibitions confirm statements made in the art world and make them available to the public at large. As Rachel Esner, among others, has explained, the public presentation and ensuing discussion of art were born out of a necessity: the development in the status of the artist, who went from being a skilled craftsperson to (at best) an inventive genius, and the loss of the Church and nobility as the sole patrons commissioning such work. This shift required a new platform where the artists’ creations could be shown and sold.⁵ In terms of showcasing and trading art, the exhibition consequently replaced the *Kunstkammer* and *Wunderkammer* as well as the princely collections previously reserved for members of court and their guests. As a cultural phenomenon, the exhibition has thus emerged as one of the most important mediums of communication and revenue-generators within the art world.

In the past, several scholarly projects paid attention to the phenomenon of the avant-garde exhibition, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. This resulted in various publications focusing on the same selection of exhibitions, thus canonizing them as ‘momentous’ events in art history. Only a few of these scholarly projects attempted a somewhat more comprehensive approach. In 1974, Donald E. Gordon published *Modern Art Exhibitions 1900–1916*, assembling 426 artists he considered modern (thus perpetuating the canon of modern artists) and listing all exhibitions they participated in during the said time-frame as well as the artworks they exhibited there. Although his *Modern Art Exhibitions* is an impressive and extensive achievement – particularly for the time in which it was produced and the methods available at that time – due to the limitation of a specified list of artists, many other artists, and, by extension, also exhibitions, did not find their way into the book. As such, the result is incomplete and, moreover, erroneous. More recent initiatives that strive more consistently in the same direction (presenting a less biased assessment of the exhibition landscape in the early twentieth century) are the *Artl@s* project⁶ and the University of Vienna’s *Database of Modern Exhibitions*.⁷ These databases are first and foremost collections of data, made possible through state-of-the-art technologies, and are limited in scope by their respective research projects and questions.

3 As Ward already remarked in 1996 (see Ward 1996, p. 452). I claim that this is still the case in 2025.

4 As the following authors, among others, show for studies of exhibitions in the nineteenth and twentieth century: Burns 1996; Chu 2007; Esner 2013; Esner, Kisters, and Lehmann 2013; van Dijk 2017; Esner and Kisters 2018.

5 Esner 2013, unpag.

6 URL: <https://artlas.huma-num.fr/map/>.

7 DoME, URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/>.

Hence, none of the above-mentioned sources can (yet) claim total comprehensiveness. And none of them has focussed exclusively on abstract art. The presence of abstract art in exhibitions around the time of its 'invention' is therefore a blind-spot in the history of abstraction. The pages lying before you intend to challenge this status quo and bring this area into sharp focus.

Since at least the middle of the nineteenth century, exhibitions have in fact been an intrinsic part of the art world, with artists using them for several reasons. They are platforms that address very real – and in the art-historical discourse often ignored or suppressed – *economic* necessities. Exhibitions are a marketplace to sell one's art,⁸ and at the same time a place to secure future commissions. Exhibitions allow works to become visible to the public and get discussed by critics, which makes it possible for the artists themselves to participate in the discourse of contemporary art. They enable artists to position themselves in the art scene and – in the case of the artists studied here – at the spearhead of the international avant-garde of their time by representing and promoting the newest ideas in art while signalling their affiliation to specific trends or groups. Ideally, the exhibition would confirm the respectability of the artists' works. They are the vector through which the artists receive the public's affirmation or rejection, gain appreciation or lose it, and increase or decrease their symbolic capital (to borrow Bourdieu's term). Marcel Duchamp explained that 'the creative act is not performed by the artist alone; the spectator brings the work in contact with the external world [...] and thus adds his contribution to the creative act.'⁹ In that sense, the exhibition is indispensable in completing the artwork. Kandinsky on the other hand, describes the exhibition as an artwork in itself that must be thought of and composed as such, following a precise idea and resulting in a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (in a process that we might nowadays call curating).¹⁰ Last but not least, as Robert Jensen indicates, exhibitions serve the artists' willingness to 'foster their own myths'.¹¹ Indeed, then as now, the exhibition could also be used to distribute manifestos, texts, and publications,

8 'Museum exhibitions of contemporary art are frequently mounted in joint efforts with artists and the art trade. This practice, usually discussed only behind closed doors today, seems to have been handled with relative openness until WWII, when exhibitions of contemporary art in public institutions were in fact often selling exhibitions', Nathan 2018 (online). Furthermore, Jensen 1988 (p. 362) elaborates on the financial motivations of artists and gallerists alike, putting them in an interdependent (or inter-profitable) relationship with each other ('each party enters into the market for a variety of advantages').

9 Duchamp 1957, p. 140.

10 Kandinsky 2007a, p. 471: 'Ein Bild malen und eine Ausstellung machen sind zwei sehr ähnliche Beschäftigungen, die aber zur selben Zeit sehr verschieden sein können. Es sind ähnliche Beschäftigungen, da im allgemeinen das Ziel dasselbe bleibt, oder bleiben sollte! Dieses Ziel ist im allgemeinen Kunst, im einzelnen Fall – Kunstwerk, Werk. Das ist eine Ausstellung, die kein zufälliges Aufhäufen der zufälligen einzelnen Werke ist, sondern ein Riesenbild, welchem als einzelne Farben einzelne Seelen der Künstler dienen. [...] Die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Bilde ist die, daß der Künstler im Bilde einzelne Farben nicht irgendwie zufällig anwendet. Sein Ausgangspunkt ist die Idee des Bildes. Zur Verwirklichung dieser Idee verwendet er Farben, die in einer also "harmonischen" Behandlung alle gleich gerecht ihre gleichen Rechte bekommen. [...] Der Anfang ist [...] derselbe: eine Idee. Daß eine Ausstellung eine Idee haben muß, ist eine unbestreitbare Tatsache – sonst wäre in keiner Form die Jury nötig.'

11 Jensen 1988, p. 362.

explaining either specific images or, more generally, disseminating thoughts and developments to the wider public. All in all, exhibitions not only functioned as a marketplace at which to present the products of one's artistic practice, they also offered prime (self-)marketing opportunities. Finally, they not only showed the art to the public but to other artists too, making them aware of each other's position in the national and international art scene.

All these reasons that modern artists had to exhibit are at the same time goals they hoped to achieve. I postulate that the artists used strategies to reach those goals. More specifically, in the present case, the goals were to earn a living and position oneself among the avant-garde of the time through the means of abstraction. In turn, this partly conscious motivator became an engine in the development of abstraction in itself.

As it will become obvious throughout the upcoming pages, the exhibition of abstraction must be considered in more detail in order to determine empirically the role that exhibitions played in the creation and promotion of abstract art, and how the artists catered to that role. One area to address here are the choices made by artists in relation to exhibiting their work. What exhibition behaviour or exhibition practice did the artists adopt during the formative years of abstract art? Which works did they choose to present to the public, and how did that subsequently position them in the public eye? What was the proportion of abstract works exhibited in any given show? Which were the first exhibitions to include abstract works? What effect, if any, did the exhibition of abstract works have on the further development of the concept of abstraction?

Moving from empirically observable behaviours to intentionally planned strategies, did the artists consciously set actions in order to reach pre-defined goals? Did the artists employ specific strategies to promote abstraction in general? Or did they do so purely to advance their own position within the discourse about abstract art and get ahead of their colleagues? If so, what strategies did they decide to pursue?

These questions shall be answered by analysing the exhibition behaviours of the canonized 'pioneers' of abstraction: Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, Wassily Kandinsky, František Kupka, Kazimir Malevich, Piet Mondrian, and Francis Picabia. An in depth-analysis of their respective exhibition behaviours can be found in their individual case studies that feature in the second part of this book. They will be complemented by the study of important selected exhibitions, which, although vital in showcasing their own art and abstraction in general, have not been awarded much, or sometimes any attention by the scholarly community so far.

The choice of these seven artists was based on two conditions: first, the artist had to have created an important body of abstract art by 1915, and second, the necessary documentary sources enabling this study had to exist and be accessible. In concrete terms, the latter requires the availability of catalogues raisonnés of sufficient quality, listing not only the artworks but also their exhibition history. It is for this reason that many artists are not included in this study who are nevertheless known to have created a substantial body of abstract artwork before the First World War. Thus, sadly absent are Hilma af Klint

and Fernand Léger (whose catalogues raisonnés are not sufficiently comprehensive for the purposes of the present study), as well as Natalia Goncharova, Sonia Delaunay, Gabriele Münter, Robert Delaunay, or the lesser-known Otto Freundlich, to name just a few (who are yet to have a catalogue raisonné dedicated to them). These gaps can often be traced to the strong, centuries-old gender-bias in the field of art history. Unfortunately – while being fully aware of this flaw – the present book cannot help but add to the perpetuation of the exclusion of certain artists from the canon, including numerous women artists, because of the above-stated lack of sources. As far as the limits of this study permit, I have made a modest attempt to counterbalance this gender disparity by including the chapter ‘Women Artists Exhibiting (Abstraction?)’. Its deliberate inclusion was not only intended as a way of showing my cognizance of the problem and expressing my regret at not being able to tackle it in more depth in this book, but should hopefully also function as a call to fellow art historians and academics in general to allow for more time and resources for basic research into art and artists marginalized due to gender-bias.

The timeframe of this study is limited to eight crucial years in the canonized history of abstraction, 1908 to 1915. The start date has been set to slightly precede the commonly acknowledged first creation of abstract artworks by Kandinsky and Picabia around 1909/10,¹² so as to allow for the tracing of a – not necessarily linear – development, from figurative to more abstract, in the history of (primarily) European art exhibitions. The end-date has been chosen to include the pivotal *The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10* that famously included Malevich’s first manifestation of abstraction through Suprematism (Petrograd, 1915–1916).

The interpretation of behaviours as strategies

Identifying patterns in the artists’ exhibition behaviours and interpreting them as strategies is one way to explain them. However, I am well aware that such behavioural patterns might be explained otherwise, as they might be built on mere coincidences. Although strategies are indeed evident for some of the artists studied, as I will point out, very little documentation was found to solidly confirm that the observable behaviours were actually intentional strategies. In fact, the patterns observed could have been due to other contextual conditions, such as selection committees and competition juries, networks, dealers, collectors, critics, or all these factors combined. These external factors could in turn have been responding to additional matters such as transportation and insurance costs,

12 The identification of the first ever abstract artworks being by Kandinsky and Picabia stems from the current canon largely excluding artists known to have produced abstract images before them. This perception is only recently being challenged – and rightly so – through a growing interest in artists such as Hilma af Klint. While it is true that within Kandinsky’s and Picabia’s oeuvre their first abstract works date from 1909/10, they are not the first ones in the history of art to have painted abstract pictures, as mentioned above.

available wall and gallery space, or restrictions by number of artworks, to name just a few.¹³ All those doubtlessly had a strong influence on the final selection of artworks and the ultimate hang. Yet, the multiplicity of possible influences does not diminish the visibility of certain patterns in the chosen artists' behaviours when it comes to publicly presenting their artworks. And given strong evidence of strategic thinking (particularly in Kandinsky's case), it can be assumed that other artists acted similarly, even if no sources have survived or been unearthed to prove it explicitly in the case of each and every one of them. Indeed, despite the fact that putting together an exhibition was dependent on numerous other, largely unknown factors, the present study should be convincing enough to show that the artists certainly tried to influence things as far as was possible.

Data-based: The method explained

This book and its insights are based on the result of a quantitative, empirical study made possible through the use of a database as a digital tool. I examined all artworks that the seven artists had created by 1915 in their respective catalogues raisonnés and recorded all the ones that were exhibited between 1908 and 1915 in the database, together with a reproduction of each artwork.¹⁴ I annotated them with all necessary information (title, date, medium, measurements, et cetera) and, most importantly, with the exhibitions where they were shown. This resulted in a set of 678 artworks and 160 exhibitions that took place in 47 cities spread across 14 countries (referred to as 'the dataset' from here on).¹⁵ Coding the 678 artworks by degree of abstraction in consultation with external experts allowed me to assign a value to each and compare the exhibited works by their relative figurativeness or abstraction. The coding resulted in each artwork being categorized into one of the

13 Jensen 1988 (p. 362) reminds his readers that the intentions of not only the artists but also the dealers played a very important role, and that their relationship was often reciprocal. Hülsen-Esch 2012 (pp. 214–215) further mentions factors such as artist networks, contracts between artists and dealers, touring exhibitions, and price policies that were intricately linked to the success of an art gallery. I would add that these factors certainly also played a decisive role for artists, their exhibition participations and the works that ultimately formed part of the exhibitions, in addition to the dealers' activities themselves. Moreover, the exhibition activity of artists is but one tool at their disposal to raise attention and market themselves: Rachel Esner (Esner 2013 and 2018) has repeatedly shown that (from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards) artists knew how to stylize and market themselves, for example with the help of contemporary media; and Raphael Rosenberg (Rosenberg 2015 and 2017) has, among other things, given an insight into the effect the discourse about (abstract) art can have for the artist's positioning within that field.

14 The database used was custom built by Daniel Burckhardt for the research project within which this study took place, 'Exhibitions of Modern European Painting, 1905–1915', which resulted in the Database of Modern Exhibitions (DoME, <http://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/>). Unfortunately, due to reasons of copyright, the data pertaining to the present study recorded in the database cannot be made publicly accessible.

15 For reasons of copyright, only the exhibitions explicitly mentioned in the book will be illustrated in the Appendix (A1, p. 227), showing the artworks that the seven artists exhibited. The complete dataset, including all recorded exhibitions, is part of the original doctoral dissertation on which this book is based. The doctoral dissertation can be consulted in Vienna, at the Austrian National Library or the University of Vienna, either in the Main Library there or the Art History Library.

following groups: naturalistic; stylized – partially; stylized – wholly;¹⁶ non-representational; and anti-illusionistic (see table 1).¹⁷

Based on the collected data, the questions posed in the introduction above shall be answered in the upcoming chapters. At first glance, it might seem that the answers to some of those questions have already been acknowledged, that, in other words, ‘the profession in a sense already knows’.¹⁸ ‘Yet,’ as Robert Jensen states, ‘there is often considerable difference between what one knows intuitively and what one can demonstrate empirically.’¹⁹ As Jensen rightly observes, empirical and quantitative methods in art history are the exception to the rule, and their value and importance for the academic field and practice are still too widely ignored by the community.²⁰ Although certainly not recommendable for all questions in art-historical research, it is undoubtedly an approach that allows for new questions to be raised and established canons to be re-examined under new methodologies.

16 For exactitude in classification, the exact wording applied by art experts in the coding process was ‘stylized – form or colour’ and ‘stylized – form and colour’ (see Appendix A4, p. 323 for more details). These were then altered here to the simpler terms ‘partially’ and ‘wholly’ for ease of reading.

17 The coding was made by four external experts (art historians specializing in the period and/or in abstraction), in order to minimize bias. Works whose reproductions were of unsatisfying quality were categorized as ‘unknown’ (38 works) and coded as such. They were also relatively evenly spread over all seven artists and thus did not skew the data. Works for whom no visual evidence was available were coded as ‘no visual evidence’ (42 works). The latter were excluded from the analysis and thus did not skew the results. The detailed methodology is described in Appendix A4, p. 323.

18 Jensen 2007, p. 32.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 27.


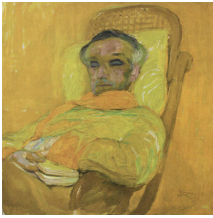
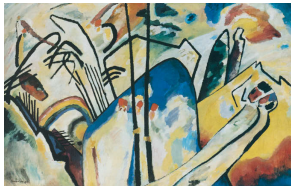
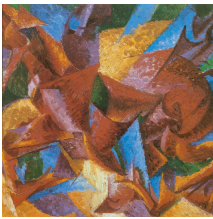
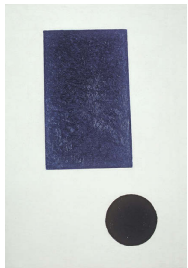
Category	Example	Criteria for classification
Naturalistic	 <p>Mondrian, <i>Zomernacht</i>, 1907</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Spatiality maintained · Plasticity maintained · Local colour/truthfulness of colour maintained · Recognizable figures and/or objects and/or landscapes present · Truthfulness of forms
Stylized – partially	 <p>Kupka, <i>La gamme jaune II</i>, 1907-9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Reduction, simplification, or distortion of colour or form or space · Stylization of colour or form or space · Flatness of space, representation more 2- than 3-dimensional, flattening of forms · Deviation from natural appearance of colour or form or space
Stylized – wholly	 <p>Kandinsky, <i>Komposition IV</i>, 1911</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Reduction, simplification, or distortion of colour and form and space · Stylization of colour and form and space · Deviation from natural appearance of colour and form and space · Stylization of all elements contained in the image
Non-representational	 <p>Boccioni, <i>Forme plastiche di un cavallo</i>, 1913</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Illusionistic elements relating to an observable existing reality · Plasticity of forms still recognizable (concave/convex curvature[s]) · Recognizable spatiality or depth (relation between foreground and background) · No concrete objects can be named or identified
Anti-illusionistic	 <p>Malevich, <i>Composition suprématiste</i>, 1915</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Everything that characterizes a 'naturalistic' artwork is non-existent · No attempt whatsoever at creating the illusion of an observable reality · No concrete objects recognizable or identifiable · No recognizable depth or spatiality

Table 1: Results of coding process: terms denoting degrees of abstraction and conditions defining allocation of pictures to each category.

Abstraction as 'symbolic capital', the exhibition as 'field of cultural production'?

According to Pierre Bourdieu, every person in society is equipped with a certain cultural capital which determines their social class. His general theory states that the more 'embodied cultural capital' a person possesses (an intangible form of capital that accumulates in each individual and that can only be acquired with personal effort and over time), the higher their position in the strata of social classes, that is to say, the higher their likelihood of their belonging to the *dominant* class.²¹ Bourdieu further proposes that the 'field of cultural production', hence the field in which culture in the widest possible sense (both mass culture and 'high culture') is produced and consumed, is divided into the field of the avant-garde (in this case Modernism) or the 'sub-field of small-scale production ("art for art's sake")' and the field of the masses (see fig. 1). The field of the avant-garde presupposes a high level of embodied cultural capital in those persons affiliated with it. Bourdieu theorizes that the goal of the latter is to amass another type of capital: 'symbolic capital'. Symbolic capital consists in increasing the recognition among the actors of said field, in order to distinguish oneself from the field of the masses. Furthermore, within that avant-garde subsection of cultural production, Bourdieu notices the creation of a reversed economic world. He observes that within this specific field, symbolic capital is worth much more than any economic capital one could accumulate. He further states that within the field of the avant-garde, an increase in economic capital automatically means a decrease in symbolic capital, thus implying a move from the avant-garde field towards the field of the masses.

These theories by Bourdieu shall be used throughout the first part of this book as a construct with which to contextualize the artists' exhibition behaviours and strategies. The theories are consciously taken as they are, without discussing or questioning them, as this was not reasonably possible within the limits of this publication. As such, given that the artists studied here can be considered part of the field of avant-garde²² cultural production, it is interesting to think about how their exhibition activity, and specifically exhibition strategy, relates to the idea of cultural capital and their positioning within the field of cultural production. Where do the artists position themselves in that context and how do they manoeuvre within these supposed classes and fields? Similarly, the question as to what role abstraction and exhibitions play in that context and inform said manoeuvring shall be considered.

21 Bourdieu 1974 and 2010. Overall, Bourdieu basically differentiates between three types of capital: economic, social, and cultural. And within cultural capital, he distinguishes between three sub-categories: embodied (cultural capital that is inherent to the person carrying it, i.e., knowledge, expertise, education), institutionalized (cultural capital that is confirmed by an institution such as a university degree), and objectified (cultural capital in the form of objects, e.g., real estate, cars, art).

22 Throughout the study, the term 'avant-garde' was used to describe art and artists long thought to have been at the forefront of artistic innovation in the early twentieth century. Although I am aware of the problems this formalist term raises, not least because of its exclusionary implications, it will still be used for lack of a better term. For more information on the use of this term, see 'Note to reader', p. 12.

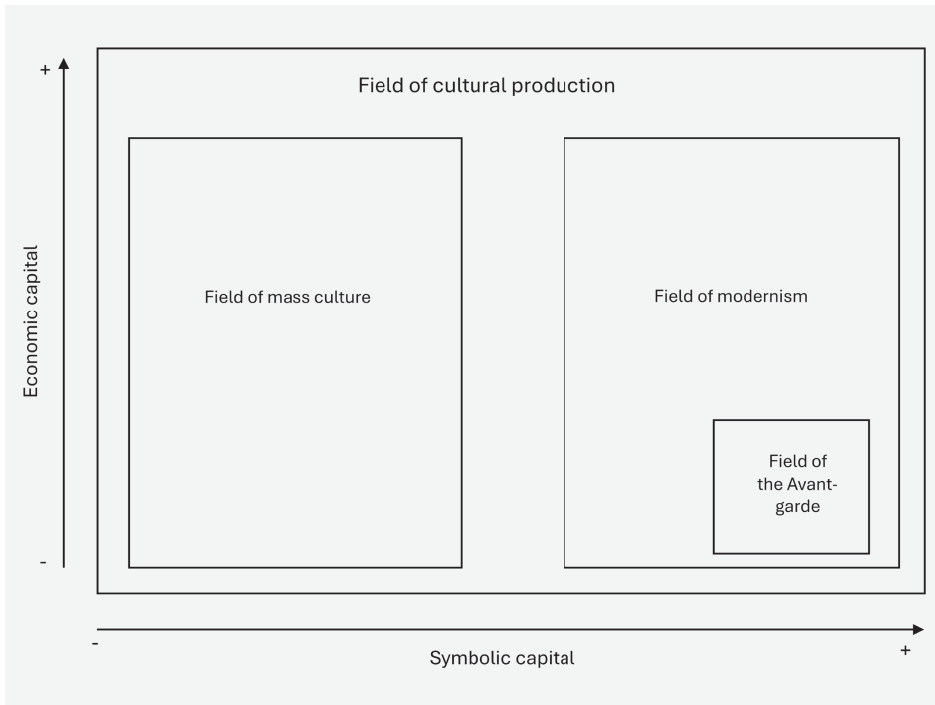


Figure 1: Schematic of Bourdieu's 'Fields of Cultural Production'.

The structure of the book

In order to translate the essence of the study at hand, this book is organized so as to first give an overview of the form of exhibitions in the early twentieth century so that the strategies discovered can be understood in the context in which they were employed. An attempt at writing the history of the exhibition of abstraction shall conclude this first part of the book, followed by the detailed case studies of the selected artists and exhibitions, to be consulted as references. Finally, the Appendix contains the following items: the exhibitions that are mentioned in the first and second part with exhibited artworks by the seven artists in question; a comparative table containing statistics on each artist's exhibition activities; a table showing participation of selected women artists at exhibitions between 1908 and 1915 (an attempt to include women artists as far as possible within the scope of the study and show that, despite what the canon suggests, they *were* active participants in the art world and in abstraction around 1910); the detailed methodology of the coding process used to assess the degree of abstraction of the exhibited artworks.

As mentioned in note 15, the complete dataset of all exhibitions the seven artists participated in and the artworks shown there cannot be published within the confines of this

book for reasons of copyright restrictions. That dataset can, however, be consulted in the original version of the doctoral dissertation on which this book is based, at the Austrian National Library, and at the Main Library and the Art History Library of the University of Vienna, all in Vienna.

PART ONE

**The Exhibition of Abstract Art,
1908-1915**

The Form and Function of Modern-Art Exhibitions in the Early Twentieth Century

Quantifying exhibition history

In order to best understand the exhibition activities of the seven artists in question (Balla, Boccioni, Kandinsky, Kupka, Malevich, Mondrian, Picabia), it is helpful to contextualize the landscape they were navigating in 1910. I will therefore first describe the situation in the years *before* 1910. For this, I used the data collected online in the Database of Modern Exhibitions (DoME).

The exhibition scene in the early twentieth century was very dynamic. There were 1,367 documented exhibitions of modern and avant-garde art that took place in the period 1905 to 1915, featuring more than 207,900 paintings and drawings (and not including work in other mediums such as sculpture and the decorative arts).²³ These exhibitions were mainly located around Europe and the occidental part of the Russian Empire, although some were held as far away as the United States of America, Argentina, and Japan.

Besides numerous exhibitions showing mainstream academic art, between 1905 and 1907 at least 270 exhibitions of modern and avant-garde art took place in 11 different countries and 39 different cities around Europe and the Russian Empire. At these 270 exhibitions, the combined total of works on view was 51,000.²⁴ They were mainly held in and organized by art galleries, as well as art associations, museums, auction houses, and exhibition buildings. The exhibitions ranged from intimate sizes with a few dozen paintings on show, to grand events showcasing several thousand works of art in a single display. They were at this point still heavily characterized by Impressionism, with Van Gogh, the (fairly unknown) Austrian Impressionist Hans von Hayek, Claude Monet, and Paul Cézanne accumulating the most exhibitions in that short, three-year time period (1905–1907), with 17 to 19 exhibitions (group and solo shows) each, as per the data in DoME. This effectively means that their art was a continually recurring presence in the European art world of these three short years.

As such, the Impressionist artists and style dominated the modern field of artistic production in the early years of the twentieth century. Against this backdrop, in the field

23 As per DoME, 13 November 2023, URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/>. DoME only recorded exhibitions between 1905 and 1915 for which catalogues were created and/or are accessible. Therefore, these numbers are conservative figures, as it has to be assumed that many more exhibitions took place without a catalogue or any official documentation being published or preserved.

24 As per DoME, 13 November 2023, URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/search?entity=Exhibition&filter%5Bexhibition%5D%5Bdate%5D%5Bfrom%5D=1905&filter%5Bexhibition%5D%5Bdate%5D%5Buntil%5D=1907&sort=country&page=1>. The number of exhibited artworks given here will include statistical duplicates: works that were exhibited more than once during the said time-frame.



of cultural production, the latest, *post*-Impressionist styles were considered avant-garde. They were represented in much smaller numbers in exhibitions showing new ‘schools’ of painting, such as Fauvism (for example, Maurice de Vlaminck: represented at 4 exhibitions from 1905 to 1907), Expressionism (for example, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: represented at 2 exhibitions from 1905 to 1907), and the various Secessions (particularly the Viennese, featuring, for example, Gustav Klimt: represented at 4 exhibitions). The seven artists that are at the heart of this analysis, had already positioned themselves within the dominating fields of avant-garde Modernism before their shift towards a more radical abstraction. For example, Picabia (1905–1907: 4 exhibitions), painted in an unmistakably Impressionist style until early 1909, whereas Balla (1905–1907: 2 exhibitions) was strongly influenced by Pointillism during the years in question, and Kandinsky, Kupka, and Mondrian, meanwhile, must be described as Expressionists in those years (with 14, 6, and 5 exhibitions respectively).²⁵

The development of avant-garde exhibitions and the launching of abstract art on the public (1908–1915)

When looking at the period that immediately followed, 1908 to 1915, we see that the number of modern and avant-garde exhibitions kept rising. Almost 1,100 exhibitions took place in eight years. That represents an increase in exhibitions of over 300 percent compared to the 1905–1907 period (or a 52 percent average increase by year). They took place in 73 European cities and 16 countries, presenting around 133,000 paintings and drawings in all. As is visible in the graph (fig. 2), the years 1910, 1912, and 1913 saw clear increases in the annual number of exhibitions. With 163, 169, and 198 exhibitions and 23,700, 22,700, and 28,600 exhibited artworks respectively, these were the most prolific years (as per DoME in late 2023). With the outbreak of the First World War, the numbers of exhibitions decreased (there were nevertheless at least 46 exhibitions in 1915, with 4,500 artworks on show). Although the momentum of the scene certainly slowed down, exhibitions did continue to take place during the war. The venues and organizers of the exhibitions stayed the same from 1908 to 1915, with commercial art galleries, art(ist) associations (known in German-speaking countries as *Kunstvereine* and *Künstlervereine*), auction houses, museums, and exhibition buildings (*Kunsthallen*) hosting the art and the audiences it attracted. The size of the exhibitions remained as varied as between 1905 and 1907: ranging from dozens to thousands of pieces presented each time.

Among the artists exhibited, the members of the avant-garde increasingly gained ground from 1908 onwards, taking up ever more wall space. Post-Impressionists Pierre Bonnard and Édouard Vuillard rose to the level of prominence of Van Gogh and Renoir, now joining them as the most exhibited contemporary (or near-contemporary) artists of

25 All numbers as per DoME, 13 November 2023.

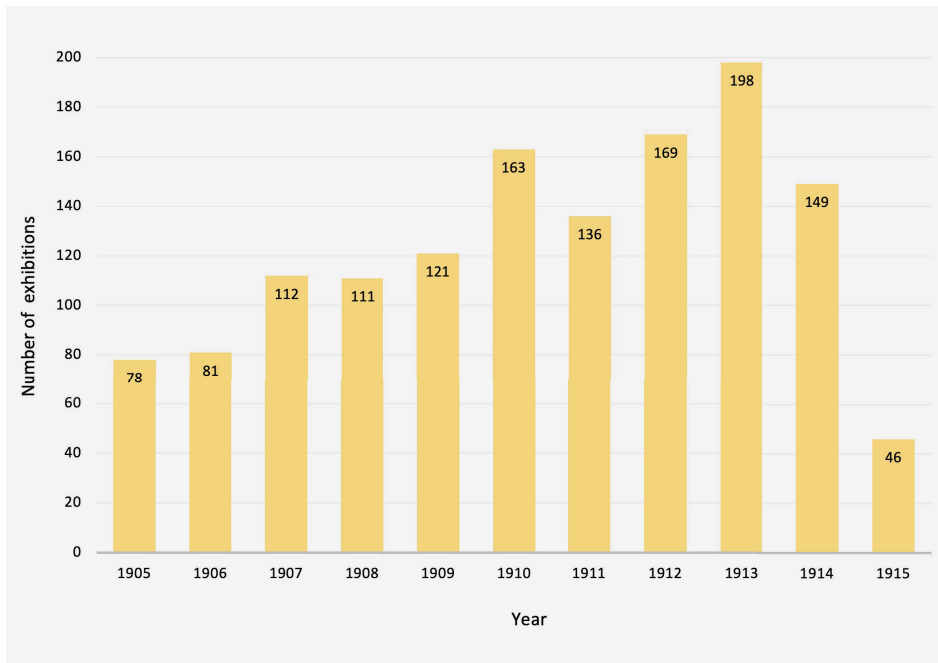


Figure 2: Development of number of exhibitions, 1905-1915.

1908 – a sign of the stronger presence of a more contemporary kind of modern art in exhibitions.²⁶ In 1910, we see Henri Matisse, Maurice Denis, and Paul Gauguin join the ranks of the most exhibited artists, further increasing the profile and visibility of a more recent avant-garde. Pablo Picasso, catapulted to the forefront of the avant-garde thanks to Cubism, joined the list of most exhibited artists in 1913 (with 13 exhibitions and 162 works shown). The prominence of the avant-garde in exhibitions was cemented in 1915, when Jacoba van Heemskerck led the ranking in number of shows and exhibited artworks that year (5 and 48 respectively), followed by Vorticist Christopher Nevinson (with 5 exhibitions and 13 works shown). Overall, the visibility of the avant-gardists increased constantly until 1915. However, this is certainly not the same as saying that the avant-gardists had reached the masses or become a mass-cultural phenomenon. On the contrary: they formed part of what could be termed the ‘elite’ of the many fields of cultural production, hence being widely invisible to the masses and reserved for a public with particularly high cultural capital.

26 In 1908: Van Gogh: 11 exhibitions, 455 works; Renoir: 8 exhibitions, 28 works; Bonnard: 8 exhibitions, 51 works; Vuillard: 8 exhibitions, 91 works (as per DoME, November 2023).

It is in this field that the seven artists studied here – Balla, Boccioni, Kandinsky, Kupka, Malevich, Mondrian, Picabia – tried to stake out, conquer, and solidify their place. Between 1908 and 1915, there are certain notable developments that lend credence to this idea. The frequency of their shows grew, mostly peaking between 1912 and 1914, depending on the artist, the only exception here being Mondrian (see fig. 3). This would have made the artists more visible in their audience's eyes. The artists exhibited in various types of institutions (commercial galleries, museums, art associations, et cetera), which enabled them to reach different audiences related to each type of venue. This, too, increased the artists' general visibility, albeit still in purely 'elite' circles. Around 1908 the artists were still mostly displaying their works as part of major group shows (such as the *Salon d'Automne* and the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris, or in similar exhibitions by the Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti in Rome). Over time, however, there was a noticeable shift towards participation in smaller, more focused group shows in less grand, commercial galleries (as demonstrated, for example, by groups like the Futurists, Der Blaue Reiter, Jack of Diamonds, or the Moderne Kunstkring). This, in turn, led to the artists gaining in visibility in their chosen avant-garde circles. In that sense, we can observe the exhibitions increasingly coalescing around like-minded artists but certainly also a more like-minded viewing public. The exhibitions also became more avowedly avant-gardist in tone and ideational content rather than merely moderately modern in visual style, and the share of radical abstraction increased consistently. In a similar way, not only did the organizers of the exhibitions become more focused, but the venues became so too, despite the maintenance of a wide institutional spread. As the featured artists started moving away from locations such as the Grand Palais in Paris to such places as the Photo-Secession Galleries at 291 in New York or Dobychyna's Art Bureau in Saint Petersburg, the setting shifted from a public and artistically heterogeneous space into a more private, connoisseur-friendly, and artistically consistent one. Of course, this does not necessarily signify a greater *understanding* of the art on the part of the audience.²⁷ These more homogenous exhibition concepts are accompanied by a wider geographical distribution: while in 1908 the seven artists exhibited in about five countries, by 1913 they were present in eight countries and fourteen cities.²⁸ Hence their exhibition activity turned more international over time – and might have grown further had it not been halted by the First World War.

The greater thematic rigour and internationality in exhibiting allowed the artists to target their audiences more accurately. Translated into Pierre Bourdieu's term of the 'fields of cultural production', this signifies that the artists tried to have an impact within their chosen field, which is to say the field of the avant-garde. Their claim to prominence in

27 The systematic analysis of the aspect of the reception of the art was unfortunately beyond the scope of this study and must therefore remain purely conjectural at this point.

28 The artist with the smallest geographic spread of exhibitions is Malevich, who presented his art in just six cities. Kandinsky is at the other end of the scale, exhibiting in twenty-six cities across Europe, Russia, and the USA.

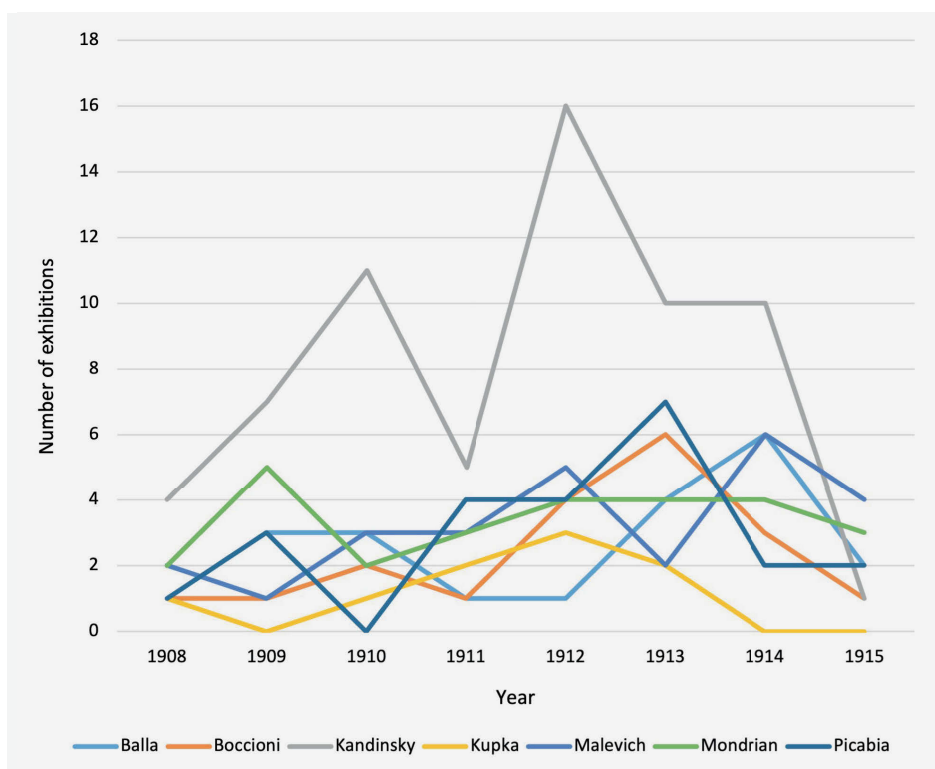


Figure 3: Number of group and solo shows per artist, per year, 1908-1915.

the avant-garde was also expressed through the means of abstraction in their art. Overall, the study clearly shows that, collectively, the share of abstract works in their selection for display rose from 8.4 percent in 1910 to 65.7 percent in 1915 (while, conversely, the exhibition of figurative works consistently decreased as a result; see fig. 4). Despite this evident increase in abstract artworks in exhibitions, they only represented on average 25 percent of the works on show between 1908 and 1915 (see fig. 5). This means that during the time celebrated as marking the ‘birth’ of abstraction, the large majority (75 percent) of the paintings chosen for public view by the ‘fathers’ of abstraction was still figurative.

Thanks to the dataset compiled for this study (see Appendix A1, p. 227 for excerpts from the dataset), I was not only able to assess the presence and distribution of exhibited abstract artworks but also to identify exhibitions that played an important role in raising the profile of abstract art overall.²⁹ Indeed, the first exhibitions at which one of the ‘fathers’ of abstraction, Kandinsky, publicly displayed a non-representational artwork were

²⁹ Those six exhibitions are presented in more detail in the case studies in Part Two of this book.

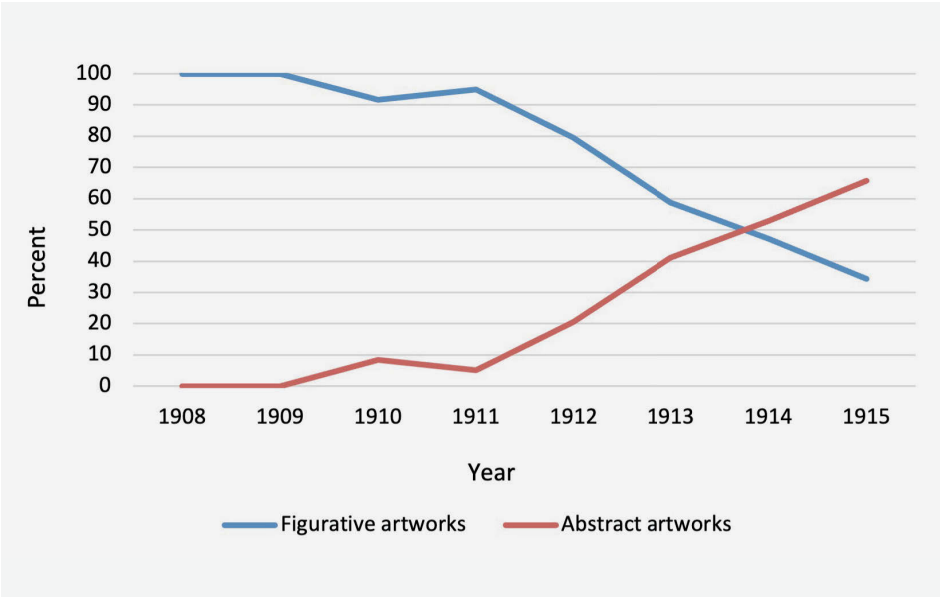


Figure 4: Chart showing development of share of figurative works (naturalistic and both categories of stylized – partially and wholly) and abstract works (non-representational and anti-illusionistic) shown at exhibition, per year.

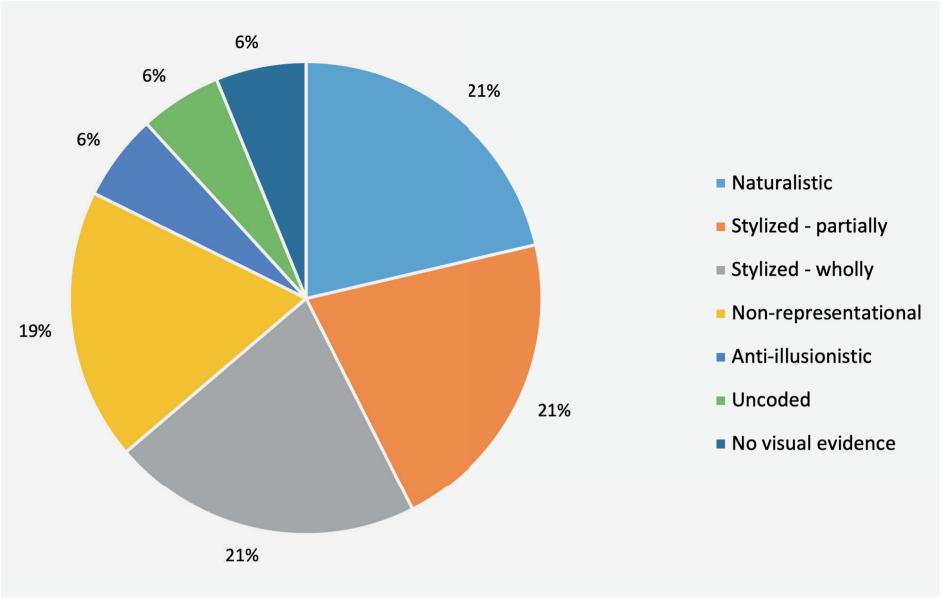


Figure 5: Share of exhibited artworks (1908–1915) by degree of abstraction.

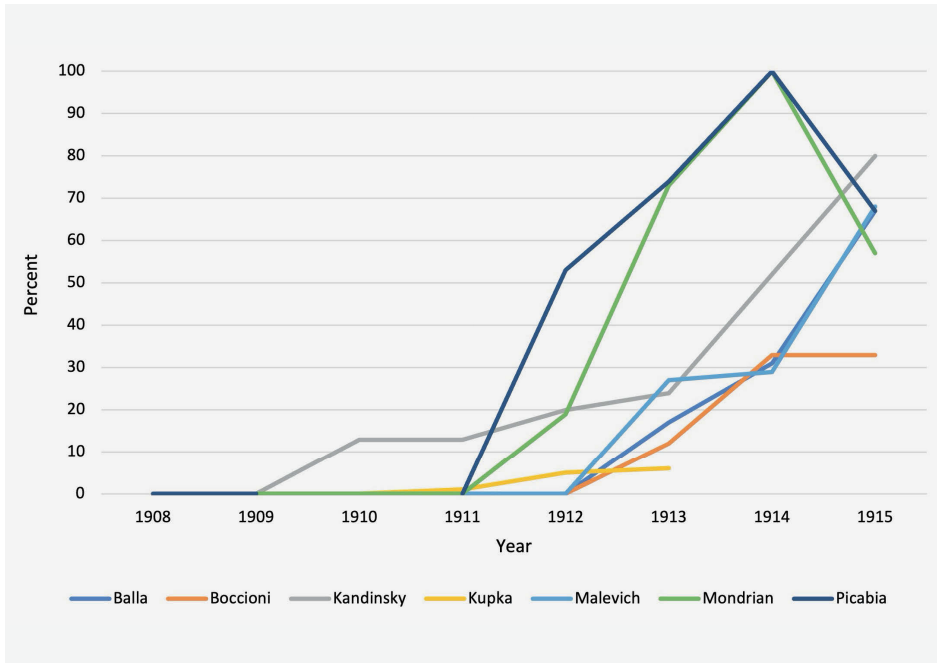


Figure 6: Share of abstract works (non-representational and anti-illusionistic) shown by each artist at exhibition per year, 1908-1915.

in Düsseldorf, Munich, and Moscow in 1910. Following Kandinsky, it was Picabia who next presented abstract paintings for the first time, in Rouen, France, in the summer of 1912. Shortly afterwards, Kupka had his first showing of abstract works, at the *Salon d'Automne* in Paris in 1912, which also featured abstract work by Picabia, making this the first exhibition at which *two* artists presented purely abstract pieces. Finally, I was able to identify the first exhibition that was entirely composed of abstract artworks: it took place in New York in 1913, at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession (also known simply as '291') and featured a series of sixteen abstract watercolours by Picabia. From a chronological point of view, I can thus state that Kandinsky was indeed the first to exhibit abstract art in 1910, followed by Picabia, Kupka, and Mondrian in 1912, and Boccioni, Balla, and Malevich in 1913 (see fig. 6).

In addition to Kandinsky leading the chronology, he was also the one among the seven who participated in by far the most exhibitions overall (see fig. 3). With a total of 64 exhibitions between 1908 and 1915, he participated in about three times as many exhibitions as his colleagues, who averaged 25 exhibitions.³⁰

³⁰ Kandinsky participated in one to sixteen exhibitions per year, or eight per year on average. The other artists only featured in three exhibitions per year on average in the 1908-1915 time-frame.

Strategies in the Presentation of an Avant-Garde

Kandinsky's prolific exhibition activity was certainly also due to the fact that he wanted to draw attention to himself in a highly competitive environment. At this point in time, each artist was, as mentioned before, just one of thousands of artists competing for the public's attention, in hundreds of exhibitions across multiple cities and countries. As Rachel Esner eloquently put it: 'The need to stand out from the crowd was enormous, and the cultivation of a public persona (together with a highly personal artistic style) was one means of attracting attention [...].'³¹ Exhibitions formed a means to an end to raise public awareness of the artists themselves and their artistic concepts, besides merely selling works and making a living. The artists used certain methods in order to reach these goals. Indeed, some authors have pointed out that similar strategies were already used in the middle of the nineteenth century.³² Thanks to the data gathered about the exhibition activity of the seven artists, strategies could also be identified for them, particularly with regards to the exhibition of their abstract pieces.

Target the audience

One such striking observation concerns the artists' catering to their goals: positioning themselves at the spearhead of the avant-garde and selling works. Although I do not claim these to have been the only two goals artists could possibly have had, I do think that they are the most relevant in the context of this study. Furthermore, the artists' artistic and stylistic goals have been largely covered in the existing literature and art-historical discourse, making any repetition within the present pages futile.

Focusing on those two main goals mentioned, the majority of the seven artists were more focussed on positioning themselves at the top of the avant-garde and used their abstract pieces to this end. Such was the case for Boccioni, Kupka, Malevich, Mondrian, and Picabia. Correspondingly, once they started showing their abstract production in exhibitions (in 1912 and 1913, as mentioned above), they stopped showing their figurative pieces – which had represented their practice up until then. In each artist's case, this switch occurred by 1915 at the latest – the end of the time-frame studied here. They presented and defended their non-representational and anti-illusionistic works at every occasion of public appearance they got. It was abstraction, not figuration, that enabled them to position themselves at the forefront of the avant-garde and increase their symbolic capital within

31 Esner 2013, unpag.

32 Bättschmann 1997 (pp. 125–164) identified six types of strategies, among them attracting attention by creating scandals through exhibitions, defending new artistic developments through written declarations and exhibitions, and forming artist groups to organize regular exhibitions.



that field, which was at the centre of their endeavours. I call this strategy ‘concept-oriented’, given that the artists stayed true to their artistic concepts and stood by them in public. Furthermore, all the abstract pieces these five artists exhibited were shown in exhibitions with an avant-garde orientation, sometimes even at various such events simultaneously (for instance the *Salon de la Section d’Or*, which took place at the same time as the *Salon d’Automne*, both in Paris, in October 1912) (see Appendix A1, exh. 30, p. 272 and exh. 27, p. 263, as just two examples of many). As their defining feature, these exhibitions laid claim to modernity, novelty, and the display of a ‘young’ kind of art. What this shows is that the artists stayed in their field of cultural production and tried to fortify their position within it regardless of the public’s differing (and often devastating) reception of their art. In that sense, they also disregarded their economic necessities. At that time, only Picabia and Kupka enjoyed financial stability. All others relied either on the sale of their artwork (which was largely unsuccessful) or on (commercial) commissions they mostly considered distasteful, but which they needed in order to survive.

This was also no less true for Balla and Kandinsky: both wanted to be able to live from the sale of their art alone, but neither had reached that goal by 1915, despite what I call their ‘public-oriented’ exhibition strategy. As the term suggests and in contrast to the five other artists, Balla and Kandinsky both ‘played to the audience’ and catered their selection to the specific viewing public they expected to attend. It was hoped this would make their selection more likely to sell by appealing to their public’s taste. In fact, in addition to their displays in avant-garde circles (such as the Futurists and *Der Blaue Reiter*, respectively), they continued to participate in more conservative – albeit still modern – exhibitions after their first showings of abstract works. At those more traditional events, they predominantly showed their figurative pieces, another sign of them attempting to gauge the respective public’s taste, with abstract works only appearing here in very small numbers, if any. They clearly kept catering to a more conservative public despite their adherence to abstract art and the avant-garde. Furthermore, they repeatedly and extensively adapted what they showed at these events in response to criticism previously levelled at their works, in order to appeal to their envisioned audience. In this way, they used the art exhibition as a means of showcasing their artistic ingenuity *and* catering to their economic necessities at the same time. In other words, they tended to their symbolic *and* economic capital concurrently.

Indeed, although Balla showed only his latest and highly avant-gardist works after exhibiting with the Futurist group in early 1913, he continued to turn to his more academic pieces for exhibitions like the 1914 *LXXXIII Esposizione internazionale di Belle Arti* (see A1, exh. 45, p. 291) in Rome. The Società Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti, the longstanding art association behind this exhibition, can be described as rather academic in nature and catering to a more conservative public. At this occasion, Balla’s selection featured naturalistic pieces in a Neo-Impressionist, Divisionist style (such as *Luci di Marzo*, 1897, *La Fiera di Parigi – Luna Park*, 1900, or *Villa Borghese, Parco dei Daini*, 1910). What is most striking is

that this major exhibition took place at the same time as exhibitions by the Futurist group in Rome and London (*Esposizione di Pittura Futurista / Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Soffici*, February–March 1914, A1, exh. 46, p. 293 and *Exhibition of Works of the Italian Futurist Painters and Sculptors*, April–May 1914, A1, exh. 49, p. 296). At these, Balla presented only his abstract and/or Futurist works. By extension, this means that at one and the same time, and even within the same city, two distinctive ‘Ballas’ were on show. This leads me to argue that he consciously presented a different image of himself within two distinctive circles of the art world – and two different fields of cultural production – and addressed two different kinds of public: a moderately modern and a highly avant-garde one. This further suggests that these two circles, or fields, probably did not mix. Moreover, I would argue that neither field – and thus neither exhibition – would have accepted or valued the artworks shown at the other.

Kandinsky’s behaviour was very similar and already observable a few years earlier. In 1910, while showing an Expressionist landscape alongside the equally figurative *Improvisation 6* and *Komposition I* in London at the exhibition of the Allied Artists’ Association (July–August 1910, A1, exh. 8, p. 240), two abstract pieces of his were simultaneously on view in Düsseldorf at the exhibition of the Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler (see A1, exh. 9, p. 241). Another comparable situation presented itself in Russia, when Kandinsky displayed solely abstract pieces in Moscow at the exhibition of the Jack of Diamonds group in late 1910/early 1911 and, just one month later, presented those self-same works in combination with a heap of figurative ones at Izdebsky’s *Salon 2* in Odessa (see A1, exh. 12, p. 244 and exh. 14, p. 246 respectively). Kandinsky selected figurative pieces for exhibition more often and in higher numbers than Balla did, which certainly points to his own appreciation of them as well as his expectation to be able to sell them (see, for example, the exhibitions: *Der Sturm: Grafik*, May 1912, A1, exh. 23, p. 258; *Moderner Bund*, July 1912, A1, exh. 25, p. 260; *Erste Gesamt-Ausstellung*, October 1912, A1, exh. 26, p. 261; *Baltiska utställningen*, May 1914, A1, exh. 50, p. 298). What should be mentioned at this point is that Kandinsky did not have a gallerist or dealer until 1912, when Herwarth Walden’s *Der Sturm* gallery in Berlin started to work with him. Similarly, Balla had no official commercial representation during the time-frame studied here, despite being part of the Futurists, in which Marinetti arguably may have played the role of group representative to some degree (but certainly fell short of taking on the role of gallerist or dealer in the classic sense).

Furthermore, Kandinsky was highly receptive to the public’s opinion, attached a lot of value to it, and was quick to react to it. For none of the other six artists could such openness to public opinion be perceived. In fact, once the selection of pure abstractions Kandinsky presented in Düsseldorf in 1910 were very badly received, he added figurative pieces to his very next exhibition in Munich (see A1, exh. 9, p. 241 and exh. 10, p. 242).³³ As

33 These observations are described in more detail in the chapter dedicated to Kandinsky, ‘Kandinsky Strategizing: How to Target Various Audiences at Once’, p. 91, as well as ‘Premiere for Abstraction: Kandinsky at

he failed to gain much attention when presenting his abstract works in Moscow with the Jack of Diamonds group (late 1910/early 1911), he immediately set about securing himself a quasi-solo retrospective show with Izdebsky in Odessa on the occasion of the latter's *Salon 2*, this time including more figurative than abstract artworks (see A1, exh. 12 p. 244 and exh. 14, p. 246 respectively). I would argue that the reasons for such openness in exhibition practice were twofold: on the one hand, Kandinsky was largely dependent on the sale of his artworks to make a living, which is why including less radical artworks that were more likely to sell made sense economically. On the other hand, he might have understood that showing more and less abstract works side by side could have some explanatory effect on the audience, as it would render his evolution more apparent and thus explain his artistic goals, potentially furthering the understanding and appreciation of his art. By adding more comprehensible pieces, Kandinsky took up an educational approach, which at the same time enabled him to showcase the breadth of his production and talent.

In addition to his exhibition activity, Kandinsky also pursued a very active publication strategy, which was meant to contextualize the creation and exhibition of his abstract works and claim antecedence with the idea of removing figurative elements as the perfect (or even sole) means of expression (for more, see Kandinsky case study, p. 91). Publications had the advantage of being distributed more easily and in greater numbers than paintings; they were reproduceable and much cheaper to buy, making for a great marketing tool. Through his publications, Kandinsky's art and ideas were present in a much wider radius, and discussed among colleagues, collectors, and critics much more intensely and widely than if he had relied on exhibitions alone.

I would suggest that the sample of artists studied here were, to some extent, aware of the different levels of 'embodied cultural capital' in society at large and of the various fields of cultural production – even if at the time certainly nobody would have labelled it as Bourdieu did fifty to sixty years later. This would mean that the artists pursuing the 'concept-oriented' strategy opted for an approach tending solely to the dominant group of the fields of cultural production, that is to say the field of the avant-garde which they themselves were a part of and wanted to increase their 'symbolic capital' in. As the field of the avant-garde is supposedly the one with the highest levels of 'symbolic capital', their public was able, or most likely, to understand and appreciate the art they presented, including even their abstract works. As mentioned above, the simultaneous appeal to both the modern *and* avant-garde fields by Balla and Kandinsky reflects their wish to tend to these diverse levels of embodied cultural capital and thus speak to a wider audience. Although hardly an attempt at achieving 'mass' appeal, which was not their objective anyway, their goal can still certainly be described as wanting to increase their symbolic *and* economic capital by serving both fields.

With the exception of Kupka and Picabia, who were financially independent during those years, all five remaining artists had to earn money to survive.³⁴ They went about it in different ways. One course was separating their sources of income through the ‘concept-oriented’ strategy, meaning that they relied on various other occupations besides exhibition sales to make a living.³⁵ The other course was the ‘public-oriented’ strategy, as pursued by Balla and Kandinsky, whereby they widened their public appeal but at the same time kept art as their sole source of income.

In the context of Bourdieu’s theory of ‘the economic world reversed’, and assuming that proceeds from the sale of abstract works were still not enough to live on (as was presumably the case for most of them), the ‘concept-oriented’ strategy would in fact still enable the artists to position themselves within this dominant group, be regarded as successful, and accumulate ‘symbolic capital’ – even without selling works. This might also be one way to explain their canonization within art history. However, two examples disprove Bourdieu’s theory. Firstly, contrary to his argument, Kupka’s and Picabia’s attainment of ‘economic capital’ seems not to have dented their ‘symbolic capital’. And secondly, Balla’s and Kandinsky’s ‘public-oriented’ strategy – transgressing the boundaries between Modernism and the ‘field of the avant-garde’ – had no detrimental effect on their position in the ‘field of the avant-garde’, as should have been the case if one were to take Bourdieu’s theory at face value. To a certain degree, this refutes or at least challenges the theory of ‘the economic world reversed’.

Why is that? I want to briefly suggest a few potential reasons. One possibility is that the artists had not yet amassed enough ‘symbolic capital’ to lose it. Another is they had not gained enough ‘economic capital’ for it to endanger their ‘symbolic capital’.³⁶ It may be the case that the seven selected artists were still so much on the margins as yet to be recognized by the ‘field of the avant-garde’, and subsequently had no ‘symbolic capital’ to lose, given that they hadn’t collected any yet. Indeed, it has to be kept in mind that they formed part of a small group of highly advanced artists among thousands of competitors. During the studied time-frame, very few people knew about them and much less appreciated their art.

When thinking about the two strategies from Bourdieu’s perspective, the ‘concept-oriented’ strategy may, upon first sight, seem like a democratization of abstraction, as it

34 Kupka received a stipend from the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague, while Picabia came from a wealthy family and did not have to rely on the sale of his works to make a living. On the other hand, Kandinsky’s letters to Herwarth Walden suggest that he needed to sell paintings in order to support himself and his household (see note 163 in Kandinsky case study). Balla was poor and, as a consequence, unable to travel to exhibitions and meetings of the Futurist group (see note 87 in Balla case study). Malevich struggled with penury during his entire life (see note 255 in Malevich case study).

35 For instance, Boccioni designed posters and illustrated newspapers and magazines (see note 127 in Boccioni case study), while to earn money Mondrian assisted a doctor by drawing observations from under the microscope (see note 289 in Mondrian case study).

36 As a study of the artists’ economic success exceeded the limits of this study, further investigation is needed into that area in order to confirm or refute this idea.

effectively proposes the same artistic concept in all exhibitions and to all audiences. Yet, given that the artists practicing that strategy exclusively exhibited their works at avant-garde events, their audience remains restricted to that field of cultural production and to the highest level of embodied cultural capital and artistic literacy. In their case, abstraction thus remains a concept only accessible to the 'elite'. By contrast, by addressing both fields with two distinct (and admittedly already knowledgeable) audiences (one more radically avant-garde, and one modern albeit more conservative), the 'public-oriented' strategy gives the more conservative public an entryway to more radical artistic ideas, while simultaneously presenting abstract art in purely avant-garde contexts. As such, the 'public-oriented' strategy allows the artists not only to position themselves within their close-knit 'field of the avant-garde' but also to gain wider recognition, reputation, and potential appreciation among a larger cultural elite.

Ultimately, the 'public-oriented' set of behaviours challenges to a large extent the determination of the artists, long since widely canonized and accepted as the unflinching inventors of abstraction. In fact, in their early public presentations of abstract artworks, these artists were much less certain of their own position and much more easily swayed by the public's opinion of their art than their canonized and idealized status suggests.

Experimenting at the periphery

From a geographic viewpoint abstract art was exhibited in cities all across Europe, the USA, and even as far as South America between 1910 and 1915. Indeed, it was presented both in so-called 'centres' or 'capitals' (like Paris, Munich, and Moscow) and 'peripheral' places alike (such as Düsseldorf, Rouen, or New York).³⁷ While ever since its first showing in 1910, the geographic and institutional spread of abstract art remained wide, the way it was launched to the public always followed the same pattern, at least as far as the artists in the present study are concerned in the period up to 1915. Before being brought to the attention of the metropolitan public, abstract art was first unveiled in more peripheral areas.³⁸ Six of the seven artists in this study (Kupka being the only exception) first showed their abstract art in places other than their city of residence, and did so despite having already shown their figurative works on at least one occasion (if not more) in that city before. This enabled them to 'test the waters' and gauge the reception of their abstract works in a

37 New York is counted as peripheral in this case as it did not yet play a major role for the – distinctly European – avant-garde, be it in terms of style or as a market for sales. The *International Exhibition of Modern Art* (better known as the *Armory Show*) was the first attempt to change that. Also, given its geographical location, it shall in this context for the time being be understood as peripheral to Europe. In general, the term 'peripheral' is problematic, as the author is well aware, but will still be used in the present context for lack of a fitting alternative.

38 As mentioned in the introduction ('*The interpretation of behaviours and strategies*', p. 17), the fact that the seven artists first showed their abstract works in the peripheries could naturally also be due to other reasons. They might not have had any other opportunity to exhibit at that very moment or in a place more of their choosing.

possibly less formal and less influential environment, away from their usual surroundings and the pressure of being known. It certainly also helped the artists to prepare for or even pre-empt the response they might receive in a second, more prominent showing of the same works in the 'art capital'. I therefore call this strategy 'experimenting at the periphery'. Indeed, thinking about this strategy in Bourdieu's terms of the field of cultural production and positioning oneself in the field of the avant-garde, it might have been easier for the artists to get a foot in the door if that field was smaller and had fewer competitors – which supposedly was the case with these 'peripheral' shows.

In fact, the first time Balla presented 'non-representational' works – *Velocità d'automobile* and *Plasticità di luci + velocità* (both 1913) – was in Florence at the *Esposizione di Pittura Futurista di 'Lacerba'* (November 1913–January 1914, A1, exh. 38, p. 283). This Florence show thus predates his presentation of *Velocità astratta*, *Velocità d'automobile*, and *Linee andamentali + successioni dinamiche – Volo di rondini* (all 1913) just a few months later, in February and March 1914, at the Galleria Futurista Sprovieri in his hometown of Rome during the *Esposizione di Pittura Futurista / Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Soffici* (see A1, exh. 46, p. 293).

Boccioni, who was much more active internationally than Balla, had his 'non-representational' painting *Dinamismo muscolare* (1913) first exhibited in Rome in the foyer of the Teatro Costanzi during the *Prima Esposizione Pittura Futurista* (February–March 1913, A1, exh. 32, p. 274). Afterwards, it was included in his solo show *1re Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du Peintre et Sculpteur Futuriste Boccioni* at the Galerie La Boétie in Paris (June–July 1913, A1, exh. 36, p. 280) together with the 'non-representational' sculpture *Forme-forze di una bottiglia* (1913). In Boccioni's case, Rome can be considered 'peripheral' to Paris in terms of contemporary relevance in the art world.

As already mentioned, Kandinsky's 'non-representational' *Improvisation 4* (1909) and *Improvisation 7* (1910) were first displayed in Düsseldorf (July–October 1910; A1, exh. 9, p. 241). Only afterwards did Kandinsky choose to show *Improvisation 10* (1910) and other pictures on his 'home turf' of Munich and Moscow (NKVM, *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11*, Moderne Galerie, September 1910, A1, exh. 10, p. 242; *Jack of Diamonds*, Levinsky House, December 1910–January 1911, A1, exh. 12, p. 244). For although Düsseldorf was a pulsating city with a large and vibrant art scene in 1910, the centre of Kandinsky's life was located in Munich at the time, and he still had strong ties to his original hometown of Moscow.

Similarly, Malevich's 'non-representational' canvases *Visage de jeune fille paysanne*, *Samovar II*, and *Portrait perfectionné d'Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov* (all 1913) were first exhibited in Saint Petersburg at the seventh exhibition of the Union of Youth (November 1913–January 1914; A1, exh. 41, p. 287). Despite being the then capital of the Russian Empire, Saint Petersburg was considered conservative and 'stale' given its imperial history. Moscow, on the other hand, where Malevich had mostly lived since 1905, counted as the younger and fresher capital of the Russian contemporary art world. It was there, at the partially overlapping *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition (January–February 1914; A1, exh. 43, p. 289), that

Malevich showed the equally abstract *Portrait de M. V. Matiushin, Dame dans un tramway, and Officier de la garde* (all 1913).

Likewise, it was in Amsterdam, the hometown he chose to leave, that Mondrian's abstract pieces *The Sea, Bloeiende Appelboom, Bloeiende Bomen, and The Trees*³⁹ were first shown at the exhibition of the Moderne Kunstkring (October–November 1912; A1, exh. 29, p. 271), a good six months before *The Tree A* and *Composition No. XI*⁴⁰ were displayed in Paris, his chosen city of residence, at the *Salon des Indépendants* of 1913 (March–May 1913; A1, exh. 34, p. 278).

Last but not least, Picabia's *Untitled* and *Port de Naples* (both 1912) were presented in peripheral Rouen over the summer of 1912 (see A1, exh. 24, p. 259). A few months later, *La Source* and *Danses à la source (II)* (both 1912) were famously exhibited in Picabia's hometown of Paris at the *Salon d'Automne* (October–November 1912; see A1, exh. 27, p. 263, and chapter 'Abstraction Double Bill: Kupka and Picabia at the *Salon d'Automne*, Paris 1912', p. 208).

The artist group as incubator

As several authors have already demonstrated, affiliation with a new artist group, such as the Futurists or the Neue Künstlervereinigung München or any other group claiming novelty and artistic innovation, gave avant-garde artists in the early twentieth century a set of interesting opportunities. It allowed them to form part of a group of likeminded colleagues, participate in the group's exhibitions and, through them, the art discourse of the day, and use the group's collective 'brand' to their own personal advantage.⁴¹ Through that brand, it was possible for the artists to distinguish themselves from the multitudes of other painters featuring at large 'crowd-pulling' events such as the *Salon des Indépendants* or the *Salon d'Automne*.⁴² As Grammont, Werner, and Bättschmann⁴³ propose, artists used the group brand to attain greater visibility, an urgent necessity in the growing and ever more competitive art world. Furthermore, harnessing the strength of a group's brand had the potential to facilitate positioning oneself at the top of the avant-garde. By sharing a common label and joining forces with other artists promoting one's own artistic movement, artists could have a stronger impact within their chosen field of artistic production than if they had struck out on their own – an advantage of which the artists were indubitably aware.

39 All 1912, see Joosten 1998 (cat. rais.), nos. B17, B19, B20, B21.

40 Both 1913, see Joosten 1998 (cat. rais.), nos. B30, B31.

41 Werner 2011, pp. 193–204. Werner points to the importance of the group's label for each of its individual members and its function of setting oneself apart from other artist associations and movements.

42 Grammont 2012, p. 223. Grammont argues for the need of the artists, specifically the Fauves, to dissociate themselves from the artistic mainstream presented at the *Salon d'Automne*, by adopting the label they were given at this very exhibition in 1905.

43 Bättschmann 1997 (see also note 44 below).

Most importantly of all, the group or association gave the members a regular occasion to exhibit their art.⁴⁴ Indeed, one of the main goals of the artist associations that formed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was to organize regular exhibitions at which their members could participate under favourable conditions.⁴⁵ Innovations and developments such as pure abstraction would certainly be discussed in a different and kinder light with fellow artists of a group than with the wider artistic community. Group shows were a much more encouraging environment in which to present such ‘novelties’ as abstraction. I would further argue that the artists not only profited from the increased attention they received via the group but also from a certain level of protection and comfort amidst likeminded artists. There was ‘safety in numbers’ in being part of a group, especially when one’s work was misunderstood and dragged through the proverbial mud by critics and the audience alike – a reaction to be reckoned with in any exhibition of the avant-garde. As the data collected for this study further shows, when it came to presenting and defending their personal style, the group’s label – its collective success – was even used as a reference and springboard by avant-garde artists in later individual endeavours. Therefore, I do interpret the function of the group as that of an incubator for the presentation of abstraction in both the short and long term.

In fact, as a member of the Futurists, Balla exhibited with them and profited from the group’s élan, showing abstract works in their exhibitions, before organizing the solo show *Esposizione Fu Balla e Balla Futurista* in Rome in 1915 (A1, exh. 58, p. 309). As the exhibition’s title already clearly demonstrates, he exploited the Futurist label, thus reaffirming his affiliation to the group. Unfortunately, the complete selection of works displayed at this show remains unknown. The title, however, suggests a division into two parts. First there is the ‘late’ or ‘deceased’ (*fu*) Balla, in other words, his pre-Futurist self now being laid to rest, and then there is ‘Balla Futurista’, which not only announces his latest work but his rebirth as a Futurist and an indication that the hang would have undoubtedly included some of his abstract works. It seems that this exhibition not only enabled Balla to exploit the Futurist label to its fullest – as a turning point in his artistic career, defining a ‘before’ and ‘after’ his affiliation – but also to declare the ‘old’, non-Futurist Balla dead and make a public avowal in favour of Futurism. Furthermore, this made it possible to present the entire breadth of his production as an artist in a single narrative arc that once again allowed him to appeal to both kinds of audiences at the same time – the radically avant-garde and the more cautiously modern.

44 Bättschmann 1997 identified the usefulness of forming groups as an opportunity to exhibit together on a regular basis (pp. 140–148). He mentions the Impressionists as the first ones to utilize this to their advantage.

45 For example, every exhibition catalogue of the Parisian Société des Artistes Indépendants printed the society’s goals. One of them read: ‘La société des “Artistes Indépendants” [...] a pour but de permettre aux Artistes de présenter librement leurs oeuvres au jugement du Public’, Société des Artistes Indépendants 1911, p. 7. Similarly, the statutes of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München laid out the same goals (see chapter ‘Kandinsky Strategizing: How to Target Various Audiences at Once’, p. 91).

When it came to staging his first solo show as a 'peintre et sculpteur futuriste', Boccioni similarly used the Futurist brand – and, from a conceptual point of view, also did so out of conviction, just like Balla. After exhibiting his abstract works several times as part of the Futurist group, this first solo exhibition in summer 1913 at the Galerie La Boétie in Paris was mainly dedicated to his sculptures (see A1, exh. 36, p. 280). The partially abstract sculptures were accompanied by non-representational drawings, combined under the Futurist label, but presented without any works by colleagues or competing artists.

Meanwhile, after co-founding and leaving his mark on the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (NKVM) and exhibiting with them for a few years, Kandinsky managed to convince exhibition organizer Vladimir Izdebsky to dedicate to him what effectively amounted to a solo show at the latter's international art exhibition *Salon 2* in Odessa in early 1911 (see A1, exh. 14, p. 246). Kandinsky showed the same abstract works in NKVM shows as at Izdebsky's *Salon 2*, among them *Improvisation 10* and *Improvisation 13*. Kandinsky later used the same strategy once he had left the NKVM and founded Der Blaue Reiter. After featuring as the leading figure of Der Blaue Reiter and presenting many abstract works like *Komposition V* in the group's shows, Kandinsky was granted a survey show at Herwarth Walden's Der Sturm gallery in Berlin in the fall of 1912 (A1, exh. 28, p. 264), again with some non-representational works on view. This demonstrates how the solo-presentation of his abstract works was more often than not preceded by showing them within a group context.

Malevich's approach was comparable (see case study, p. 119). He was a member of numerous groups and regularly featured in group exhibitions such as those by the Union of Youth or Jack of Diamonds, before having his break-through with Suprematism and striking out on his own path in late 1915/early 1916 in Saint Petersburg (see A1, exh. 59, p. 310). It is true that he was involved in founding new groups, doing so as a means to stay at the top of the avant-garde field and (much like Kandinsky) show that he had his finger on the pulse, while increasing his 'symbolic capital'. And within these group exhibitions he showed his non-representational works (such as *Dame dans un tramway* and *Officier de la garde*). However, he did not show Suprematism, at least not as such, in a group context before first presenting it solo.⁴⁶ Indeed, he hid his biggest innovation for as long as possible, in order to break with the Futurists on the occasion of a group show, presenting his own 'brand' in a personalized room all of his own, thus officially, visibly, and stylistically entering new territory under a new self-chosen label. Although the order here seems inverted, the importance of the brand remains vital, and the separation from the original group (the Russian Futurists) happens in the context of an exhibition of that very group.

In his choice of group affiliations, Mondrian was bound to the Netherlands, where he was mainly part of the avant-gardist Moderne Kunstkring, which he had co-founded, and the more conservative Kunstenaarsvereniging Sint Lucas. As a member of both groups, he regularly exhibited in their group shows, where he also presented his non-representational

46 See chapter "Suprematist Exhibition Behaviour: Malevich at the Centre of Attention", p. 119, for more details.

works (for example, *The Sea*, 1912) before being granted a solo show in The Hague at the Kunsthandel Walrecht in summer 1914, in a hang comprised purely of his abstract ‘compositions’ (see A1, exh. 51, p. 299).

Similarly, Picabia was given a solo exhibition at ‘291’, the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession (see A1, exh. 33, p. 276), on the back of the success of his abstract works presented at the *Armory Show*. Picabia used this opportunity to start distancing himself from the labels he had been associated with up to that point (Cubism and Orphism), by developing a less Cubist style, directly inspired by his sojourn in New York City. Picabia was nevertheless happy to exploit the ‘Cubist’ label to attract attention in New York, as it summed up the latest, most eye-catching kind of art from Europe and was bound to cause a sensation. At the same time, with the exhibition at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession he distanced himself from that very label and style, and launched a new, albeit still abstract Picabia to the American public.

The only exception to the rule is Kupka, who did not participate in any groups as a way of getting regular exhibition opportunities or exploiting their label for personal advantage. In fact, Kupka never officially signed up to any avant-garde art group (despite his brush with the Puteaux group). He preferred to stress the fact that he was a lone artist, working solely for himself, free of labels and group manifestos. Between 1908 and 1915 he mostly exhibited his works at the *Salon d’Automne* and the *Salon des Indépendants*, which, although organized by associations representing modern art, could certainly not compare to the innovative nature of the avant-garde groups mentioned above. At these more general salons, he exhibited his abstract works from 1912 onwards and was never to return to figuration. Kupka was not granted a solo exhibition before 1915, and there is little indication that this was even a goal he pursued.

Dimensions speak: statements expressed by the inch

With the help of the dataset, I observed that, starting in 1910, abstract images took over more and more wall space, which, merely from a physical perspective, reflects the importance the artists gave to these works. For example, Picabia’s *La Source* and *Danses à la Source (II)* were presented at the *Salon d’Automne* in 1912, measuring around 250 by 250 centimetres each (see A1, exh. 27, p. 263). Also represented in the show was Kupka, whose equally non-representational work *Amorpha, Fugue à deux couleurs* hung side by side with Picabia’s (see fig. 7) and also measured over two metres in length and width. At the following edition of the *Salon d’Automne* (late 1913/early 1914; A1, exh. 40, p. 286), Kupka’s *Localisation de mobiles graphiques I* and *II* were the same size, both over two-by-two metres. Picabia’s abstract *Udnie* and *Edtaonisl*, on view at the same exhibition, were even larger, at roughly three-by-three metres. Similarly, Kandinsky’s non-representational works at *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* of the NKVM in September 1910 (see A1, exh.10, p. 242) were a lot larger than the naturalistic pieces he presented at the same event. The abstract

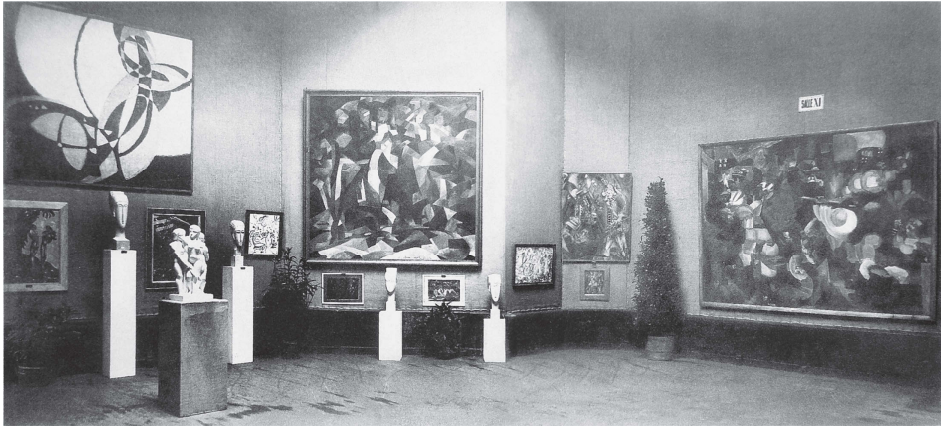


Figure 7: Installation view of so-called 'Cubist room' (Salle XI) at the *Salon d'Automne* exhibition of 1912.

Komposition II measures 200 by 275 centimetres, while the figurative *Winterstudie mit Berg* is merely 33 by 45 centimetres in size. By sheer size alone, this demonstrates that Picabia, Kupka, and Kandinsky *measuredly* attached greater importance to their abstract works than to their figurative ones and to their artistic development in that direction in general.

In Kandinsky's case, he once more managed to serve different audiences simultaneously with his selection of artworks: given that the abstract pictures were unlikely to be sold anyway and end up in private hands, he chose to use them as the most visible banners possible for a statement on abstraction and its importance. The smaller works, on the other hand, were not only more likely to sell simply for their size – they could fit more easily into collector's homes. Their being figurative only made them more suitable for sale, and they must have appeared downright conservative – a 'safe choice' for buyers – next to his radically abstract works. Finally, it is worth remembering that smaller pieces tend to be less expensive than large ones, which again worked in the figurative pieces' favour. As such, the small figurative canvases were cheaper for buyers and easier to understand (and hang), which enabled Kandinsky to make a visible and memorable public declaration for abstraction without forfeiting potential sales. Here again, Kandinsky seems to have navigated the 'field of cultural production' and his position in it quite well. He used his large abstract works for the latter and devoted his small figurative ones to the necessity of economic gain. As such, he combined personal advancement in the field of the avant-garde and the attainment of financial goals without one contradicting the other or leading to a loss of 'symbolic capital' as per Bourdieu's theory of 'the economic world reversed'.

The use of large canvas sizes for abstract artworks not only enabled the artists to make bold statements about abstraction, it was also a simple means of attracting attention to themselves and their 'new' stylistic development. At the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912, Kupka's

and Picabia's presentation had that exact effect (see fig. 7), although they were highly criticized for their works (see chapter 'Abstraction Double Bill: Kupka and Picabia at the *Salon d'Automne*, Paris 1912', p. 208). In 1915, the size of the abstract artworks became programmatic when Marius de Zayas curated an exhibition of Picabia's works at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, whose goal it was to immerse the public in abstraction by filling every inch of wall space. In fact, given their size of two-by-two metres, all it took was three works to exhaust what little available space there was (see A1, exh. 52, p. 301, as well as note 324.). The visual effect on visitors must have been quite dramatic.

Chromatic coordination

All artists considered in this study were familiar with colour theory (which had especially evolved in the nineteenth century) and the effects specific combinations of colours have on human perception. Some of them, most notably Kandinsky, wrote their own texts about the significance and role colours and forms have on the beholder.⁴⁷ They discussed these theories in their writings and applied them in their paintings. It thus seemed a logical extension of their practice to apply these rules to exhibitions, too. In fact, as the dataset suggests, the principles of colour theory influenced the selection of the artists' works for display and were knowingly used to attract maximum attention to their works in these already competitive surroundings.⁴⁸

The overall list of items displayed by the seven artists in question from 1908 to 1915 clearly shows that, in several cases, the artist's exhibits were colour-coordinated (see A1). They were either held tone-in-tone, almost monochrome, and therefore presented one dominating colour, or they were organized in (often multicoloured) opposites, thus helping to emphasize their colourfulness in the spectator's perception. The display of such ensembles enabled the artist to attract attention at a group exhibition by an element other than style. Other than that, this sensitivity to colour considerations shows that the artists were consciously thinking about the details of the mode of presentation, taking it into account to further differentiate themselves from the competition.

47 Kandinsky mentions this in various texts, for example in *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, Kandinsky 2009, section B, chapters V and VI.

48 The use of colour coordination noted within the data was practiced more widely in exhibitions and cannot count as specific to artists exhibiting abstract artworks: it had been previously employed, for example, by the Impressionists. As Bättschmann 1997 mentions in his subchapter 'Gruppenstrategien', the Impressionists were aware of the issues arising between an image and its surroundings. They used differently coloured walls in their exhibitions to simulate various domestic interiors, so that the public could better imagine the pieces on the walls of their own homes (p. 144), or borders and/or frames in complementary colours in order to create harmonious ensembles and include the spectator more strongly in the sensation of viewing the image (p. 147). I would therefore assume that other avant-garde groups throughout Europe also used this method to attract attention to their art. Unfortunately, it was not possible to verify this assumption empirically as comparative data is lacking.

In fact, Kandinsky seems to have attached a lot of importance to the correspondence of colours and how the colours of different paintings matched each other in the physical space of the gallery. This is manifest in his conception of the exhibition as an artwork in itself.⁴⁹ The same approach is also reflected in a letter to fellow artist Paul Baum in 1909, whom he had invited to participate in an exhibition of the NKVM. In the letter, Kandinsky informs Baum of the decision to reject some of the works the latter had submitted:

Wir haben uns *sehr* mit dem Hängen ihrer Werke geplagt und erst nach reifem Überlegen entschlossen wir uns, die Zahl Ihrer Bilder in der Ausstellung zu beschränken. Unsere und Ihre Bilder sind in einer so verschiedenen Farbenskala gehalten, daß ein Nebeneinanderhängen zu unbeschreiblich ungünstigen Folgen führt. Ich wiederhole, daß die ganze Angelegenheit mir und vielen unserer Mitglieder sehr unangenehm ist, besonders da doch wir selbst Sie um Beteiligung an der Ausstellung baten.⁵⁰

If Kandinsky and his argumentation are to be taken at face value, this shows that the overall appearance and harmony of the colours within the gallery was prioritized over previously agreed upon arrangements. Despite the apparent embarrassment for Kandinsky, given that it was the NKVM that had invited Baum to participate in the first place, he saw no option other than to prioritize the coordination of colours and reject some of Baum's works. Even if Kandinsky was merely using the chromatic coordination as an excuse to reject Baum's works, it nevertheless seems that the argument was an acceptable and believable explanation for artworks not to be integrated in an exhibition.

In Kandinsky's own selection of works for display, the opposition of complementary colours was visible, for example, in the first *Jack of Diamonds* show in late 1910/early 1911 in Moscow (see A1, exh. 12, p. 244). Here, the mostly orange and yellow *Improvisation 8* and *Improvisation 10* were paired with the complementary blue *Improvisation 13*. At Izdebsky's *Salon 2* (see A1, exh. 14, p. 246) numerous red/green and yellow/blue contrasts were employed in many paintings and characterized the entire selection overall. In other cases, Kandinsky opted for a more subdued palette: At Der Blaue Reiter's second exhibition, *Die zweite Ausstellung der Redaktion Der Blaue Reiter: Schwarz-Weiss* (see A1, exh. 20, p. 254), pastel colours dominated – due largely to the nature of the many watercolours and works on paper on view. But these pastels were no less complementary, as every work contained either the red/green or yellow/blue juxtaposition, some even both (for example, *Regenlandschaft*, *Aquarell No. 3 [Liebesgarten]*, and *Aquarell No. 2*). Despite these oppositions, they formed a homogenous ensemble, which must have helped Kandinsky set himself apart, as all of his works on display moreover contained undulating lines – a principle of form

49 See quote in note 10 in Introduction.

50 Hoberg 1999, p. 17.

common to them all – that dominated the combined appearance of the hang. It is particularly important to note that through this method of colour coordinating his exhibits, and sometimes even harmonizing their forms (certainly also the product of his formal style at that time), Kandinsky managed to combine his theoretical ideas with the pragmatic necessity of exhibiting. In this context, Kandinsky's statements such as '*Die Notwendigkeit schafft die Form. [...] Die Form trägt den Stempel der Persönlichkeit*',⁵¹ published in his *Über die Formfrage* in 1912, take on an additional dimension. These are not the 'mere' theoretical groundings of his paintings, for it seems he also applied them practically in his work and exhibition practice.

However, Kandinsky was not the only one to take such an approach. Mondrian already regularly homogenized the pieces he showed even before his foray into Cubism, which brought along the reduction of his palette to mostly ochre, yellow, brown, and grey tones. As such, at the Sint Lucas exhibition in spring 1910 and the Moderne Kunstkring's show in fall 1911 (see A1, exh. 7, p. 238, and exh. 18, p. 252), the dominant colour was blue, interspersed with some red and yellow highlights. At the latter, the compositional forms – strong horizontals in the case of *Zomer*, *Duin in Zeeland* and *Duinlandschap* and strong verticals in *Evolutie*, *Zeeuws(ch)e kerktoren*, and *Molen* – heightened the visual impact of the colours. A year later, at the Moderne Kunstkring show of 1912 (see A1, exh. 29, p. 271), the influence of Cubism on Mondrian's works was much more pronounced and visible in the grey/blue tones of the works shown, dissected into smaller quadratic and half-rounded forms. The homogeneity of his Cubist pieces logically also became visible in the exhibition of these works, as was the case at the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* in Berlin in the fall of 1913 (see A1, exh. 37, p. 281) and the Moderne Kunstkring exhibition in Amsterdam later that year (see A1, exh. 39, p. 284). On both occasions, Mondrian's pieces must have stood out particularly because of their reduced and homogenous colour range, in comparison to the other artists' multi-chromatic works.

Like Mondrian, Picabia tended to group his Cubist developments in his displays: while red, orange, and greys were the only colours in the works he showed in Rouen in 1912 (see A1, exh. 24, p. 259), red/orange and grey/brown dominated his canvases at the *Salon d'Automne* a few months later (see A1, exh. 27, p. 263). At the *Armory Show* in New York in 1913 (as well as its Chicago and Boston editions that same year), a complementary yellow/blue effect was achieved by pairing *Paris* and *La Procession, Séville* (see A1, exh. 31, p. 273). At the *Salon d'Automne* of 1913/14, Picabia tried something new: he displayed *Udnie* and *Edtaonisl*, which are both characterized by bordering colour combinations, blue/green and orange/purple respectively (see A1, exh. 40, p. 286). At the same exhibition, Kupka's canvases were equally curated according to chromatic principles: their duplicated receding form pulls the viewer inevitably into their current, as do their colour correspondence of mostly grey and white tones highlighted by complementary red and green. A scenario revealing the

51 Kandinsky 1914, p. 77.

same coordination of colour and form could be observed in Kupka's works at the *Salon de la Section d'Or* (see A1, exh. 30, p. 272), whereas he mostly underlined the vertical aspect of his works at the *Salon des Indépendants* in 1913 (see A1, exh. 34, p. 278).

In the same spirit of attracting attention, Malevich primarily concentrated on the quality of forms instead of colours in his exhibited works, as is evident from several events. At the *Donkey's Tail* exhibition in 1912 (see A1, exh. 21, p. 255), the primitivist form with thick black delineating brushwork worked as a common denominator. At the 1913 exhibition of the Target group in Moscow (see A1, exh. 35, p. 279), the defining feature of Malevich's works was their strong faceting mostly into conical forms. His pieces at the 1914 *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition (see A1, exh. 43, p. 289) were determined by their collaged character. Lastly (and certainly most famously), his Suprematist pieces at *The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10* in Petrograd were united by their purely geometric form. Of course, these groupings correspond to the development of the artist's style, as is also the case for the other artists. Nevertheless, Malevich could also have chosen to combine different styles within one exhibition so as to show the breadth of his production. But by grouping the works by style and/or colour, it swiftly becomes clear to the viewer that they are the product of the same artist, and by repeatedly presenting these signature forms and colours, each artist is more likely to have attracted the visitor's attention. Eventually, this comes close to each artist forming a personal brand or 'signature style', forged and asserted in addition to the group brand discussed earlier.

The Impact of Exhibiting Abstraction: The Propagation of an Avant-Garde

Boronali and the hoax of abstraction

In 1910 abstract art was not yet established in the visual arts or among artist circles, and many artists who were part of modern-art movements and the avant-garde did themselves not necessarily agree with this move towards the non-figurative.⁵² A famous episode from an exhibition is particularly telling: the case of the picture titled *Et le soleil s'endormit sur l'Adriatique*, exhibited at the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris in 1910 and, according to the catalogue, supposedly the work of the Italian painter J-R Boronali (see fig. 8).⁵³ The canvas presents the viewer with a largely non-representational image in which the coast of the title would appear to be recognizable from the blue lower third of the painting, which can be interpreted as depicting the sea, while the upper part, dominated by yellow, orange, and red, may be identified as a glowing sunset. Much reported and commented on by the contemporary national and international press, *Et le soleil s'endormit sur l'Adriatique* was not, however, painted by J-R Boronali but by, or at least in part by, the donkey of the owner of the cabaret Au Lapin Agile,⁵⁴ a famous cabaret bar in Montmartre, much frequented by modern artists, among them the young Picasso. The exhibition of the painting was obviously intended as a joke, mocking the new abstract tendencies in art by apparently showing that even a donkey could produce such images as these.⁵⁵ It is important to note, however, that none of the artists included in the present study had shown abstract works before 1910, the year of the Boronali coup. This means that other artists, not canonized in the art historical discourse, had already shown abstract works before that date, or that there was a general awareness of a move towards abstraction in art but without any such images going on public view as yet. I believe the former option is the likelier of the two.

If the discussions in the press can be interpreted as reflecting public opinion of the piece itself and of abstract tendencies in general, they give a good impression of the

52 Hülsen-Esch 2012, p. 218.

53 Société des Artistes Indépendants 1910, p. 50. This episode also inspired Russian avant-garde artist Mikhail Larionov and his fellow artists to name their artist group 'Donkey's Tail' a few years later (Petrova and Schröder 2016, p. 300).

54 As I was able to determine, Brionne 1910, Claude 1910, and La Tour Du Villard 1910, among others, reported on the painting's exhibition in French newspapers. In Germany, for example, KE Schmidt 1910 reported the story in *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*.

55 Such mocking of modern art was not new at the time. Indeed, caricatures mocking abstract art have existed since the seventeenth century, as Rosenberg 2011 demonstrates (pp. 28ff.). What makes the Boronali case different to these, however, is that here the intention was to fool the public by exhibiting the object as a *serious* work of art in the prestigious context of an established art exhibition, instead of in a humoristic newspaper or magazine.



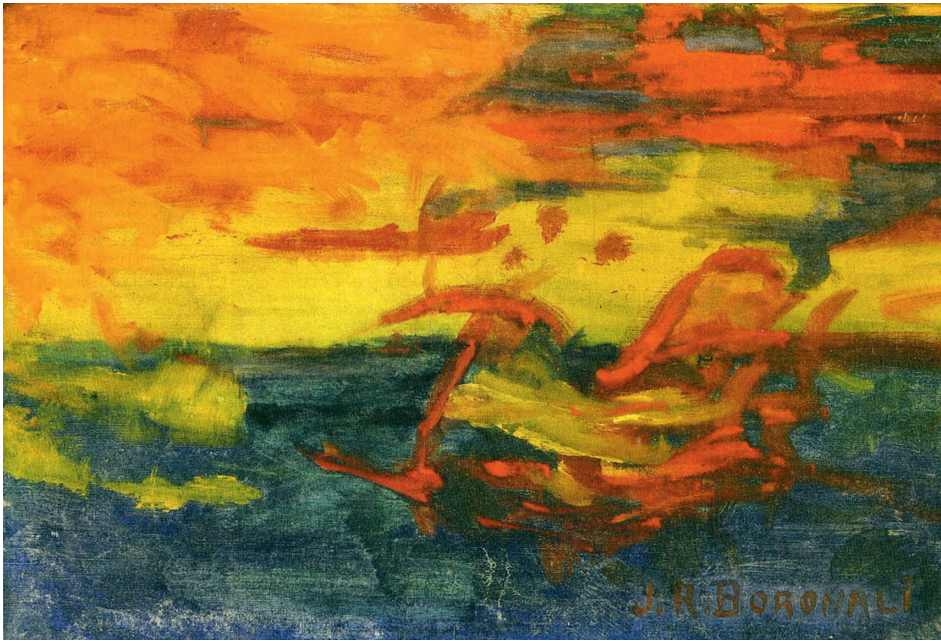


Figure 8: J-R Boronali, *Et le soleil s'endormit sur l'Adriatique*, 1910, oil on canvas, private collection.

reception with which abstraction was met around 1910. The anecdote, also known across the border in Germany, clearly shows the extent to which abstract art was ridiculed and not taken seriously, even by fellow modern artists. It is therefore all the more noteworthy that the first public presentation of abstract artworks by one of the artists selected for this study took place in the summer of 1910, just a few months after the mockery at the *Salon des Indépendants*. In July 1910, Kandinsky showed the non-representational *Improvisation 4*, *Improvisation 5 (Variation I)*, and *Improvisation 7* at the *Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* exhibition in Düsseldorf (see A1, exh. 9, p. 241). According to the collected data, this exhibition marks the first time that abstract art was presented to the public with serious intent.⁵⁶ It might be due to the negative reception of abstract art in general and these three works in particular (see chapter ‘Premiere for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, 1910’, p. 169) that Kandinsky then chose to combine abstract *and* figurative works at his next exhibition in Munich, as mentioned above.

⁵⁶ Again, the fact that the supposed first public display of abstract art happened *after* the Boronali mockery does suggest that Kandinsky's was *not* the very first showing of abstract art after all, and that abstraction must have been somehow visible – or at least around in some form – beforehand.

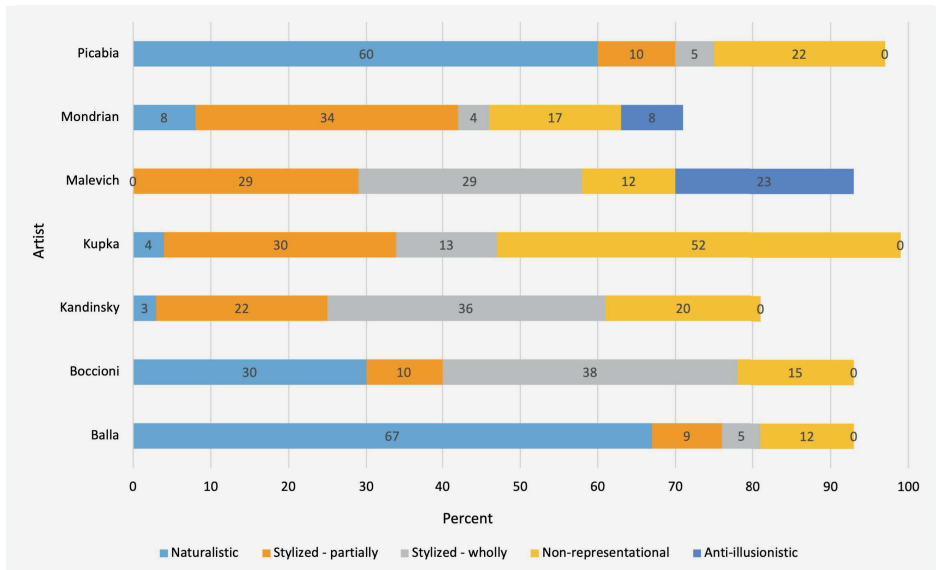


Figure 9: Share of exhibited works by degree of abstraction, for each artist, 1908–1915.

Despite him being canonized as the ‘father’ of abstraction – a concept that he himself strongly propagated in his own writings from 1913 onwards (see chapter ‘Kandinsky Strategizing: How to Target Various Audiences at Once’, p. 91)⁵⁷ – and despite being the first one to show abstract works among the seven artists studied, in terms of number of exhibited abstract works, he actually comes in second place, behind Malevich. Indeed, Malevich showed 49 abstract works publicly, while Kandinsky presented 36. When looking at the share of abstract artworks presented, meaning shares of catalogue entries, instead of absolute numbers of individual artworks, Kandinsky is even placed fifth (at 20 percent) behind Kupka (at 52 percent), Malevich (at 35 percent), Mondrian (at 25 percent) and Picabia (at 22 percent) (see fig. 9). Kandinsky would thus have been seen by his audience as a less abstract artist than Kupka and Malevich, particularly when one considers that he kept showing his figurative works, long after the other two had turned their backs on figuration entirely.

One consequential Salon: the exhibition as propeller

However, Kandinsky was not the only one to claim the invention of abstraction for himself. Kupka and Picabia, among others, also saw themselves as its inventors and promoters. As

57 As Rosenberg 2007 has already postulated, Kandinsky’s image as the ‘inventor’ of Abstract Art (with a capital ‘A’) was created and perpetuated through Kandinsky’s very own writings and publications.

repeatedly argued, they wanted to be recognized as the foremost avant-garde artists of their time. And exhibitions were the medium through which to make such a claim. Furthermore, I would assert that exhibitions and the spirit of competitiveness they visibly provoked among participating artists were an engine of the simultaneous, international push towards abstraction in Europe before the First World War. The following example will support my argument.

At the twenty-eighth edition of the *Salon des Indépendants*, which took place in Paris in the spring of 1912, Kandinsky presented three non-representational works, all highly abstract in conception and appearance: *Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, *Improvisation 25 (Garten der Liebe)*, and *Improvisation 26 (Rudern)* (see A1, exh. 22, p. 257). Kupka and Picabia also participated in the exhibition, albeit with figurative works, as the Appendix A1 shows. While Kupka was represented by two works with similar titles – *Plans par couleurs* and *Plans par couleurs, grand nu* – Picabia's featured pieces were *Printemps*, *Grimaldi après la pluie*, and *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*.⁵⁸ Their works all contained (easily) identifiable figures or landscapes. Furthermore, while we know that Kandinsky did not attend the exhibition in person, it must be assumed that Kupka and Picabia both did, for besides the matter of their own participation, both were then residents of the city. As such, we can safely assume that both saw Kandinsky's works of pure abstraction. After that edition of the *Salon des Indépendants*, the first exhibitions that Kupka and Picabia participated in later that same year were the exhibition of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne (summer 1912, Rouen) and the *Salon d'Automne* (fall 1912, Paris) (see A1, exh. 24, p. 259, and exh. 27, p. 263). For each artist, these were the first public presentations of their abstract art. This makes the leap from showing only figurative works at one exhibition to only abstract works at the next abundantly clear. Kandinsky's works at the *Salon des Indépendants* of 1912 must have struck Kupka and Picabia in such a profound way that it gave them the necessary impetus to pluck their own abstractions from the private, protected sphere of the studio and thrust them into the limelight of the public exhibition. The exhibition of Kandinsky's works intensified the competition and raised the bar so drastically that Kupka and Picabia each felt not only emboldened but also pressured to present their abstract works just to keep up with him and maintain their claim on positions at the top of the 'field of the avant-garde'. The situation was certainly further intensified by the subsequent publication and wide distribution of Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* within modern artistic circles in late 1911/early 1912. Among its many readers was Apollinaire in Paris,⁵⁹ who was (well) acquainted with the Puteaux artists, among them Picabia and his

58 These listings correspond to the information gathered from the respective catalogues raisonnés of the three artists. The listings in the exhibition catalogue of the twenty-eighth *Salon des Indépendants* largely match, with the exception of one of Kupka's pieces listed in the exhibition catalogue but not in the catalogue raisonné. The exhibition catalogue lists three entries, numbers 1833, 1834, and 1835, as 'Plans par couleurs', while the catalogue raisonné only identifies two. If a third piece was indeed present, it can be assumed that it was as figurative as the two other paintings by Kupka.

59 Rosenberg 2007, p. 313.

colleague Kupka. I would argue that Kupka and Picabia both read *Über das Geistige*, too, which must have triggered their interest on the one hand, while certainly also exerting a certain amount of competitive pressure, coming so soon after the unveiling of the author's abstract works at the *Salon des Indépendants*.

This example perfectly illustrates that it is the *exhibition*, and not just the production of new artistic forms – in this case abstraction – which is essential to their evolution. Visibility in the public sphere compels other artists to react to newly hatched developments, possibly even join movements, or at least challenge new artistic concepts. As such, the exhibition becomes the motor that propels ideas further.

Successful strategies?

The question of the success of the artists' strategies is difficult to answer. How does one define success? How do we measure it? Quantitatively, the increase of abstract artworks in exhibitions could be an indicator (see fig. 4, p. 32). Another possibility would be to look at the number of exhibitions per artist per year and count an increase in exhibitions as success (see fig. 3, p. 31). However, contrary to the expectation of seeing one exhibition leading to another, as public awareness of an artist incrementally grows, far from there being a steady or even exponential growth in the numbers of featured exhibitions, the actual number of subsequent exhibitions fluctuates strongly from one artist to the next. This could lead us to draw the conclusion that the strategies employed to, among other things, increase the visibility or even celebrity of an artist and his ideas ultimately failed.

Alternatively, success could be measured by the art market, by the number of works sold or total revenues made. Unfortunately, it was not possible to systematically examine this financial aspect within the scope of the present study. It can, however, be extrapolated from consulted sources that sales were very scarce, at least for the studied artists in the years until 1915.⁶⁰ In Bourdieu's terms this could be construed as a positive thing, as it means there was hardly any 'economic capital' to speak of that could have compromised the artists' 'symbolic capital' and thus their position at the top of the 'field of the avant-garde'. Might this just be the reason for their canonization as the 'fathers of abstraction'?

Another option would be to measure the strategies' success through the attainment of solo exhibitions, which are generally granted to artists once their talent and/or style are sufficiently recognized by the art world and/or art market. In the context of this study, it was possible to assess the success in terms of solo exhibitions only in the short term, as the period covered is limited to 1908 to 1915. Seen in these terms, the most successful artists would be Kandinsky and Picabia, who both had four solo shows each during the time-frame in question. Boccioni, who had two solo exhibitions, must be counted as somewhat

60 Picabia might be considered the only exception in this case, as his impressionistic works certainly sold better than any of the other artists' pieces in this study.

of an exception, given that he organized them himself by renting exhibition spaces and curating the exhibition himself, instead of being given a show by a gallerist, dealer, or museum – or some other ‘legitimizing’ player in the art world. Mondrian and Balla can be considered less successful, as they each ‘only’ had one solo exhibition. Malevich holds a special status given that he separated his art from that of his colleagues, quite literally, by showing it in a separate room from theirs at the *0.10* exhibition, and thereby turning a part of a group show into a solo one. Only Kupka, whose behaviour is comparatively the least strategic, had no solo show during the time-frame in question and, measured solely by these criteria, would have to be considered unsuccessful.

But what about success in the longer term? An ongoing discussion of the artists’ works by fellow artists, critics, and the public can also be understood as success, and, if long-lasting, it results in the artist’s canonization. Although all seven artists can now certainly be considered canonical figures in the history of art, and more specifically in the history of abstraction, I would be careful in ascribing that solely to their early exhibition of abstract artworks. While I am convinced that they did play an important role and helped spark an evolution that led to their current position within art history, the canonization process is such a highly complex and untransparent one that no one single behaviour or characteristic could ever be influential enough to determine the entire process.⁶¹ Supporting this argument are such figures as Hilma af Klint, Georgiana Houghton, and Leopold Stolba, whose abstract artworks were not (regularly) featured in international exhibitions, if shown at all, resulting in their late entry or continued non-entry to the canon.⁶² Whether canonized in the long-term or not, it is impossible for artists to have an impact if their work is not available to the public in one way or another.

Might the status of Balla, Boccioni, Kandinsky, Kupka, Malevich, Mondrian, and Picabia within art history today be due to their successful manoeuvring of their ‘field of cultural production’, the ‘field of the avant-garde’, by means of their stylistic developments and the exhibitions strategies they employed? Or was it due to their successful collection and increase of ‘symbolic capital’ within that field? I would argue that their exhibition behaviours did have a certain influence on the canonization process. However, I find it inappropriate to force posthumous theories upon them. Nevertheless, I observe that on some level, Bourdieu correctly identified characteristics that are as globally valid in many societies in the twentieth century as they are for the artists studied here.

61 Langfeld 2018 gives an insight into the complicated process and players that influence the canonization of artists, calling for a more systematic analysis of that process in the field of art history.

62 Recent research by Julia Voss shows that contrary to previous perception, af Klint did indeed actively participate in exhibitions, also between 1908 and 1915, and very much sought to show her abstract works. However, as Voss states, in the time-frame of the present study, she only exhibited her figurative pieces, while her abstract works were in all likelihood only exhibited in 1928 for the first time. See Voss 2022 for more details, particularly pp. xiii, 6, 184–185.

Conclusion

Just like for the previously mentioned Georgiana Houghton, Hilma af Klint, and Leopold Stolba, abstraction also became a – if not *the* – *modus operandi* for Balla, Boccioni, Kandinsky, Kupka, Malevich, Mondrian, and Picabia. This was born out of a creative development and artistic necessity but at some point became a stylistic choice, defining them as artists. To each it undoubtedly represented the ideal and most convincing form of artistic expression. However, as my study shows, the seven artists treated here also used abstraction as a strategic tool with which they could attract attention to themselves and market their artistic ‘label’, which was often abstraction itself. As such, I can confirm Jensen’s suggestion that: “These “isms” are not just the great creative flow of a generation, but a mentality, haunted by the need for originality, by the need to supersede one’s competitors, by the desire to get a piece of the market share, to be discussed.”⁶³ I thus conclude that abstraction is not only practiced and exhibited out of conviction, but also as a means to an end.

The fairly new quantitative approach I employed in combination with the coding of the dataset – both methods unusual in art scholarship but clearly revealing and meritorious – enabled the unprecedented mapping of the artists’ exhibition behaviours, and, further, the identification of patterns within those behaviours, pointing at strategies. The methods allowed me to determine the role of exhibitions in promoting both abstraction and artist, something largely neglected by art-history scholars so far, despite the ‘noise’ surrounding these seven highly canonized artists. As I was able to prove, the exhibitions played a vital role in the wider development and deployment of the ground-breaking artistic concept that was pure abstraction. The empirical methodology enabled me to take a step back from the heroization of the so-called ‘fathers of abstraction’ and the canon surrounding them, in order to show the breadth of their activities beyond the generative act of *making* art. It allowed me to unearth the degree to which the art market certainly influenced the production, but most of all the *presentation* of their art, both the radically abstract and more figurative pieces.

These results support my appeal for, on the one hand, the systematic incorporation of empirical data and data analysis, and, on the other, for an investigation into activities that took place outside of the studio. These neglected areas and analytic resources should flow more comprehensively into (monographic) art-historical research and, by extension, into the art-historical discourse at large. This includes, but is not limited to, exhibition activity – an area of study generally overlooked by the scholarly community, even in studies of well-known artists. As the present study demonstrates, this helps us to enrich our understanding of the artists beyond focussing on development of style and to position the artists in the complex and often intangible network of the contemporary art world – and the world at large. Put simply, they were, after all, part of both. This rewarding approach

63 Jensen 1994, p. 15.



makes it possible to look at undervalued events and activities in our field and thus advance our understanding of art history overall.

As I was able to show, the exhibition history of early abstract art follows certain underlying patterns and reflects the dual fulfilment of pragmatic economic needs and the personal desire to be recognized as an artist actively shaping the avant-garde. My method made it possible for me to discover that, between 1910 and 1915, only a quarter of the art publicly shown by these seven seminal artists was indeed abstract. This statistic should serve as a corrective to the general tone in the historiography, which gives the impression of a much stronger public presence of abstraction during the time of its 'birth'. Admittedly, as mentioned previously, all behaviours and strategies identified within this book have been deduced from the data collected. The reasons for these behaviours and the perceived strategies were certainly as dependent on each artist himself, as they were on the multiple additional factors that flowed into the making of any exhibition. Given the large number of actors and complex networks of influencers in the art world, an in-depth study of all possible factors affecting exhibition activities could not be undertaken within the scope of the present study. However, this shows once more that the art exhibition should be given more attention in art-historical discourse in general, precisely because it is a setting in which so many factors converge.

As such, it would be interesting to delve deeper into the idea of artistic 'branding' through the repeated exhibition of certain selected artworks, in other words the attainment of 'masterpiece' or 'iconic' status primarily through the artist's own dogged display tactics. Other areas for greater consideration would be collecting the necessary data and comparing the exhibition behaviours of other contemporaneous avant-garde artists or artist groups, or the study of another time-frame, preceding the one selected here, in order to detect possible precursors or the continuation of certain exhibition traditions into the age of Modernism.⁶⁴ Conversely, the time-frame could be extended beyond 1915 in order to study evolving exhibition practices in the seven selected artists, or the influence that the artists studied here and their strategies might have subsequently had on others. Similarly, a detailed look at the exhibition activity of female artists with an abstract body of work before 1915 would also be highly valuable. Such comparative studies would help us to better understand the results of this study and facilitate their further contextualization. For example, were these strategies employed on a larger scale within the avant-garde or the visual arts in general? Or were they specific to the introduction of abstract art into the exhibition business of the period? If pursued, this approach could explain the development, promotion, and ultimate success of new artistic movements in a much more precise manner. It might also help to better define the role of exhibitions within the process of canonization.

64 As an example for such a study, consider van Dijk 2017 (doctoral thesis), who looked more closely at and convincingly identified exhibition strategies of non-French artists at the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris between 1884 and 1914.

PART TWO

Case Studies: Artists and Exhibitions

Introduction & Disclaimer

The following chapters figure as case studies upon which the analysis presented in the first part of the book is based. They present seven artists – Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, Wassily Kandinsky, František Kupka, Kazimir Malevich, Piet Mondrian, and Francis Picabia – and six exhibitions – the *Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* (Düsseldorf 1910); the *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (Munich 1910); the *Jack of Diamonds* (Moscow 1910–1911); the *Société Normande de Peinture Moderne* (Rouen 1912); the *Salon d'Automne* (Paris 1912); and, lastly, the *Exhibition of Studies Made in New York, by François Picabia, of Paris* (New York City 1913).

The artists studied in depth in the present case studies have been chosen because – as laid out in the introduction – they had already created an important body of abstract work by 1915 and there is sufficient published source material on each artist (primarily ‘magisterial’ catalogues raisonnés, listing the exhibition details for each and every artwork). The following seven chapters all adhere to the same structure in order to answer the same list of questions and thus enable comparisons between the artists (as laid out in the first part of the book). Adhering to this structure demanded systematically looking at, on the one hand, the number of exhibited artworks and distribution of exhibiting events and, on the other, at writings, correspondence, and various secondary sources, and attempting to extrapolate an exhibition strategy from them.

Meanwhile, the six exhibitions reviewed in detail were selected for being ‘firsts’ of their kind. Included are the first three exhibitions to feature images of pure abstraction (in all three cases by Kandinsky, in Düsseldorf, Munich, and Moscow, all 1910); the first exhibition at which an artist other than Kandinsky presented abstract images (Picabia, Rouen, 1912); the first exhibition featuring abstract art by more than one artist alone (Kupka and Picabia, Paris, 1912); and, finally, the first exhibition to *only* show abstract works and nothing else (Picabia, New York, 1913).

For ease of reference, the artist chapters are organized alphabetically and the exhibition chapters are organized chronologically.

Furthermore, in order to stay as true as possible to the original language and tone of the authors, and particularly the artists, I have chosen to quote them in their original language as far as it was possible to do so. In concrete terms, however, this means that whenever the original text was conceived in English, French, German, or Italian, the direct quotations are given here. For all other languages (especially Russian), English translations are provided.



Tentatively Exhibiting Abstraction: Balla's Behaviour with Different Audiences⁶⁵

Introduction

When Giacomo Balla joined the Futurists in 1910, he was already well-known in Italy thanks to a fifteen-year-long career as an artist that started in 1894. He became one of the most fervent defenders of this new Italian art movement around 1913. But, for roughly the first twenty years of his career, Balla painted and drew in the style of the Post-Impressionists, in other words, in a figurative manner that he rendered slightly 'more modern' with the help of unusual choices of composition, repeatedly borrowing ideas from photography, such as odd angles and unconventional cropping and framing,⁶⁶ often in combination with a reduced palette. Therefore, while certainly modern, I would be cautious to describe his early work as avant-gardist. Although he joined Futurism with some delay (the group formed in 1909), once he did, he committed to it very strongly, not only adopting it in his own art but as an entire lifestyle. This becomes evident in the clothes he created and wore, the manifestos he dedicated to Futurist fashion, among other things, and the design and decoration of his apartment in Rome. Unlike other canonized artists from the turn of the century as well as his own Futurist colleagues, he did not travel much in the period studied here, 1908 to 1915. After having spent almost a year in Paris in 1900/1901 (a seminal experience that also resulted in his adoption of Divisionism), he would hardly ever leave Rome, his place of residence, again, the only notable exception being a few months spent in Düsseldorf following a commission there, in 1912.⁶⁷

Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

Giacomo Balla's catalogue raisonné⁶⁸ lists about 428 artworks that the artist produced between 1894, the beginning of his career, and 1915, the last year of this study. Roughly

65 References to Balla's works will be cited as per their listing and numbering in the catalogue raisonné – Lista 1982.

66 Benzi 1998b.

67 In the summer and winter months of 1912, Balla decorated a room in the house of the Löwenstein family in Düsseldorf, see Barnes Robinson 1981, pp. 96, 102.

68 One small peculiarity should be noted about the artist's catalogue raisonné (Lista 1982): in the case of Balla's *Dittico di Villa Borghese* (1910), the author counted the diptych as two separate works with two separate entries and catalogue numbers, despite them being framed together. Interestingly enough, the same does not apply with other diptychs or polyptychs, such as *La giornata dell'operaio* (1904) or *Villa Borghese – Parco dei daini* (1910). Keeping in line with the numbering of the catalogue raisonné, this results in the *Dittico di Villa Borghese* being counted as two works of art in the statistics and analysis regarding Balla in this book. Otherwise, the monographic literature on Giacomo Balla (largely dating from the 1980s and 1990s: Barnes



two-thirds (or 287 of them) were created in the period 1908 to 1915. During that time-frame, he had 21 exhibitions and showed the equivalent of 10 percent (or 43 works) of his production up to that point. Of those 43 works, almost half (or 21) were created between 1908 and 1915, which translates to 7.3 percent of his production occurring during the period studied here. On average, during the eight-year period in question, he participated in 2.6 exhibitions per year. The actual frequency of his shows, however, was much less regular than this mean average suggests. As figure 10 illustrates, his annual number of shows fluctuated strongly, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 6 per year. It is noticeable that Balla participated in 6 exhibitions in just 6 months during the first half of 1914 – which is double and, in some cases, even triple the annual number for previous years. In the second half of 1914, his exhibition activity came to a complete halt, which was certainly due to the outbreak of the First World War that summer. As can be expected, the year when Balla participates in the most exhibitions is also when he shows the largest number of works (table 2): in 1914 he showed 22 works adding up to 26 catalogue entries. The lowest number of artworks on show at an exhibition is 1,⁶⁹ while the maximum is 15.⁷⁰ It is noticeable that a large number of the pieces exhibited by Balla from 1908 to 1915 were created *before* 1908. In fact, half of them (22 of the 43 exhibited pieces) were produced between 1897 and 1906; consequently, by 1908, they were already between 6 and 11 years old. In the early years of the studied time-frame, Balla tended not to focus on his newest production when showing his pieces publicly. It is only from 1910 onwards that he added contemporary production to

Robinson 1981, Lista 1982, Fagiolo dell'Arco 1990, Benzi 1998a) treats the pre-Futurist as well as Futurist phases of his oeuvre from a stylistic and biographical point of view. Barnes Robinson 1981 certainly provides the most complete and profound analysis, including mention of exhibitions and the reception of Balla's work. Benzi 1998b takes a closer look at the influence photography had on Balla's early work. Nowikovsky and Treffer 1985 focus on the artist's oeuvre between 1912 and 1928; and Silk 1981 gives an insight into Balla's development towards Futurism as well as his early Futurist works. Coen 2012 analyses the origins of the artists' abstraction. Generally, the literature devoted to Futurism presents a good source of information on Balla's surroundings from 1911 onwards and often includes chapters or subchapters dedicated to the artist (Werkner 1979, Crispolti 2001, Drechsler 2003, Weissweiler 2009), discussing his role within the group. The only publication, however, to take a closer, specific look at exhibitions is Weissweiler 2009, which is dedicated to the exhibitions of the Futurist group. This book gives insight into the prehistory of the Futurist travelling exhibition – including the forerunner exhibition in Milan – while focusing on three of its presentations (Paris, London, and Berlin, 1911–1913). In a third section, the author delves into the showing of works by the Futurist group at the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* in 1913 and devotes subsections to each of the Futurist artists present at the event, among them Balla, to discuss the works they exhibited in more detail. However, despite the relevant topic, the prehistory of the travelling exhibition is given more space than the travelling exhibition itself – neither of which seemed to have featured Balla. Thus, a systematic analysis of Balla's participation in this exhibition and all its iterations remains a desideratum, as does analysis of Balla's exhibition history in general in the rest of the literature. Finally, the compendium of Balla's published writings, Balla 2010, gives an insight into his written oeuvre, although he does not mention or comment on his exhibition practice or strategy.

69 This was the case at the *Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti* in Buenos Aires in 1910, at the *Esposizione Nazionale* in Milan in the fall of 1910, at the *I Esposizione della Probitas* in Rome in February 1914, and at the *Esposizione Libera Futurista Internazionale / Pittori e Scultori / Italiani – Russi – Inglesi – Belgi – Nord-americani* in Rome in the spring of 1914.

70 Balla showed 15 works at the *LXXXIII Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti*, organized by the Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti in Rome from February to June 1914.

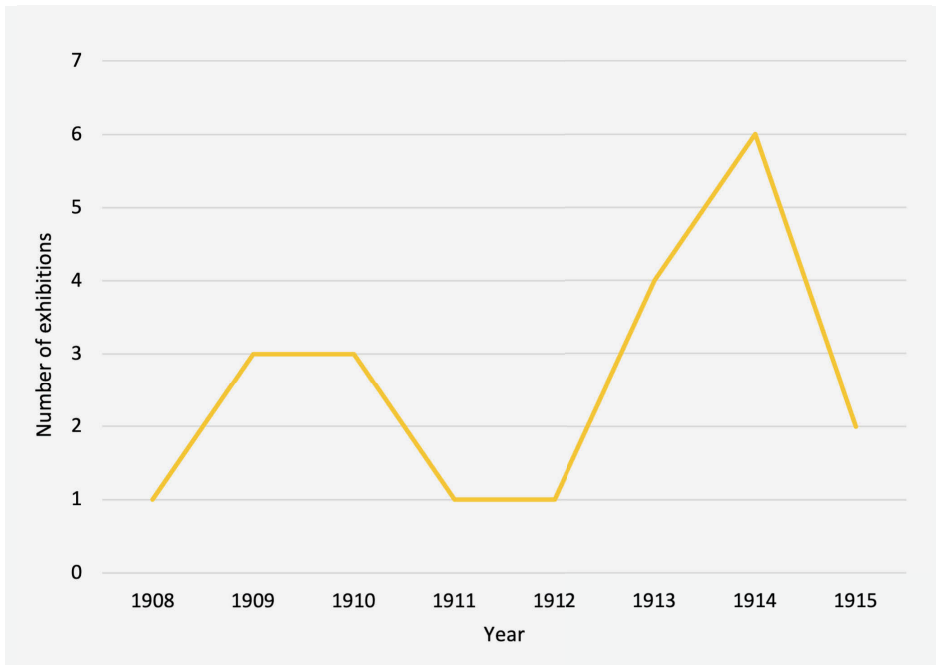


Figure 10: Development of number of Balla's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.

what he was showing, as was the case at the *LXXX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti* in Rome in the first half of 1910 (where *Salutando* from 1908 [cat. rais., no. 177] and *Affetti* from 1910 [cat. rais., no. 196] were exhibited).

The large majority of pieces Balla showed from 1908 to 1915 were, as per the result of their coding, 'naturalistic' (fig. 11): 67 percent (or 29 works) were categorized as such. (For more on the quantitative coding for the purposes of this study, see A4, p. 323.) A total of 12 percent (5 works) are 'non-representational', with this fully abstract category thus forming the second largest group after the 'naturalistic' works. Although the 'naturalistic' works outnumber the abstract ones, I agree with Barnes Robinson⁷¹ that some of the figurative pieces, particularly in the *Villa Borghese* series (cat. rais., nos. 150, 151, 152, 153) exhibited at the *LXXIX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti* in Rome in 1909 (see A1, exh. 2, p. 231) already appear somewhat abstract in composition. The tight cropping of the pictorial space, the closeness of the subject to the picture plane, and reduced palette render the subject of each painting difficult to discern at first glance. Although ultimately showing recognizable pictorial forms, Balla nonetheless was clearly already confronting the public

71 Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 66.

City	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Catalogue entries per city	Exhibitions per city
Berlin (DE)						2			2	1
Buenos Aires (AR)			1		2				3	2
Florence (IT)						2			2	1
London (UK)							3		3	1
Milan (IT)			1						1	1
Naples (IT)							3		3	1
Odessa (RU)		3							3	1
Paris (FR)		4							4	1
Rome (IT)	3	11	2	4		4	20	2	46	10
Rotterdam (NL)						4			4	1
San Francisco (USA)								1	1	1
Catalogue entries per year	3	18	4	4	2	12	26	3	72	
Exhibitions per year	1	3	3	1	1	4	6	2		21

Table 2: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Balla per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.

with unusual views of challenging legibility, even before he adopted a more abstract style. Similarly, dramatic framing – most likely inspired by the medium of photography⁷² – is also a feature of, amongst others, *Fallimento* (1903, cat. rais., no. 80), *Il dubbio* (1908, cat. rais., no. 176), *Salutando* (1908, cat. rais., no. 177) and, slightly later in date, *Lampada ad arco* (earliest 1909, cat. rais., no. 208).

Considering the development of the exhibitions in terms of the different categories of abstraction (fig. 12 and table 3), the first thing that meets the eye is the almost continual – at times even sharp – decline in the percentage of ‘naturalistic’ works shown. Meanwhile, the ‘non-representational’ works only start appearing on the graph – and at exhibitions in real life – in 1913, but quickly rise to 67 percent by 1915, at which point they form the largest portion of works exhibited. In fact, as the data collected shows, Balla presented ‘non-representational’ works for the first time in late 1913 at the *Esposizione di Pittura Futurista di ‘Lacerba’*, with the partly abstract *Velocità d’automobile* and *Plasticità di luci + velocità* being part of the exhibition (see A1, exh. 38, p. 283). Overall and despite its constant decline,

72 Barnes Robinson 1981 draws attention to the influence photography had on Balla (p. 69). Nowikowski and Treffer 1985 confirm this to be true (unpag., [p. 5]).

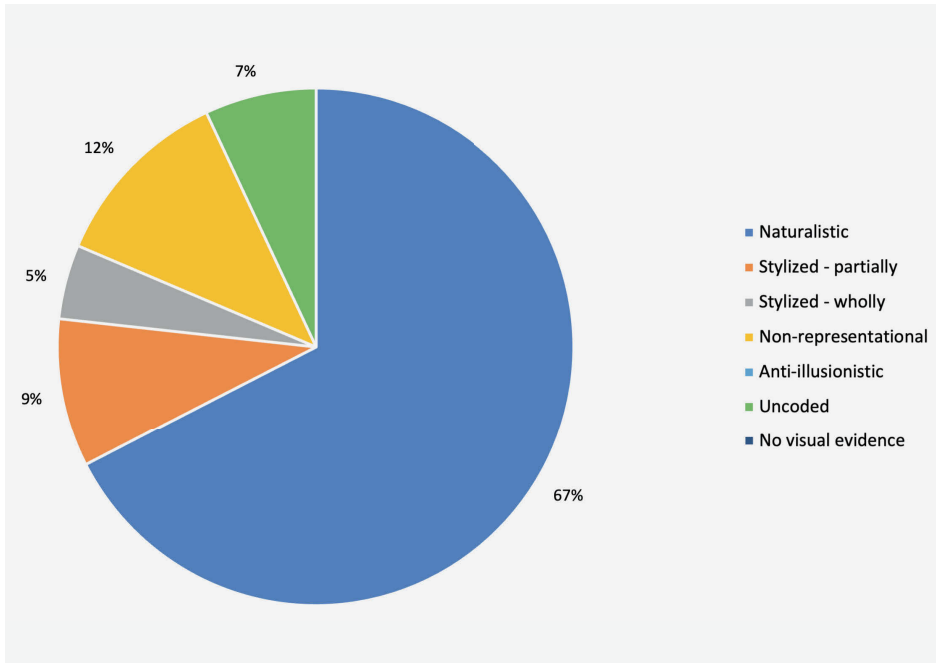


Figure 11: Share of degrees of abstraction of Balla's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.

the predominance of 'naturalistic' works is striking and is only overturned in 1913 and 1915, when the 'non-representational' works take the lead.

During the studied period of 1908 to 1915, Balla presented 72 catalogue entries in total, meaning that *on average* the 43 canvases exhibited were shown less than twice each. However, upon closer examination, three canvases hold the record by being presented four times each: *Il Contadino* (1903, cat. rais., no. 124), *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio* (1912, cat. rais., no. 241), and *Velocità d'automobile* (1913, cat. rais., no. 321).⁷³ Interestingly enough, they reflect three different degrees of abstraction: at one end of the spectrum, *Il Contadino* (on public display in 1909, 1910, and 1914) was categorized as 'naturalistic', *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio* (shown in 1913-1914) falls into the category 'stylized – partially', while *Velocità d'automobile* (on view in 1914 and 1915) is 'non-representational'. Therefore, I would argue that from this point of view, Balla cannot be said to have put any conscious emphasis on showing his more abstract works at exhibitions from 1908 to 1915.

⁷³ Furthermore, six pieces were exhibited twice (cat. rais., nos. 62, 70, 89, 196, 293, 357), while seven works were shown three times each (cat. rais., nos. 122, 123, 125, 208, 253, 290, 329).

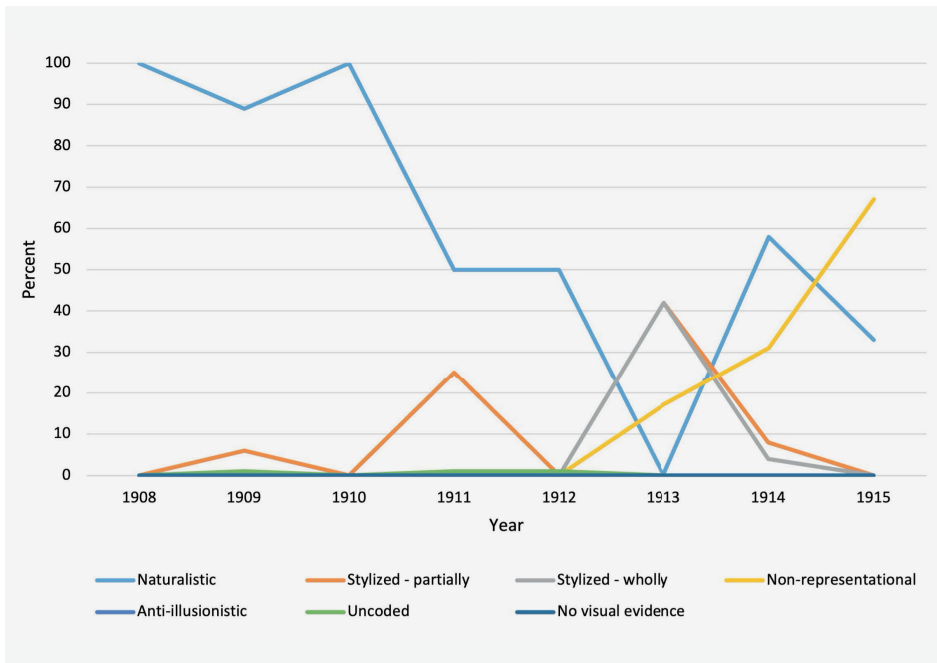


Figure 12: Development of share of Balla's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.

The venues featuring Balla's work and the exhibitions in which he participated are of a varied nature. The venues range from private galleries (such as the Doré Galleries in London or the Galleria Gonnelli in Florence) to large public exhibition halls (like the Grand Palais in Paris) and private salons (that of Izdebsky in Odessa). Balla did not participate in any museum show or any auction during the time-frame in question. The exhibitions he participated in were equally diverse. They ranged from rather academic events such as the annual exhibition of the Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti⁷⁴ to the very modern *Salon d'Automne* in Paris and the highly provocative and avant-garde exhibitions of the Italian Futurists. This suggests that he tried to position himself not only in the controversial and avant-gardist Futurist circles but at the same time in more traditional and respected academic settings.

Among the 43 exhibitions Balla participated in, only one was a solo show (*Esposizione Fu Balla e Balla Futurista*, December 1915, Sala d'Arte A. Angelelli, Rome, see A1, exh. 58,

74 Weissweiler 2009 characterizes this artists' association as the most important association for established art in Rome at the time (p. 22). Severini 1995 describes it as the 'equivalent to the 'Artistes Français' in Paris' (p. 20). As per these explanations, it can be assumed that the focus of the exhibitions of the Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti was on academic art.

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %	3 100 %							3 100 %
1909 in %	16 89 %	1 6 %				1 6 %		18 100 %
1910 in %	4 100 %							4 100 %
1911 in %	2 50 %	1 25 %				1 25 %		4 100 %
1912 in %	1 50 %					1 50 %		2 100 %
1913 in %		5 42 %	5 42 %	2 17 %				12 100 %
1914 in %	15 58 %	2 8 %	1 4 %	8 31 %				26 100 %
1915 in %	1 33 %			2 67 %				3 100 %

Table 3: Number of catalogue entries shown by Balla per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

p. 309), all others were group exhibitions. In fact, Balla was officially part of the Italian Futurists from April 1910 onwards, when he signed the manifesto 'La pittura Futurista: Manifesto tecnico'.⁷⁵ However, he only started exhibiting with the group a few years later, in February 1913 in Rome, when they had an exhibition in the foyer of the Teatro Costanzi. From that moment on, 'only' half of the exhibitions he participated in until 1915 were exhibitions of the Futurists as a group. This indicates that he relativized his allegiance to the Futurists by continuing to exhibit in other contexts, too. I argue that he did so in order not to depend too heavily on his association with the Futurists alone and to continue appealing to different audiences.⁷⁶ Before committing to the Futurist group, however,⁷⁷ Balla had already played important roles in another association, for he had been 'a member of the acceptance committee for the 1905 Amatori e Cultori exhibition' and was, additionally,

⁷⁵ Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 80.

⁷⁶ Barnes Robinson 1981 explains this gap by his 'geographical separation' from the group which was located in Milan (while Balla lived in Rome) and furthermore argues that for personal and financial reasons Balla had no rush to adopt and incorporate Futurist ideas into his work (p. 82).

⁷⁷ Balla joining the Futurists is treated in detail in several publications, among others in Barnes Robinson 1981 and Lista 1982.

'also on the hanging committee'.⁷⁸ In 1910, he 'was once again on the jury'.⁷⁹ Furthermore, he was 'a member of the board of directors for the exhibition' of the Secessione Romana, held in the spring of 1913.⁸⁰ Although Balla never founded any artist groups himself, such activities as these do suggest that he was engaged and interested in being part of artist communities and their corresponding social circles, possibly also because of the exhibition opportunities they provided.

Geographically speaking, Balla had a markedly international profile, with works on view not only in six countries in Europe and the Russian Empire (Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the Netherlands) but also in the USA and even in Argentina, where he exhibited twice. This gave him exposure in eleven cities in eight countries (see table 2): Berlin, Buenos Aires, Florence, London, Milan, Naples, Odessa, Paris, Rome, Rotterdam, and San Francisco. Interestingly, Balla exhibited just once in Paris, despite being part of the Futurist group who started their touring exhibition across Europe in Paris in 1912⁸¹ – in a series of exhibitions of which Balla, however, was not yet part. In most cities Balla's works were presented only once. There were just two exceptions: Rome – which is hardly surprising given that this is where he lived and worked throughout his adult life – where he featured in ten exhibitions, by far the largest number of exhibitions in any one city, and Buenos Aires, where he showed twice in the years 1908 to 1910. Rome was consequently also the city where he showed by far the highest number of works: 46 catalogue entries could be recorded for the Italian capital, whereas the next highest number is four catalogue entries in Paris and Rotterdam each, and even fewer in all other cities. Overall and despite this strong focus of his activities in Rome, in geographical terms he managed to spread his exhibition activity exceptionally wide, with presentations as far away as South America and the west coast of the United States. In San Francisco, he was invited to exhibit with the rest of the Futurist group at the *Panama-Pacific International Exhibition*.⁸²

Balla's exhibition strategy

What is immediately noticeable in Balla's exhibition behaviour is that a large part (about half) of the pieces presented between 1908 and 1915 predate that period, with one even dating as far back as 1897. As mentioned earlier, he only started exhibiting his latest or most contemporary works in 1910. As he himself explained when talking about possibly joining the first Futurist touring exhibition, which started in 1912 in Paris at the Bernheim Jeune gallery, he felt his art still needed to mature a little before exposing it alongside the other, in his opinion, more advanced works by his fellow Futurists. Although his name

78 Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 44.

79 Ibid., p. 68.

80 Ibid., p. 107.

81 Weissweiler 2009 dedicated her book to this Futurist touring exhibition (see note 68 above).

82 See Schneede 1994, p. 205.

and a listing of works did appear in the exhibition catalogue of the 1912 show in Paris, we know – thanks to press articles describing them as missing from the show⁸³ – that Balla's works did not, in fact, go on view there. In a letter, Balla wrote '[...] non mi hanno voluto a Parigi e hanno avuto ragione. Sono molto piu avanzati di me ma lavorerò e progredirò anch'io.'⁸⁴ If this quote can be taken at face value, it shows that, on the one hand, the Futurists used the prospect of participating in their exhibition as a way of pressuring Balla to develop a more avant-garde style, which in itself suggests a strongly competitive atmosphere in their group and their exhibitions, with the group vying internally for the creation and presentation of the most avant-garde works possible. On the other hand, it demonstrates that, even in 1912, two years after Balla had started to show contemporary works, he himself had doubts about the modernity of his pieces – at least in comparison to that of the other Futurists. Here, again, his rather tentative attitude becomes visible. Furthermore, a large part of the works Balla created between 1910 and 1915 were actually only exhibited after a long delay. They mainly started going on view in the 1960s and 1970s, after his death, with only about a dozen exceptions being exhibited in the 1920s and 1930s.

Additionally, even after 1910, the year of his affiliation with the Futurists, Balla still continued showing many of his 'old' works dating from before 1908. While he would present his most modern, abstract, and Futurist works in exhibitions with the Futurist group, he also kept participating in more conservative shows such as various editions of the *Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti* organized by the Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti in Rome (1910, 1911, and 1914; see A1, exh. 45, p. 291, as an example). At these events, he displayed his less avant-gardist works, often described as Divisionist in style.⁸⁵ Conversely, he showed *Velocità astratta* (1913, cat. rais., no. 293), *Velocità d'automobile* (1913, cat. rais., no. 321), and *Linee andamentali + successioni dinamiche – Volo di rondini* (1913, cat. rais., no. 357) – all coded as 'non-representational' works – at the *Esposizione di Pittura Futurista / Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Soffici* in Rome (at Sprovieri's Galleria Futurista, February to March 1914, see A1, exh. 46, p. 293). He showed a very similar selection in the Futurist show at the Doré Galleries in London just a few months later (in April–May 1914, see A1, exh. 49, p. 296). Meanwhile, at the *LXXXIII Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti*

83 As Barnes Robinson 1981 summarizes (pp. 86–87) it: 'Street Light was listed in the catalogue of the Futurist's Paris exhibition at Bernheim-Jeune, held from February 5 to February 24, 1912, but it was never shown; reviews by Louis Vauxcelles and Guillaume Apollinaire both note its absence.' Indeed, in his review 'Chroniques d'Art Les Futuristes' in the newspaper *Le Petit Bleu* on 9 February 1912, Apollinaire writes: 'Balla n'a pas encore envoyé son tableau [...]' (Apollinaire 2009, p. 276).

84 Werner 2011, p. 188, note 363.

85 In the exhibition catalogue to his solo exhibition in late 1915, *Fu Balla e Balla Futurista*, Balla described his pre-Futurist art as follows: 'ARTE – I. Periodo: personale verista oggettiva – ribelle da scuole accademie – Analisi della vita nostra – soluzione ricerche divisioniste (luci, ambienti – psiche oggetti persone) Lotte fatiche godimenti – raggiungimenti carriera gloriosa riconosciuta dal pubblico artisti critica.' Quoted in Balla 2010, p. 40. Similarly, the literature generally calls this his Divisionist style (note the title of *Giacomo Balla: Divisionism and Futurism 1871–1912* and chapters I–IV in Barnes Robinson 1981; as well as cat. rais., p. 15; Benzi 1998a, p. 29; and Crispolti 2001, p. 23).

in Rome – taking place simultaneously to the show at the Sprovieri and Doré galleries from February to June 1914 – he primarily showed his largely Divisionist works from before 1908, the only exception being the more modern *Lampada ad arco* (1909, cat. rais., no. 208, see A1, exh. 45, p. 291). This most evident example shows that Balla seemed to have a good sense of his respective audience and presented his art accordingly, targeting each audience precisely and offering only what they were (more) likely to appreciate and buy. Not only does this reflect the dire financial situation Balla found himself in throughout most of his life and the constant pressure to sell his art, it also demonstrates that he tried to surmount such difficulties by making strategic selections for exhibitions. This also means that he was willing to risk his reputation as a progressive artist and a Futurist – or at least to dampen his progressive credentials – by exhibiting much less avant-gardist art in conservative circles that were non-receptive to the Futurist idea. Indeed, financial concerns seem to have been the reason for his delay in adopting a more avant-gardist style in the first place. Pushed by Severini, who was living in the French capital at the time, the Futurist group had travelled to Paris to explore the latest trends in art, in preparation of their 1912 exhibition at the Bernheim Jeune gallery.⁸⁶ Balla was not part of that trip since he lacked the funds to join them, which in turn meant that he missed the opportunity for exposure to and contact with the latest developments in the art world and thus lagged behind his Futurist colleagues.⁸⁷ His case shows the extent to which an artist's economic situation could have a longer-term impact on their stylistic development and later artistic 'legacy'.

A second important point to note with respect to Balla's choice of exhibits between 1908 and 1915 concerns the formats presented: Balla regularly showed large-scale polyptychs.⁸⁸ Starting with the presentation of the four-work 'Cycle of the Living' (consisting of *La Pazza*, *I Malati*, *Il Contadino*, and *Il Mendicante*) in 1909, first at the *LXXIX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti* (A1, exh. 2, p. 231), then at the *Salon d'Automne* in the fall of the same year (A1, exh. 4, p. 235) and later, during the first half of 1914, at the *LXXXIII Esposizione Internazionale*, again in Rome (A1, exh. 45, p. 291), he showed four large canvases of equal size (175 × 115 centimetres). In total, they occupied more than 4.60 metres of wall space, and, with a canvas height of 1.75 metres, the figures were near life-size. Although these paintings were 'naturalistic', their sheer size alone must have attracted attention, even, or especially, in large group exhibitions.⁸⁹ Similarly, there were six more polyptychs that Balla showed on several occasions: *La giornata dell'operaio*, *Maggio*, *Inverno*, *Dittico di Villa Borghese*, *Villa Borghese – Parco dei daini*, and *Affetti*. The latter even measured

86 Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 88, and Calvesi 1998, p. 13.

87 Barnes Robinson 1981, pp. 82, 86–87.

88 Special thanks go to my esteemed colleague Marei Döhring who played a vital role in helping me notice these peculiarities.

89 The topic and style of this cycle are well discussed in the literature on Balla, see, for example, Barnes Robinson 1981, pp. 50–55.

over seven meters in width. It is equally striking that Balla chose such large-format pieces in seven out of thirteen, in other words in more than half of his non-Futurist exhibitions. Clearly, this practice was specific to more traditional exhibiting environments, as none of his polyptychs were presented at the Futurist exhibitions he participated in (no doubt due to their subject matter and Post-Impressionist style). As he was limited in terms of boldness of style and modernity in these more conventional exhibitions, he might have tried to attract attention through sheer size.

In contrast, the pieces he showed most often in Futurist exhibitions (*Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 90 × 110 centimetres, and *Velocità d'automobile*, 60 × 98 centimetres) were smaller in scale, and only one of them, *Velocità d'automobile*, was 'non-representational', pointing yet again to his tentative approach to Futurism. However, some Futurist pieces did impress by scale alone: *Lampada ad arco* (coded 'stylized – partially'), measuring 174 × 114 centimetres, was presented three times between 1908 and 1915; but most impressive in terms of size was the 'non-representational' *Velocità astratta*, measuring 202 × 328 centimetres, shown twice in that same period. Overall, I would argue that Balla knew how to use both the size of his paintings and their degree of abstraction to his advantage as a means of attracting attention at exhibitions.

Contemporary critics of Balla's work seem largely to have neglected the topic of the size of his paintings. This suggests that either the exhibition of particularly large-scale pieces was a common practice, thus requiring no additional remarks, or that Balla's strategy worked, in the sense that the size did indeed attract the attention of the press. Generally, the response to Balla's works shown in public before joining Futurism was varied. The 'Cycle of the Living' was most widely received, with both favourable and negative reactions. Vittorio Pica, an important Italian art critic at the time, praised the four images,⁹⁰ while others criticized their content.⁹¹ *Affetti* (1910, cat. rais., no. 196), for example, aptly described as a '*retardataire*' painting by Barnes Robinson, was positively received.⁹² I would argue that the positive reception was most likely due to exactly this '*retardataire*', or conservative, character of the painting. By contrast, the reception of *Salutando* (1908, cat. rais., no. 177) was mainly negative. The critics found that it too much resembled a photograph,⁹³ thus forming more of a technical challenge that left the viewer 'indifferenti', despite the image being '*semplicità e gentile*' and executed with '*giustezza mirabile di prospettiva*'.⁹⁴ Here the modernity in the painting's construction seemed to have been too daring for some critics, even though in terms of subject it is a 'naturalistic' and easily recognizable piece.

90 As Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 55, reports: 'Vittorio Pica devoted part of his review in *Emporium* of the 1909 *Amatori e Cultori* to *The Living*. After commenting on the "ambiguity" of Balla's title, which the painter had certainly intended ironically, Pica went on to praise both the cycle's content and its artistic merits [...]. That same year, Pica also commented positively on Balla's *Maggio* (cf. Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 72).

91 Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 55.

92 Ibid., p. 68.

93 Ibid., p. 69.

94 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 149.

Balla's Futurist works were received with similarly negative responses. His *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio* (1912) was derided for representing 'un inqualificabile animale, provvisto di quattro mazzetti di zampe e di un mazzetto di code, e una dozzina di piedi, nel vario atteggiamento che si succede nello svolgimento di un passo. La signora non cammina, il cane neppure, nè si muove il guinzaglio e lo sforzo lodevolissimo dell'artista è riuscito a continuare soltanto quello che un napoletano definirebbe 'nu 'n guacchio.'⁹⁵ The comments on *Bambina che corre sul balcone* (1912, cat. rais., no. 290) were even more scathing, with the critic Federico Mastrigli, for example, describing it as: '[...] la risultante di questa operazione: "Bambina x balcone" = ospedale di S. Giacomo se la bambina, spenzolandosi precipita in istrada.'⁹⁶ According to Barnes Robinson, only *Lampada ad arco* (1909) was treated more favourably when first exhibited in 1913: 'Federico Mastrigli, writing in *La Vita*, noted that "Balla has attempted to decompose into many multicoloured arrows, the luminous rays of an arc lamp" [while] Emilio Cecchi responded poetically to the "flight of white comas of light currents", on Balla's canvas.'⁹⁷ Overall, however, the critical reception did not seem to influence Balla in his choice of exhibits, as the majority of the pieces mentioned (the 'Cycle of the Living', *Dinamismo di un cane*, *Bambina*, and *Lampada*) were all exhibited three to five times each. It is striking, however, that the last three are all Futurist works, whereas his less-modern works, in this case *Affetti* and *Salutando*, were only shown twice and once respectively. This suggests that Balla was more responsive to negative criticism regarding his more traditional works but adopted a different, more provocative attitude when it came to his Futurist oeuvre.

Although Balla gave a good overview of his production in exhibitions up until 1915, it was certainly not complete. In fact, if anything, he exhibited more 'naturalistic' pieces than abstract ones, despite the fact that he had created a large number of abstract canvases before 1915, as his catalogue raisonné shows. On the other hand, while his pieces dealing with the representation of speed and movement of physical objects (such as *Velocità d'automobile* or *Dinamismo di un cane*) were presented publicly until 1915, similar representations of astronomical movements (*Mercurio passa davanti al sole* series, cat. rais., nos. 398–405) or even more abstract forms such as his *Compenetrazione iridescente* (cat. rais., nos. 256–283) – largely created in the period 1912 to 1914 – would only be exhibited after the Second World War, hence with a sizable delay of at least forty years. Therefore, I argue that Balla did not particularly stress his abstract works in exhibitions during the years leading up to the First World War, despite being part of numerous Futurist exhibitions that would have provided him with an avant-garde environment fitting for such works.

Nevertheless, Balla most certainly did embrace an avant-garde lifestyle, dressing in so-called 'antineutral' clothing and contributing to Diaghilev's highly avant-gardist Ballets

95 Ibid., p. 159.

96 Ibid., p. 162.

97 Ibid., p. 87.

Russes as a scenographer,⁹⁸ thus finding other opportunities to promote his ideas than solely on the walls of exhibition venues. In fact, again with a little delay, starting in 1913, at the same time as he first exhibited with the Futurists, he also started to participate in their famous *serate* and similar events.⁹⁹ Furthermore, in a bold move coming two years after signing the manifesto, Balla revitalized his art in terms of style and theme, aligning himself much more closely to Futurism. Boccioni mentions Balla's strong involvement in the Futurist cause in a letter to Severini from early 1913 – leading not only to a change in the artist's work but even in the overall ambiance in Rome:

A Roma siamo celebri! Balla ci ha sbalordito, poiché oltre a fare una campagna Futurista tenace come immagini possa farla lui, si è messo sulla via di una completa trasformazione. Ripudia tutte le sue opere e i suoi metodi. [...] Ci ammira e condivide le idee in tutto, è però ancora troppo fotografico ed episodico ma ha 42 anni, ha una volontà quasi vergine e intatta e lo spettacolo della sua coraggiosa evoluzione ha commosso me e Marinetti come di un eroismo di cui difficilmente se ne vedono esempi. Insomma l'ambiente di Roma si cambia.¹⁰⁰

In this spirit of renewal, he additionally planned an auction – that never took place – with the goal to sell off all his 'archaic' works.¹⁰¹ In fact, as Silk notes, Balla simultaneously 'even underwent a re-christening; pieces were no longer signed just Balla, but were autographed with the sobriquet *FuturBalla* or *BallaFuturista*.'¹⁰² Ultimately, his solo show in 1915 was entitled *Esposizione Fu Balla e Balla Futurista*, or 'Exhibition of the Late Balla and Balla the Futurist', thus laying his old, pre-Futurist self to rest and fully embracing his new Futurist identity.

Conclusion

Although Balla is remembered as a key member of the Futurist group – Lista even goes so far as to note that 'It is Futurism which identifies itself in Balla and not vice versa'¹⁰³ – the quantitative analysis showed that he joined their exhibition activity with some delay. Similarly, delays are visible between the creation and exhibition of many of his paintings, with a lapse ranging from one year to several decades. In addition, as I was able to show, Balla exhibited a majority of figurative pieces from 1908 to 1915, presenting only five ab-

98 Werkner 1979, p. 176, and cat. rais., p. 77.

99 Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 114.

100 'A Gino Severini [Milano], 11 gennaio 1913', URL: <https://www.rodoni.ch/busoni/bibliotechina/anonomoberlinese/boccioni.html>.

101 Benzi 1998, pp. 40, 159.

102 Silk 1981, p. 328.

103 Cat. rais., p. 15.

stract works and that comparatively late, starting in late 1913 and early 1914. Furthermore, he still participated in more conservative shows simultaneously to his exhibition activity with the Futurists. Combined with the analysis above, all this shows that his approach to positioning himself as an avant-garde artist was relatively tentative. Most importantly, the analysis allows me to argue that – out of financial necessity – Balla's strategy was to show his Futurist and 'non-representational' pieces in exhibitions with the Futurist group, but to present 'naturalistic' and much less avant-garde paintings in more conservative circles. This strategy, which I call 'public-oriented', allowed him to address various audiences and provide them with the kind of art they were more likely to buy. In both contexts, however, he knew how to take a stance on Modernism, whether through the representation of abstract concepts, such as speed and dynamism, or through the dramatic framings of his subjects. His choice of exhibiting numerous large-format canvases suggests this was part of his strategy, with the goal to attract attention among the public and press.

Boccioni: The Coexistence of Figuration and Abstraction¹⁰⁴

Introduction

In 1910 Umberto Boccioni was one of the first artists to join the Futurist movement,¹⁰⁵ initiated by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti the previous year. Boccioni turned out to be one of its most fervent defenders in his short life: he died in 1916, during the First World War, aged only 34. He was not only active in different artistic mediums, but also engaged in every mode of propagation of Futurism, whether by exhibiting, writing and publishing, giving lectures, or provoking scandals with the famous *serate futuriste*.¹⁰⁶ Moreover,

104 References to Boccioni's works will be cited as per their listing and numbering in the catalogue raisonné – Calvesi and Coen 1983. It must be mentioned here that Boccioni's catalogue raisonné, published in 1983, is incomplete in one respect: the allegedly comprehensive list of exhibitions lacks detailed information about exhibitions mentioned in brief in relation to certain artworks (for example the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* of 1911 is mentioned with individual artworks but does not figure in the exhibition list). Furthermore, five exhibitions seem to be missing altogether from the catalogue raisonné, when one compares it to the list of exhibitions published in Coen 1988, p. 267, on the occasion of a Boccioni retrospective at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, only five years after publication of the catalogue raisonné. The five exhibitions listed in Coen 1988 but not in the catalogue raisonné are: *Esposizione riservata agli artisti Lombardi e ai soci*, Milan, Palazzo della Permanente, 10 April–12 May 1909; *Esposizione di pittura e scultura*, Brunate, May–June 1909; *Mostra Annuale degli artisti lombardi*, Milan, Palazzo della Permanente, spring 1910; *Mostra d'Arte Libera: I manifestazioni collettiva dei Futuristi*, Milan, Padiglione Ricordi, spring 1911; *Pittura Futurista: Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Soffici*, Rome, Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri, February–March 1914. Conversely, there is only one exhibition listed by Calvesi and Coen 1983 that does not subsequently feature in Coen 1988: the Firenze edition of the *Esposizione di Pittura Futurista*, held at the Galleria Gonnelli, February–March 1914. Lastly, by combining both sources one notes that two exhibitions bearing the same title take place at the same time in early 1914, one in Florence and one in Rome. As no original exhibition catalogue could be located, it remains unclear whether these two exhibitions really took place at the same time in two different cities or whether only one of them actually happened and, if so, which is the correct one and thus which of the two publications has made an error. Therefore, in the case of Boccioni, the use of the catalogue raisonné as the main source was complemented with references to Coen 1988 and, in the case of the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* (Milan 1911), also to Schneede 1994.

105 Schneede 1994, p. 10.

106 Severini 1995, p. 125. The secondary literature regarding Boccioni consists of monographic publications (Coen 1988, Schneede 1994) as well as of volumes dedicated to other Futurists (Barnes Robinson 1981) or the group as a whole, in which Boccioni is either treated in a separate chapter of his own or as part of the wider narrative. The former is true for his writings, which are collected in Rainey, Poggi, and Wittman 2009, and for his participation in the Futurist travelling exhibition, touched upon in Weissweiler 2009 (see note 68, in chapter 'Tentatively Exhibiting Abstraction: Balla's Behaviour with Different Audiences', p. 63). The latter's treatment of Boccioni is limited to stylistic analyses of his exhibited works. Other exhibitions that Boccioni was a part of are either dealt with in depth, as by Pezzini 2013 in relation to the Sackville Gallery show in London in 1912, or less systematically, as is the case with Laude 1971 for Boccioni's exhibition of sculpture in 1913, albeit without looking at Boccioni in isolation. Laude also mentions Boccioni's participation at the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 in Paris, a fact that is curiously not repeated in any other literature. Furthermore, Coen 1988 claims Boccioni participated in an exhibition in the Palazzo della Permanente in Milan in the summer of 1910, another exhibition not listed in the catalogue raisonné. This again indicates the shortcomings of Boccioni's catalogue raisonné (Calvesi and Coen 1983, see note 104 above): Although



Boccioni was an active traveller, not only moving several times before settling in Milan in 1907,¹⁰⁷ but also accompanying travelling exhibitions in subsequent years, visiting his friend and colleague Gino Severini in Paris on several occasions as well as other cities all across Europe.¹⁰⁸

Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

For the period 1901 (the start of his artistic career) to 1915, Umberto Boccioni's catalogue raisonné lists 938 artworks, of which 643 were realized between 1908 and 1915, the period of this study. Taking part in 24 exhibitions during those 8 years, he showed 60 works publicly, or about 6.4 percent of everything he had produced by 1915. During this time-frame, the range of exhibited works at any one event ran from just 1 to a maximum of 19. In all, 51 of those 60 works – the vast majority – were produced between 1908 and 1915, which represents 8 percent of his oeuvre from those years. For the same time-frame, 176 catalogue entries were recorded, which means that on average Boccioni showed every artwork almost three times. In real terms, however, two works (taken from a series of three works in total) were shown most often and always together: *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II* (1911, cat. rais., no. 723) and *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II* (1911, cat. rais., no. 725), which were presented eight times each at exhibitions from 1908 to 1915.¹⁰⁹ It is noteworthy that neither of them are abstract (both were coded by experts as 'stylized – wholly' for the purposes of this study, see A4, p. 323, for details). In fact, only one of the six works most often shown (*Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, cat. rais., no. 884, shown six times) can be categorized as 'non-representational' and thus as unequivocally abstract. This means that the majority of the works Boccioni showed most often were still figurative. All the works most frequently shown were only presented at exhibitions of the Futurist group that toured throughout Europe and even went on view on the west coast of the United States between 1912 and 1915.

the information given with each artwork seems comprehensive, the list of exhibitions is far from complete. Apollinaire 2009 briefly mentions the artist in numerous articles from the early twentieth century. Severini 1995 gives important insight into Boccioni's character and helpfully quotes correspondence between himself and Boccioni for the years in question. Overall, despite Boccioni being mentioned more often and with greater significance in the context of exhibitions than any of the other artists treated in this book, a systematic examination of both the exhibitions he participated in and his exhibition behaviour has not yet been attempted.

107 See Schneede 1994, pp. 11, 40.

108 Coen 1988 mentions many places where Boccioni lived or visited, pp. xvi–xliii.

109 Moreover, he showed eleven artworks three times each (cat. rais., nos. 420, 657, 757, 774, 775, 796, 853, 854, 855, 878, 895), nine works four times (cat. rais., nos. 421, 744, 745, 747, 751, 752, 765, 794, 856), six works five times (cat. rais., nos. 660, 709, 782, 799, 857, 869), three works six times (cat. rais., nos. 675, 701, 884), and one seven times (cat. rais., no. 724).

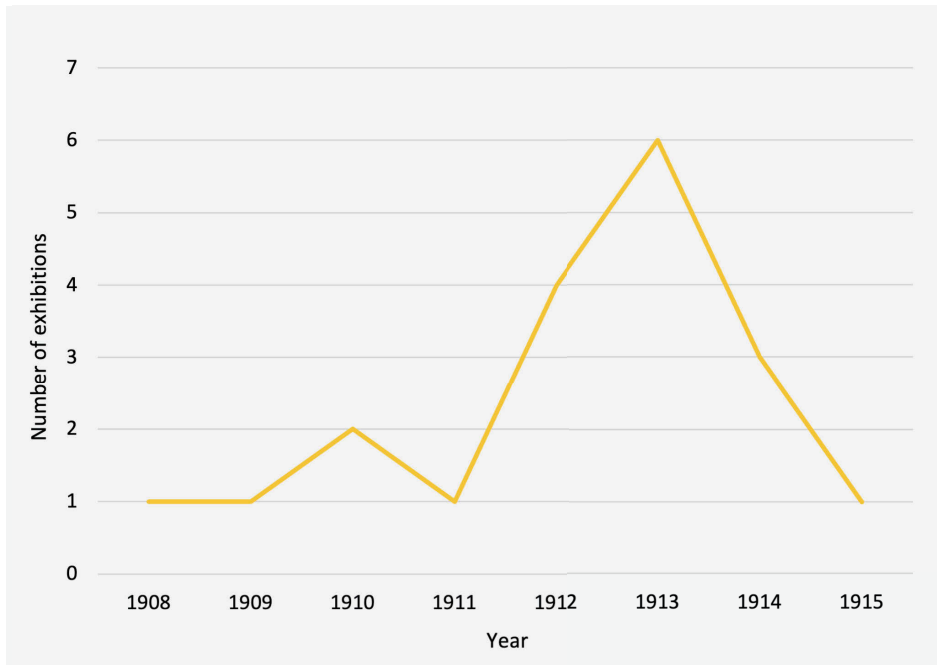


Figure 13: Development of number of Boccioni's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.

Among the total of 60 artworks¹¹⁰ exhibited by Boccioni from 1908 to 1915, the vast majority were produced during those very years. Only nine pieces shown then dated from before 1908; two were created in 1905 and seven in 1907.¹¹¹ This means that the works Boccioni presented to the public generally stemmed from his most recent production, although he notably did not show pieces produced after 1913.

The 24 exhibitions that Boccioni participated in result in an average of 3.1 exhibitions per year for the period 1908 to 1915. The number of his exhibition appearances grew almost consistently, from one exhibition in 1908 to six in 1913 (fig. 13). Understandably, the number of featured exhibitions dropped in 1914 and 1915, which was due to the outbreak of the First World War and Boccioni's participation in combat. Of these 24 exhibitions, two were solo shows, while the 22 others were group exhibitions.¹¹² These exhibitions took place

110 Eleven of those 60 are marked with a question mark in the catalogue raisonné, and one is marked with a question mark in Coen 1988 (Coen 1988, cat. no. 74 is identical to cat. rais., no. 895), which means that for twelve artworks their inclusion at an exhibition is not certain.

111 Cat. rais., nos. 43 and 51 are from 1905, while cat. rais., nos. 263, 264, 265, 267, 270, 272, and 275 are from 1907.

112 The two solo shows Boccioni has between 1908 and 1915 were exhibitions dedicated exclusively to the presentation of his Futurist sculptures (see A1, exh. 36, p. 280 and exh. 42, p. 288). Indeed, he is the only artist

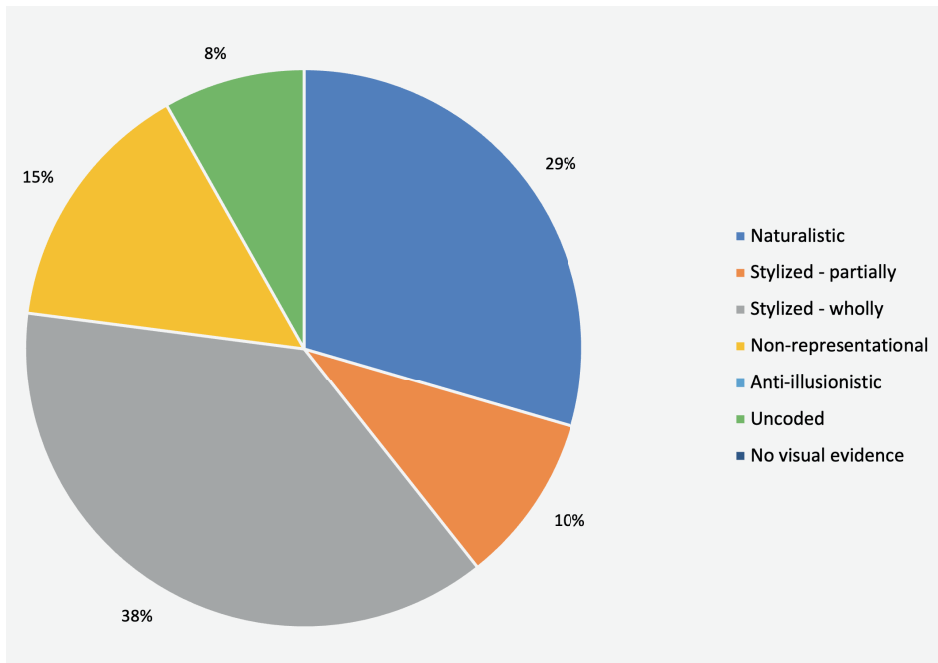


Figure 14: Share of degrees of abstraction of Boccioni's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.

in a large variety of institutions and places: artist associations like the Famiglia Artistica Milanese; commercial galleries such as the Bernheim Jeune gallery in Paris, the Sackville Gallery in London, or the Galleria Gonnelli in Florence; museums like the Ca' Pesaro in Venice; 'neutral' spaces that were rented out to exhibition organizers such as the Galerie La Boétie in Paris or the Palazzo della Permanente in Milan; and finally in alternative spaces such as the foyer of the Teatro Costanzi in Rome.

These spaces obviously varied in terms of how academic, modern, and/or avant-garde their profile was. Neutral spaces that were offered for rent were variable and the degree of avant-gardism in their shows depended entirely on the respective organizers and artists involved. This was also the case for the alternative spaces. The majority of galleries Boccioni exhibited at were known for dealing in modern and contemporary art, with the exception

among the seven studied here who also exhibited sculpture in addition to painting during the studied period. His ten exhibited sculptures comprise one percent of the works produced until 1915 and sixteen percent of the works exhibited during the time-frame in question. Given the poor quality of the reproductions of the artworks, the sculptures were left uncoded for the purposes of this study, hence their degree of abstraction was not established here. A specific analysis of Boccioni's sculptures, their degree of abstraction, and their showings at exhibition was therefore not possible within the limits of this study.

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %	2 100 %							2 100 %
1909 in %	4 100 %							4 100 %
1910 in %	21 75 %	5 18 %				2 7 %		28 100 %
1911 in %	3 30 %	1 10 %	4 40 %			2 20 %		10 100 %
1912 in %		4 10 %	32 80 %			4 10 %		40 100 %
1913 in %			42 79 %	7 13 %		4 8 %		53 100 %
1914 in %			18 51 %	14 40 %		3 9 %		35 100 %
1915 in %			3 50 %	2 33 %		1 17 %		6 100 %

Table 4: Number of catalogue entries shown by Boccioni per category, per year (1908-1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

of the Sackville Gallery in London, which specialized in sales of the Old Masters,¹¹³ and the Famiglia Artistica Milanese, which seems to have been more academic in ambit. The types of exhibitions Boccioni participated in from 1911 onwards were all Futurist ones, which situated themselves strictly in the sphere of the avant-garde. This started with the first exhibition of the Futurists at the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* in Milan. Boccioni's featured exhibitions prior to this event seem to have been of a more conservative character (see A1, exh. 15, p. 249).

Regarding the degree of abstraction of Boccioni's exhibited artworks (fig. 14 and table 4), one notices that only eight (or 15 percent), were 'non-representational' or purely abstract. The large majority of works were therefore still figurative, with a total of 77 percent of non-abstract works shown. The development of the exhibition of those artworks (fig. 15) shows that the 'naturalistic' works dominate in 1908 but consistently decrease and eventually disappear entirely. Starting in 1911, the catalogue numbers from the 'stylized – wholly' category appear on the graph and by the end of the studied time period, in 1915,

113 See Pezzini 2013, who gives well-researched and well-written insights into the Futurist exhibition that took place at the Sackville Gallery in 1912.

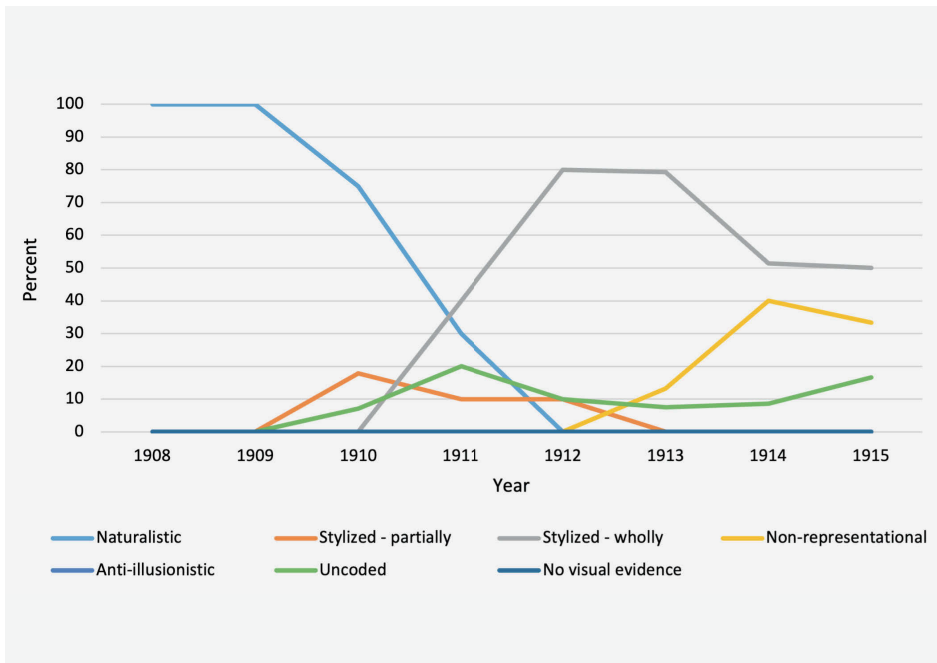


Figure 15: Development of share of Boccioni's artworks in exhibitions by degree of abstraction, 1908–1915.

form the largest part of exhibited works, with a share between 50 and 80 percent. Notably, the number of ‘non-representational’ catalogue entries, on the rise from 1913 onwards, never surpasses the number of ‘stylized – wholly’ works and peaks with the equivalent of 40 percent of all exhibited works shown in 1914. In fact, as per the data collected, Boccioni showed his first ‘non-representational’ piece, *Dinamismo muscolare* (cat. rais., no. 869), in early 1913 at the *Prima Esposizione Pittura Futurista* in Rome (see A1, exh. 32, p. 274). Given Boccioni’s particularly strong engagement in the activities of the avant-garde Futurist group – which he had been supporting in different ways since 1909 – this is a surprising outcome. It shows that the Futurist’s radical claims for a modern way of life, overthrowing all established forms, did not necessarily translate into a call for radical abstraction. In fact, the artistic solutions that Boccioni and the Futurists developed were just as avant-gardist and provocative to their contemporary public as abstraction itself was. For the Futurists alone, abstraction was merely *one* tool among several they chose as a way of dealing with artistic problems, the problems of their time, and not least with the intense competition in the art world in general – which led them to find new means to stand out from the crowd. Compare this with an artist like Kupka: for him abstraction was not one solution among many, but the *only* one possible.

City	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Catalogue entries per city	Exhibitions per city
Berlin (DE)					10	3			13	1
Brunate (IT)		1							1	1
Brussels (BE)					10				10	2
Florence (IT)						8	11		19	2
London (UK)					10		10		20	2
Milan (IT)	1	3	9	10					23	7
Naples (IT)							9		9	1
Paris (FR)					10	12			22	2
Rome (IT)						21	4		25	3
Rotterdam (NL)						9			9	1
San Francisco (USA)								6	6	1
Venice (IT)			19						19	1
Catalogue entries per year	1	4	28	10	40	53	34	6	176	
Exhibitions per year	1	3	3	2	4	6	4	1		24

Table 5: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Boccioni per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.

Geographically, 23 out of Boccioni's 24 shows were concentrated in Europe, namely in Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Additionally, he participated at an exhibition in San Francisco, thus spreading his public profile to the American continent. In total, his artwork was present in seven countries and twelve towns and cities: Berlin, Brunate (Como), Brussels, Florence, London, Milan, Naples, Paris, Rome, Rotterdam, San Francisco, and Venice. As table 5 clearly shows, Boccioni's showings were concentrated in Milan until 1911 and then spread out across Europe from 1912 onwards. This can be explained with his participation in the Futurist touring exhibition, which kicked off at the Galerie Bernheim Jeune in Paris in 1912 and then travelled to several European cities, even creating other spin-off exhibitions that themselves then toured.¹¹⁴ A rather surprising fact is that Rome has the largest number of catalogue entries (25), with Milan a close second (23), and not the other way around, meaning that Boccioni showed the most artworks

114 Weissweiler 2009 gives the most systematic account of the Futurist travelling exhibition. See also Coen 1988, p. xxvi.

(even if some repeatedly) in the Italian capital and not in his hometown. It should be noted that those 25 catalogue entries in Rome are divided between three exhibitions, while the 23 in Milan were shown at seven different shows. This means that Boccioni showed larger numbers of works in fewer exhibitions in Rome while having an altogether more constant presence in Milan, albeit with far fewer works. This could be due to a number of factors. It remains unknown, however, whether the artist wanted to test out different exhibition tactics or methods in Rome, or whether there was a selection committee or limitation to the pieces he was allowed to show.

The works that Boccioni exhibited were largely representative of his oeuvre as a whole. However, there were parts of his production that he did not show publicly. This includes his numerous landscapes created until 1910¹¹⁵ and portraits created after 1910 as well as, surprisingly, the sole war-glorifying image he ever painted (*Carica di lancieri*, 1915, cat. rais., no. 925). The exclusion of landscapes before and portraits after 1910 indicates that Boccioni did not want to present himself as a painter of these two genres, in other words as what might be construed as a 'traditional' artist and detract from his status as an fully-fledged Futurist. Regarding the omission of his war painting in exhibitions and given Boccioni's support of the Great War, it is most surprising that, according to his catalogue raisonné, he only actually created a single artwork related to the subject of war, and, moreover, chose never to exhibit it. However, Boccioni himself stated that art always stands above and is untouched by war.¹¹⁶ This already indicates a slight inconsistency between his character and attitude as a fervent Futurist on the one hand and his exhibition practice on the other, which shall be explored further in the section below.

Boccioni's exhibition behaviour

Boccioni, as just mentioned, took part in several exhibitions of artist associations, such as the Famiglia Artistica in Milan and the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring in the Netherlands. However, the secondary literature does not give any hint as to whether or not he was also a *member* of those associations.¹¹⁷ What he *was* most famously a member of, however, was the Italian Futurist group, in whose exhibitions he participated from the very beginning of their exhibition activity, in 1911. Although he was not a founder, he swiftly became 'the principal spokesman for the painters',¹¹⁸ being the author of several of their manifestos¹¹⁹

115 He does exhibit one landscape from 1908 once that same year, but it is not representative of the landscapes he made until 1910, which formed a large part of his early oeuvre (see cat. rais.).

116 In an unpublished text, Boccioni wrote: 'L'arte è sempre al di sopra e la guerra non la tocca' (Boccioni 1971, p. 418). As Schneede 1994, p. 196, suggests, Boccioni found it important to deal with war but not necessarily within the realm of art.

117 Original exhibition catalogues that may list the group's members could not be located for verification either.

118 Barnes Robinson 1981, p. 110.

119 As Schneede 1994, p. 53, puts it: 'Dabei kann angenommen werden, daß Boccioni als theoretischer Kopf die beiden Manifeste von 1910 nicht nur wesentlich mitgeprägt, sondern sogar selbst verfaßt hat.'



Figure 16: Installation view of 1^{re} Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du Peintre et Sculpteur Futuriste Boccioni, at Galerie La Boétie, Paris, summer 1913.

and participating in their activities wherever possible. As such, he accompanied the Futurist touring exhibition that had its first presentation at the Galerie Bernheim Jeune in Paris in 1912. From there, it travelled to the Sackville Gallery in London, on to Der Sturm in Berlin, and to Galeries Georges Giroux in Brussels. At every new venue, Boccioni was present in person to supervise the hanging as well as the opening and promotion of the events.¹²⁰ In Berlin, Boccioni even rehung the paintings according to his own wishes, a common practice at the Der Sturm gallery,¹²¹ after being unhappy with Herwarth Walden's original display scheme.

However, even before his association with the Futurist group, Boccioni was engaged in organizing his own exhibition when denied participation in another one. Following the rejection of his and Severini's paintings for the annual exhibition of the Società degli Amatori e Cultori in Rome in 1905, he put together what can be called a 'Salon des Refusés'.¹²²

120 Schneede 1994 reports: 'Im März 1912 war Boccioni wegen der Ausstellung in London, danach wieder in Paris; im April 1912 reiste er nach Berlin. Dort wurde die Futuristen-Ausstellung in der Sturm-Galerie [...] gezeigt', p. 105. See also Schneede 1994, p. 154.

121 Hülsen-Esch 2012, p. 205.

122 Coen 1988, p. xvi.

I would argue that this expresses Boccioni's motivation and determination to make his art publicly known and to propagate his artistic ideas any way possible. What is more, even during his time as a member of the Futurist group, he still managed to organize a touring solo exhibition, nevertheless under the guise of the Futurist label: an exhibition of his sculptures accompanied by some drawings presented first at the Galerie La Boétie in the summer of 1913¹²³ and, half a year later, at Sprovieri's Galleria Futurista in Rome (see fig. 16; A1, exh. 36, p. 280, and exh. 42, p. 288). All this reveals his general interest and motivation – from early on – in showing his work publicly, in supervising these exhibitions personally, and in creating opportunities for exhibiting his art wherever possible and/or necessary.

From 1908 to 1915, Boccioni does not seem to have had an official gallery or dealer who would have helped and supported him in spreading and selling his works, although this function was somewhat covered by Marinetti's leading role in the Futurist movement. Marinetti can to some extent be considered the Futurists' main 'representative' for sales (although he was never officially designated as dealer), given that he engineered the majority of Futurist shows, particularly the travelling exhibition, and also negotiated sales.¹²⁴ In fact, as becomes clear from a letter he sent to Carlo Carrà in mid-April 1912, Boccioni observed the art market and strategies of other actors such as gallerists and artists, in an effort to apply them to his own art and that of his fellow Futurists: 'Ma solo l'estero conta! Non so se sai che i maggiori compratori dei cubisti, Picasso, Braque, Matisse e Van Dongen, sono tedeschi e russi, poi americani.'¹²⁵ From this we can see that he consciously prioritized selling to foreign, non-Italian customers and collectors. Indeed, the large majority of Futurist works on offer were bought from their touring exhibition in London and Berlin, by an English dealer and a German collector respectively; in both cities, however, the prices fetched were not satisfactory.¹²⁶

Boccioni had no wealth to rely on and mainly lived off his job as a poster designer, which he saw as an unpleasant and unsatisfying occupation.¹²⁷ In fact, his goal was to be able to support himself solely through the production and sale of Futurist works, as

123 In his autobiography (Severini 1946, p. 185), Severini relates the event as follows: 'Intanto si era organizzata a Parigi la mostra della scultura di Boccioni che ebbe luogo alla "Galerie La Boétie". Malgrado che questa mostra fosse una cosa affrettata e per così dire improvvisata, presentava tuttavia un certo interesse, e rivelava in Boccioni delle possibilità forse maggiori che per la pittura. Certo fu una speccie di "tour de force" il riunire, in circa sedici mesi, una decina di sculture (tutti gessi, naturalmente,) e una ventina di disegni [...]'. According to Laude 1971, p. 255, seven sculptures by Boccioni were shown at the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 under the title 'Têtes' in the decorative arts section. However, this seems highly unlikely, given that Boccioni had only just started working on these sculptures shortly before that, during the summer (see Schneede 1994, p. 119). Moreover, the presentation of these works is not mentioned anywhere else in the literature, nor is Boccioni listed in the exhibition catalogue of the *Salon d'Automne* for 1912.

124 As Jensen 1988, p. 364, explains: 'The skill and success of the Futurist self-promotion alone attests to Marinetti's understanding of the contemporary marketplace.'

125 Quoted in Drudi Gambillo and Fiori 1986, pp. 240–241.

126 Weissweiler 2009, pp. 140, 157; Pezzini 2013, p. 478.

127 Coen 1988, p. 209 and Weissweiler 2009, p. 156.

he hints at in his letter from mid-April 1912 to Carrà: 'Veramente, caro Carrà, siamo sopra una strada che se ci sarà calma e denaro per lavorare, basterà a far viaggiare le opera e tutto verrà da sé.'¹²⁸ In this respect, he hoped that affiliation with the Futurist group would enable him to increase his exhibition activity and thus his exposure (although this did not necessarily equate to sales), while also taking away some responsibility for the organization of the exhibitions themselves. This is also evident in figure 13, which shows a spike in the number of times he featured at exhibition in 1912, the year marking the start of the Futurist touring exhibition.

Boccioni's affiliation with Futurism is evident not only in the number of exhibitions he participated in but also in the type of paintings exhibited. While primarily presenting portraits and landscapes until 1910, he added two early Futurist pieces, *Il lutto* and *Rissa in Galleria*, to a 'traditional' selection at the *Esposizione Annuale d'Arte della Famiglia Artistica* in late 1910/early 1911 (A1, exh. 11, p. 243). This noticeable change in style became even more obvious in the first joint exhibition of the Futurists during the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* in Milan in spring 1911 (see A1, exh. 15, p. 249). Here his Futurist pieces take over, although he does keep one less avant-gardist piece, *Crepuscolo* (1909, cat. rais., no. 421), in the selection. This marks a clear break in Boccioni's presented artworks. The pieces he exhibited from that moment on, until 1915, can all be described as Futurist¹²⁹ and thus as more avant-garde in their appearance and subject-matter than the works exhibited before that date. I agree with Coen's assessment that these pieces show 'that his art had undergone an extraordinary evolution',¹³⁰ an evolution he did not shy away from displaying publicly. However, that does not automatically signify that what he showed was becoming more and more abstract. In fact, his 'non-representational' pieces only appeared in exhibitions starting in February of 1913 (fig. 15), when he showed *Dinamismo muscolare* (1913, cat. rais., no. 869) at the Teatro Costanzi in Rome (see A1, exh. 32, p. 274).

During the time-frame in question, he never showed *only* abstract works. If shown, abstract pieces were always presented in combination with images in which figures were still recognizable and which belong to the category 'stylized – wholly'. In Boccioni's case, figuration and abstraction coexist. This was true, for example, at the *Esposizione di Pittura Futurista di 'Lacerba'* in late 1913/early 1914 in Florence (see A1, exh. 38, p. 283), where Boccioni participated by showing, among others, the 'stylized – wholly' pieces *Costruzione orizzontale* (1912, cat. rais., no. 751) and *Dimensioni astratte* (1912, cat. rais., no. 794) as well as the 'non-representational' images *Dinamismo muscolare* (1913) and *Dinamismo di un*

128 Quoted in Drudi Gambillo and Fiori 1986, p. 240.

129 The term Futurist is perhaps best characterized as follows: "[...] the Futurists celebrated motion and the simultaneity of unrelated events. They took the [...] preoccupation with the machine, the railroad, and the industrial transformation of the urban/suburban environment, and combined it with the pictorial inventions of the Cubists to invent a synthetic urban art that is highly rhythmic and infused with the energy of rapidly moving time', Brettell 1999, p. 36.

130 Coen 1988, p. xxiii.

ciclista (1913). Similarly, at the *Panama-Pacific International Exposition* in late 1915 (see A1, exh. 57, p. 308), Boccioni sent his 'non-representational' works *Dinamismo di un ciclista* and *Dinamismo di un Footballer* (1913, cat. rais., no. 895) in combination with the 'stylized – wholly' pieces *Materia* (1912, cat. rais., no. 752) and *Elasticità* (1912, cat. rais., no. 799). In nine out of ten exhibitions, he mixed figurative and abstract works, starting with the already mentioned show at the Teatro Costanzi in Rome. The exhibition at the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring in spring 1913 was the only exception, as no abstract works were shown there at all.

There are various ways of reading this deliberate combination of abstract and non-abstract works. Firstly, it can be assumed that Boccioni added even more 'provocative', abstract works to his already avant-garde pieces, with the goal of showing his artistic evolution. Secondly, one could argue that he did not dare to be represented by images alone in which the figures and/or objects were not recognizable anymore. This might have been due to economic reasons, as the less abstract pieces were probably more likely to sell. The third option is that Boccioni himself considered all works equally advanced and Futurist. The 'statement of purpose' from the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* from 1911, signed by Boccioni among others, states that 'an exhibition has the duty to welcome all the artist's personal expressions, from the most humble and infantile dream of a child to the most complex manifestations of a genius's maturity'.¹³¹ Seen in this light, one might tend towards the first explanation given above for the artist's mixed presentations. However, taking into account Boccioni's financial woes, the economic reason may well have played just as important a role in his decision making. And finally, the third explanation is no doubt equally valid. It is evident therefore that, by showing both figurative and abstract pieces together, Boccioni adopted a strategy that served his avant-garde ambitions while equally addressing his financial concerns.

This leads to the question of how this dual exhibition behaviour related to Boccioni's consistent and constant propagation of Futurism through other means, such as his writings and manifestos, lectures, or participation in the *serate futuriste*. Outside of exhibitions as much as within them, Boccioni positioned himself at the spearhead of the Italian avant-garde, which, in turn, claimed to stand at the very forefront of the entire European avant-garde.¹³² This, however, did not necessarily mean that the Italian avant-garde advocated for abstraction in art. In fact, Boccioni had an ambiguous conception of abstraction.

131 Coen 1988, p. xxiv. Unfortunately, Coen does not indicate where this 'statement of purpose' was published. An original exhibition catalogue could not be found (and might not have existed), nor could any separate such text be located. Therefore, neither an examination of the total text of the statement of purpose, nor the verification of Coen's translation was possible.

132 Among the Futurist group, their manifestos, lectures, and *serate* were consciously and strategically used to attract attention by provoking scandals (see chapter subheading in Schneede 1994, p. 50, 'Die Serate Futuriste und die strategische Rolle des Skandals', and p. 154 regarding lectures and writings). They would, for example, only consider their *serate* successful if they ended in fistfights or the throwing of vegetables, which would in turn guarantee column inches in the newspapers and spread the word about Futurism and its concepts. See Schneede 1994, pp. 50–52, 154 for more details.

In his writings, similar to his exhibitions, the figurative and the abstract were placed side by side in an oscillation between object-based and non-object-based abstraction. On the one hand, he based his remarks on the ‘studio trasportato nella vita, nelle infinite combinazioni di luci e di forme dei regni minerale, vegetale, animale e meccanico’¹³³ – drawing only upon figurative and concrete examples. In statements like the following, he blurred the boundaries between the figurative and abstract:

Questa potenzialità plastica dell’oggetto è la sua forza, cioè la sua psicologia primordiale. Questa forza, questa psicologia primordiale ci permette di creare nel quadro un nuovo soggetto, che non ha per scopo la riproduzione narrativa di un episodio, ma è invece una coordinazione dei valori plastici della realtà, coordinazione puramente architettonica e liberate da influenze letterarie o sentimentali.¹³⁴

While elsewhere he states: ‘Concludendo, noi Futuristi diamo il metodo per creare una concezione più astratta e simbolica della realtà, ma non definiamo la misura fissa e assoluta che crea il dinamismo.’¹³⁵ On the other hand, however, he did call for object-free abstraction in such declarations as: ‘[...] noi vogliamo [...] disprezzare profondamente ogni forma di imitazione’,¹³⁶ and ‘Noi proclamiamo [...] Che il moto e la luce distruggono la materialità dei corpi.’¹³⁷

While abstraction seems to be something Boccioni is clearly pondering, his inconsistent position towards the underlying conception of abstraction seems to be reflected in his exhibition behaviour until 1915. Additionally, it should be noted that even in his ‘non-representational’ pieces, the titles of the images – *Dinamismo muscolare*, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano* (cat. rais., no. 859), *Forme plastiche di un cavallo* (cat. rais., no. 898) – reveal his focus on the human figure, on which his abstraction seems *de facto* to be based. Indeed, one also notices that some of his figurative pieces have more abstract titles than his ‘non-representational’ ones, as is the case for *Dimensioni astratte* (cat. rais., no. 794), *Costruzione orizzontale* (751), *Materia* (752), and *Elasticità* (799). Ultimately, Boccioni’s theoretical and pictorial abstractions were equally consistent by being inconsistent. This constellation of his pieces was also mirrored in the exhibitions. Given that he used other means just as strategically – such as the writing and distribution of manifestos or appearances at the *serate futuriste* – the exhibitions formed only one tool among many to spread the Futurist idea, gain attention, and make a living.

133 Boccioni 2011, p. 146.

134 Ibid., p. 145.

135 Ibid., p. 150.

136 Boccioni et al. 2008b, p. 29.

137 Boccioni et al. 2008a, p. 32.

The public response to the art of the Futurist group and its exhibitions, starting with press reactions regarding the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* in 1911, was lively and mostly negative.¹³⁸ In this context, Boccioni was sometimes mentioned favourably, by Severini¹³⁹ and Apollinaire for example. The latter wrote: 'Voilà Boccioni, qui me paraît être le mieux doué des peintres Futuristes',¹⁴⁰ adding later, in reference to the 1912 Bernheim Jeune exhibition: 'Severini est avec Boccioni le peintre qui me paraît avoir le plus à dire parmi les Futuristes'.¹⁴¹ Regarding Boccioni's sculpture exhibition at the Galerie La Boétie in Paris in 1913 (see A1, exh. 36, p. 280), Apollinaire again finds kind words for the artist, but without mentioning abstraction: 'Dans d'excellents dessins, Boccioni nous fait part de ses efforts pour exprimer énergiquement la vie multiple et ce n'est pas la partie la moins intéressante de cette première exposition de sculpture nouvelle'.¹⁴² Boccioni reacted to Apollinaire's articles by penning articles of his own.¹⁴³ But given the persistence with which Boccioni exhibited his (more or less abstract) Futurist works from 1911 onwards, as is evident from the data gathered, it is unlikely that the reception of his art had any influence on his exhibition behaviour.

Conclusion

Boccioni is considered, along with Marinetti, to be one of the earliest and most fervent defenders of Futurism, which in turn claimed supremacy over all other European avant-garde movements. Given the significant position that the artist took from 1910 onwards, the data collected shows that first and foremost Boccioni produced and exhibited Futurist art, and only started producing abstract art in 1913, after three years had already passed since his joining the group (although it must equally be noted that once Boccioni *had* made the leap to abstraction, he never left it). However, as the above analysis revealed, he only ever showed his abstract works in combination with figurative ones and only in the context of presentations of the Futurist group. In his manifestos, his position on abstraction is similarly ambivalent, as I was able to show. I therefore argue that his strategy was oriented first and foremost towards the propagation of Futurism, in which the exhibition of abstract art was only one component, along with the presentation of his figurative pieces or various other means of attracting attention, such as his writings and talks. His strategy can thus be

138 Weissweiler 2009 describes reactions to the *Mostra d'Arte Libera* (pp. 72ff.) and quotes Marinetti who supposedly counted 350 articles being published on the Futurist exhibition in London at the Sackville Gallery (pp. 142ff.), and mentions Nell Walden recalling the reactions to the Berlin exhibition at Herwarth Walden's Der Sturm gallery (p. 153), where press reactions were seemingly far less numerous than with the previous two locations, much to the Futurists' dismay (p. 160, see also Schneede 1994, p. 105).

139 Reviewing the *Mostra d'Arte Libera*, Severini points out Boccioni's talent and characteristic style (see Weissweiler 2009, pp. 75–76).

140 Apollinaire 2009, p. 271.

141 Ibid., p. 276.

142 Ibid., p. 411.

143 Coen 1988, p. xxviii.

categorized as 'concept-oriented', as the Futurist concept is the guiding principle. Further, I would claim that his strategy consisted in using the Futurist label wherever possible, even in the context of solo exhibitions, as is the case for the *1re Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du Peintre et Sculpteur Futuriste Boccioni*. Finally, this conveys his general attitude of working tactically, of exploiting various means to make a name for himself. It also proves his strong commitment to the Futurist programme, rather than to abstraction – for he envisioned both as being equally avant-garde.

Kandinsky Strategizing: How to Target Various Audiences at Once¹⁴⁴

Introduction

Having trained as a lawyer in Moscow, Wassily Kandinsky only started his artistic education at the age of thirty in Munich, Bavaria. In his texts and writings, he later described how painting had always been his longing and calling.¹⁴⁵ In the preface of the exhibition catalogue to his 1912 retrospective at Der Sturm gallery in Berlin he wrote: ‘Bis zu meinem dreißigsten Jahr habe ich mich gesehnt Maler zu werden, da ich die Malerei mehr als alles andere liebte [...]’.¹⁴⁶ Kandinsky published numerous texts and books throughout his life, explaining and defending his art, its development and meaning, starting in 1911 with *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*.¹⁴⁷ In these texts, he tends to present himself as the messiah of abstract art and proclaims abstract art as the only future art form.¹⁴⁸ The present chapter shall determine whether this theoretical dedication to abstraction was equally reflected in exhibitions and shall show how Kandinsky used those exhibitions to propagate abstraction.¹⁴⁹

144 References to Kandinsky's works will draw on ‘Roethel and Benjamin 1982’ (*Werkverzeichnis der Ölgemälde: Band I, 1900–1915*, here simply: ‘cat. rais. 1982’) and ‘Endicott Barnett 1992’ (*Werkverzeichnis der Aquarelle: Band I, 1900–1921*, here simply ‘cat. rais. 1992’). Each will be followed by the number attributed to the work by the respective catalogue raisonné. In analysing Kandinsky's exhibition behaviour, only two of the three catalogues raisonnés were used: the catalogue raisonné of drawings and prints (*Werkverzeichnis der Zeichnungen*, edited by Vivian Endicott Barnett, 2006) was not taken into account here, as it would surpass the scope of this study. It must furthermore be indicated that Roethel and Benjamin do not present a comprehensive list of the exhibitions Kandinsky participated in (the most recent such list is published by Endicott Barnett in her *Werkverzeichnis der Zeichnungen*). This makes it difficult to precisely identify some of the exhibitions listed by Roethel and Benjamin in abbreviated form under each artwork. This leads to there being insufficient information in the case of 17 exhibitions and 27 artworks (with dates missing, partially or altogether), making it impossible to precisely identify those exhibitions. For example, the exhibition list for *Kirche in Froschhausen*, 1908 (cat. rais. 1982, no. 224, p. 219), contains the entry ‘Munich, Moderne Galerie Thannhauser, 1908 (?)’. However, this statement provides no information as to which exhibition at the Galerie Thannhauser is meant for that year, and besides which, most importantly, it is also erroneous: although Thannhauser co-owned a gallery with Hans Goltz in Munich before 1909, he only founded his own ‘Moderne Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser’ in the fall of 1909. Unfortunately, original exhibition catalogues that would have enabled identification could not be located and/or consulted.

145 Kandinsky wrote and published numerous texts and books throughout his life. At least three different publications collecting his writings have been published: Roethel and Hahl-Koch 1980, Kandinsky 2007b, and Bilanz 2012.

146 Kandinsky 1912a, p. 2.

147 For example, Kandinsky 2009 as well as Kandinsky 1980a and 1980b.

148 This idea is covered in more detail in the section ‘Written support: Kandinsky's publication strategy’ below (p. 103).

149 The copious literature focussing on Kandinsky's stylistic development – which is expansive and irrelevant to the subject at hand – is complemented by Kandinsky's own numerous publications and writings (for example, Kandinsky 1912a, 1912b, 1914), whether published during his lifetime or after. Kandinsky's exhibition participation and strategies are best expressed in his correspondence with Herwarth Walden, edited and published in Bilanz 2012. His autobiographical writings from 1913 and 1914 (Kandinsky 1980a, 1980b)



In this context, it is noteworthy that Kandinsky had no gallerist or dealer until 1911 and thus up to that point organized all presentations of his art himself. This changed when he signed a contract with Hans Goltz,¹⁵⁰ one of the main art dealers in Munich at the time, before switching to Herwarth Walden the following year, in 1912. As per Kandinsky's wishes, the Berlin art dealer and publisher took over from Goltz to represent the artist and organized exhibitions with and for him. Even with official representation, in the coming years Kandinsky still repeatedly organized presentations of his works himself, in addition to his dealer's activities.

Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

In the eight years between 1908 and 1915, Kandinsky participated in a notable 65 known exhibitions. He presented 176 artworks publicly, which formed a stylistically representative selection of his entire production until 1915. That figure equates to 17 percent of his total production until that date. In real terms this means that between his first recorded work in 1898 and the end of the period studied here, 1915, Kandinsky had produced approximately 1,025 oil paintings and watercolours, and had selected 176 of these for display during that time-frame. Of these 1,025 works, more than half (596 paintings and watercolours – prints are excluded from this study) were also *created* during the period in question. From those 596 works made during the course of this time period, Kandinsky exhibited 21.6 percent (or 129 artworks). The combined total of 176 exhibited works (dating from before this study *and* during it) correspond to 398 catalogue entries,¹⁵¹ which in statistical terms means that, on average, Kandinsky showed every work more than twice, or 2.3 times to be precise. In real terms, however, many images were shown a lot more than just twice.¹⁵² The data shows that two images in particular were by far the most frequently shown: between 1911

focus on childhood memories and the development of his career and style as a painter, but do not mention his exhibitions, let alone his exhibition strategies. Additionally, Endicott Barnett 1996 gives an overview of Kandinsky's exhibitions, group and solo, between 1905 and 1914, focusing on his activities in Germany. The article lists his exhibitions and the works on show – as well as listing, valuably, events that were not accompanied by a catalogue. However, the article contains no analysis of exhibition behaviour or strategy. Hoberg 2010a, meanwhile, focuses on Der Blaue Reiter's 'Schwarz-Weiss' exhibition at the Hans Goltz Kunsthandlung in Munich in early 1912. Although some of Kandinsky's intentions in the planning of Der Blaue Reiter's almanac as well as the 'Schwarz-Weiss' exhibition do emerge, Hoberg does not focus on Kandinsky's position or strategies but on the context in which the exhibition was organized and took place.

150 It is unclear when the contract between Goltz and Kandinsky started, although Goltz founded his gallery in 1911 (Schaefer 2012, p. 41). Therefore, Kandinsky could not have been represented by Goltz any earlier than this date.

151 Of those 398 exhibition catalogue entries, 42 – or 10.5 percent – are marked with a question mark in the respective entry in the catalogue raisonné (cat. rais. 1982, nos. 220, 224, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 274, 276, 280, 282, 283, 287, 289, 327, 330, 333, 334, 337, 338, 341, 352, 355, 356, 359, 360, 365, 388, 395, 396, 399, 402, 431, 485, 574; cat. rais. 1992, no. 291).

152 Fourteen pieces were shown four times (cat. rais. 1992, no. 218; cat. rais. 1982, nos. 268, 270, 282, 333, 337, 355, 374, 380, 388, 389, 412, 423, 476). Eight works were shown five times (cat. rais. 1982, nos. 263, 334, 352, 373, 377, 382, 387, 574). The majority of these eight works belong to the category 'stylized – wholly'; only one is 'non-representational', and for one no visual evidence remains. One work went on view six times (cat. rais. 1982, no. 430). Five works were shown seven times (cat. rais. 1982, nos. 262, 264, 265, 395, 431); and one work was displayed a total of eight times (cat. rais. 1982, no. 267).

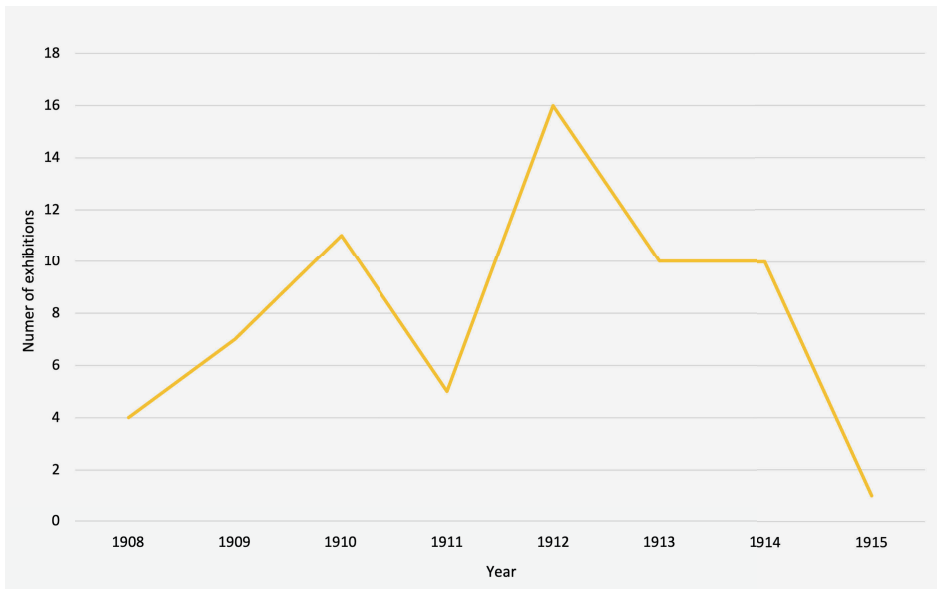


Figure 17: Development of number of Kandinsky's solo and group shows, 1908–1915.

and 1914, *Improvisation 22* (cat. rais. 1982, no. 396) and *Komposition V* (cat. rais. 1982, no. 400) were presented together on eleven different occasions (with seven of those occasions being during three travelling exhibitions). These two works thus went on view in numerous cities within Germany but also abroad, in Budapest, Helsinki, Trondheim, and Göteborg. Both paintings were coded for analytical purposes as ‘non-representational’ (see A4, p. 323), which means that Kandinsky's most frequently shown images were abstract.

The majority of the 65 known exhibitions were group exhibitions; four were solo shows, and of these four solo shows, three were one and the same touring solo exhibition, which went on view, with slight variations, in several European cities¹⁵³ (*Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung. 1902–1912*, first in Berlin at Der Sturm gallery, then in Munich at Moderne Galerie Thannhauser, and lastly in Cologne in the foyer of the Deutsches Theater). On average, Kandinsky participated in 8.1 exhibitions per year, or more than one every other month, with strong fluctuations over the period in question (fig. 17). In real terms, however, he participated in between one and sixteen exhibitions per year.

¹⁵³ When compiling the information in the catalogues raisonnés (dating from the early 1980s and 1990s), this exhibition was recorded as having only toured to three places. However, in the correspondence between Walden and Kandinsky published in Bilanz 2012, Walden repeatedly writes to Kandinsky stating where this exhibition is currently on view (from late 1912 onwards). It can therefore be assumed that the exhibition was shown in many more venues than the catalogues raisonnés list.

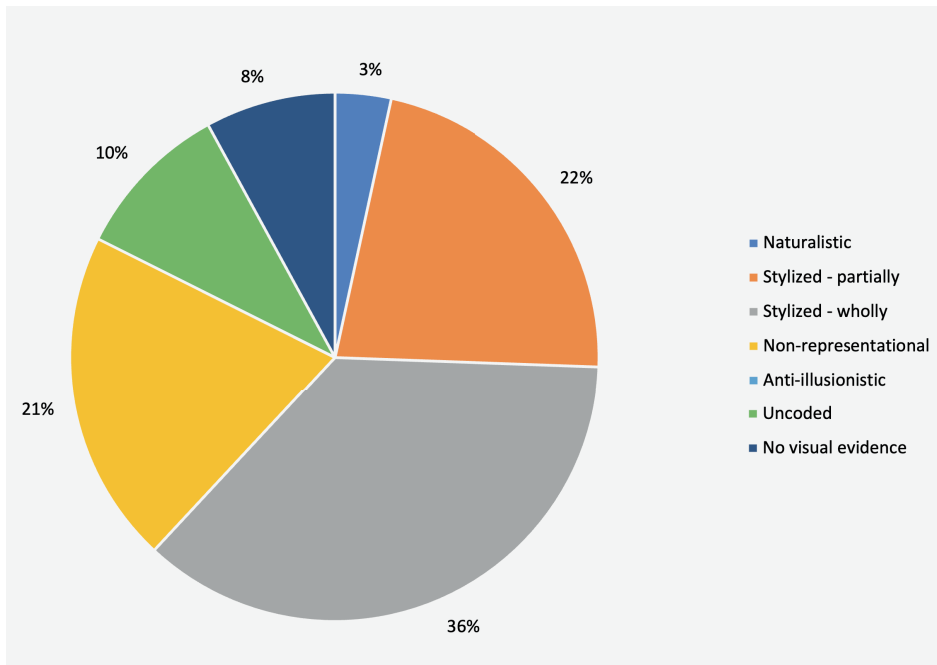


Figure 17a: Share of degrees of abstraction of Kandinsky's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.

According to the attribution via the experts' coding, the majority (or 61 percent) of Kandinsky's 176 works on show from 1908 to 1915 are figurative, while only 21 percent are 'non-representational' (fig. 17a). Hence, the majority of Kandinsky's images were not as abstract as pictures by the other artists studied here. The uninitiated at the time would still have been able to recognize anthropomorphic figures in many of Kandinsky's paintings. The same could not have been said for the majority of Kupka's, Mondrian's, or Picabia's images, for example, many of whose works were more challenging for inexperienced viewers. Moreover, as per the experts' designation, none of Kandinsky's exhibited artworks can be qualified as 'anti-illusionistic', the most abstract category of all. As this finding demonstrates, although Kandinsky did indeed show abstract artworks earlier than the other artists, the majority of his exhibited pieces were not in fact abstract. This allows us to look more analytically at the (only recently challenged) view that holds Kandinsky to be the 'father' of abstract art,¹⁵⁴ for not only did he *paint* many more figurative than abstract

154 See, for example, Bilanz 2012, p. 3: 'Kandinsky erfand und begründete die abstrakte Malerei [...]'. A more differentiated image was painted by Rosenberg 2007; most recently, Kandinsky was, very briefly but very explicitly, even denied his leading role in the invention of abstraction by Althaus, Mühling, and Schneider 2018, p. 7: 'Kandinsky [kann] nicht, wie oft behauptet, als Erfinder der Abstraktion gelten [...]'.

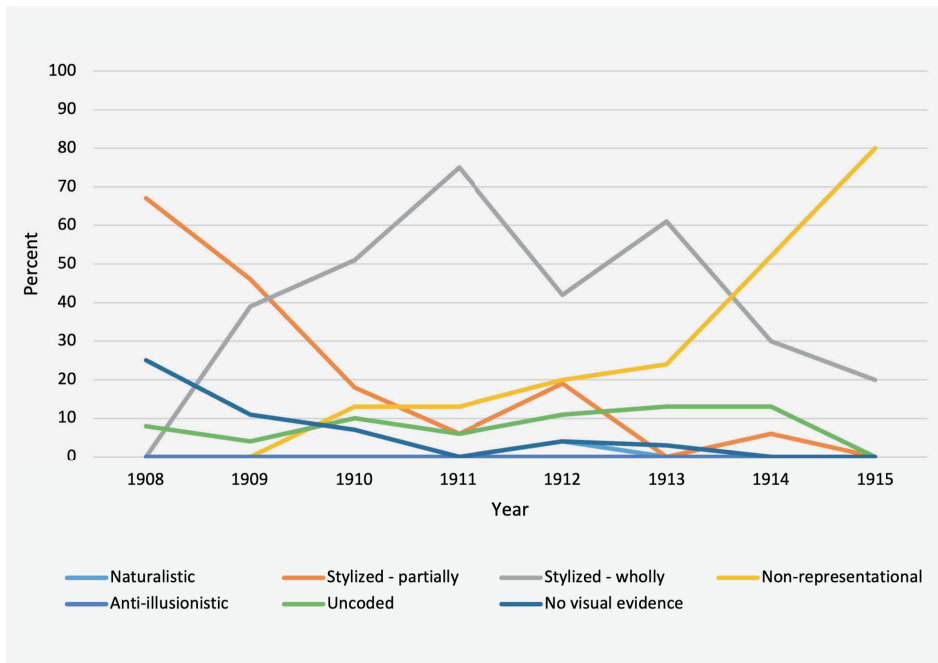


Figure 18: Development of share of Kandinsky's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908–1915.

artworks during that time, but he also chose to *exhibit* more figurative works as well. Writing in 1914, Kandinsky justifies his slow approach to abstraction with the following words:

Der Gegenstand wollte und sollte noch nicht vollkommen aus meinen Bildern verschwinden. Erstens ist die Reife einer Zeit nicht künstlich hervorzurufen. Und nichts ist schädlicher und sündhafter, als gewalttätig seine Form zu suchen. [...] So war ich gezwungen, mit Geduld die Stunde abzuwarten, die meine Hand zum Schaffen der abstrakten Form bringen wird.¹⁵⁵

This statement acknowledging remnants of figuration in his art in 1914 corresponds to the coding of his images within this study. However, although the majority of his images fall into the category 'stylized – wholly', objects, figures, and landscapes are present but nevertheless remain difficult to discern in many of them. This confirms Kandinsky's use

¹⁵⁵ Kandinsky 1980a, pp. 54–55. In his text 'Über die Formfrage' from 1912 (see Kandinsky 1914), Kandinsky also 'allows' figurative art as long as it is the expression of an inner necessity. This back and forth between the figurative and the abstract is characteristic of Kandinsky's work between 1908 and 1915.

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %		8 67 %				1 8 %	3 25 %	12 100 %
1909 in %		13 46 %	11 39 %			1 4 %	3 11 %	28 100 %
1910 in %		12 18 %	35 51 %	9 13 %		7 10 %	5 7 %	68 100 %
1911 in %		1 6 %	12 75 %	2 13 %		1 6 %		16 100 %
1912 in %	6 4 %	30 19 %	66 42 %	31 20 %		18 11 %	7 4 %	158 100 %
1913 in %			23 61 %	9 24 %		5 13 %	1 3 %	38 100 %
1914 in %		4 6 %	19 30 %	33 52 %		8 13 %		64 100 %
1915 in %			1 20 %	4 80 %				5 100 %

Table 6: Number of catalogue entries shown by Kandinsky per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

of the words ‘noch nicht vollkommen’ in the statement above, implying that his process of abstraction is well underway, though not yet perfected.

The development in exhibiting different degrees of abstraction reflects the numbers observed (fig. 18 and table 6). Overall, the works categorized as ‘stylized – wholly’ outnumber the works in the other categories. Only at the very beginning and very end of the period is the situation inversed: in 1908, the ‘stylized – partially’ works form the largest category of exhibited pieces (with 67 percent) and in 1914 and 1915, the ‘non-representational’ works take over, with 52 percent and 80 percent, respectively. An important observation is the continuous increase of ‘non-representational’ artworks from as early as 1910 onwards: indeed, 10 percent of the works shown in 1910 are already ‘non-representational’. This data confirms that, contrary to the widely accepted image of Kandinsky as pioneering the development of abstract art – an image that was certainly reinforced by his own writings – he was not so bold as to concurrently and systematically make abstraction the dominant feature of what he presented at exhibition.

Kandinsky’s exhibition activities are scattered all over Europe and even include a few exhibitions in America. In the United States, he participates in all three editions of the Armory Show, in other words, in New York City, Chicago, and Boston, even if he only has

City	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Catalogue entries per city	Exhibitions per city
Amsterdam (NL)						16	5		21	3
Berlin (DE)		4	1	5	96	6			112	10
Boston (USA)						1			1	1
Bremen (DE)					3				3	1
Budapest (AT/HU)						7			7	1
Chicago (USA)						1			1	1
Cologne (DE)				1	5		20		26	4
Dresden (DE)	4		2				10		16	3
Dusseldorf (DE)			3			2			5	2
Frankfurt a/M (DE)					4				4	1
Gothenburg (SE)							5		5	1
Hagen (DE)		4			3				7	3
Hamburg (DE)			4						4	1
Helsinki (FI)							5		5	1
Kyiv (RU)			4						4	1
London (GB)		2	3			3	2		10	4
Malmö (SE)							5		5	1
Moscow (RU)	3		4		6			5	18	4
Munich (DE)		8	3	5	26	1	3		46	7
New York (USA)						1			1	1
Odessa (RU)		6	34				4		44	3
Paris (FR)	3	4		5	3				15	5
Riga (RU)			4						4	1
St. Petersburg (RU)	2		6						8	2
Trondheim (NO)							5		5	1
Zurich (CH)					12				12	1
Catalogue entries per year	12	28	68	16	158	38	64	5	389	
Exhibitions per year	4	7	11	5	16	10	10	1		64

Table 7: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Kandinsky per city, per year, as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total (1908-1915).

one painting on view, acquired by Alfred Stieglitz.¹⁵⁶ In Europe, he exhibits in 10 countries and 23 cities from Britain to Russia.¹⁵⁷ This leads to a total of 65 exhibitions in 11 countries and 26 cities worldwide between 1908 and 1915. There is a noticeable geographical concentration in the northern parts of Europe, with Zurich and Budapest being the southernmost locations. Considering his Russian origins, it is not surprising that one-sixth (or 11) of the exhibitions he participates in take place in the Russian Empire during the eight years in question. The only country where he exhibits even more often than in Russia is Germany, where he resides at the time, and where roughly half (32) of the 65 exhibitions (or 51.6 percent) take place. This shows that Kandinsky was present in large parts of Europe and was very internationally active during the eight years in question (table 7).

Kandinsky almost only exhibited at relatively established institutions such as salons (like the *Salon d'Automne*, Paris), art associations (such as the Allied Artists' Association in London or the Berliner Secession), museums (like the Museum Folkwang, Hagen), commercial galleries (Der Sturm, Berlin, and Moderne Galerie Thannhauser, Munich, among others) as well as privately organized exhibitions (such as Salon Izdebsky, Odessa and Saint Petersburg). A few exhibitions took place in alternative, less established spaces (at least as far as viewing art was concerned, like the foyer of the Deutsches Theater in Cologne or the 69th Regiment Armory in New York). The exhibitions themselves essentially all showed modern if not avant-garde art, meaning that they were not shows of academic art. This confirms that Kandinsky, by 1908, was a regular feature in the Modernist and avant-garde art world, not just in Germany but across Europe.

Kandinsky's exhibition strategy

Kandinsky began very early on to create possibilities for himself to exhibit, often using as a springboard artist associations that he either founded himself or joined. He regularly renewed these memberships by leaving one group in order to initiate another, even more avant-garde one. This is the manner in which he initiated Phalanx in 1901, the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (NKVM) in 1909, and the Der Blaue Reiter in 1911. Additionally, he was a member of the Neue Secession in Berlin, the Salon d'Automne in Paris, and the Jack of Diamonds group in Moscow. Out of the 62 exhibitions he participated in, about half (30) were at associations he either (co-)founded or was a member of. Besides offering regular opportunities to exhibit his art, membership also enabled him to invite members

156 Cat. rais. 1982, p. 40. The piece shown is *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)* from 1912 (cat. rais. 1982, no. 430). Although the experts have assigned it to the category 'stylized – wholly', as a landscape and figures can tentatively be recognized and its appearance is more figurative than works by the other artists from the same period, it can certainly also be seen as rather abstract in appearance.

157 Great Britain (London), Finland (Helsinki), France (Paris), Germany (Berlin, Bremen, Cologne, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt am Main, Hagen, Hamburg, Munich), Hungary (Budapest), the Netherlands (Amsterdam), Norway (Trondheim), Russian Empire (Kyiv, Moscow, Odessa, Riga, Saint Petersburg), Sweden (Gothenburg, Malmö), and Switzerland (Zurich).

of other artist associations abroad to participate in the exhibitions put on by his current group in Germany. The inclusion of foreign artists that local audiences would otherwise seldom have seen was a way for Kandinsky to give his own group an international, almost 'exotic' flair. In this way, he not only positioned himself amongst his foreign fellow artists, and showed himself to be rubbing shoulders with them, but also functioned as their supporter. And, in exchange, they offered him the opportunity of being regularly invited to participate in exhibitions in their home countries, in cities all over Europe. This led to a wide distribution of Kandinsky's work and, simultaneously, the expansion of his network, which Kandinsky knew would be of vital importance to furthering his career.

Looking more closely at what he exhibited, it is noticeable that until 1910, Kandinsky showed his Expressionist landscapes and illustrations of Russian and German myths and fairy tales, as was the case at the *Salon 1909* in Saint Petersburg (see A1, exh. 1, p. 230) and at the *Ausstellung I, Turnus 1909/10* of the NKVM in December 1909 in Munich (see A1, exh. 5, p. 236). This is representative of his production at the time, which can roughly be divided into three groups: Expressionist landscapes, his so-called 'Biedermeier scenes', and his images representing Russian and German myths. From 1909 onwards, Kandinsky started painting more abstract works, like *Improvisation 4* (cat. rais. 1982, no. 282), in which the subject becomes increasingly difficult to recognize. Figures and landscapes are merely roughly sketched, and the application and use of colour renders their identification significantly harder (for example, *Berg*, 1909, cat. rais. 1982, no. 293). He exhibited three of these 'non-representational' pieces for the very first time at the *Ausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* in the summer of 1910 in Düsseldorf, where *Improvisation 4*, *Improvisation 5 – Variation I*, and *Improvisation 7* were on show (see A1, exh. 9, p. 241).¹⁵⁸ Another such situation occurred only a few months later, at the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition in Moscow in late 1910, where he presented four Improvisations (see A1, exh. 12, p. 244), of which only one, *Improvisation 8* (1909, cat. rais. 1982, no. 289), shows discernible figures. At this point it is important to note that the Jack of Diamonds artist group was, at the time, one of the most avant-garde artist groups in Russia.¹⁵⁹ These selections of works show that, in certain contexts, Kandinsky wanted to position himself at the forefront of modern art and as the spearhead of abstraction.

However, in selecting work for display, Kandinsky also repeatedly oscillated between varying degrees of abstraction. Thus, he sent a much more conservative selection, interspersed with only a few abstract pieces, to Izdebsky's *Salon 2* in Odessa in early 1911, shortly after his presentation in Moscow in late 1910 (see A1, exh. 14, p. 246). His – markedly figurative – selection for Odessa suggests that he expected a more traditional public there than in Moscow. A comment in one of his letters to Herwarth Walden from October 1912

158 This exhibition is analysed in detail in the chapter 'Premiere for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, 1910', p. 169.

159 Pospelow 1985b, p. 7.

confirms this: 'Wie gern möchte ich etwas in Moskau erreichen. Hier in Odessa ist kein Boden für solche Hoffnungen.'¹⁶⁰ He acted similarly at many other events, including the NKVM's *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* in September 1910 (see A1, exh. 10, p. 242). There, in addition to the figurative *Winterstudie mit Berg* (1908, cat. rais. 1982, no. 257) and *Kahnfahrt* (1910, cat. rais. 1982, no. 352), he presented the 'non-representational' *Improvisation 10* (1910, cat. rais. 1982, no. 337). In a letter to Walden on 20 August 1912, concerning the hanging of the exhibition *Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung 1902–1912*, Kandinsky writes: 'Der Einfachheit halber genügt es, wenn wir das ganze Material der Kollektion als eines behandeln, d.h. nicht chronologisch vorgehen. Es ist sogar vorteilhaft, in Gegensätzen zu hängen: klare und "unklare" Bilder nebeneinander, ebenso farbige und nichtfarbige usw.'¹⁶¹ Although he does not give a precise explanation as to *why* it is favourable to hang in contrasts, it is clear that the choice and mixture of more and less abstract works is entirely conscious. Furthermore, this quote also reflects the artist's awareness of the visual ambiguity or even illegibility of certain images for the viewers. Walden, who fully supports Kandinsky, replies: 'Ich bin auch sehr dafür, daß die Bilder nicht chronologisch gehängt werden.'¹⁶²

I would argue that such a side-by-side hanging of figurative and abstract paintings was consciously strategic, for it resulted in heightening the visual effect of each. In other words, next to a figurative image, the abstract one would look even more abstract, and vice versa. Although the exact reasons for such a choice and hanging remain unspecified by gallerist and artist, it can be assumed that such an effect was indeed desired by both: on the one hand, it would render the figurative pieces more 'traditional' and thus more suitable for a somewhat more conservative public. On the other hand, the more avant-gardist works would help position Kandinsky at the top of the avant-garde. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of varyingly abstract images has the additional effect of throwing into sharp relief Kandinsky's artistic range and thus, by making such a show of his talent, offering a greater variety of pieces for sale. I would therefore further claim that one of the *goals* pursued by this strategy was maximizing his sales potential. This reading is supported by Kandinsky's correspondence with Walden, in which this aim emerges explicitly, most specifically in a letter from 13 September 1912: 'Es ist wichtig für Sie (bzw. die Ausstellung), und für mich, da ich dieses Jahr angewiesen bin beinahe vollkommen von dem Verkaufsgeld zu leben.'¹⁶³ As exhibitions were the primary – if not only – opportunity for sales and an income, Kandinsky and Walden logically used them to this end, sending and hanging pieces according to the taste of the public they were expecting, as shown above.

The sales between 1912 and 1914 seem to have been recurrently successful, as is observable throughout the correspondence between the artist and his dealer, in which prices and

160 Quoted in Bilanz 2012, p. 34.

161 Ibid. p. 17.

162 Ibid., p. 19.

163 Ibid., p. 20.

sales are discussed and mentioned regularly. Indeed, Kandinsky particularly pursued the strategy to sell to private collectors, as he believed that would in turn attract even more buyers for his art. To this end, he also used his publications in a strategic manner, particularly his first monograph: 'Verkäufe wären auch in bezug auf die Monographie wichtig, d.h. je mehr im "Privatbesitz" genannt, desto größer werden die Chancen der weiteren Verkäufe und Geld brauche ich!'¹⁶⁴ Here, he lays bare his strategy very clearly, expecting that the mention of private collections in his monograph would ultimately yield more sales. His reasoning certainly makes sense, when one considers that upon noticing others buying Kandinsky's works, some private collectors might have been more tempted similarly to possess a piece by the artist. Kandinsky's letters also make clear that the artist needed the sales to make a living. This shows that his ambition to sell was not solely motivated by a desire to make a name for himself and increase his popularity among the art-buying public; it was just as much driven by the necessity to earn a living and maintain his lifestyle.

In contrast to his relatively successful sales, the reactions in the press were largely negative throughout Europe. As Karla Bilang details and as is also demonstrated by the large collection of newspaper clippings collected by Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter, stored at the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung in Munich, Kandinsky collected articles about himself and the exhibitions he participated in.¹⁶⁵ He was therefore highly attuned to public opinion of his work. Interestingly enough, the artist never defended himself against the often insulting ad hominem critiques, a task that Walden instead took up passionately on his behalf.¹⁶⁶ Kandinsky pretended that the critiques didn't offend him, all the while admitting in the same sentence that they should not be left unanswered: 'Eben auch Ihren Brief + Kritik bekommen. Ich bin ja in solchen Sachen so abgehärtet, daß die ganze Sache auf mich keinen großen Eindruck macht. Es ist aber ganz wichtig, daß Kritiken in solcher Form nicht ungestraft bleiben sollten.'¹⁶⁷ Kandinsky's changes in exhibition behaviour as a reaction to the critics' reviews will be touched upon more closely later, in the chapters dedicated to the exhibitions in Düsseldorf, Munich, and Moscow ('Première for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, 1910', p. 169; 'Kandinsky Continues: The NKVM's *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* in Munich, 1910", p. 179; 'From Munich to Moscow: Kandinsky's Abstraction at the *Jack of Diamonds* Exhibition, 1910', p. 190).

164 Ibid., pp. 76–77.

165 '[...] der übrigens einen eigenen Ausschnittdienst unterhielt und nicht erst über den "Sturm" informiert werden musste,' in Bilang 2012, p. 247.

166 'Walden ist damals für den Künstler, der sich selbst gegen die herablassende Behandlung und die beleidigenden Vorwürfe nie zur Wehr gesetzt hat, immer wieder in die Bresche gesprungen und hat in seinen Glossen den Unverstand der Fachwelt gegenüber dem Modernismus gegeißelt,' in Bilang 2012, pp. 240–241. With Kandinsky's consent, Walden organized a 'protest' in support of Kandinsky that was signed by artists as well as internationally respected authors and collectors (see Bilang 2012, pp. 50–52, 247–248).

167 Letter from Kandinsky to Walden of 16 February 1913, quoted in Bilang 2012, p. 50.

Another goal pursued by both dealer and artist that manifests itself in Kandinsky's exhibition behaviour was the promotion of his art and also of his person as the spearhead of the avant-garde. Walden saw Kandinsky as a highly promising and talented artist,¹⁶⁸ and deeply invested himself in promoting him. Together, so I argue, they developed and adopted various strategies to attain this goal.¹⁶⁹ In this sense, just as Kandinsky wrote about strategically entering private collections, he suggested strategies to have his works enter museum collections. It is worth quoting him in full on this matter:

Und noch eine Frage. Das Museum von Halle bat das Germ. Museum in Nürnberg, ihm meine kleine Kollektion Aquarelle zu überlassen. Was mich auf den Gedanken = Frage bringt: sollte man nicht eine Coll. von ca. 30 graph. Arbeiten von mir (Aquarelle, Holzschnitte und Radierungen, die ich gerade im Ansturm nahm – 3 Stück sind fertig) etwas wandern lassen? Mir liegt nicht sehr viel daran und Sie sind ohnehin genügend versorgt. [...] Fassen Sie also die Sache nicht allzu wichtig auf! Ich dachte nur, daß dies vielleicht ein Weg zu den graph. Kabinetten an verschiedenen Museen wäre.¹⁷⁰

This strategy of finding ways for the accession of one's art into museum collections, so I argue, served the goal of self-canonization and additionally shows that Kandinsky, for all the hesitancy expressed in this particular letter, nevertheless saw himself and his work as representing nothing less than the latest chapter in the history of art. Although we already know this is precisely what he himself advocated in his writings,¹⁷¹ we should also recognize that, besides writing, he also took concrete steps to make this narrative a reality. This strategy further shows that he did not put his faith in art history to naturally accept and adopt his views – or to canonize him – and therefore tried to influence the process by every means available.

Moreover, through his network, Kandinsky kept himself well informed about current developments and plans in the art world. For example, he was quick to hear about the plans for the publication *Die neue Malerei* by Max Deri, an Austro-Hungarian art historian who also wrote for *Der Sturm*. Kandinsky specifically instructed Walden to send a copy of the *Der Sturm* album to Deri, undoubtedly with the goal of being included in his forthcoming book.¹⁷²

168 In a letter to Kandinsky following the opening of the *Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung 1902–1912*, Walden expresses his conviction for the artist's production: 'Sie sind ein ganz außerordentlicher Künstler. Ich bin sehr stolz auf die Ausstellung. Das stärkste, was Europa heute bietet. So etwas wie Komposition 2 zum Beispiel, ist überhaupt noch nicht geschaffen worden. Welch ein Genie! Welche ein Leben! Kraft und Kunst. Ich bin ganz hin!' Quoted in Bilanz 2012, p. 30.

169 See also correspondence in Bilanz 2012.

170 Bilanz 2012, pp. 157–158.

171 See note 176 below.

172 'Um die Jahreswende 1914 wurde das *Sturm-Album* an ausgewählte Persönlichkeiten verschickt. Kandinsky empfahl ausdrücklich die Versendung des *Albums* an den Kunsthistoriker Max Deri, der an einem Buch über neue Kunst schreibe. Das Buch von Deri *Die neue Malerei* erschien erst nach Kriegsende, Kandinsky nimmt

In all these various strategies and efforts to inscribe oneself in the annals of art history, Kandinsky was acting very pragmatically and in a calculating manner. This approach certainly came naturally to him, given his initial training as a lawyer, which indubitably taught him how to apply methodology to problem solving and to career advancement in general, with as little as possible being left to chance. However, Kandinsky himself tried to downplay or hide this attitude in his numerous writings and publications, where he consistently paints himself as being of a purely emotional and spiritual character.

Written support: Kandinsky's publication strategy

Kandinsky not only knew how to exhibit strategically in order to position himself at the top of the avant-garde and of abstraction but, I would argue, he similarly published texts that would underpin and accompany these exhibition strategies. This is, for example, very evidently the case in the preamble of the catalogue to his travelling exhibition *Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung 1902–1912* from 1912 (see A1, exh. 28, p. 264). Here he justifies the exhibition's compilation of works as follows: 'Diese Kollektion zeigt, daß mein Ziel immer dasselbe blieb und nur an Klarheit gewann und daß meine ganze Entwicklung nur in dem Konzentrieren der Mittel zu diesem Ziel bestand, die allmählich von dem für mich Nebensächlichen sich befreiten.'¹⁷³ I would argue that Kandinsky clearly wanted to convince the visitors and readers that he had been working towards one and the same goal – abstraction – well before everybody else, doing so even, he would claim, since 1902 (the beginning of the time-frame that the retrospective covered).¹⁷⁴ His intention and goal, evident in this phrasing and the exhibition itself, were clearly to claim precedence over all other abstract artworks being created, by predating his efforts in abstraction before that of any other artist.

In fact, as Raphael Rosenberg has repeatedly pointed out, Kandinsky strategically complemented his abstract creations with theoretical publications, thus attempting to 'invent' Abstract Art (with a capital 'A') and get it recognized as such.¹⁷⁵ As per Rosenberg's argument, although amimetic images had been produced before Kandinsky, it was Kandinsky who declared abstraction a new art and also exhibited it as such, an argument I can confirm thanks to the data at hand. In this context, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1911) must be considered a building block in Kandinsky's narrative about abstraction. In this text (preceding the foreword in the exhibition catalogue mentioned above by about one year), the artist already claims originality for abstraction by personifying the role of messiah,

darin sowohl in seiner expressionistischen Phase wie auch in seiner "absoluten" Malerei eine wichtige Position ein', Bilanz 2012, p. 259.

173 Kandinsky 1912a, p. 2.

174 Rosenberg 2007, pp. 314–315, analysed similar passages by Kandinsky and the competition among artists at the time to claim the first abstract image, hence the 'invention' of abstraction.

175 Rosenberg 2007, pp. 310–317. See also Rosenberg 2015, pp. 98ff., and Rosenberg 2017, pp. 49–53.

announcing abstraction as the only possible future art form: ‘Diese zwei Ähnlichkeiten neuer Kunst mit Formen vergangener Perioden sind, wie leicht zu sehen ist, diametral verschieden. Die erste ist äußerlich und hat deswegen keine Zukunft. Die zweite ist innerlich und birgt deswegen den Keim der Zukunft in sich.’¹⁷⁶ In addition, texts such as ‘Über das Kunstverstehen’ (1912) or ‘Rückblicke’ (1913) also formed part of this strategy: they enabled him again to predate the art of other artists and declare himself the prophet and forerunner of abstraction. As such, he wrote: ‘Zu großen Zeiten ist die geistige Atmosphäre von einem präzisen Wunsch, von einer bestimmten Notwendigkeit dermaßen erfüllt, daß man leicht zum Propheten werden kann.’¹⁷⁷

A year later, he described his first recollections of experiencing colour as a three-year-old, thus pushing the ‘founding’ of abstraction to an even earlier date: ‘Die ersten Farben, die einen starken Eindruck auf mich gemacht haben, waren hell-saftig-grün, weiß, kaminrot, schwarz, ockergelb. Diese Erinnerungen gehen bis ins dritte Lebensjahr zurück. Diese Farben habe ich an verschiedenen Gegenständen gesehen, die nicht mehr so klar wie die Farben selbst heute vor meinen Augen stehen.’¹⁷⁸ Eventually, I claim, it is the combination of his narrative, publication, and exhibition strategies that enabled Kandinsky to consider and present himself as the most innovative and forward-looking artist of the avant-garde of the early twentieth century. And this, ultimately, is exactly how he has been canonized. I thus propose that his combined strategies can be considered successful, at least in the long term.

In comparing Kandinsky with Hilma af Klint and Leopold Stolba, Rosenberg discusses the role played by exhibitions and shifts the question from the *creation* of the first abstract image towards its *exhibition*.¹⁷⁹ In both his publications, Rosenberg concludes that it was the discourse initiated by Kandinsky that elevated amimetic pictures to the status of ‘Abstract Art’ (with a capital A), thus pointing out the difference between Kandinsky on the one hand and af Klint and Stolba on the other (who both created amimetic pictures and abstract art, but did so without sparking such a discourse, with neither enjoying much recognition as a result). However, this approach – despite including exhibitions – ultimately accords the discourse surrounding abstract art more importance than its actual exhibition.

176 Kandinsky 2009, p. 26.

177 Kandinsky 1912b, p. 157. Kandinsky’s need to claim precedence over the ‘invention’ of abstraction is also proof for the emergence of this phenomenon on a somewhat wider scale. In fact, another artist that should be mentioned in this context is Katharine Schöffner. An artist living in Prague, she had her images, among them abstract ones, published in the periodical *Der Kunstwart* in as early as 1908 (see Perico 2016, particularly pp. 129ff., and Voss 2022, pp. 159–161). This magazine was published by Ferdinand Avenarius in Munich, where Kandinsky was living at the time. As Priebe 2010 (p. 8) points out, Kandinsky was well aware of the periodical, which would suggest that he might very well have known Schöffner’s abstract images as well, which in turn would have made him aware of the rising competition surrounding him. As per the Database of Modern Exhibitions, Schöffner exhibited her works (among them possibly also abstract ones) in 1912 and 1914 in Prague (see URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/person/gnd/1044287616>).

178 Kandinsky 1980b, p. 27.

179 Rosenberg 2015 and 2017.

Given the data collected and the questions posed in the context of the present study, I would argue that Rosenberg is right in his claims about the importance of discourse, but I would nonetheless still place much stronger emphasis on the fact that the contemporary discourse (in the widest sense, including critical writings by other artists as well as by members of the press) could not have had the impact it did, had it not been complemented by Kandinsky's exhibition activity (and that of other artists).

Conclusion

Kandinsky was a multifaceted and multitasking character, who pursued not only different painting styles but also different promotion strategies at once. While creating figurative works, he began to develop a more and more abstract language in his oeuvre and, as I was able to show, exhibited either one or the other, but more often than not both, thus showing different 'Kandinskys' to different audiences. I would therefore describe his exhibition strategy as 'public-oriented'.

The fact that, up until 1915, Kandinsky frequently showed old figurative works together with new abstract pieces reveals his attachment to the figure and, at a certain point, challenges the extreme position he holds in the art-historical canon as the 'inventor of abstraction'. Working in collaboration with Herwarth Walden, he virtually flooded Europe with his art thanks to his *Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung*, which toured ceaselessly across Europe for one and a half years, starting in October 1912, and which was only forced to come to a halt at the frontlines of World War I.¹⁸⁰ As the above analysis shows, by promoting his oeuvre strategically through a combination of numerous exhibitions on the one hand, targeted shows on the other, combined with the publication of texts promoting his narrative of himself as the inventor of abstraction, as well as the strategic infiltration of private and public collections, his efforts culminated in his self-canonization as he effectively inscribed himself in art-history publications. His prophecy that abstraction was the only possible future for art, I would argue, is actually a claim geared more towards his *own* abstract art, than that of his fellow abstract painters or abstract art in general. I would also claim that he feared competition and the idea of his colleagues closing in on him, which resulted in his repeated efforts to secure ownership of abstraction by pre-dating his 'invention' of it before any other such claim.

Ultimately, even more than establishing abstraction, Kandinsky's goal was, first and foremost, to establish himself and his oeuvre within art history. Lastly, I claim that Kandinsky, besides being convinced of the concept of abstraction, also knew how to use it as a strategic tool in the art business: in order to distance himself from his colleagues and stake out a niche for himself that would guarantee him continuing success and a position at the forefront of the international avant-garde.

180 See note 153.

When Less Is More – Kupka's Concentrated Exhibition Activity¹⁸¹

Introduction

Born in Opočno in Bohemia and having trained as an artist at the academies in Prague and Vienna, František Kupka now ranks among the earliest pioneers of abstraction, with some authors asserting that some of his innovations predated even those of Kandinsky.¹⁸² After starting out as an academic painter aiming to establish himself as such,¹⁸³ he soon began to create abstract artworks,¹⁸⁴ famously presenting two completely abstract pictures at the *Salon d'Automne* in 1912 in Paris. Once Kupka found this suitable way to express his 'conceptions', 'syntheses', and 'chords',¹⁸⁵ he stayed true to abstraction, never turning back to figurative ways of painting. Kupka maintained an equally spiritual and scientific approach to his life and art: at the age of twelve he was already a sought-after medium.¹⁸⁶ It was said that he displayed:

[A] lust for knowledge which ranged from the ancient Indian religions to modern physics, from spiritualism to science [...], from telepathy to microscopy. [...] He found this belief confirmed in scientific discoveries about the structure of matter, for unlike Kandinsky he did not turn his back on modern science, and believed that 'the observation of the surrounding world is one of the necessities of becoming conscious of the self.'¹⁸⁷

181 References to Kupka's works will be cited as per their listing and numbering in the catalogue raisonné – Lekeš et al. 2016.

182 Fédit 1966, p. 9, describes him, together with Picabia, Kandinsky, and Delaunay, as one of the pioneers of abstract art, as does Hofmann 1967, p. 7. Gordon 1974, p. 31, writes that 'unlike Kandinsky, however, Kupka in 1912 had attained a style as non-representational in fact as it was in intent'. Kupka himself stated that 'Même si Kandinsky a découvert la vérité avant moi, ce que j'ignorais, il mérite hommage de ma part', quoted in Passuth 1989, p. 5.

183 Vachtová 1965, p. 38, described Kupka upon his move to Vienna in 1891 as follows: 'Damals wollte er noch nicht ein Revolutionär der Malerei werden, er wollte vor allem ein anerkannter Maler werden, vor dem sich die Türen der Salons öffnen. Als Ziel schweben ihm akademische Ehren vor.'

184 The artist himself never referred to his art as abstract, preferring to speak about 'concrete art' instead. Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018, p. 15, quote the artist himself as saying in 1947: 'L'une de ces étiquettes a été 'l'orphisme', proposée par Apollinaire ; plus tard apparut l'appellation "art abstrait". Il n'y a rien d'abstrait dans l'art bien entendu, car toute peinture est concrète en soi.'

185 In a letter to his Czech friend Josef Svatopluk Mechar from 1905, Kupka writes: 'Je peins, oui, mais seulement des conceptions ou, si tu veux, des synthèses, des accords [...]', quoted in Mládek 1989, p. 41.

186 See Vachtová 1965, p. 38; Spate 1979, p. 87; Anděl and Kosinski 1997, p. 21.

187 Spate 1979, p. 87.



Throughout his life, Kupka lived with the large majority of his paintings in his studio, re-working them regularly, even after exhibiting them.¹⁸⁸ Kupka also used to post-date his works, leading to a – in some cases possibly intentional – wrongful dating, with some works dated earlier, and others even later than they actually were.¹⁸⁹ It thus has to be kept in mind that some works may have had a different appearance at the time of their first exhibition than as we know them today.¹⁹⁰

Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

By 1915, Kupka had produced about 168 oil paintings as per the listing in his catalogue raisonné. A total of 89 of the 168 works, or 53 percent, date from the period 1908 to 1915. He exhibited merely 23 pieces in only nine exhibitions during the eight-year period in question, the equivalent of 13.7 percent of his total production up to that point. All of the exhibitions he participated in were group shows – Kupka was never the subject of a solo exhibition during the time-frame in question.¹⁹¹ In total, 28 exhibition catalogue entries are recorded for this period, meaning that he showed the majority of his works just once, and only a few repeatedly. In fact, just four works were shown more than once: *La Gamme Jaune II* (1907; cat. rais., no. 077), *Portrait de famille* (1910; cat. rais., no. 088), and *Plans par couleurs* (1910; cat. rais., no. 114), which were each shown twice, and *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu* (1909; cat. rais., no. 090), which was shown three times. All of these presentations occurred in Paris, at the *Salon des Indépendants*, the *Salon d'Automne*, or both, between 1910 and 1912. None of these four pieces can be described as abstract as they fall into the

188 Fédit 1966, p. 16.

189 Ibid., p. 8.

190 Most recent publications about Kupka include his catalogue raisonné of oil paintings (Lekeš et al. 2016) and the exhibition catalogue from the Grand Palais in Paris (Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018). The catalogue raisonné is organized by work groups: starting with the heading 'Conventional – Pre-Abstraction' and ending with 'Pure Forms – Syntheses and Series C', the works are organized more or less chronologically within each section. For every work, the exhibitions it was presented at are listed, together with its number in the exhibition catalogue, if available. A comprehensive list of exhibitions containing the most important data about each show (title, place, and date) can be found at the end of the publication. Unfortunately, however, details regarding the methodological approach to Kupka's oeuvre and the conception of the catalogue raisonné are missing. Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018 provide, seemingly for the first time, a selective list of articles about Kupka as a wider indication of his general reception in the press – although the list is incomplete and at times erroneous. A comprehensive collection of press reviews concerning Kupka remains a desideratum. Unfortunately, the two most recent publications do little to contribute to existing scholarship: they mainly treat Kupka's stylistic development towards abstraction and examine the influences that his time in Vienna and move to Paris had in this progression, just as, for example, Vachtová 1965, Fédit 1966, Schmied 1966, Hofmann 1967, Anděl and Kosinski 1997, Mládek 1997, and Pagé 1989 had already done before them. None of these draw particular attention to Kupka's exhibitions or analyse them in a systematic manner, despite mentioning them and the pieces shown in several biographical outlines (for example, Fédit 1966, Anděl and Kosinski 1997). The only detailed discussion of Kupka's exhibition activity is given by Spate 1979: she dedicates Appendix A of her book to his omission from the catalogue of the *Salon de la Section d'Or* and the possibility of his participation in the exhibition at the Galerie La Boétie in the fall of 1912.

191 Kupka's first solo exhibition took place in December 1905 in Prostějov (cat. rais., p. 541) and toured through Bohemia and Moravia (see Anděl and Kosinski 1997, p. 24).

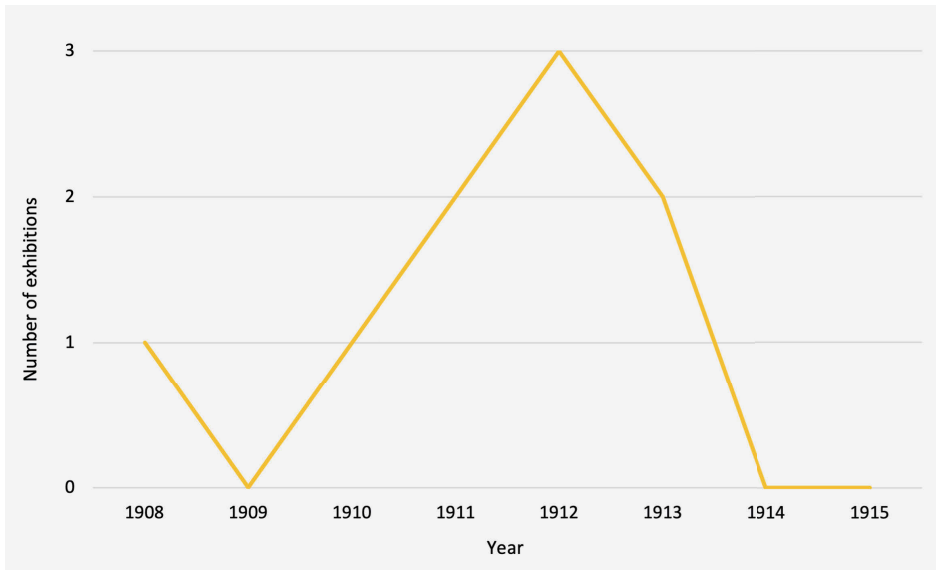


Figure 19: Development of number of Kupka's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.

categories 'stylized – partially' and 'stylized – wholly' (for more on the quantitative coding applied for this study, see A4, p. 323). As this data shows, the pieces Kupka showed most frequently from 1908 to 1915 were figurative.

On average, he participated in a little over one exhibition per year. This low activity is not unusual for Kupka; in fact, ever since he started exhibiting in 1897 and up until 1939, the average of one exhibition per year remains constant. As indicated in figure 19, the most exhibitions he had in any given year was three (1912), while in some years (1909, 1914, 1915) he did not exhibit at all. The fact that Kupka did not participate in any exhibitions in 1914 and 1915 is easily explained: as he voluntarily joined the French army in August 1914,¹⁹² he put all artistic activities on hold during the First World War and only resumed them in 1918/1919. Kupka exhibited up to 10 works per year, with the number of works on show in a single presentation ranging from one (table 8) to six at the *Salon des Indépendants* of 1911 in Paris (see A1, exh. 16, p. 250).

Remarkably, more than half (52 percent) of the artworks (12 works exactly) that Kupka exhibited from 1908 to 1915 were 'non-representational' (fig. 20). A third (or 30 percent) of what he exhibited was coded as 'stylized – partially', meaning that these were figurative paintings. Hence, the large majority of exhibited works were either very abstract or very figurative. There are hardly any works in between, only 13 percent belong to the category

192 Cat. rais., p. 563.

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %	1 100 %							1 100 %
1909 in %								
1910 in %		2 100 %						2 100 %
1911 in %		7 70 %	1 10 %	1 10 %				10 100 %
1912 in %		1 11 %	3 33 %	5 56 %				9 100 %
1913 in %				6 100 %				6 100 %
1914 in %								
1915 in %								

Table 8: Number of catalogue entries shown by Kupka per category, per year (1908-1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

‘stylized – wholly’, which suggests that – in exhibitions, and thus in the public’s eye – there was barely any transition visible between Kupka’s figurative and abstract works. In fact, figure 21 shows that he rarely presented more than one degree of abstraction at any one time: he started out with 100 percent ‘naturalistic’ pieces at the beginning of the time-frame, presented 70 to 100 percent ‘stylized – partially’ works between 1910 and 1911, and exhibited only ‘non-representational’ ones in 1913. Reflecting the observations above, the ‘transitional’ pieces from the category ‘stylized – wholly’ only appear in 1911 and 1912, when they form 10 percent and 33 percent respectively of the works exhibited in those years.

The works Kupka presented publicly from 1908 to 1915 were up to four years old at the time of their exhibition. The oldest such work is *La Gamme Jaune II* from 1907 (cat. rais., no. 077) at its showing at the *Salon d’Automne* of 1911. The oldest work created overall that was shown during the time-frame in question was *Soleil d’automne* from 1906 (cat. rais., no. 059). Only five of the exhibited works were exhibited in the same year they were made. Kupka thus tended to show works from recent years, but without necessarily focusing on his latest production. His most iconic piece today, *Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs* (1912; cat. rais., no. 102), was presented publicly only once before the First World War (*Salon d’Automne* 1912, see A1, exh. 27, p. 263), two years after Kandinsky had first exhibited an abstract painting.

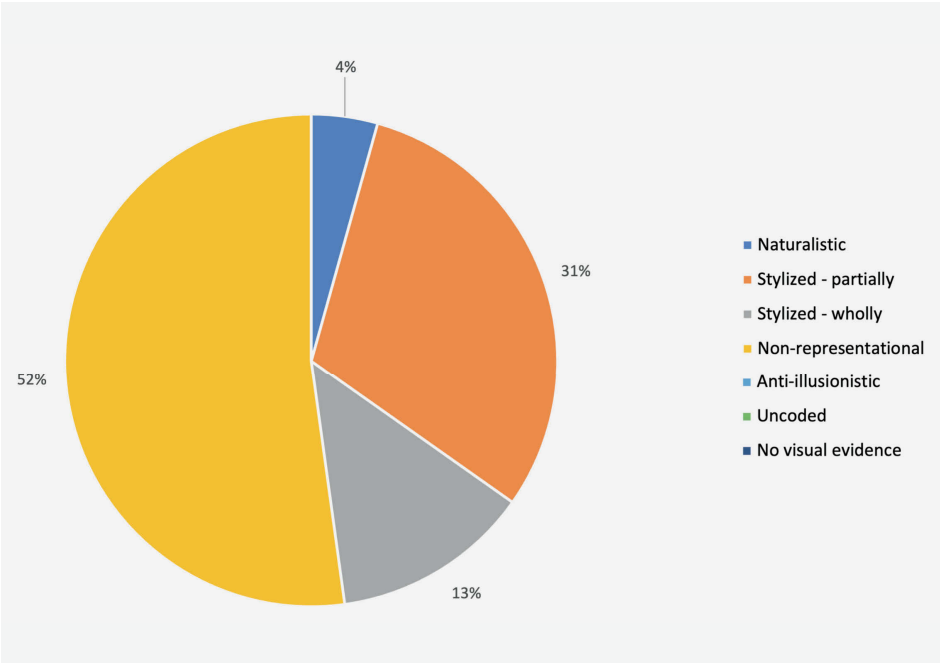


Figure 20: Share of degrees of abstraction of Kupka’s exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.

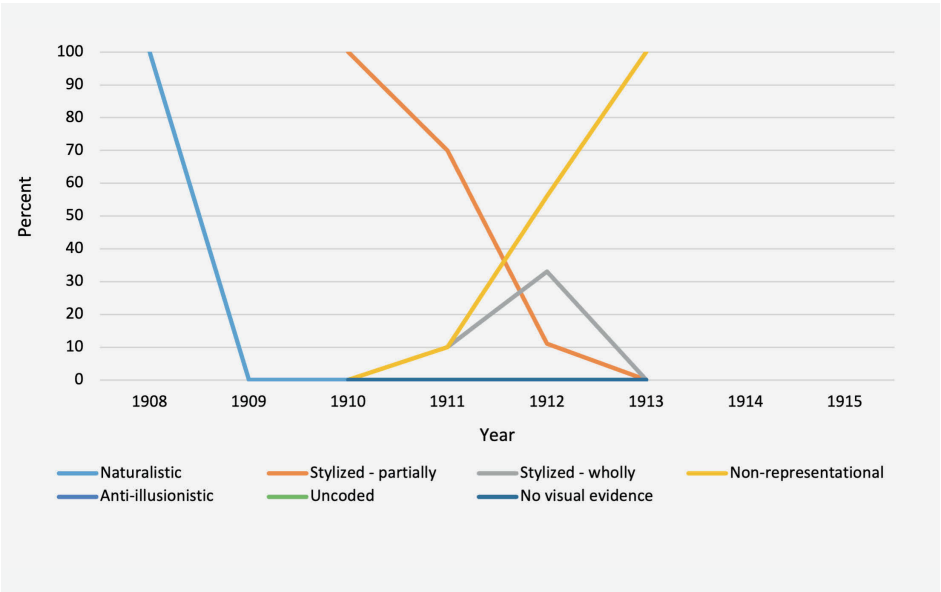


Figure 21: Development of share of Kupka’s artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.

Generally, Kupka seems to have been very selective as to which facets of his production were to go on view, given that he only showed a very small number of paintings at all. From his so-called 'Conventional – Pre-abstraction'¹⁹³ phase, none of his mystical, Impressionist, or Art Deco paintings created prior to the time-frame in question were shown (with *Chemin de silence* [1903; cat. rais., no. 032]; *L'Étang* [1905, cat. rais., no. 037]; or *Deux danseuses* [1905; cat. rais., no. 043] being examples of each). His other 'periods', as classified by the catalogue raisonné,¹⁹⁴ were all represented by at least one piece each, with the exception of his 'energetic and mechanical' period and the phase given the heading 'Pure Forms – Syntheses and Series C', which date from the mid-1920s onwards. Therefore, despite the small size of the selection, it did represent an accurate overview of the artists' production from 1908 to 1915. This confirms Leal's and Theinhardt's remark: 'Kupka expose régulièrement jusqu'en 1913 les résultats significatifs de ses recherches picturales.'¹⁹⁵

The exhibitions Kupka participated in during the said time-frame were all shows put on by major art associations. In fact, the large majority of them, seven out of the nine exhibitions, were the *Salon d'Automne* (whose member he became in 1906)¹⁹⁶ and the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris. One of the two other exhibitions was the *Kunstschau* in Vienna, a large exhibition presenting 1,150 artworks. The only smaller exhibition Kupka was a part of during this time was the *Salon de la Section d'Or*, which presented 'just' 194 works and took place at the Galerie La Boétie in Paris. He never founded any artist groups himself and strongly opposed being actively part of, or even considered part of, any 'ism'. In fact, when Guillaume Apollinaire attributed his works to 'Orphism', Kupka disagreed and replied that, if anything, his paintings could be called 'Morphist'.¹⁹⁷ A photograph (fig. 22) showing Kupka naked, imitating Orpheus by strumming a picture frame instead of a lyre, expresses how ridiculous the artist found this label and stresses his disagreement with it. On another occasion, he expressed his sentiment against the abundant founding of 'isms' in an article published in the magazine *Meister der Farbe* in 1913: 'Denn alle gehen von vorgefaßten Meinungen aus, mögen sie nun herrühren von Realisten, Symbolisten, Synthetisten, Futuristen – Isten, Isten, Isten.'¹⁹⁸ The refusal to form part of any 'ism' or label might be one reason why he participated in relatively few exhibitions. The data collected makes clear that Kupka did not compromise on his principles just to get more public exposure through exhibitions. It empirically confirms his moral rejection of those groups.

193 Cat. rais., pp. 53–156.

194 'The series fugue in two colors', 'The series vertical and diagonal planes', 'The series organics', 'The stories of shapes and colors' and 'The energetic and mechanical', 'Pure Forms – Syntheses and Series C', cat. rais., pp. 159, 203, 285, 371, 423, 471.

195 Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018, p. 113.

196 Fédit 1966, p. 23, Hofmann 1967, p. 6. He also joined the artist association Mánes in Prague in 1900 (as described by Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018, p. 28).

197 Anděl and Kosinski 1997, pp. 26, 103, 114.

198 Kupka 1913, p. 51.

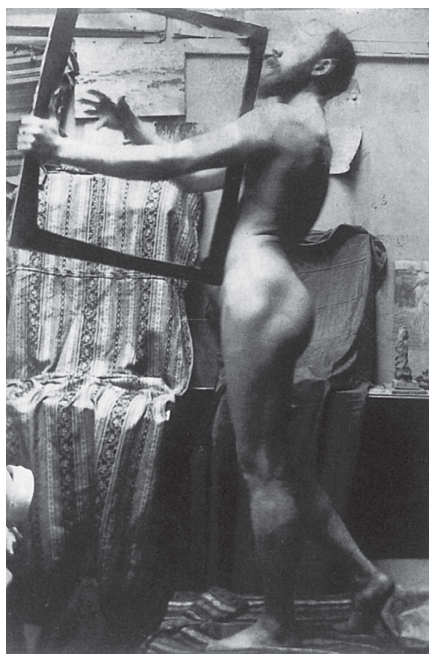


Figure 22:
Kupka naked in atelier posing as Orpheus, holding empty picture frame instead of lyre, 1912.

However, the few shows he did participate in were possible thanks to his membership in art associations (Salon des Indépendants and Salon d'Automne – he did not have an art dealer or representative at the time)¹⁹⁹ as well as his small network of colleagues. This relates to past acquaintances (as in his participation in the *Kunstschau* in Vienna, where he had lived from 1891 to 1895) as well as contemporary ones (as in his participation in the *Salon de la Section d'Or*, organized by a number of fellow artists based closeby in Puteaux, his home on the outskirts of Paris).

Financial success from the sale of his artworks was almost non-existent.²⁰⁰ However, as he received a stipend from the academy in Prague in 1910, which allowed him to live in a comfortable enough manner,²⁰¹ he did not have to worry about the sale of his artworks. This attitude was typical for Kupka who, according to Anděl, did not care about commercial opportunities that might have arisen from participating at exhibitions or critical debates in the press.²⁰² The low number of exhibitions Kupka participated in supports this argument. Additionally, this exhibition behaviour might also have been due to Kupka's rather reclu-

199 Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018, p. 104.

200 '[...] vendant peu, il garda la plupart de ses toiles toute sa vie dans son atelier [...]', Fédit 1966, p. 16.

201 Mládek 1989, p. 41. See also Anděl and Kosinski 1997, p. 25. The authors date the receipt of the stipend to 1909.

202 Anděl and Kosinski 1997, p. 104.

sive lifestyle. Indeed, he himself said in a letter to his friend Arthur Roessler in February of 1913: 'Ich lebe ja vielmehr wie ein Einsiedler [...].'²⁰³ Furthermore, Kupka, of Czech origin, is considered to have never been fully accepted in French circles because of his heritage: Vachtová depicts him as a stranger to the French,²⁰⁴ Anděl mentions that, as a foreigner, he experienced his 'strangeness' in the French capital particularly strongly, even resulting in a feeling of isolation;²⁰⁵ and Mladek confirms the French stance when she writes about the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 that the 'French critics were indignant, enraged. Almost unanimously they rejected the paintings, mainly because they were incompatible with French tradition and taste.'²⁰⁶ Finally, Leal and Theinhardt most recently write that in Paris he remained a stranger, 'un 'bohème déraciné',²⁰⁷ Kupka being regarded as a stranger in Paris might be another cause for limiting his exhibition activity to the two large and modern Salons, which were both renowned for accepting the participation of foreign artists.

Although the Paris art world did not exactly warm to Kupka and take him into their ranks, Paris remained the centre of the artist's life and work. This also becomes apparent when looking at his exhibitions from a geographical point of view: from 1908 to 1915, he exhibited in just two countries – in what was the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time and in France – and in only two cities, Vienna and Paris, with Paris holding eight of the nine exhibitions. Although Kupka's works were not shown throughout Europe, he was at least regularly present in arguably the most important city for contemporary art, Paris, and at the two largest recurring events dedicated to modern art there, which effectively places him at the very centre of modern art.

Kupka's exhibition behaviour

The first important thing to note about Kupka's exhibition behaviour is the small number of exhibitions he participated in during the years in question. If his own words are to be believed, this was a conscious decision on his part. Indeed, in a letter from 1905 to his Czech friend Josef Svatopluk Machar, he mentioned that he was in no hurry to show what he had been working on: 'Ich male [...], tue das aber nur für mich selbst, will es nicht zeigen [...].'²⁰⁸ As the data and analysis above have shown, however, other factors such as his nationality and refusal to participate in artist groups seem to have contributed to that paucity of public attention. Furthermore, particularly from 1910 on, when he found himself in financially

203 Letter from Kupka to Roessler from 2 February 1913, Wien Bibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung, H.I.N. 151.163. The illustration of his network by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, which contains only ten connections for the time span 1910–1925, confirms this statement, see URL: <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?artist=46>.

204 Vachtová 1989, p. 60: 'Pour les Français, Kupka est un étranger [...].'

205 Anděl and Kosinski 1997, p. 99.

206 Mladek 1997, p. 368.

207 Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018, p. 30.

208 Anděl and Kosinski 1997, p. 24.

Year	Number of works created*	Number of works exhibited in Vienna 1908-1915	Number of works exhibited in Paris 1908-1915
1908	6	1	0
1909	14	0	0
1910	14	0	2
1911	23	0	10
1912	10	0	9
1913	23	0	6
1914	2	0	0
1915	0	0	0
Total	92	1	27

Table 9: Total number of works created by Kupka by year, and total number of catalogue entries per city, per year (1908-1915).

stable conditions, the *need* to exhibit decreased, as any economic necessity that could have driven him up to that point vanished with the stipend bestowed by the academy in Prague. Up until then, in order to meet his financial needs, Kupka mostly took on illustration jobs for various (sometimes anarchist) newspapers, magazines, and books.²⁰⁹ It thus seems plausible that the artist did not use his painted oeuvre for commercial purposes, but rather solely in order to find pictorial solutions to problems posed. This is also indicated by the number of works he created per year from 1908 to 1915 (table 9). Although there was an increase in annual production in the years 1910 and 1911, from 14 to 23 works (possibly the result of the new-found financial security that allowed him to devote more time to his own art), in my view the increase does not seem large enough to suggest that Kupka's production *prior* to 1910 had followed any other, more commercially orientated goal. As can be expected, this is also reflected in his exhibition activity, even though only slight increases occur: from 1910 on, the frequency of his showings rises from one to two in 1911 and three in 1912 (fig. 19).

Only on one occasion did Kupka mix abstract and figurative works at an exhibition, and otherwise presented a stylistically rather homogenous selection of pieces. According to the catalogue raisonné, at the *Salon d'Automne* 1912, the three *Amorpha* pictures presented there formed part of a selection with two other pieces, *Le Miroir Ovale* (1910; cat.

* As per the catalogue raisonné (Lekeš et al. 2016). If a work was begun between 1908 and 1915 and reworked afterwards, the work is counted in the year of its first creation. If the work was begun before 1908 and finished between 1908 and 1915, the work is counted in the year of its termination.

209 Schmied 1966, p. 6; Hofmann 1967, p. 6; Anděl and Kosinski 1997, pp. 22–23; Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018, p. 28.

rais., no. 93) and *Portrait du Musicien Follot* (1912; cat. rais., no. 112) (see A1, exh. 27, p. 263). In these two latter paintings, the (admittedly highly stylized) figure can still be recognized. Considering the importance of *Le Miroir Ovalé* for the development of the *Amorpha* series, if the catalogue raisonné is correct, this selection can be understood as not only presenting his latest breakthrough but also including the steps leading up to it. Nevertheless, press reports as well as a Journal Gaumont cinema newsreel from 1912 only comment on Kupka's *Amorpha* pieces, casting doubt on the information in the catalogue raisonné concerning the simultaneous presence of *Le Miroir Ovalé* and *Portrait du Musicien Follot* at the 1912 edition of the *Salon d'Automne*.²¹⁰ Nonetheless, the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 has often been regarded as the moment of Kupka's breakthrough,²¹¹ a view that is confirmed by the data collected: it is the first occasion at which Kupka presents entirely abstract paintings. His radical choice of pieces presented in gallery XI of the Grand Palais that fall (see fig. 7) provoked very strong reactions from the press.

Indeed, those reactions in the press were mostly negative. As Gustave Kahn wrote in the *Mercure de France*: 'Un homme qui a montré beaucoup de talent, M. Kupka, déconcerte en exposant de simples arabesques.'²¹² Art critic Louis Vauxcelles refers to Kupka with the words: 'Un autre – qui pour n'être pas cubiste n'en est pas moins candide – intitule "*Fugue en deux couleurs*" et *Chromatique chaude* (!) un échec d'arabesques ovoïdes bleues et rouges sur fond noir et blanc', prefacing his statement by saying that the public would surely rather he didn't discuss these 'puérilités'.²¹³

Regarding Kupka's art, the press response for the years 1908 to 1915 is generally mixed. While an American report is rather positive,²¹⁴ the French ones remain sceptical and often reproach Kupka for wilfully not being part of the French painting tradition.²¹⁵ Kupka himself seems not to have been influenced by these critics, at least not with regard to his selection of exhibits. In fact, as the data shows, after receiving such strong reactions to his abstract paintings, he went on to show nothing else but abstractions until the war. If anything, I would argue, the reactions merely strengthened his resolve to continue on his path. As Meda Mládek suggests, he might even have been amused by the public's responses.²¹⁶

210 Indeed, the listing in the catalogue raisonné and the information gathered from the exhibition catalogue differ: according to the latter, only two pieces by Kupka were shown, '925. – *Amorpha fugue à 2 couleurs*' and '926. – *Amorpha, chromatique chaude*', the former being visible in the installation shot (fig. 7, p. 45).

211 According to Kosinski 1997, p. 99, described as 'Durchbruch'.

212 Kahn 1912, p. 884.

213 Vauxcelles 1912, p. 3.

214 The often-cited article by Warshawsky in *The New York Times* from 19 October 1913, "Orpheism" Latest of Painting Cults, praises Kupka as 'so prominent a man [...] breaking away from the Academicians' and calls his latest paintings 'huge canvases, fearful and wondrous, denoting soul impressions and sensations of comedy and tragedy' (Warshawsky 1913, unpag.).

215 See Mládek 1989, p. 41, and Mládek 1997, p. 368.

216 Mládek 1997, p. 387: 'Early in 1913, he wrote a cheerful, self-confident letter to Roessler, despite the unfavourable reception of his works in Paris. "Paintings I exhibited recently are called Planes by Colours, Amorpha, Fugue in Two Colours, Warm Chromatics, etc. All in all, what I am seeking now are symphonies. Do you remember the "colour symphonist"? You can't imagine the derision I have to put up with..." Kupka was amused

A letter from 7 February 1914 indicates that Kupka did reflect on how his participation in a specific exhibition would be received. He wrote to his friend Mercereau: 'Je ne peux pas prendre part à l'exposition des peintres dits cubistes qu'organise la société Mânes à Prague. Depuis sept ans je n'y ai rien envoyé et m'y présentant maintenant comme faisant partie d'un groupe j'aurais l'air de me dissimuler sous une égide.'²¹⁷ This confirms his determination to avoid being perceived as part of any group, or 'ism' – an impulse so keenly felt that it prevented him from even featuring in an exhibition in his home country.

The works shown at the *Salon d'Automne* in 1912, particularly the ones from the *Amorpha* series, were so sensational that the French film production company Gaumont asked Kupka for permission to film his pieces for a newsreel on modern art, which he granted.²¹⁸ However, when asked to present his cause personally in front of the camera, he declined – an option, as Fédit argues, Kupka considered to be in bad taste.²¹⁹ It is indeed interesting that Kupka declined the opportunity to explain his art (albeit through synco-pated intertitles) to a larger audience, apparently deeming it unnecessary and preferring to let his works speak for themselves. In fact, the newsreel reached audiences across Europe, in the United States and even as far as Australia.²²⁰ Showing a few views from gallery XI inside the *Salon d'Automne*, the sequence of about 22 seconds – simply titled 'A Paris, exposition cubiste au salon d'automne' – offers two brief views, of only one to two seconds each, of Kupka's *Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs* (1912; cat. rais., no. 102) and *Amorpha, chromatique chaude* (1911; cat. rais., no. 103), among pieces by other artists. Despite the brevity of the views, it is evident that Kupka's pieces are far more abstract than the figurative pieces surrounding them. The only exception is Le Fauconnier's *Mountaineers Attacked by Bears* (1912), in which the subject may still be identified when looking at the piece in person but is impossible to discern in the black-and-white film. This footage and its particularly wide distribution seem momentarily to compensate for Kupka's limited exhibition activity, spreading the image of his art around the globe.

The restriction of Kupka's exhibition activity to the established Parisian Salons offered him the advantage of regularly being part of these respected modern art exhibitions at the very heart of the city recognized as *the* centre of modern art in Europe. I would therefore argue that Kupka felt no need to push his production to other places or seize other exhibition opportunities. This limited range of exhibition activity did not necessarily mean a limited publicity (which the painter was not seeking anyway), given that the Salons were recurrent, highly visited, mass events that were automatically commented on in the press – even if the sheer size of the exhibition meant there was strong competition between exhibitors.

by the puzzled viewer's questions: "What does it represent?" "What is it supposed to be?" and answered himself with a sarcastic rhetorical question: "Must a work of art represent something?"

217 Quoted in Lamač 1989, p. 34.

218 Fédit 1966, p. 24.

219 Ibid., p. 24.

220 Lekeš L. 2016, p. 32.

The mere fact of regularly participating in these two Salons may alone have been a good way to reach a certain degree of visibility and fame. However, it appears that Kupka had already attained an undeniable degree of renown through his activities before being granted the stipend in 1910: as Schmied points out, the illustration of books and print media guaranteed that his graphic works would be distributed widely and in high numbers, and, I might add, was a much more efficient way of spreading one's name far and wide than participating in exhibitions.²²¹ Around 1911, Kupka also started putting his own thoughts and theories to paper about his pictorial problems and artistic solutions, which resulted in the publication of *La création dans les arts plastiques*.²²² However, this book could not have had any impact on his notoriety before 1915, as it was only published in 1923.²²³

Conclusion

Living in a reclusive manner, Kupka's exhibition activity and the number of works he publicly showed were rather low, as the data collected shows, particularly when compared to the other artists studied here. As the analysis above showed, this was certainly due not only to Kupka's conscious wish to hold back his works, creating them largely for himself, but also to the conditions he found himself in by living in Paris. His membership of the Société des Artistes Indépendants as well as of the Société du Salon d'Automne in Paris enabled him to regularly participate in their extensive and recurring events by submitting works, mostly without having to face a jury.²²⁴ By extension, he was automatically part of the two major organizations considered the most modern of their time and type in the country, if not in all of Europe. However it remains unknown whether this alone was the reason for his having joined in the first place. Kupka not only chose to reside in Paris – a logical choice given Paris's leading role in modern art at the time – but also originally wrote his major publication *La création dans les arts plastiques* in French. As Karl Flinker also suggests, in the avant-propos of the French edition of 1989, Kupka preferred to express himself in French rather than in his Czech mother tongue. I would argue that all these behavioural observations hint at the artist trying to assimilate to and even adopt the French culture. However, by 1915, the end of this study, his efforts appear to have gone in vain, as he remained rejected by local society.

221 Schmied 1966, p. 6: 'Er hat sich als Zeichner durchgesetzt, ist ein gesuchter Illustrator bibliophiler Ausgaben geworden und kann das Zeichnen für Magazine ganz aufgeben. Sein Ruf ist so weit gefestigt, daß er es wagen kann, ausschließlich als freier Maler und für eine Berufung zu leben.'

222 Kupka 1989.

223 The author of the preface of the French translation of Kupka 1989 (originally published in Czech) dates its original conception to 1910–1913. Other scholars, however, set the starting date of the endeavour as early as 1907 (see Passuth 1989, p. 4).

224 The exhibitions of the Salon des Indépendants are famously jury-free; at the Salon d'Automne, by contrast, members may submit a certain number of works directly, bypassing jury selection, depending on their membership status and record.

In conclusion, despite how interesting these observations and patterns are and despite Kupka's strong adherence to his artistic concept in his choice of what to present at exhibition, the data at hand is not substantial enough to allow us to identify any wider strategies in Kupka's exhibition behaviour. Admittedly, this may simply be due to the fact that there were none. What *can* be stated, however, is that the data clearly shows that Kupka first exhibited a highly abstract painting in 1912. And despite this exhibition happening about two years *after* Kandinsky first presented an abstract artwork publicly, Kupka's works were certainly more consistently abstract in conception and execution than any of Kandinsky's paintings at that time.

Suprematist Exhibition Behaviour: Malevich at the Centre of Attention²²⁵

Introduction

Kazimir Severinovich Malevich²²⁶ was born in Kyiv to working-class parents, a Russian mother and a Polish father. He started his artistic education in 1895 at the age of seven-teen.²²⁷ In 1905 he moved to Moscow to study, live, and work, while keeping close ties to Kursk, his hometown, until his mid-twenties.²²⁸ Although his early work is strongly influenced by European avant-garde movements such as Cubism and Futurism, he personally did not travel to any of western Europe's various art capitals before 1915, the end-date of the period studied here. A single trip to Paris had been planned in 1909, but as the journey was to be facilitated through the sale of an artwork that ultimately fell through, the visit never took place.²²⁹ This indicates that the artistic tendencies received in Russia were introduced

225 References to Malevich's works will be cited as per their listing and numbering in the catalogue raisonné – Nakov 2002.

226 Nakov's 2002 catalogue raisonné contains a comprehensive list of Malevich's oeuvre. However, when it comes to exhibition history, some inconsistencies surfaced in the details regarding the presence of certain works at some exhibitions. While it is commonly acknowledged in the secondary literature that Malevich exhibited 39 works at *The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10* in Petrograd (see, most recently, Drutt 2015a, p. 66), with the various authors drawing on the original exhibition catalogue, the catalogue raisonné lists just 33, probably being unable to identify the missing pieces. Similarly, while an installation photograph of the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art* (Moscow, November–December 1915, see fig. 28 and A1, exh. 56, p. 307) shows at least three works by Malevich, the catalogue raisonné only lists one, and even that with a question mark. Despite these inconsistencies, the catalogue raisonné can be considered representative of Malevich's oeuvre. Significant secondary literature on Malevich (such as Tate et al. 2013) was published after the publication of the catalogue raisonné, among them the four-volume monograph *Malevich, Painting the Absolute* (Nakov 2010a and 2010b). Also by Nakov, this compilation of very dense and richly illustrated volumes offers a complete picture of the artist as well as the social and historical context of his life and work. Although focusing on the development of Malevich's style, Nakov does mention the artists' featured exhibitions as well as the context of their production. Furthermore, with their two-volume publication, Vakár and Mikhienko 2015a and 2015b have made available in English a range of texts, correspondences, memoirs, criticism, and documents by Malevich himself, as well as his family, colleagues, friends, and critics. This enriches the information already available in the catalogue raisonné with documentary material and more recent scholarship. Marking the exhibition's 100th anniversary, the Fondation Beyeler in Switzerland paid specific attention to *0.10*, in which Malevich played a pivotal role. This resulted in an exhibition and the publication of a detailed and well-researched catalogue: Drutt 2015a. The publication gives an account of the conception of the exhibition, the conditions in which it was put together, a detailed report of the exhibited artists and works, as well as the very valuable press reviews of the exhibition in the form of facsimiles of the original press articles together with their translation into German. However, none of these books systematically examine or present Malevich's exhibition activity over a longer period of time or explicitly look at traces of possible strategies in his exhibition behaviour.

227 Petrova 2000, p. 431.

228 Tate et al. 2013, p. 231.

229 Nakov 2010a, p. 118. In fact, Malevich's 'first and only trip to Western Europe' only took place in 1927, as related in Vakár and Mikhienko 2015a, p. 7.



to him by Russian colleagues who could afford to travel to cities like Paris, Munich, and Berlin, and through the exhibitions that they then organized in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, in conjunction with artists they had met on these trips.

Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

According to the listing in the catalogue raisonné, Malevich created about 633 artworks up until 1915, out of which approximately 526 were produced from 1908 to 1915. In that same time-frame, he participated in 27 exhibitions or an average of three-and-a-third (3.37) exhibitions per year. He exhibited 140 artworks in those eight years or just over a quarter (26.6 percent) of his production dating from that time.²³⁰ This means that he exhibited 22.1 percent of all the art he had made by 1915, including art produced from before 1908, the start-date of this study. On average, he showed 5.2 pieces per exhibition, but in real terms the number of exhibits on view at any one event ranged widely, going from just 1 to 33. The 140 paintings exhibited during this study add up to 159 catalogue entries, which means that he only showed very few images more than once. Indeed, he showed 19 works twice (assigned to various categories of abstraction);²³¹ all other works were – unusually – only presented to the public at a single occasion each from 1908 to 1915.

The distribution of Malevich's exhibition activity fluctuates strongly (fig. 23), with a general upward trend until 1912, a dip in 1913, followed by a peak of six exhibitions in 1914. All 27 exhibitions that Malevich took part in during that time-frame were group exhibitions. He came closest to a solo show on the occasion of *The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10* in late 1915/early 1916 in Petrograd, where his Suprematist works were hung in a separate room of their own, as recorded by the famous installation photograph of the exhibition (fig. 24).²³² This fact, however, is not manifest in the exhibition's catalogue: here, he is listed together with the other participating artists in (Russian) alphabetical order.

As per the experts' coding (for more on the quantitative coding for the purposes of this study, see A4, p. 323), 58 percent of Malevich's exhibited works showed recognizable figures, objects, or landscapes (the two 'stylized' categories combined), while 35 percent were abstract (the categories 'non-representational' and 'anti-illusionistic' combined, see fig. 25). When looking at the development of the different degrees of abstraction throughout the exhibitions (fig. 26 and table 10), the first clearly noticeable point is the overall dominance

230 In the catalogue raisonné, Nakov marked 33 of those 140 artworks with a question mark, meaning that in about 23.6 percent of the cases it is not certain that the piece was actually exhibited at the exhibition stated (this concerns the following works: F-34, F-83, F-116, F-118, F-119, F-157, F-178, F-183, F-184, F-186, F-198, F-207, F-217, F-219, F-221, F-285, F-287, F-288, F-289, F-487a, F-487e, S-25, S-31, S-33, S-42, S-56, S-146, S-159, S-172, S-216).

231 The works shown twice are: F-116, F-118, F-178, F-184, F-194, F-201, F-212, F-221, F-250, F-278, F-302, F-320, F-332, F-377, F-385, F-393, F-417, F-444, S-77 (as listed in cat. rais.).

232 Although according to the Gregorian calendar 0.10 took place in the first two weeks of 1916 (and thus lies just beyond the time-frame covered here), for the sake of clarity and as per its importance in the history of exhibiting abstract art, it will be included in the year 1915 for all quantitative analyses and statistics in this study.

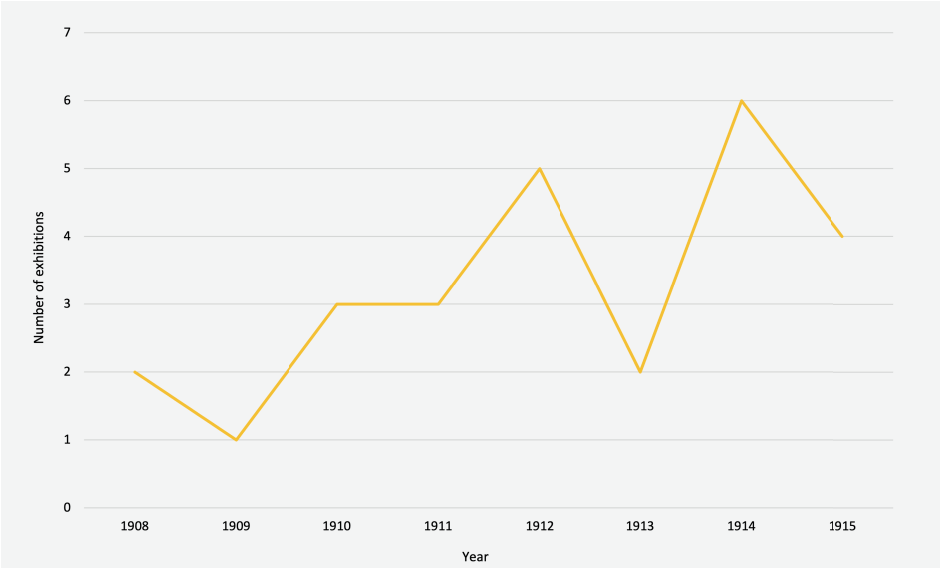


Figure 23: Development of number of Malevich's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.



Figure 24: Installation view of *The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10*, Petrograd (Saint Petersburg), early 1916.

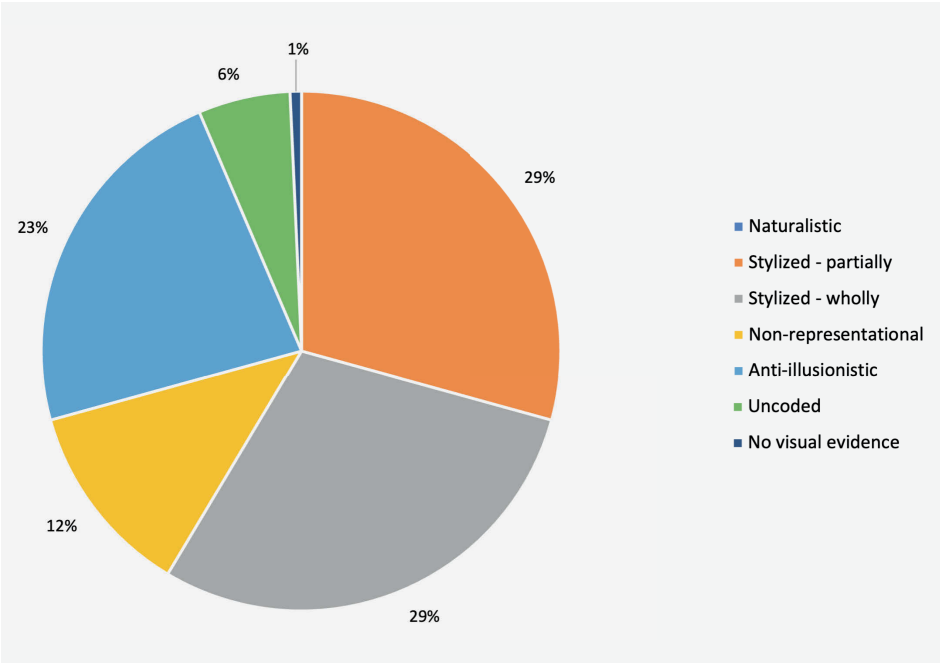


Figure 25: Share of degrees of abstraction of Malevich's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.

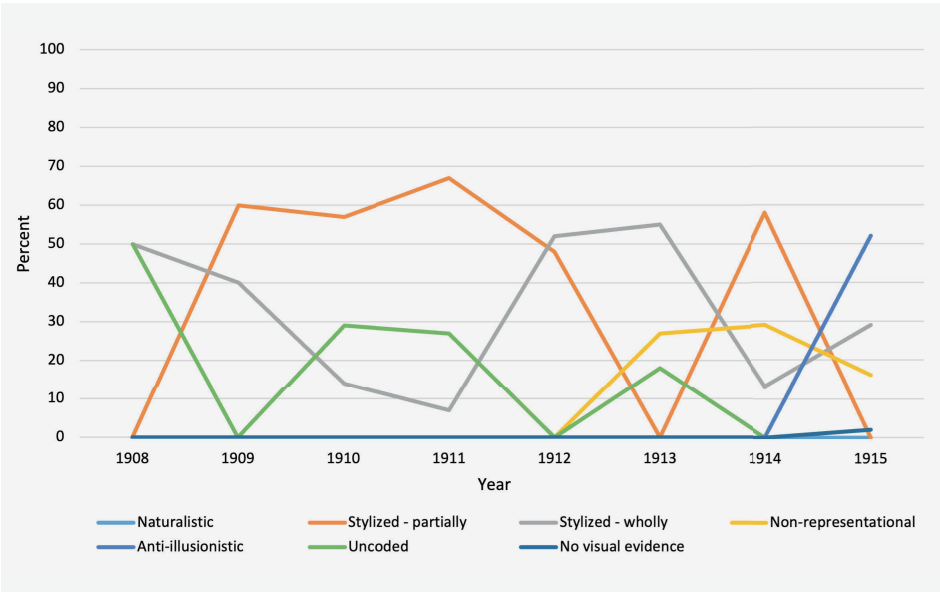


Figure 26: Development of share of Malevich's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %			1 50 %			1 50 %		2 100 %
1909 in %		3 60 %	2 40 %					5 100 %
1910 in %		4 57 %	1 14 %			2 29 %		7 100 %
1911 in %		10 67 %	1 7 %			4 27 %		15 100 %
1912 in %		16 48 %	17 52 %					33 100 %
1913 in %			6 55 %	3 27 %		2 18 %		11 100 %
1914 in %		14 58 %	3 13 %	7 29 %				24 100 %
1915 in %			18 29 %	10 16 %	33 52 %	1 2 %	1 2 %	63 100 %

Table 10: Number of catalogue entries shown by Malevich per category, per year (1908-1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

of the two ‘stylized’ categories until 1914. ‘Non-representational’ works first appear in 1913, forming about a third of the exhibited pieces, and are subsequently joined by the ‘anti-illusionistic’ works in 1915, when the latter alone exceed all other categories by suddenly constituting 52 percent of works exhibited. This rise is clearly due to the *0.10* exhibition and indicates that no ‘anti-illusionistic’ works were shown in exhibitions before late 1915.

As per the data collected, in the 1908 to 1915 time-frame, Malevich only presented four ‘old’ works, created before 1908. This suggests that he primarily tended to exhibit his recent works. In fact, however, he often showed recent works together with works from the last three to four years, as was the case in the 1911 exhibition of the Society of Artists ‘Moscow Salon’ (see A1, exh.13, p. 245). The selection for this show included his *Autoportrait* from 1907 (cat. rais., F-79), other works from 1907, 1908, and 1910, as well as *Homme au chapeau pointu* from that same year, 1911 (cat. rais., F-158). At all other exhibitions he presented nothing but his more recent works, culminating in *0.10*, where he exclusively presented his very latest paintings (see A1, exh. 59, p. 310). The one part of his oeuvre that he hardly ever exhibited during the time-frame in question was work from his Impressionist phase (c. 1904–1906), with only one Impressionist work going on show (in February 1908: *Maison à la campagne (le toit rouge)*, 1906, cat. rais., F-34).



Figure 27:
Kazimir Malevich,
Paysanne avec Sceaux II,
1912, oil on canvas, Museum
of Modern Art, New York.

With respect to Malevich's paintings exhibited from 1908 to 1915, it is striking that up until 1912 all images contain recognizable figures, objects, and/or landscapes. It is only at the tail-end of that year and into early 1913 that his conically deconstructed figures make their first public appearance (stemming from his 'Cubisme de volumes' phase).²³³ Although categorized as 'stylized – wholly', these are still essentially figurative. And although figures are still present, sometimes the treatment of volumes and colours makes it difficult to identify them, as is the case, for example, in *Paysanne avec sceaux II* (cat. rais., F-332; fig. 27). In late 1913 and early 1914, Malevich started showing his 'non-representational' works from the 'Cubofuturist', 'Transrational', and 'Alogist' phases, in which the subjects were no longer recognizable. As such, the collected data shows that he presented his first abstract works, among them *Visage de jeune fille paysanne*, *Samovar II*, and *Portrait perfectionné d'Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, at the seventh Union of Youth exhibition in Saint Petersburg in late 1913/early 1914 (see A1, exh. 41, p. 287). As mentioned, it was only in late 1915/early 1916 that he suddenly started exhibiting works of total or pure abstraction,

233 Nakov subdivides the catalogue raisonné into the following phases: 'Études figurative savant 1908', 'Études impressionistes', 'Compositions symboliste, première phase', 'Préoccupations cézannistes', 'La couleur subjective, deuxième phase symboliste', 'Forme monumentale et couleur expressive', 'Cubisme de volume', 'Cubisme analytique', 'Cubofuturisme', 'Création transrationnelle', 'Oeuvres alogiques', 'Imagerie postfuturiste', 'Suprématisme narratif', and 'Éléments fondamentaux'.



Figure 28: Installation view of *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art*, Galerie Lemericié, Moscow, late 1915.

unquestionably ‘anti-illusionistic’ in character, at *o.10* in Petrograd. In summary, Malevich painted and exhibited figurative art for a relatively long time; only fairly late, but all the more sudden and strongly, did he break with figuration and embrace total abstraction. This logically means that the impression the public had of Malevich during the studied time-frame was that of a largely figurative, albeit no less avant-gardist painter.

On three occasions, Malevich participated in shows that were not dedicated to art alone: in late 1914, he took part in the *War and Press* exhibition in Petrograd, where his propagandist colour lithographs were on display, which illustrated his political support for Russia; in late 1915, his costume designs for *Victory over the Sun* were shown at the *Memorabilia from the Russian Theatre* exhibition in Petrograd; and, almost concurrently, he participated at the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art* in Moscow, showing three completely abstract pieces there upon Alexandra Exter’s invitation (fig. 28 and A1, exh. 56, p. 307).²³⁴ The latter happened just a month and a half before he unveiled, now on a much larger scale, his newest and most groundbreaking achievements at *o.10*.

Regarding geographic distribution, the majority of Malevich’s exhibitions took place in Russia; he only ever exhibited in two foreign cities: Munich and Paris. In Munich, he participated in the second exhibition of *Der Blaue Reiter* in 1912 at the gallery of Hans

²³⁴ See Nakov 2010b, p. 81.

City	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Catalogue entries per city	Exhibitions per city
Kaluga (RU)					1				1	1
Kursk (RU)			2						2	1
Paris (FR)							3		3	1
Moscow (RU)	2	5	5	9	31	5	7	23	87	16
Munich (DE)					1				1	1
St. Petersburg (RU)				6		6	14	39	65	7
Catalogue entries per year	2	5	7	15	33	11	24	62	159	
Exhibitions per year	2	1	3	3	5	2	6	5		27

Table 11: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Malevich per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as the number of exhibitions he featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.

Goltz, where he showed just one piece, *Visage de paysan* (1911; cat. rais., F-279; A1, exh. 20, p. 254), a figurative painting. Meanwhile, at the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris in 1914, he showed three works (see A1, exh. 48, p. 295), two of which are categorized as ‘non-representational’. Malevich’s international exhibition activity was well chosen, in that it took place at two highly important centres of modern art, Paris and Munich. Consequently, although small in number, these two exhibitions put Malevich at the very heart of the avant-garde in Europe. Thus his works were presented in only three countries from 1908 to 1915. In Russia, the centre of his activities was Moscow, where he participated in fifteen exhibitions; this was followed by Saint Petersburg, where he showed seven times during the time-frame in question (see table 11). Additionally, he participated in one exhibition in Kaluga and in one in Kursk, the latter being the town where he grew up. Consequently, he showed his art in a total of six cities from 1908 to 1915.

Although Malevich’s network and the geographic spread of his exhibitions did not show great variety, the type of institutions where these exhibitions took place did. They included art galleries such as that of Hans Goltz in Munich (1912) and the gallery of Nadezhda Dobychina, where *o.io* took place; they also included academic circles such as Fedor Rerberg’s art school (in 1909) as well as art associations and public institutions (for example, the *First Futurist Exhibition: Tramway V* at the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Petrograd, 1915, see A1, exh. 54, p. 305).²³⁵ The *locations* of these exhi-

²³⁵ This choice of location was a conscious and provocative one, as this society seems to have usually supported events of a rather academic nature. See Drutt 2015a, p. 18, for more details.

bitions include a large number of private environments such as the *27th Exhibition of the Moscow Society of Art Lovers* of 1908, located at the house of Countess Vasil'eva-Silovskaja. More than half of the exhibitions that Malevich participated in – 15 out of the 27 – were exhibitions put on by art associations such as the Union of Youth (which also took place in private apartments the group rented for the duration of the exhibition)²³⁶ or the Jack of Diamonds group. The other shows were group shows of modern art, like the *Donkey's Tail* exhibition (1912), the *Exhibition of Pictures of Contemporary Russian Painters* in Kaluga in the spring of 1912, or the *Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Graphics, Industrial 'Contemporary Art'* in Moscow in late 1912/early 1913. All of these exhibitions were avant-garde in character, presenting the newest and most modern art. Although three exhibitions were not exclusively of modern art (*War and Press* in late 1914, *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art*, and *Memorabilia from the Russian Theatre*, both in late 1915), at least two of them can be qualified as contemporary to a certain degree. This is due, in the one case, to the contemporary nature of the decorative art on display in Exter's exhibition and, in the other, to the 'memorabilia' in the Russian theatre show, which included Malevich's costume and stage designs from *Victory over the Sun*, a highly avant-garde piece described by its creators as the first Futurist opera.²³⁷ Malevich was thus visibly part of the most avant-garde art circles in his country.

Malevich's exhibition strategy

The sense conveyed by the collection of Malevich's works exhibited from 1908 to 1915 is one of constant renewal, as is also reflected in the numerous 'phases' into which his catalogue raisonné is subdivided.²³⁸ Examples of almost all these phases were presented to the public, although he only showed about one-quarter of his oeuvre at exhibitions. Indeed, during the eight years in question here, he presented works as stylistically diverse as the Symbolist *Triomphe du ciel* (1907; cat. rais., F-80), *Nature morte aux fruits* (1910; cat. rais., F-187) from his second Symbolist phase, the Neo-Primitive *Polka Argentine* (1911; cat. rais., F-194, listed in the 'Forme monumentale et couleur expressive' phase), the Analytic Cubist *Bûcheron II* (1912; cat. rais., F-316), the Cubo-Futurist *Rémouleur* (1912–1913; cat. rais., F-354), and the Alogist *Dame auprès d'une colonne d'affichage* (1914; cat. rais., F-455), before showing the famous Suprematist *Quadrilatère* (1915; cat. rais., S-116, listed in the 'Éléments fondamentaux' phase), better known as *Black Square*, in early 1916.

236 As Howard 1992, p. 48, specifies: 'The first Union of Youth exhibition opened in an empty apartment [...].'

237 *Victory over the Sun* was organized by the Union of Youth and performed twice in Saint Petersburg in 1913.

A detailed account on the piece can be found in Nakov 2010a, chapter 10.

238 See note 233 above.

However, he hardly ever presented old and new works together in exhibitions during this period.²³⁹ Instead, he kept to one style per show, apparently seeing no need to remind the public of his earlier and/or other production. The overall image he conveys through the exhibited pieces in the course of the eight years in question is one of a consistent simplification and decomposition of figures, objects, and picture planes. Not only did he lead, among others, the newest artistic developments in Russia and react to international trends such as Cubism and Futurism from a stylistic point of view, he paralleled this with his membership of and participation in art associations from 1910 onwards.²⁴⁰ As such, he took part in four of the seven exhibitions that the Union of Youth organized and played a major role in the creation of the first Futurist opera *Victory over the Sun*, although he only became a member of the group in January 1913 (three years after its founding in 1910). This was just one year before it ceased to exist altogether, although it seems to have been at its most dynamic at the time.²⁴¹ In the same moment, he was a member of the avant-garde artist association Target, which arose from the Donkey's Tail.²⁴² Preceding this, he was an active member of the Jack of Diamonds group.²⁴³

Malevich seems to have become aware of the collective potency and impact that a group and its label can have.²⁴⁴ Indeed, within the course of 1916, we see Malevich 'creat[ing] the Supremus society with Olga Rozanova, Lyubov Popova, Alexandra Exter, Ivan Kliun and Vera Pestel and publish[ing] a magazine with the same name.'²⁴⁵ Furthermore, Malevich was aware of the rapid pace of developments and constant renewal in the arts, as Ivan Kliun remembers: 'As soon as he noticed that the group was already becoming somewhat stagnant, he would say to me, "But isn't it time, Ivan Vasilievich, to break up or split this group in two?" He would make some devastating proposal and the group would fall apart.'²⁴⁶ This citation shows that Malevich was not only aware of the speed of progress but also of the necessity for him to play a leading role in shaping its course. This is further reflected in Kliun's memoirs, where he writes that Malevich 'could never be in second place, and not only could he never fit in with others, he could not be like them',²⁴⁷ that the artist

239 The only exceptions are the works presented at the *Society of Artists 'Moscow Salon'* exhibition in 1911 (see A1, exh. 13, p. 245), where Malevich presented a selection of his Symbolist and Neo-Primitive works together (the latter is referred to as 'Forme monumentale et couleur expressive' by Nakov 2002).

240 As Nakov 2010a explains, p. 162: 'Malewicz's beginnings in Moscow were not easy. Until the end of 1910, he belonged to no artistic coterie and to none of the numerous modernist circles sprouting up in Moscow, St Petersburg, Kiev, Kazan and Odessa.'

241 Howard 1992, p. 187, describes Malevich as 'one of the Union of Youth's most active members'.

242 Ibid., p. 161.

243 Nakov 2010a, p. 171.

244 Similarly, Tate et al. 2013, p. 99, suggest that Malevich 'was convinced of the importance of embedding Suprematism within a group. An individual breakthrough was not enough: Suprematism had to evolve into a larger movement that would withstand the test of time and make its mark on the art world.'

245 Petrova 2000, p. 434.

246 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015b, p. 71.

247 Ibid., p. 73.

had a 'desire to be unlike anyone else, to be original, no matter what',²⁴⁸ and that 'he could not be the number two in any group, but absolutely had to be first, that is, the chairman of the group. If he wasn't selected head of the group, he would leave it and organize another one.'²⁴⁹ This is, to a certain degree, also what happened at the *0.10* exhibition: Malevich, after disputes with his fellow exhibiting artists,²⁵⁰ hung his radical images in a separate room and distributed his own manifesto at the event – without, however, forfeiting the opportunity of exhibiting altogether. Although Malevich was aware of the importance and greater impact of a group effort, I would argue that he tried to find an individualistic position within each group in order to establish himself as a forerunner of the avant-garde. This is best illustrated with Suprematism, a concept he developed on his own, but which he soon realized required a group if its ideas were to be disseminated as widely as possible. The artist thus found himself caught in a back-and-forth between the necessity of belonging to a group and his desire to stand out from the crowd – in a general sense but also from the 'crowd' of the group itself.

Malevich was engaged in the art world not only by participating in exhibitions and by being a member of groups and art societies but also by publishing and founding new artistic currents or 'isms'.²⁵¹ In addition, he participated in debates,²⁵² held provocative performances,²⁵³ participated in the production of plays like *Victory over the Sun*, and organized exhibitions himself, such as *Tramway V* in March 1915 (see A1, exh. 54, p. 305). I would argue that this suggests that he tried to vary his initiatives and activities in order to be present in as many areas of the Russian avant-garde art world as possible. He organized his participation in the large majority of these events himself, helped by his membership of various artist associations, and had, from 1908 to 1915, only one person, a fellow artist based in Moscow, who also figured as his art dealer.²⁵⁴

However, neither Malevich nor his dealer seem to have been very successful at selling his works, given the numerous descriptions, in his correspondence and in contemporary reports of colleagues, of his dire financial situation.²⁵⁵ On only one occasion did Malevich

248 Ibid., p. 74.

249 Ibid.

250 See a letter from Malevich in Vakar Mikhienko 2015a, pp. 73–74, as well as Nakov 2010b, p. 123, and Drutt 2015a, pp. 16, 36, 50–51. During the preparations for *0.10*, Malevich largely interfered in Puni's doings, who was officially the curator of the show, which is further proof of Malevich's particularly dominating personality (as Drutt 2015a, pp. 34, 51, also suggests).

251 Among them 'Februarism', founded in February 1914 and presented on the occasion of a meeting of the Jack of Diamonds group (described in Tate et al. 2013, p. 62), and 'Suprematism', introduced to the public in early 1916 at the *0.10* exhibition.

252 As suggested by Howard 1992, p. 161.

253 Recounted by Petrova 2000, p. 431.

254 As implied by Nakov 2010a, p. 118.

255 As cited in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015a, Malevich repeatedly mentions his bad financial situation in his letters to friends and colleagues: 'I received your notice regarding the money. It arrived exactly at a rather difficult time, when the illnesses of my children are throwing me off course, and then there are paints, so I won't turn down the loan, and I will be very glad of it [...]' (p. 49); '[...] I'm not clever enough to figure out how

express hope as to the sale of his works, and that was with regard to his Suprematist paintings at 0.10: 'With regards to money, I think we'll be covered by sales [...].'²⁵⁶ In the end, however, as the newspaper *Djen* reports in February 1916, only one work from the entire exhibition was sold.²⁵⁷

Much more varied than his financial success is Malevich's critical reception: some responses were positive, such as the time one commentator described his Symbolist works shown at the *Exhibition at the Art School of F. Rerberg* in 1909 as 'nice initiatives'.²⁵⁸ Meanwhile his Neo-Primitive and volumetric Cubist paintings at the *Donkey's Tail* exhibition in 1912 were praised for captivating the public 'with the power of their colours and styles. They dominate. [...] The artists of today, the *dernier cri*, paint at the speed of thought.'²⁵⁹ Other critics, however, expressed a much more negative opinion. Malevich was described as 'hopeless'²⁶⁰ on the occasion of the 1912 *Union of Youth* exhibition, where he showed Neo-Primitive pieces. The same critic called his pictures 'crude and tasteless'²⁶¹ when referring to both the same exhibition and to the *Donkey's Tail* show.²⁶² The criticism regarding the 0.10 exhibition was similarly negative, as an excerpt from an article by Boris Lopatin in the *Petrogradskij Listok* shows: 'It is dry, monotonous, with no painting, no individuality. [...] The "Zero-Ten" [0.10] exhibition has one undoubted advantage – it is easy and quick to see, and young ladies also find it very amusing.'²⁶³ In a likewise negative manner, a comment in *Golos Rusi* from 21 January 1916 even went as far as describing Suprematism as a mental illness: 'Thus, a new type has been added to the kinds of psychiatric illnesses – Suprematism.'²⁶⁴ However, harsh criticism seems not to have had any impact on Malevich's choice of exhibits, for we see him maintaining his strategy of showing only his newest

to pay for a ticket when I've only got 20 kopecks in my account' (p. 51); 'I don't have enough money to sign up for a pass at a dining hall [...]' (p. 53); 'If anyone wants to buy my paintings, use your discretion, in short from 100 rubles to 25–30. *Fruit* can go for 25 rubles, and for 50, I really need the money' (pp. 56–57). As Ivan Kliun remembers, '[...] he was unable to create material well-being for himself up until his death [...]' (quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015b, p. 71). Additionally, Howard 1992, p. 188, paraphrases Malevich when, writing on the occasion of the seventh exhibition of the Union of Youth, he states that 'he wrote of his poverty and the need to sell the paintings at any cost. This was reflected in the prices penciled in the administrative copy of the catalogue, which range from a very meagre twenty-five roubles for the Cubo-Futurist *Parafin Stove* to a mere 100 roubles for *The Samovar* (by contrast Filonov asked 2,400 roubles for *Feast of Kings*).'

256 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015a, p. 73.

257 Drutt 2015a, p. 267.

258 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015b, p. 507.

259 Ibid., p. 508. Further positive voices include Alexandre Benois, p. 509, who wrote about the *Union of Youth* exhibition of 1912–1913: 'The exhibit is hidden away in a modest apartment, but it's full of fervor, self-assertion, and an audacious impulse toward novelty at any cost' and further: '[...] what presents itself as new really still is new – and anyone who demands novelty in life will find the Union exhibit to be "good."'

260 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015b, p. 508. The author further specifies: 'There is nothing favorable to be found in their distortions and affectations.'

261 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015b, p. 508.

262 Howard 1992 also describes Malevich's negative reception, p. 97.

263 Quoted in Drutt 2015b, p. 242. Further articles addressing the 0.10 exhibition have been published in Drutt 2015b, pp. 242–267.

264 Ibid., p. 265.

and most modern works. In fact, I would argue that, if anything, negative criticism only encouraged him and proved that his provocative actions were having the intended effect, thus confirming him in his strategy to maintain attention by always showing his newest art.

Until the summer of 1915, Malevich's exhibited artworks revolved around real-life objects. Although in some of the Alogist works he exhibited, the figures are hardly recognizable at all, the titles he gave them still root the paintings in the objective world (for instance, *Portrait de M.V. Matiushin*, 1913; cat. rais., F-401; *Dame dans un tramway*, 1913; cat. rais., F-424; *Officier de la garde*, 1913; cat. rais., F-436). Until the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art* (see A1, exh. 56, p. 307), at which, as the data indicates, he showed a few works of pure abstraction even before the 0.10 show, the public image that Malevich cultivated through his exhibitions was primarily of someone creating art by receiving and interpreting developments and artistic currents often initiated in Europe. As such, he turned to Cubism and Futurism on the one hand while looking towards Primitivism and the roots of Russian folk art on the other. This practice was also adopted by his Russian colleagues, including Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov, as well as by artists in Europe, such as Kandinsky (who turned to Russian myths and folk art for some of his motifs and created, inter alia, his glass paintings in that spirit) or by the Brücke artists in Germany and their treatment of Primitivism.

Malevich's development towards an art in which the figure becomes less and less easy to discern is continuously evident in his exhibited works up until the spring of 1915. When he subsequently participated in the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art* in November of that year, his shift to the 'non-representational' became visible for the first time. There, he quietly exhibited a few Suprematist pieces – unfortunately, as reflected by the catalogue raisonné, it is not known which ones exactly. Furthermore, from the only installation photograph to have survived, it is impossible to identify clearly the works shown (see fig. 28). The *Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10* would render the extremely abrupt stylistic break yet more visible, all the more so through the highly provocative hanging of *Quadrilatère* high up in a corner of the room, reserved in Russia at the time, as is well known, for religious icons. On that occasion, Malevich was presenting these works as part of 'Suprematism' – as the provocative name itself suggests, a new religion, supreme to all others – and was positioning himself as its prophet and leader, its messiah, through this exhibition.

This is particularly interesting as the very first presentation of some of these works had already occurred, as mentioned, in the context of the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art*, which, being highly object-centred and, as its title suggests, decorative in nature, was surely bereft of any 'transcendental' connotations. The fact that Malevich participated in this exhibition is all the more surprising as, I would suggest, these non-objective paintings could easily have been considered ornamental in such a display context. However, the opinion given by critic Yakow Tugenhold, who knew Malevich personally and had written about him in the past, follows a different trajectory: 'In early November 1915,

for example [...] out of his aesthetic depth as he attended the first public presentation of Malewicz's three abstract but not yet "Suprematist" paintings at the exhibition of "Decorative Art" in Moscow, was quick to describe them as "non-objective" works.²⁶⁵ What is hinted at here but arguably needs to be made more explicit is that these works are important only once they are ascribed the label 'Suprematist', which nominally forms the main difference between the two presentations.

In the first exhibition, Malevich presents them without comment or label. This seems to weaken their impact and reception. In the second exhibition, once the label has been assigned, the provocation is perfect, and the staging has the desired provocative and revolutionary effect. Moreover, the decision on Malevich's part to show at the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art* can be read as being counter-productive, as the artist was trying to keep his Suprematist works under wraps until the moment of unveiling at 0.10, as the artist explains to Mikhail Matyushin in an initial letter on the subject from 25 September 1915:

I've landed in a pickle. I was sitting and working, with my paintings hung all around me, and suddenly the door opens and Puni walks in. This means my paintings have been seen. Now we've got to publish a small booklet about my work at all costs and to baptize it in order to secure my copyright.²⁶⁶

This not only shows that he wanted nobody to see his works before exhibiting them,²⁶⁷ but also that he was aware of the burning need (which this incident merely underscored) to find a name, a label, for his creations, in order to reach his goal in securing 'copyright' and positioning himself at the forefront of the avant-garde.²⁶⁸ Two months later, on 25 November 1915, he wrote to Matyushin again with regard to 0.10: 'I was deprived of the right that belongs to me. But I managed to extricate myself. Everyone knows the name already. But no one knows the content, let it be a secret.'²⁶⁹ This implies that in the meantime he had 'baptized' his creation and indeed announced it but still did not want anybody to know what exactly it stood for. Strangely, at the moment of sending this letter, the *First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art* was well under way, meaning that visitors to that exhibition would have seen some of his Suprematist works, even if he had not officially exhibited them under that label yet. Although Malevich clearly followed a strategy in the unveiling of Suprematism and was trying, as it were, to patent his invention, his participation in Exter's

265 Paraphrased in Nakov 2010b, p. 43.

266 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015a, p. 68.

267 See also Drutt 2015a, p. 32.

268 The meaning of 'copyright' in Malevich's quote might not have the exact same meaning as we understand the word to have today. Nevertheless it seems that his goal was to attribute the style as well as the label solely to himself.

269 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015a, p. 74.

exhibition certainly calls into question his determination in this undertaking. Perhaps it simply did not present the appropriate setting or conceptual framework for an unveiling as he had conceived it. Or he preferred to exhibit the works in 'unlabelled' state to see the public's spontaneous reaction and adapt his subsequent strategy accordingly.

Conclusion

From 1908 to 1915, Malevich's strategy was first and foremost dedicated to the goal of establishing himself in the art world (and arguably less so his art). He repeatedly used provocation and attention-grabbing stunts, with his art being one of several tools to achieve this goal. This ambition to put himself first and his art second is evident in a letter sent to Mikhail Matyushin in November 1915: 'You see, I'm turning into a big shot already [...].'²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the data collected and the artworks he exhibited both show that there was no back-and-forth between or mixing of more and less figurative art. Instead, we see Malevich becoming continuously more abstract in what he chooses to show. I would argue that this, in combination with his thirst for attention, enabled him to position himself at the forefront of the avant-garde in the Russian Empire by pursuing a 'concept-oriented' exhibition tactic. Despite the fact that, in an attempt to pre-date his abstract works and himself as an avant-garde artist, Malevich repeatedly claimed that he had even created the first Suprematist pieces in as early as 1913,²⁷¹ it was not until late 1915/early 1916 that they went on view in an exhibition context. Therefore, they could only have had an impact at that moment, a fact that lays bare Malevich's strategy as a conscious and very careful plan, keeping the art largely secret up to that point in order to create as big a noise and as strong an impact as possible when revealing it. The analysis of Malevich's exhibition strategy leads me to argue further that his intention with the label of Suprematism was not only to put his invention on the map but to push abstract art, and the scandal it represented, to its extreme. Finally, I would assert that, for Malevich, the act of staging, unveiling and launching Suprematism on an unsuspecting public was at least as significant as the art itself and his leap into total abstraction, thus turning the strategy itself into an intrinsic part of his artistic practice.

270 Quoted in Vakar and Mikhienko 2015a p. 73.

271 See, for example, Vakar and Mikhienko 2015b, p. 115.

Mondrian's Consistency towards Abstraction²⁷²

Introduction

Born in 1872 in Amersfoort, southwest of Amsterdam, Piet Mondrian received professional training in painting and drawing from the age of fourteen from his father, a schoolteacher, and from his uncle, a professional painter in the academic tradition. By the age of seventeen, Mondrian was allowed 'to teach hand-drawing in private and at the state primary-school level'.²⁷³ Raised and taught in an academic painting environment, it was only from 1908 onwards that Mondrian began to open up to more modern ways of painting.²⁷⁴ His monographs tend to explain this development with his introduction to Theosophy, on the one hand, and to Cubism – a few years later – on the other.²⁷⁵ During the time-frame in question, Mondrian underwent a strong development in style: while his paintings dating from before 1908 can be described as 'naturalistic' overall, only 8 percent of the works exhibited from 1908 to 1915 can be qualified as such (fig. 30), as the collected data shows. By 1915, he was creating and exhibiting highly abstract, 'anti-illusionistic' works.

272 References to Mondrian's works will be cited as per their listing and numbering in the two-volume catalogue raisonné – Welsh 1998 (volume I) and Joosten 1998 (volume II-III). Mondrian's oeuvre exhibited between 1908 and 1915 contains a large number of works for which no visual evidence remains – 27 out of 98 in total, or 28 percent. As it is unknown what these images looked like, an assessment of their degree of abstraction was not possible. They thus remain uncoded and will be identified as such in all statistics. As the analyses are based solely on works with surviving visual evidence, the uncoded works do not skew the ultimate results.

273 Cat. rais., vol. I, p. 115.

274 Overall, the literature on Mondrian is abundant, but hardly any publications address his exhibition activity *before* the First World War. Mondrian's very thoroughly compiled catalogue raisonné was published in two volumes, Welsh 1998 (1891–early 1911) and Joosten 1998 (1911–1944). Among the monographic works, the publications by Blotkamp 1994 and Janssen and Joosten 2002 should be acknowledged, as they occasionally mention exhibitions Mondrian participated in, although not in a systematic manner. A wider methodical analysis of Mondrian's works featured at exhibition, however, particularly for the period between 1908 and 1915, which is the crucial phase leading up to the development of his signature abstract style, remains a desideratum that this chapter attempts to fill. Individual articles such as Henning 1968, White 2006, and Veen 2013, to name but a few, also focus on his stylistic developments while largely neglecting his presence at exhibitions. Mondrian himself kept his publications theoretical rather than biographical. (The main anthology of his writings, edited by Holtzman and James 1993, must be mentioned at this point, although it does not address exhibition activity either.) The majority of Mondrian's correspondence – partially transcribed or printed in publications such as Sweeney 1960, Roth 1973, Giedion-Welcker 1973, Henkels 1976, and Bowness 1990 – does not concern the period between 1908 and 1915, but instead covers later years, and contains no reference to exhibitions prior to World War I. Only Henkels 1987 transcribed selected letters dating from *before* the First World War, in which Mondrian occasionally mentions sales of his images, yet without giving accounts of any group or solo shows.

275 Mondrian was introduced to Theosophy in early 1908, probably through a lecture series by Rudolf Steiner that toured the Netherlands, and to Cubism in the summer of 1911 during a visit to Paris (see cat. rais., vol. I, pp. 127, 131; Blotkamp 1994; Janssen and Joosten 2002).



Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

Between 1891, the year he created his earliest piece, and 1915, Mondrian produced about 850 works, according to the listing of his catalogue raisonné. Of this number, 232 date from the period 1908 to 1915. In the same time-frame, Mondrian showed 98 artworks at 28 public exhibitions, hence about 11.5 percent of his total production up to that point.²⁷⁶ Of these 98 exhibited works, only 8 date from before 1908.²⁷⁷ This shows that Mondrian tended to exhibit his most recent productions. The only exception was 1909, when works older than two years were presented at the exhibition *Schilderijen en teekeningen door C. Spoor, Piet Mondriaan en Jan Sluijters* at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. Here, Mondrian showed two works from 1901 (cat. rais., vol. I, A145 and A205). From 1912 onwards, he consistently selected only the most recent works for display, with hardly any works being more than one year old.²⁷⁸ In only one instance, the travelling *Tentoonstelling Alma, Le Fauconnier en Mondrian*, on view first in Rotterdam in early 1915 and after that in Groningen, did Mondrian present a selection that gave a more complete overview of his production of the past nine years (see A1, exh. 53, p. 302). On this occasion, his stylistic development became particularly apparent, as was probably intended. With the exception of one solo exhibition (at the Kunsthandell Walrecht in The Hague in 1914, see A1, exh. 51, p. 299), all shows were group exhibitions in art associations, known for presenting modern art and on a few occasions more radical avant-garde styles, such as the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* in Berlin in 1913.

During the eight-year period in question, Mondrian's exhibition activity fluctuated initially before becoming quite settled from 1911 onwards, with three to four exhibitions per year (fig. 29). On average, this results in 3.5 exhibitions annually. The results of the experts' coding (see A4, p. 323, for details) suggest that 41 percent of the images Mondrian exhibited from 1908 to 1915 that have survived (in effect, the 'naturalistic' and 'stylized' categories combined) were figurative, while 25 percent were abstract (fig. 30).²⁷⁹ Although

276 As per the catalogue raisonné, in the case of 25 catalogue entries (for 20 works) it could not be determined exactly which piece was exhibited at specific exhibitions, because of the lack of clarity in Mondrian's titles and therefore unclear identification of some artworks (see Blotkamp 1994, pp. 7, 93; Janssen and Joosten 2002, p. 192). This results in a possible excess of up to 25 catalogue entries in the dataset, since all entries with a question mark were included (this concerns cat. rais., vol. I, A145, A596, A597, A598, A599, A601, A603, A608, A626, A651; and cat. rais., vol. II, B16, B17, B21, B30, B31, B36, B38, B39, B40, B51). It must therefore be kept in mind that the numbers given for Mondrian may be minimally inaccurate. Despite this limitation, they nevertheless remain representative.

277 Two of these eight date from about 1901 (cat. rais., vol. I, A145 and A205) and six were produced in 1907 (cat. rais., vol. I, A523, A532, A536, A550, A569, A660).

278 As per the data collected, for some exhibitions in the years 1910 to 1912 Mondrian also entered works that were older than one year. Therefore, Welsh's observation cannot be fully supported when he states: 'Whereas only the 1910 St. Lucas exhibition was a success in terms of sales, thereafter Mondrian's habit of presenting blocks of his most recent work never faltered, and his limitation on the annual production of finished oil paintings also became a standard practice from this date', cat. rais., vol. I, p. 11.

279 However, given the distribution of these images without visual evidence in the exhibitions – they are spread throughout all years except 1914 – and given also that Mondrian tended to show his latest rather than old works, it can be assumed that these works were distributed across all degrees of abstraction.

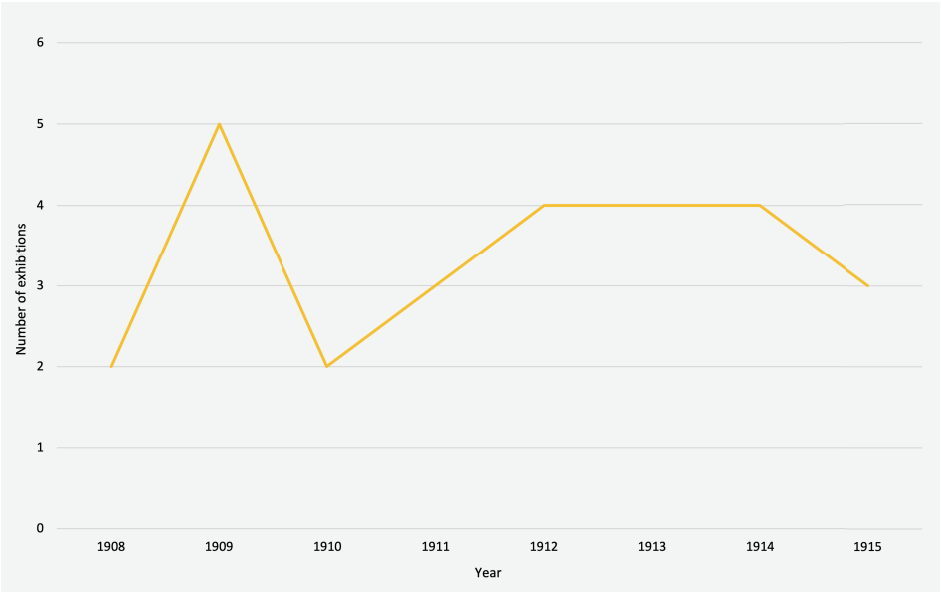


Figure 29: Development of number of Mondrian's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.

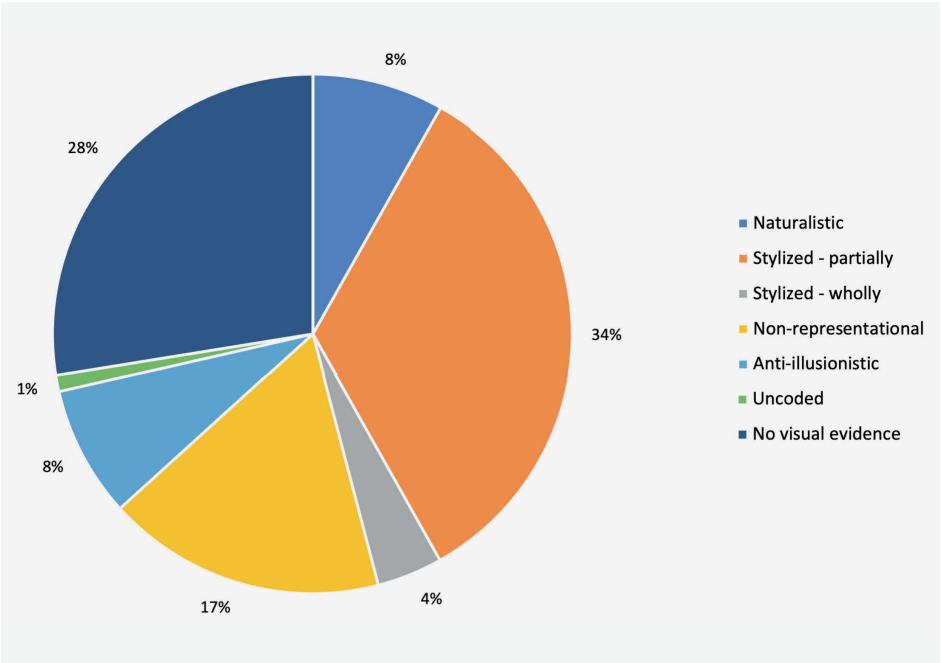


Figure 30: Share of degrees of abstraction of Mondrian's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.

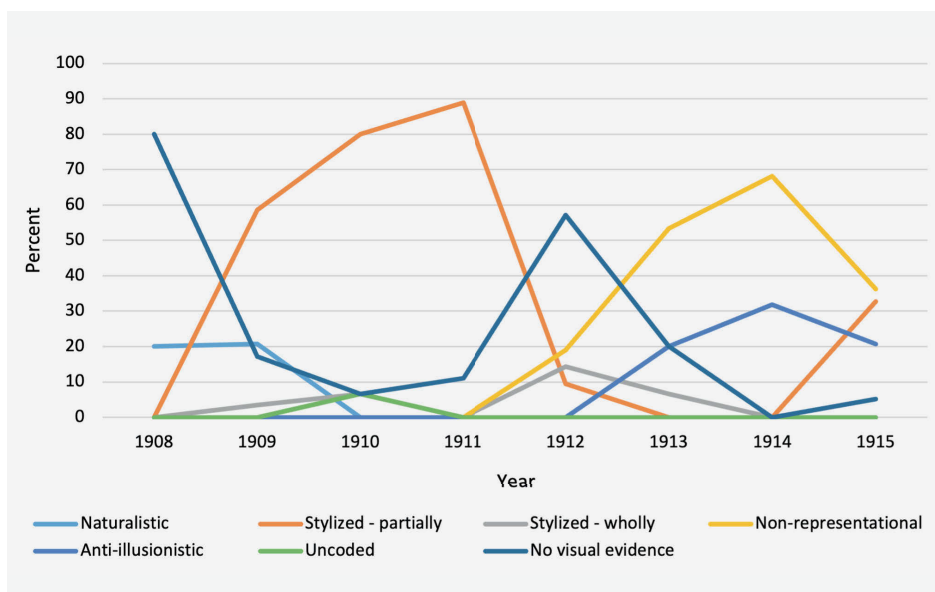


Figure 31: Development of share of Mondrian's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.

he is one of only two artists from this study to create 'anti-illusionistic' works (the other being Malevich), in the period in question the majority of his shown works were still figurative. The 98 exhibited artworks add up to 174 catalogue entries, which indicates that on average Mondrian showed every work nearly twice. In fact, there are four works that he showed most often: five times each.²⁸⁰ These four works shown on five occasions can all be described as abstract: three of them were coded as 'non-representational' (cat. rais., vol. II, B27, B36, and B39) and one as 'anti-illusionistic' (cat. rais., vol. II, B44). In summary, it is worth noting that of the 13 works shown most often, 11 are abstract. From this I conclude that whenever Mondrian did show works repeatedly, they were abstract rather than figurative. Subsequently, I would argue that, through their recurrent exhibition, he attached higher significance to his abstract works within his oeuvre.

As becomes visible in the graph showing how the presentation of his artworks developed by degree of abstraction (fig. 31, see also corresponding table 12), Mondrian mostly exhibited his figurative works ('stylized – partially') at the beginning of the period until 1911, peaking at 89 percent that year. Thereafter, from 1912 onwards, his abstract ('non-representational' and 'anti-illusionistic') paintings took over, with a markedly more visible

280 Works shown five times each: cat. rais., vol. II, B27, B36(?), B39(?), B44. Furthermore, he shows nine works four times each: cat. rais., vol. I, A593, A601(?), and cat. rais., vol. II, B26, B28, B35, B38(?), B46, B47, B50.

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %	1 20 %						4 80 %	5 100 %
1909 in %	6 21 %	17 59 %	1 3 %				5 17 %	29 100 %
1910 in %		12 80 %	1 7 %			1 7 %	1 7 %	15 100 %
1911 in %		8 89 %					1 11 %	9 100 %
1912 in %		2 10 %	3 14 %	4 19 %			12 57 %	21 100 %
1913 in %			1 7 %	8 53 %	3 20 %		3 20 %	15 100 %
1914 in %				15 68 %	7 32 %			22 100 %
1915 in %	3 5 %	19 33 %		21 36 %	12 21 %		3 5 %	58 100 %

Table 12: Number of catalogue entries shown by Mondrian per category, per year (1908-1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

share, culminating in 1914 with the 'non-representational' accounting for 68 percent and the 'anti-illusionistic' for 32 percent, meaning that 100 percent of the works he exhibited in 1914 were radically abstract. Interestingly enough, the following year he reversed this trend by selecting proportionally fewer abstract works. Concurrent to this decrease is a noticeable increase in his less abstract artworks, in other words, those categorized as 'naturalistic' and 'stylized – partially': neither category had been shown since 1909 and 1912, with the 'naturalistic' paintings accounting for 5 percent and the 'stylized – partially' paintings accounting for 33 percent in 1915. As a result, we can conclude that more than a third of the pieces Mondrian selected for display in 1915 were figurative. Although this is clearly due to the travelling *Tentoonstelling Alma, Le Fauconnier en Mondrian* (A1, exh. 53, p. 302)²⁸¹ taking place that year, it nevertheless defies expectations one might have had for his art – and thus his exhibited pieces – to have become increasingly abstract over time.

²⁸¹ As mentioned, this occasion was exceptional in that Mondrian showed a selection that can be described as retrospective, with his latest and 'older' production side by side, thus presenting a condensed survey of his artistic progression and shift ever further towards abstraction.

The highest number of artworks submitted to any single exhibition by Mondrian was 27, the lowest was 1. On average, this results in 6.5 works per exhibition. During the period in question, Mondrian had no gallerist or dealer, which leads me to assume that he alone was responsible for selecting and submitting pieces for exhibition. It was not until 1913 that he met H.P. Bremmer, who went on to become an avid collector of his work. Although Bremmer can certainly be qualified as a supporter of Mondrian, he never acted as his dealer.²⁸² Therefore, in order to create for himself the possibility to exhibit regularly, Mondrian – together with his colleagues Jan Toorop, Jan Sluijters, and Conrad Kickert – founded the *Moderne Kunstkring* ‘after the example of the *Salon d’Automne* in Paris’, in late November 1910.²⁸³ Toorop acted as the chairman of the association, and Sluijters, Mondrian, and Kickert as secretaries.²⁸⁴ For Mondrian, the *Moderne Kunstkring* offered the possibility for contact with like-minded artists and gave him, as he had intended, the possibility to exhibit his works on a regular basis. Until 1915, Mondrian participated in all three of the *Moderne Kunstkring*’s yearly exhibitions that took place in autumn of 1911, 1912, and 1913. The data collected shows that it was also during an exhibition of the *Moderne Kunstkring*, its 1912 edition, that Mondrian presented ‘non-representational’ artworks for the first time: *The Sea*, *Bloeiende Appelboom*, *Bloeiende Bomen*, and *The Trees* (see A1, exh. 29, p. 271). Before the foundation of the *Moderne Kunstkring*, Mondrian was a member of the artist society *Arti et Amicitiae* (from 1894 to 1911) as well as the competing *Kunstenaarsvereniging Sint Lucas* (from 1897 to 1911) – both less avant-gardist than the *Moderne Kunstkring* but which nevertheless allowed him to exhibit regularly. Furthermore, in summer 1910, Mondrian became a member of the *Société des Artistes Indépendants* in Paris. Simultaneous membership in various associations demonstrates that he was not only looking for contact with like-minded artists but was well-aware of the advantages that regular exhibition opportunities presented.

Geographically, Mondrian’s exhibition activity was concentrated in northern Europe. The majority of shows took place in the Netherlands and northern France, with a few in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria-Hungary (more specifically, in what is now the Czech Republic). Indeed, the exhibitions are spread over six countries – Belgium,

282 *Cat. rais.*, vol. II, p. 104, describes Bremmer as ‘a prominent art educator [...] as well as an adviser to the collector Helene Kröller-Müller [...]’ Blotkamp 1994, p. 91, states: ‘It was directly after that exhibition [in 1916] that a contract between Bremmer and Mondrian went into effect, whereby he would receive a monthly allowance of fifty guilders in return for four small paintings a year.’ Their relationship thus grew stronger at a later date, yet never resulted in any form of professional representation of Mondrian by Bremmer, who was, after all, not an art dealer but a collector.

283 Janssen and Joosten 2002, p. 153. *cat. rais.*, vol. I, pp. 130–131, states: ‘1910, July 7: Upon prodding from Kickert, Sluyters writes Spoor urging the formation of a “club” of like-minded progressive artists who will organize annual fall exhibitions in Amsterdam (“for example, at the Stedelijk Museum”), with Spoor’s good friend Toorop as “President” of the exhibition committee and with each contributor being guaranteed a generous amount of wall space or an allotment of at least ten works of art.’ And further: ‘1910, November 28: date of the official founding of the *Moderne Kunst Kring* as announced in the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* the following day.’

284 *Cat. rais.*, vol. I, p. 131.

City	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Catalogue entries per city	Exhibitions per city
Amsterdam (NL)	4	23	13	5	10	4		11	70	9
Berlin (DE)						4			4	1
Brussels (BE)		4	2						6	2
Domburg (NL)				3	7				10	2
Groningen (NL)								20	20	1
The Hague (NL)							17		17	1
Munich (DE)						2			2	1
Nantes (FR)				1					1	1
Nijmegen (NL)					1				1	1
Paris (FR)					3	5	2		10	3
Prague (AT/CZ)							2		2	1
Rotterdam (NL)								27	27	1
Utrecht (NL)		2							2	1
Zurich (CH)							1		1	1
Catalogue entries per year	5	29	15	9	21	15	22	58	174	
Exhibitions per year	2	5	2	3	4	4	4	3		27

Table 13: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Mondrian per city, per year (1908-1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.

Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, and the Netherlands – and fourteen cities.²⁸⁵ The highest number of exhibitions and works are in Amsterdam (see table 13), which is understandable, given that it was his home until late 1911/early 1912. Although his exhibition activity did not extend beyond northern and central Europe, he managed to show his works locally, nationally, and internationally. It is striking that he also participated in exhibitions in provincial towns in the Netherlands and France, such as Domburg, Groningen, and Nantes. It is equally striking that he chose to show the same kind of work there than as at more 'metropolitan' exhibitions. He exhibited, among others, a figurative landscape he also presented on other occasions in Amsterdam and Brussels (*Lentezon*

285 Brussels, Zurich, Prague, Berlin, Munich, Nantes, Paris, Amsterdam, Domburg, Groningen, The Hague, Nijmegen, Rotterdam, Utrecht.

(*Spring Sun*): *Castle Ruin: Brederode*, 1909, cat. rais., vol. I, A651). This hints at the artist's inclination to accept any possibility or invitation to exhibit his art.

The majority of those 28 shows – 18 of them – were exhibitions of artist associations, whether Dutch, French, or Belgian. Four were regular museum shows, three took place in commercial galleries, and the remainder in other types of institutions, such as the *Tentoonstellingszaal* (exhibition room) in Domburg. A third of all those exhibitions, 9 in total, took place at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, making it the place where Mondrian exhibited most often, with his art featured there every year from 1908 to 1915, with the only exception being 1914. This is not surprising, considering that the recently built Stedelijk ('Municipal') Museum was 'also [...] called the Museum voor Moderne Kunst or "Museum of Modern Art" [...].'²⁸⁶ However, this is not the only museum to feature his art, as he also presented works at the Hedendaagse Museum (Musée Moderne) in Brussels on two occasions, in 1909 and 1910. While it can certainly be regarded as a success for a mid-career artist to exhibit in museums, what matters even more is whether that artist's work is bought for their collections. In that respect Mondrian seems to have been unsuccessful.²⁸⁷ He participated in exhibitions at commercial galleries in 1913 (Munich) and 1914 (Zurich and The Hague), hence only towards the end of the time-frame studied. At all three of these venues, he showed only his Cubist or most avant-garde works, most likely because the presentations took place in independent galleries dedicated to the art of the avant-garde.

Mondrian's exhibition strategies

Overall, the art Mondrian exhibited publicly from 1908 to 1915 constituted a representative sample of his production, with the exception of a few portraits and self-portraits.²⁸⁸ With regard to the selection of works he exhibited, the impression given is of a consistent development towards abstraction, regardless of the city or type of institution where he exhibited. This is certainly due largely to the already-mentioned fact that the artist had a habit of mainly showing his most recent works. His move to Paris in late 1911/early 1912 did not interrupt this tendency: the direct exposure to Cubism influenced his style of painting, which becomes visible in the pieces exhibited from the autumn of 1912 onwards (the paintings he showed at the *Moderne Kunstkring* show in October–November 1912 were all Cubist in style as far as the surviving visual evidence indicates, see A1, exh. 29, p. 271). During the period in question, and probably in response to his first visit to Paris in 1911, Mondrian also underwent a noticeable physical transformation from long-haired and full-bearded to clean-shaven and well-kept – as is evident from the portraits of the artist from 1908 and 1911 (fig. 32 and fig. 33). This clearly reflects his transition from a 'close-to-nature' look,

286 Cat. rais., vol. I, p. 117.

287 For more details see note 290 below.

288 Mondrian's portraits and self-portraits were only ever rarely exhibited after his death (in 1944), from the 1950s onwards.



Figure 32+33:
Photographs of Piet Mondrian
in 1908 (left) and in 1911 (right).

possibly inspired by his theosophic and spiritual environment, to a comparatively much more modern, clear-cut persona. His art underwent no less of a similar evolution, moving away from the direct representation of nature to a more avant-garde, sharper, Cubist style.

Mondrian's general consistency in exhibiting his newest and most modern works indicates that he did not try to adapt to his public or to the taste of potential buyers. Instead, he used his shows strictly to position himself among the avant-garde. In fact, like Kupka, he, too, maintained a strict separation between what is now called 'personal work' – created as part of his artistic oeuvre and which he showed publicly – and works made on commission for financial purposes, in other words, purely to make a living. To tend to the latter, he took on commissions such as copying old masters at the Louvre or the Rijksmuseum or even assisting a biology professor by putting to paper observations made by microscope.²⁸⁹ He apparently did not deem it worthy to describe them as Art (with a capital 'A'), and instead talked about these productions as 'work for the mass[es]' and 'a more conventional manner of painting' (see note 289). In accordance with his own strict separation, these works are not part of his catalogue raisonné. This clearly shows that his ultimate goal was to distinguish himself from the masses and the art they consumed in favour of the development of a new avant-garde visual vernacular and strategy.

Mondrian's financial success relating to sales of his avant-garde artworks was meagre, although not non-existent.²⁹⁰ He described his slow sales in a letter sent to Lodewijk

289 As Mondrian himself explains in a letter from 1910: '[...] since I do not earn much with "my kind of work," I also have to devote a great deal of time to work for the mass[es], that is, [to] a more conventional manner of painting – so I have to work twice as much. This means that I really have to concentrate my effort if I am to achieve anything', quoted in Holtzman and James 1993, p. 19.

290 The secondary literature contains sparse information on Mondrian's sales. Among the few publications that do mention them, Blotkamp 1994 states that the artist 'sold nothing' at the Salons in Paris and at the exhibitions in which he was invited to participate in Germany, Bohemia (Austria-Hungary), and Switzerland

Schelfhout on 12 June 1914, writing: 'He [Jan Verhoeven] and I had a show in Zurich, but didn't sell anything. I also exhibited a few times in Germany, again without selling anything. I hope to sell something in The Hague, if only to pay the next bills!'²⁹¹ The fact that he worked on commission to support himself probably enabled him to develop his style and theory independent from a potential market for it. To a somewhat paradoxical extent, this rendered him free to develop his pictorial ideas without having to bow to pressure and please the market. His exhibition behaviour supports this argument, given that he consistently showed his latest creations, regardless of public opinion. This contrasts sharply with Carel Blotkamp's claim about Mondrian's exhibition behaviour at the end of the nineteenth century: '[...] the scanty information that is available indicates that in his initial public appearances as a professional artist, Mondrian was more concerned with supplying a product that would sell than with defining his own personal style. He was clearly trying to please various sectors of the market at the same time.'²⁹² According to the data collected, this was no longer the case from 1908 to 1915. I therefore argue that Mondrian did not, in fact, adapt his choice of artworks for display to a specific public, nor did he have any potential exhibition strategy related to financial gain; indeed, financial gain seems to have had no influence on his exhibition behaviour whatsoever. His exhibition activity can thus be described as concept-oriented. As such, I would further argue that he was more interested in the development and analysis of his artistic style and theory in order to position himself within the avant-garde, rather than in pursuing aggressive strategies with his exhibition behaviour. He may not have adapted his strategy to meet financial needs, but that does not mean to say that he was entirely free of the desire or the need to make sales.

With the exception of the 1915 *Tentoonstelling Alma, Le Fauconnier en Mondrian* in Rotterdam and Groningen, which presented a heterogeneous selection of images including older works (see A1, exh. 53, p. 302), the selection of paintings Mondrian sent to exhibitions was homogenous in style for each show. Indeed, the works included in the exhibition of the *Kunstenaarsvereniging Sint Lucas* in April 1910 were all colourful and expressionistic in style, with landscapes and flowers dominating (see A1, exh. 7, p. 238). Similarly, the selection for the exhibition of the *Moderne Kunstkring* in October and November 1911 was restricted to a blue colour palette, with all works featuring a diminished perspective and thus displaying a common flatness (see A1, exh. 18, p. 252). Additionally, in this case the format of the paintings possibly suggests a symmetrical hanging (with two horizontal pieces, two vertical ones, and the *Evolution* triptych as an in-between format), which might have attracted greater attention. However, a closer look indicates that the paintings' sizes differ

(p. 60) but was more successful in 1914 at *Kunsthandel Walrecht* in The Hague (p. 82). Janssen and Joosten 2002 mention what he was able to sell at the *Sint Lucas* exhibition in 1910 (but not in 1911) (p. 165) and at the *Moderne Kunstkring* exhibition in 1912 (p. 179). Before moving to Paris, in late 1911, he sold a 'collection of paintings and sketches' to Simon Maris (p. 169).

291 Quoted in Henkels 1987, p. 199.

292 Blotkamp 1994, p. 22.

too strongly for a symmetrical hanging to have been likely. Finally, at the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* (1913, A1, exh. 37, p. 281), the *Moderne Kunstkring* show (November 1913, A1, exh. 39, p. 284), and the *Tentoonstelling der Werken van Lodewijk Schelfhout, Piet Mondriaan, Jan Sluijters, Leo Gestel, Le Fauconnier, J.C. van Epen, Architect* in October 1915 at the Stedelijk Museum (see A1, exh. 55, p. 306), Mondrian presented a collection of highly abstract works. Grey and brown grid-like constructions dominated the selection, clearly indicating the influence of Cubism on his own style. I would therefore argue that he assembled groups of works so as to create a unified and possibly stylistically recognizable 'look' at individual exhibitions, whether by colour and/or formal appearance, in order to stand out from among his colleagues. Unfortunately, no sources regarding the display or hanging of any of the aforementioned exhibitions could be found, and hence the suggested argument that the pieces were conceived as a stylistic ensemble remains impossible to verify.

Mondrian's exhibition behaviour supports his own wish to set himself apart from the masses and firmly declare his credentials as a painter of the avant-garde. He likely wanted to distance himself from his early, academic work too, as its inclusion would have painted a much more retrograde image of him as an artist. This theory is supported not only by the artworks chosen for exhibition but also by the exhibition locations and institutions: his recurring participation in the Parisian *Salon des Indépendants* (considered to be one of the most avant-garde exhibitions in Europe at the time), and Berlin's *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, Munich's Hans Goltz Kunsthandlung, the *Moderne Kunstkring* shows, and the exhibition of the Mánés group in Prague shows that Mondrian saw himself as part of that prestigious avant-garde and wanted to position himself amongst its international ranks.²⁹³ This is also suggested by Mondrian's spelling of his surname. Before his move to Paris in late 1911/early 1912, he spelled his last name in the original Dutch way (Mondriaan), but changed it to 'Mondrian' – with just one 'a' – after arriving in the French capital, rendering it less Dutch and more international (and certainly easier to read and pronounce in French). This probably enabled him to fit in better with the local art crowd. The titles of the exhibitions also support this argument. In early 1914, Mondrian was part of the exhibition *Werke moderner Pariser Künstler* in Zurich, which shows that he was swiftly considered a Parisian artist, at least when viewed from abroad, for he had only been living there for no more than two years. At the exhibition in June/July of the same year at the Kunsthandell Walrecht in The Hague, the title of the exhibition *16 composities van P. Mondrian, Parijs* also points to his Parisian attribution. Later, after being forced to stay in the Netherlands after the outbreak of World War I, it is almost surprising to find the original Dutch spelling of his name again ('Mondriaan') in the titles of the 1915 exhibition in Groningen (*Werken van P. Alma, Le Fauconnier en P. Mondriaan*) and in Amsterdam (*Tentoonstelling der Werken*

293 As Joyeux-Prunel and Marcel 2015, p. 94, suggest: 'Foreign and international exhibitions became the best way to obtain the vanguardist label.'

van Lodewijk Schlefthout, Piet Mondriaan, Jan Sluijters, Leo Gestel, Le Fauconnier, J.C. van Epen, Architect).

In his published writings, Mondrian does not mention his featured exhibitions, as he uses them first and foremost to address his theory and the development of his style. In contrast, he does start mentioning his more recent exhibition opportunities in his correspondence *after* the First World War, although without going into detail, let alone mentioning his reasons or strategies for participating in shows. Consequently, it can be assumed that he would also have written about his exhibition activity in his letters *before* the First World War. Unfortunately, however, the remainder of Mondrian's correspondence is scattered across various public and private collections and archives²⁹⁴ that could not be consulted in the course of this study; only very few examples, all dating from after 1915, are reproduced in the secondary literature.²⁹⁵ It was therefore impossible to verify whether or not any mention of potentially deliberate or strategic exhibition behaviour on his part was ever expressed in his letters.

Conclusion

In Mondrian's case, the data gathered enables me to argue against Blotkamp's assertion that: 'Authors have often been too readily influenced by the artist's own habit of projecting theoretical notions or visual characteristics back onto earlier phases of his activity, in order to fit everything into a consistent and straightforward process of evolution.'²⁹⁶ Such a 'consistent and straightforward process of evolution' is exactly the image, however, that emerges if one considers Mondrian's works exhibited from 1908 to 1915. Hence, even if this is something that the artist claimed retrospectively, as Blotkamp suggests, it is nevertheless also the same image that his contemporaries held of the artist at the time – in all likelihood as largely intended no less by the artist himself. The development towards abstraction in Mondrian's paintings, considering what was visible publicly, appears as a natural and logical progress. It led him further and further away from the figurative and reached total abstraction in his 'anti-illusionistic' pieces (see works in exh. 51, A1, p. 299), a progression which allowed him to consistently position himself among the European avant-garde.

His move to Paris in late 1911/early 1912 as well as his memberships in avant-gardist artist associations certainly followed that same goal. Mondrian's adaptation of Cubism and positioning of his art in its lineage, despite his explicit criticism of it, confirms this tactic. This strategy could also be described by borrowing van Dijk's term of 'emulation and

294 Among others, at the Paul Getty Research Institute, at The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University (cf. Veen 2013, p. 70), and the RKD, The Hague.

295 See note 274 for more details on secondary literature that partially includes or reproduces Mondrian's correspondence.

296 Blotkamp 1994, p. 11.

adaptation', in the sense that Mondrian wanted to 'equal or excel' the Cubists by 'adapting' their style and technique, and then taking it further, all the way into pure abstraction, even adapting a French (or less Dutch) variant of his last name.²⁹⁷ His strategy to exhibit stylistically homogenous groups of his latest works might have triggered some level of branding with the public, thus rendering Mondrian's style recognizable at exhibitions. Finally, however, and despite these discernible strategies, it seems that the presentation of abstract artworks was self-evident for Mondrian, standing as a logical continuation of his artistic practice, and was naturally incorporated into his exhibition behaviour. Whether in painting, exhibiting, or writing, Mondrian lived and conveyed his artistic principles in a consistent manner, more devoted to concept than to strategy.

297 See van Dijk 2017, p. 155. As van Dijk noted in her doctoral dissertation, the Spanish artist Darío de Regoyos employed the strategy of 'emulation and adaptation' when exhibiting at the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris. The author defines 'emulation' as the 'desire to equal or excel others' and 'adaptation' as the attempt to 'adapt or adjust to French styles and techniques'.

Picabia: Ambassador of Abstraction²⁹⁸

Introduction

Francis Picabia was born in Paris in 1879 into a wealthy aristocratic family, to a French mother and a Spanish father.²⁹⁹ Particularly during the period studied here and because of his family fortune, he did not depend on the sale of his art to make a living. Starting his artistic career with an appropriation of Impressionism – the movement saw its stellar moments during Picabia's childhood – his style progressed from being Neo-Impressionist to being Fauvist-inspired around 1909.³⁰⁰ After this phase of 'adaptation' of existing older styles, Picabia began to forge his own pictorial language that enabled him to subjectively represent what he felt upon envisaging a specific scene, rather than reproducing it in an objective manner. This is how his art became progressively more abstract.³⁰¹

Exhibitions: statistics and geographical distribution

Francis Picabia participated in 24 exhibitions from 1908 to 1915 (on average 3 per year). The pace of his exhibition activity (with the exception of the dip in 1910 when Picabia did not exhibit at all) increased from 1 exhibition per year to 7 by 1913 and decreased with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 (fig. 34).³⁰² According to the catalogue raisonné, Picabia

298 References to Picabia's works will be cited as per their listing and numbering in the first volume of the catalogue raisonné – Camfield et al. 2014.

299 Camfield 1970, p. 15.

300 Hughes 2016, p. 29.

301 The literature on Picabia has seen a revitalization over the past few years with the publication of his well-documented catalogue raisonné. For the present study the first two volumes of that catalogue raisonné are relevant, as they cover the period from 1898 to 1927 (Camfield et al. 2014 and 2016). Although accompanied by extensive text and documentary material, neither of the two volumes includes a systematic analysis of his exhibition activity – despite the various articles making repeated mention of his most noteworthy presentations at exhibition and the conditions under which they occurred. Another publication of note is the exhibition catalogue accompanying a large retrospective of the artist, *Francis Picabia: Our Heads Are Round so Our Thoughts Can Change Direction*, that took place at the Kunsthau Zürich and Museum of Modern Art, New York (Umland and Hug 2016). Similar to the articles in the first volume of the catalogue raisonné, the exhibition catalogue focuses primarily on Picabia's stylistic development and includes essentially biographical and anecdotal descriptions of his (wealthy social) life, as do older publications (Camfield 1970, Heinz 1983, Borràs 1985, Okamura and Shimizu 1999, Pagé and Audinet 2002). Wipplinger 2012 offers a more theoretical approach to the artist's oeuvre, without, however, attending to Picabia's exhibition history or exhibition behaviour in any way either. Camfield 1970 provides a helpful and extensive list of press and magazine articles as well as interviews discussing Picabia's art and referencing the artist and his milieu. Wirth 1997 presents particularly personal insights into the artist's life owing to an interview with his last wife, Olga Picabia, which helps us to understand his character in general. As becomes clear, a discussion of Picabia's public presentation of his artworks, concurrent to the creation of his first abstract works, has not yet been undertaken – a gap that will be closed by the present chapter.

302 The dip in exhibition activity in 1910 is difficult to understand, as no special event that may explain it is mentioned anywhere in the literature.



created a total of 512 artworks between the beginning of his artistic career in 1898 and 1915, the end of the period studied here. Of those 512 works, 186 date from the period 1908 to 1915. At the 24 exhibitions he participated in during that period, he showed 138 artworks, or 17 percent, of all work produced up to that point.³⁰³ The number of works featured in any one show ranged from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 92, with an average of 6 works per exhibition. In all, 74 of the 138 artworks presented in the years 1908 to 1915 dated from that same period, which means that Picabia publicly displayed about 40 percent of his production from 1908 to 1915. The other 64 pieces date from between 1902 and 1907, Picabia's so-called Impressionist period. The 138 exhibited artworks correspond to 158 catalogue entries, which means that the large majority of them were displayed only once, and only a few works were shown on more than one occasion.³⁰⁴ In fact, the three pieces most frequently shown (*Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi, Paris*, and *La procession, Séville*, cat. rais., vol. I, nos. 434, 437, 442, respectively) were presented four times each: in exhibitions in Paris in 1912 (*Salon des Indépendants* and/or *Salon de la Section d'Or*) as well as at all three editions of the Armory Show (New York, Chicago, and Boston) in 1913, all of them manifestations of modern and avant-garde art. Two of these three were coded for the purposes of this study as 'non-representational' and one (*Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*) remains uncoded due to the insufficient quality of the reproduction (for details on the expert coding for data-collection purposes, see A4, p. 323). The data thus shows that the most frequently exhibited works by Picabia were abstract ones, or in other words that Picabia showed his abstract works most frequently during that period.

As per the experts' coding, more than half, or 60 percent, of the exhibited artworks are 'naturalistic' (fig. 35) and overall 75 percent are figurative. In contrast, only 22 percent of the paintings shown were categorized as 'non-representational'. Matching these figures is the marked variation in Picabia's selections for exhibition over time; looking at figure 36 and table 14, we can observe that, proportionally, one single category by far outweighs the others in any given year: in 1908/1909 the 'naturalistic' pictures dominate, in 1911 the 'stylized – partially' category does, and from 1912 onwards the prevailing category is 'non-representational'. Therefore, up until 1912, Picabia's exhibited pieces were very figurative and, in 1912, a sudden and strong break can be observed, with a lurch towards exhibiting abstract art.³⁰⁵

Indeed, for the first time in the summer of 1912, Picabia showed an ensemble of three abstract works at the third exhibition of the *Salon de juin* of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne (see A1, exh. 24, p. 259; analysed in more detail in chapter 'Picabia as

303 According to the first two volumes of the catalogue raisonné Camfield et al 2014 and 2016, the presence of 75 catalogue entries at exhibitions must be 'considered likely but not certainly documented' (cat. rais., vol. I, p. 26).

304 Furthermore, seven works were shown twice (cat. rais., vol. I, nos. 122, 415, 436, 450, 458, 462, 471) and two paintings were exhibited three times (cat. rais., vol. I, nos. 443, 462).

305 This confirms the observations by Calté 1999, p. 41, but on a more restricted scale: 'Dans les salons de 1911, il expose *Printemps* et *Adam et Eve*, parmi d'autres œuvres. L'année suivante, il présente des tableaux bien plus abstraits [...].'

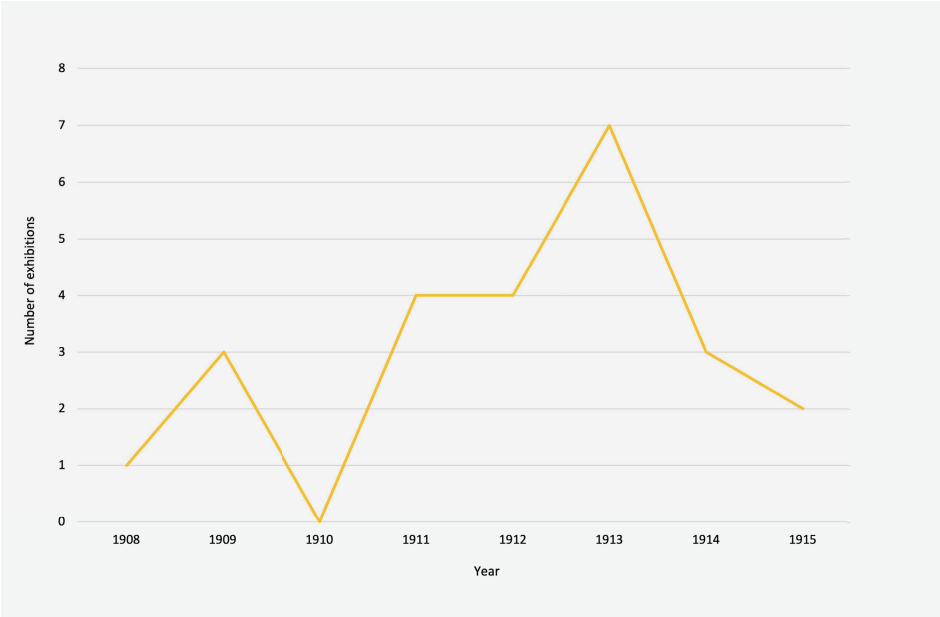


Figure 34: Development of number of Picabia's solo and group shows, 1908–1915.

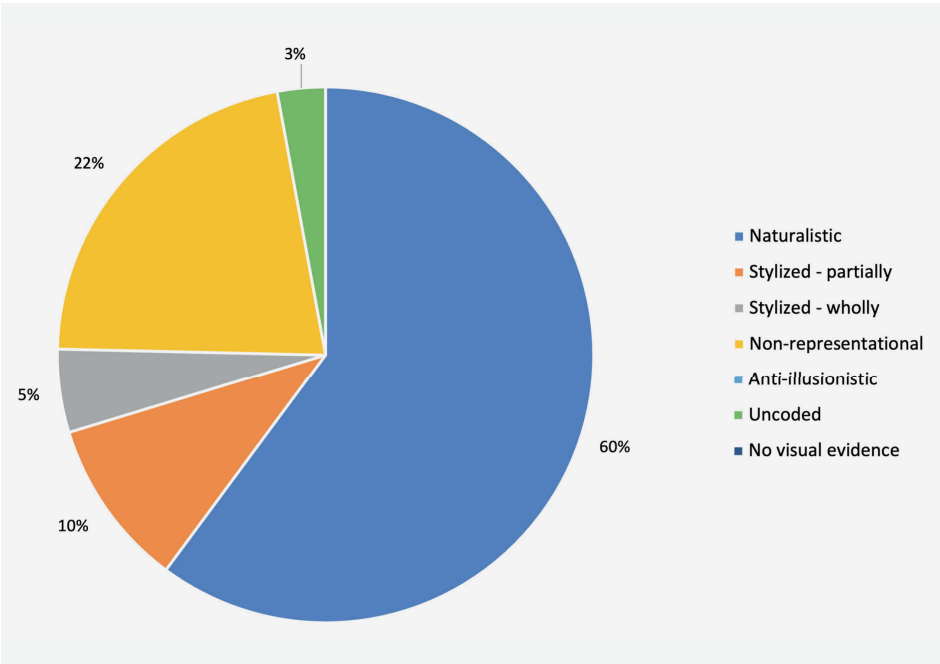


Figure 35: Share of degrees of abstraction of Picabia's exhibited artworks, 1908–1915.

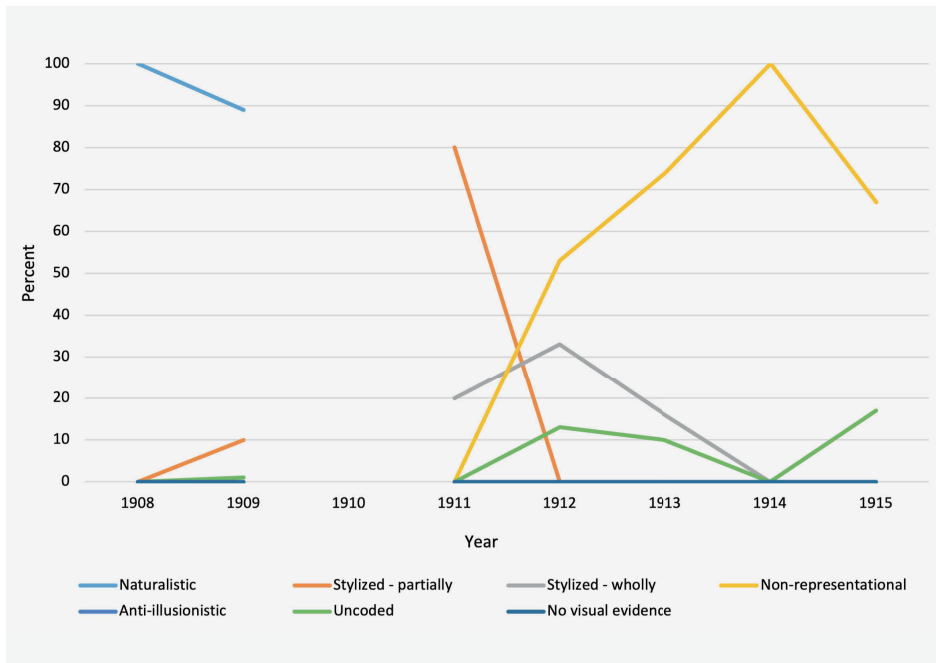


Figure 36: Development of share of Picabia's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.

Kandinsky's First Follower: The *Salon de Juin*, Rouen 1912', p. 199). The three paintings shown are interesting for their dimensions: two of them are of the same size and have a vertical format (*Untitled* and *Port de Naples*, cat. rais., vol. I, nos. 436 and 439, 92.5 × 73.4 centimetres each), while the third has the same size but in horizontal format (*Tarentelle*, cat. rais., vol. I, no. 438, 73.6 × 92.1 centimetres). These sizes suggest that the choice of images was made with a symmetrical hanging in mind, with the portrait-format pieces framing the landscape on either side. Unfortunately, no photographs of the installation are known to support this supposition.

In the specified time-frame and among the 24 exhibitions Picabia participated in, as many as four were solo shows devoted to Picabia alone. The first one took place in March 1909, when Danthon, Picabia's dealer and director of the 'fashionable Galerie Haussmann',³⁰⁶ sold off his complete stock of Impressionist works by the artist via the auction house Hôtel Drouot. Danthon is thus responsible for the large number of Picabia's

³⁰⁶ Picabia had signed a contract with Danthon in 1905, but the two parted ways when Picabia turned away from Impressionism and towards a more Neo-Impressionist and Fauvist style (see Camfield 1970, p. 16, and cat. rais., vol. I, pp. 46, 56).

Year	Naturalistic	Stylized - partially	Stylized - wholly	Non-representational	Anti-illusionistic	Uncoded	No visual evidence	Total catalogue entries shown
1908 in %	1 100 %							1 100 %
1909 in %	83 89 %	9 10 %				1 1 %		93 100 %
1910 in %								
1911 in %		4 80 %	1 20 %					5 100 %
1912 in %			5 33 %	8 53 %		2 13 %		15 100 %
1913 in %			5 16 %	23 74 %		3 10 %		31 100 %
1914 in %				6 100 %				6 100 %
1915 in %		1 17 %		4 67 %		1 17 %		6 100 %

Table 14: Number of catalogue entries shown by Picabia per category, per year (1908-1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.

‘naturalistic’ artworks being exhibited in the said time-frame. Shortly afterwards, Picabia’s new dealer, Georges Petit, ‘who directed one of the most prominent galleries in Paris’³⁰⁷ opened a show dedicated to Picabia’s most recent works made since 1908 (see A1, exh. 3, p. 232) as well as to two older paintings (from 1904 and 1905), possibly to show the development the artist had undergone between his Impressionist beginnings and his most recent, bright Neo-Impressionist and Fauvist works. The other two solo shows took place in New York: one in the spring of 1913 and one in January 1915, both at Alfred Stieglitz’s Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession (known simply as ‘291’).³⁰⁸

All the other 20 exhibitions Picabia participated in from 1908 to 1915 were group shows and, for the most part (accounting for 12 of the 20), were organized by modern art associations such as the Société du Salon d’Automne or the Société des Artistes Indépendants. Seven of the other shows were arranged by independent organizations and included gallery shows, the *Salon de la Section d’Or*, the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, and the *Armory Show*, which all vied for the distinction of presenting the most avant-garde art of their day.

³⁰⁷ Camfield 2014, p. 42.

³⁰⁸ It has to be noted that in the literature Stieglitz is never mentioned as one of Picabia’s official dealers.

They took place in commercial galleries such as Alfred Stieglitz's in New York, in independent exhibition spaces such as the Galerie La Boétie in Paris, or in alternative rented spaces such as the 69th Regiment Armory in Manhattan. Not only can the institutions that Picabia exhibited at from 1908 to 1915 be described as avant-garde, by extension so too can *all* the exhibitions he participated in, for these were shows where the latest trends in contemporary art were presented. The only exception was the aforementioned large-scale sell-off of his Impressionist pieces at the Hôtel Drouot in 1909. This, as well as his development and presentation of a strongly abstract pictorial language around 1912, positions the artist at the core of the French and international avant-garde movement in the years before the First World War. From 1912 to 1915, the picture the public received of him through exhibitions is one of an artist progressing ever further towards abstraction, with the subject being ever less recognizable, reflecting a consistent move away from Cubist influences and ultimately the finding of his own highly personal style in around 1913. Overall, Picabia did not withhold any part of his oeuvre from the public but showed a representative sample of his production at the time.

Despite frequently participating in group exhibitions, Picabia was rarely himself a member of any artist association or group. The data gathered confirms Camfield's assertion that Picabia refused 'to be bound to any [...] group, or movement.'³⁰⁹ Following the same logic, Picabia never founded any group or movement either, but led a highly independent artistic life, all the while surrounded by a large group of intellectuals, friends, and fellow artists. Nevertheless, he repeatedly took advantage of his network and his own financial means to support common causes and, as such, helped organize and finance avant-garde exhibitions such as the *Salon de la Section d'Or* in 1912³¹⁰ as well as the exhibition of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, held in Paris at the Galerie d'Art Contemporain in 1911.³¹¹ The sheer density of Picabia's network is also reflected in the network graph generated for MoMA's 2013 show *Inventing Abstraction 1910–1925*.³¹² It demonstrates not only the large size and number of nodes (27 nodes) and particularly vectors but also the internationality of Picabia's acquaintances. His acquaintances not only included fellow French artists (for example, Léger) but also Americans (for example, Stieglitz), Germans (for example, Arp), Czechs (for example, Kupka), and Romanians (for example, Brâncuși), to name but a few. However, the network graph also reveals that all these artists and intellectuals were based in either Paris or New York during the time in question. This is not

309 Camfield 2014, p. 58. However, Picabia is listed as an active member of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne in the 1909 exhibition catalogue (see Camfield 2014, p. 60). As Camfield 1970 already mentioned (pp. 16–17), the Société was an 'association composed of Fauve and Post-Impressionist artists preoccupied with synthetic theories and the inter-relationship of the arts.'

310 Werner 2011, p. 64.

311 Camfield 2014, pp. 60, 64.

312 See URL: <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?artist=64>.

City	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	Catalogue entries per city	Exhibitions per city
Amsterdam (NL)							2		2	1
Berlin (DE)						2			2	1
Boston (USA)						3			3	1
Brussels (BE)							2		2	1
Chicago (USA)						4			4	1
New York City (USA)						19		6	25	4
Paris (FR)	1	93		4	11	3	2		114	12
Rouen (FR)		1		1	4				6	3
Catalogue entries per year	1	94		5	15	31	6	6	158	
Exhibitions per year	1	3		4	4	7	3	2		24

Table 15: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Picabia per city, per year (1908-1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.

surprising given that Picabia himself was based in Paris and travelled to New York twice in three years (1913 and 1915), building strong ties to the New York art scene on each occasion.

The geographic distribution of Picabia's exhibitions makes evident that, similar to his network, his shows were divided between Europe and the United States (see table 15). A closer look at the distribution in Europe shows a concentration in northern Europe. Unsurprisingly, given that he lived in Paris throughout the eight-year period in question, half of the exhibitions he participated in were located in the French capital, making this the centre of his activities. Regarding his activity in the United States, he is present in three cities there: New York, Chicago, and Boston. However, the majority of those US shows were in New York, accounting for four out of six. In total, Picabia is thus present in five countries and eight cities, Paris and New York clearly being the cities where he had the strongest profile.³¹³ It is also noticeable that Picabia's exhibition activity outside of France only starts relatively late and selectively in the said time-frame, namely in 1913. This means that, up until that moment, his art was not regularly visible on a larger European scale. Nevertheless, from 1913 onwards, he was present with abstract artworks in the primary art capitals and at what are now considered to have been the most avant-garde exhibitions

313 Belgium (Brussels), France (Paris, Rouen), Germany (Berlin), the Netherlands (Amsterdam), United States (Boston, Chicago, New York City).

of their time (such as the *Armory Show*, the *Salon de la Section d'Or*, and *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*).

This further leads me to argue that Picabia was not especially interested in propagating his art as widely as possible, but rather in using efficient ways to position himself among the avant-garde. Additionally, it seems that he spotted opportunities when they presented themselves and did not hesitate to use them to his advantage. As such, he found himself to be the only artist who could afford the trip to the US³¹⁴ and was thus the only 'representative of the European "extremists"'³¹⁵ able to attend the opening of the original *Armory Show* in early 1913. There he took advantage of that occasion, giving numerous interviews promoting his (abstract) art, and making the acquaintance of Alfred Stieglitz, who immediately organized a solo exhibition of Picabia's most recent watercolours in his galleries, hot on the heels of the *Armory Show*.³¹⁶

Despite not having to rely on sales, Picabia was nevertheless successful from a commercial point of view, even early on in his career. As several contemporary newspaper articles already reported in and around 1913, he was 'Already famous in France – a commercial success at an early age (he sold \$13,000 worth of paintings at an art exhibition that he held privately in Paris in 1906)'.³¹⁷ While another newspaper reports: 'M. Picabia, it may be added, has always sold, just as he has always painted.'³¹⁸ Later on in the same article, the author mentions purchases by the French state of Picabia's artworks for the Musée du Luxembourg and the Petit Palais.³¹⁹ The proceeds from the sale at the Hôtel Drouot in 1909 (by Danthon or Picabia himself – there are conflicting reports as to who initiated the sale), were sizeable as well.³²⁰ Despite the success of that group sale, according to Heinz, it also resulted in Picabia gaining a negative reputation as indecisive and unreliable among art professionals,³²¹ for the perception was that he changed style and with it dealers too often.³²² In fact, there is no more mention of his sales in the literature for the time after 1909, which suggests that dealers distanced themselves from representing the artist and he therefore no longer had official representation until the end of the time-frame in question. (However, this could also be due to the fact that his sales simply decreased or that there is no record of them between 1909 and 1915.)

314 Heinz 1983, p. XIV.

315 Camfield 1970, p. 21.

316 The data collected confirms the observations made by Camfield 1970, p. 21. See chapter 'Picabia as Kandinsky's First Follower: The *Salon de Juin*, Rouen 1912', p. 199, for a more detailed analysis.

317 Unknown author, 1913a (unpag.).

318 Unknown author, 1913b, p. 1.

319 Ibid.

320 Heinz 1983, p. XII.

321 Ibid.

322 This also shows that dealers would identify themselves through the style of artworks they were selling rather than through the personalities of artists.

Picabia's exhibition strategy

Given the fact that Picabia did not depend on the sale of his artworks to make a living, his exhibition behaviour was not primarily driven by commercial interests. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Picabia had no interest or motivation at all in promoting his art. A closer look at the size of the pieces he exhibited indicates that he regularly exhibited comparatively large canvases at exhibitions. As Camfield observes, this practice was not new to the artist: even in the spring of 1903, when showing *Le retour de la pêche: les Martigues* (150 × 200 centimetres, cat. rais., vol. I, no. 81) at the *Salon de la Société des Artistes Français*, it was remarked that: 'it is a big canvas ("more than six feet on the side"), a conventional Salon piece designed by size and subject matter to capture the attention of visitors.'³²³ This suggests that Picabia had long practiced conceiving his paintings on a grand scale to 'capture attention'. Indeed, the majority of the pieces presented at the exhibition at George Petit's gallery in 1909 (A1, exh. 3, p. 232) are, while admittedly smaller than *Le retour de la pêche: les Martigues*, still of large- or medium-format, being about 80 × 100 centimetres in size (in both landscape and portrait format) or some 116 × 90 centimetres in size (again in both formats). Similar measurements appear in the *Exposition de peinture moderne* of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne in Rouen in late 1909/early 1910 and again in 1912, as well as in the 1911 edition of that exposition, this time in Paris (see A1, exh. 6, p. 237, exh. 24, p. 259 and exh. 19, p. 253, respectively) and at the *Salon d'Automne* in 1911 (see A1, exh. 17, p. 251).

Furthermore, from 1912 onwards, as already observed for the *Salon de juin* of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne in 1912, the large size of Picabia's paintings is paired with the number of canvases so as to suggest a potential symmetrical hanging, which would have attracted even more attention. Indeed, a press article takes note of exactly this fact, namely the important size of Picabia's pieces. After discussing his *Paysage*, the author explains: 'Nous avons cité cette toile de M. Picabia parce que c'est celle qui, par ses dimensions, attire le plus l'attention.'³²⁴ In fact, this is also observable for the *Salon d'Automne*, the *Salon de la Section d'Or* (exh. 27 and exh. 30, both 1912), and the *Armory Show* in New York (1913, exh. 31). However, the iconic image of the hanging in the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 (fig. 7, p. 45) proves that, despite the almost identically large size of the two pictures shown (*La Source*, 249.6 × 249.3 centimetres and *Danses à la Source (II)*, 251.8 × 248.9 centimetres), they were not hung in a symmetrical manner after all, as the photograph shows *La Source* hanging besides pictures by other artists. In contrast, photographic documentation of the hanging of Picabia's pictures at the Chicago edition of the *Armory Show* does indeed show a symmetrical hang, or at least a constructed hanging scheme, possibly devised by dimensions (fig. 37). As can be observed at the centre of the image, on the wall to the right

³²³ Camfield 2014, p. 42.

³²⁴ Unknown author, 1912a, p. 3.

of the central sculpture, three works by Picabia are hung in pyramidal style: two side by side in the lower row (*La Procession, Séville*, 121.9 × 121.9 centimetres on the left and *Danses à la Source (I)*, 120.6 × 120.6 centimetres, on the right), and one in the middle above them (*Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, measurements unknown). It is indeed the case that, when looking at the photograph, the towering pyramidal construction on the wall immediately catches the eye.

In the case of a third exhibition, the solo show *An Exhibition of Recent Paintings – Never before Exhibited Any Where – by Francis Picabia, of Paris* at Stieglitz's 291 gallery in January 1915 (see A1, exh. 52, p. 301), the large size of Picabia's paintings played an even more important and explicit role – and was one of the very reasons why the exhibition was organized in the first place. Marius de Zayas, Stieglitz's associate who initiated this enterprise, wrote to Stieglitz when seeing Picabia's newest pieces at his Paris studio:

I also feel that you ought to have an exhibition of Picabia's work [...]. One that I specially care for is 2 meters high [*Je revois en souvenir ma chère Udnie*]. I believe if it could get into the room at 291 it would make quite an impression to have only three big paintings in it covering almost the entire three walls from the floor to the ceiling.³²⁵

Subsequently, de Zayas brought *Je revois en souvenir ma chère Udnie*, *Mariage comique*, and *C'est de moi qu'il s'agit* (cat. rais., vol. I, nos. 489, 490, and 491, respectively) with him to New York and they were exhibited in Stieglitz's gallery. Consequently, overall, I would argue that the size of Picabia's paintings, regardless of whether or not they were hung symmetrically, was deliberately chosen by the artist to attract attention, first and foremost at exhibition.

Picabia's critical reception was noteworthy from very early on. Although he was criticized by contemporaries with regard to his Neo-Impressionist paintings, Hughes suggests that others saw this imitative style as a promising feature.³²⁶ By 1912, however, the number of negative voices had grown. On the occasion of the *Salon d'Automne* in 1912, a time when the works shown by him were all abstract, the Parisian newspaper *Comoedia* called the gallery XI that included his pieces 'la salle infernale, celle qui réunit les tableaux cubistes et d'autres qui sont aussi terrifiants pour le public non prévenu'.³²⁷ In the spring of 1913, Warnod described Picabia's *Procession* as 'lourd',³²⁸ and at the *Salon d'Automne* of 1913 the general tone was one of utter miscomprehension towards the artists' paintings *Udnie* and

325 Quoted in Camfield 2014, p. 100.

326 Hughes 2016, p. 28.

327 Warnod 1912b, p. 5.

328 Warnod 1913, p. 1. Camfield 2014, p. 86, further specifies: 'His painting *Procession* had been installed near the ceiling ("skied") – a standard procedure to minimize visibility and to convey a message to the artist.'



Figure 37: Installation view of inaugural edition of *International Exhibition of Modern Art* (a.k.a. Armory Show) at Art Institute of Chicago, March–April 1913, with Picabia's works visible in background, hung in pyramidal arrangement, just right of sculpture in middle of gallery.

Edtaonisl (ecclésiastique) (cat. rais., vol. I, nos. 467, 470).³²⁹ As such, Gustave Kahn wrote in the *Mercure de France*: 'Faut-il prendre au tragique les enrubannements de lignes, le tango de couleur qui signifie Udnie, jeune fille américaine, d'après M. Picabia?'³³⁰ and an anonymous author even qualified Picabia's approach as 'pleine de dangers'.³³¹

Picabia received a most extensive critical response when in New York as the representative of the European avant-garde at the *Armory Show* in early 1913. Headlines such as 'Picabia, art rebel, here to teach new movement'³³² or 'A post-cubist's impressions of New York'³³³ topped richly illustrated articles and interviews with the prominent artist in town. Given that he was the *only* representative of European modern art to be physically

329 Camfield 2014, p. 90, explains: 'The two paintings were hung on a landing of a stairway where everyone passed. They could not be missed. They were huge – almost 10 feet square – bold in format and color, totally abstract, unlike any paintings ever seen, and prominently inscribed with nonsense titles.'

330 Kahn 1913, p. 648.

331 Unknown author, 1913c, p. 1.

332 Unknown author, 1913a (unpag.).

333 Unknown author, 1913b (unpag.).

present in the city during the *Armory Show* and that, as Camfield suggests, his exhibited paintings were some of the most notorious on view, journalists and critics repeatedly found an interesting and willing interview partner in him.³³⁴ In an understandable fashion, Picabia explained the theories behind and inspirations for his largely abstract art to ‘whoever [would] listen to him’.³³⁵ What becomes apparent in the articles themselves is that he spoke more of his own art than that of his fellow European avant-garde artists, thus neglecting his (albeit unofficial) function as a representative of a larger group. In fact, he cleverly used the opportunity of having the press’s attention to position *himself*, first and foremost, as an avant-garde artist and, further, as ambassador of abstraction in general. Yet he seemed not to care about the articles or the critics’ opinions, and as such they did not influence his exhibition behaviour: in fact, the data collected shows that he kept showing his newest artistic developments in exhibitions, as is the case with the exhibition at Stieglitz’s Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession (‘291’), taking place immediately after the *Armory Show* (see chapter ‘Total Abstraction: The First Fully Abstract Exhibition: Picabia in New York, 1913’, p. 216). As his fourth wife, Olga Picabia, recalled: ‘[...] he was utterly indifferent to what people and critics thought.’³³⁶ It seems that his first goal was to make some ‘noise’ about his art, getting it and himself widely noticed, be it positively or negatively, and defending his abstract style before the press. And while the wider public was shocked by the European art presented at the *Armory Show*,³³⁷ Picabia used his social graces and became acquainted with Alfred Stieglitz and his circle, who quickly held him in high esteem. The exhibition Stieglitz organized with Picabia’s most recent watercolours confirms this (exh. 33, A1, p. 276); it clearly helped to prolong and further the artist’s reception in New York.

Conclusion

Picabia’s wealth made him independent of the sale of his art as a source of income, which consequently largely eliminated the economic necessity for strategic exhibition behaviour. Nevertheless, he did use strategies in his exhibition activities that helped his pieces get noticed; whether that meant, early on, exhibiting pieces that imitated *en vogue* styles, or, later, regularly changing his signature style, or then participating in the most international avant-garde events in Europe (such as the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*), or finally by exhibiting particularly large and/or abstract pieces. This makes his overall strategy

334 Camfield 1970, p. 21.

335 Unknown author, 1913b (unpag.).

336 Wirth 1997, p. 34.

337 Camfield 2014, p. 80, noted of the *Armory Show*: ‘Few Americans beyond some artists and devotees of Alfred Stieglitz’s gallery knew anything about modern art. They were shocked. The American entries were all but ignored in the flood of hostile response to the European modernists – particularly the entries of Duchamp, Matisse, and Picabia.[...] *Danses à la source* [I] was described as a ‘chipped block of maple sugar,’ and *La procession, Séville* was greeted with a cartoon parody.’

concept-oriented, as in his selection of works for display he largely stayed true to the style he was employing at any one time. Furthermore, I would argue that his exhibition behaviour can also, in part, be called opportunistic: he knew above all how to use press attention in order to position himself as *the* proponent of abstraction and thus as self-appointed leader of the European avant-garde, as was the case during the *Armory Show* in New York in 1913. While acting as the sole representative of the European avant-garde, and with none of his colleagues present to challenge his version of recent art history, he had free reign to promote his own abstract art and position himself as its ambassador, assuming centre stage in the New York art scene. Lastly, I would argue that his strategies enabled *him* to be talked about – over and above his abstract art – thus giving his personality and public persona space at the centre of attention of the avant-garde.

Women Artists Exhibiting (Abstraction?)

Introduction

Concurrent to the development of abstract art by male artists treated in the chapters above, female artists also often formed part of the various artist groups and associations mentioned thus far (such as Der Blaue Reiter, the Futurists, the Jack of Diamonds group, and the Suprematists, to name but a few). I argue that, contrary to what the art-historical canon suggests, these female painters working in the first decades of the twentieth century created and exhibited abstract art with the same creative rigour and to the same extent as their male counterparts, despite facing much harder barriers to artistic education and exhibition opportunities. Unfortunately, however, they have largely been omitted from the canon.³³⁸

Preceding by some 40 years these women (and men!) of the early 1900s, however, was Georgiana Houghton: a British woman artist who painted and exhibited abstract pictures in London in as early as 1871.³³⁹ Although the artists treated above certainly could not have seen or even heard about this exhibition (most of them had not been born at the time) and could therefore not have been influenced by it, its early existence demonstrates that the history of abstraction and its exhibition in the early twentieth century should not be written without integrating women artists into the discourse, and accordingly into the canon itself, which has so far been dominated by male artists.

Although numerous books about women artists have indeed been published since the mid-nineteenth century, an in-depth analysis of any abstract oeuvres of theirs and their exhibition history is lacking.³⁴⁰ In fact, basic research and publications such as catalogue raisonnés are largely missing for women artists of the early twentieth century who created abstract art before 1915. It is remarkable that even now (at the date of publication of this book), no such scholarly work exists for Sonia Delaunay-Terk, Natalia Goncharova,

338 While being omitted from the canon, there has nevertheless been some research dedicated to them. Publications regarding women artists of the early twentieth-century avant-garde can be divided into three categories: monographs (for example, Heller 1997, Kiblitky 2001, Kemfert and Chilova 2009, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris and Tate Modern 2014), thematic publications (Katz 1986, Yablonskaya 1990, Hamburger Kunsthalle and Centre Georges Pompidou – Musée national d'art moderne Paris 1999, Jürgs 1998, Sharp 2006, Bilanz 2013, Pfeiffer and Hollein 2015, Malycheva and Wünsche 2017), and studies of the social environment and conditions for women artists (Berger 1986, Chadwick 1991, Umbach 2015). Regardless of the categories, no publication systematically lists or studies the solo or group shows of any female artist or artists. However, several efforts in that direction do exist: Fischnaller 2021 has filled parts of this gap with her Master's thesis focusing on the internationality of women's exhibition activity from 1905 to 1915. Furthermore, although databases such as the Database of Modern Exhibitions (DoME) do contain women artists insofar as they are part of the exhibitions included in the data collection, these quantitative data sets are often built on just one type of source, such as exhibition catalogues. This means that they lack a qualitative verification, although they do still offer the possibility to approach the topic from a new point of view.

339 See Althaus, Mühling, and Schneider 2018, p. 30. Houghton created her images in so-called séances and through contact with spirits (see Althaus 2018, p. 17).

340 See also Chadwick 1991, p. 36, who lists the publications starting in 1858.



Gabriele Münter, or Alexandra Exter, to name but a few of the ‘most’ canonized ones. To a certain extent, the Database of Modern Exhibitions (DoME) rectifies this gaping hole in the art-historical discourse. However, as that database is oriented towards exploring the exhibition of *painting*, many women are being excluded or marginalized – yet again – given that they often featured at exhibitions with *sculptures* and/or objects of *applied art*, which at the time of writing are not part of the database.

The goal of this chapter is therefore to give an overview of the exhibition activity of a selection of women artists who created abstract art before 1915, to show their behaviour at exhibitions and to draw comparisons with their seven male counterparts studied in depth.

Due to the lack of catalogue raisonnés, the quantitative analysis in this chapter is based on data obtained from DoME.³⁴¹ As the database does not provide exact identification of artworks, and subsequently nor of their appearance or degree of abstraction, it was first necessary to use secondary literature to identify women who created abstract works of art before 1915³⁴² and then to verify that these women are also contained in the database. This resulted in the following list of thirteen women artists included in this analysis.³⁴³

- Vanessa Bell
- Sonia Delaunay-Terk
- Alexandra Exter
- Natalia Goncharova
- Jacoba van Heemskerck
- Gabriele Münter
- Olga Oppenheimer
- Lyubov Popova
- Hilla von Rebay
- Adriana Catharina van Rees-Dutilh
- Olga Rozanova
- Helen Saunders
- Nadezhda Udaltsova

It is important to mention that the data in this chapter is valid for the listed women only, all of whom were specifically part of the European avant-garde. For this reason the analysis here should not be used to extrapolate information pertaining to women artists in

341 URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at>.

342 The publications mainly used for the identification were Yablonskaya 1990, Chadwick 1991, Jürs 1998, Bilanz 2013, and Pfeiffer and Hollein 2015.

343 Other women artists were not included, either because their abstract art was not created before 1915 – and thus not exhibited before that date (as was the case for Marthe ‘Tour Donas’, Helene Grünhoff, Magda Langenstrass-Uhlig, Nell Walden) – or because they were not part of the database at the time of writing (as was the case for Elena Guro, Kseniia Ender), or both (as was the case for Margarete Kubicka, Varvara Stepanova, Sophie Täuber-Arp).

general active at the same time, as it was not possible to verify the representativity of this list within the parameters of the study. Furthermore, this chapter will not cover the social and/or educational situation of women artists in the early twentieth century, as this topic has been addressed in detail by several authors (see note 338 above) already. Instead, this chapter will focus on the quantitative analysis of their participation in group or solo shows. As mentioned, it was not possible to establish the exact identity of the artworks, let alone their degree of abstraction, due to the lack of sources. The focus will therefore lie on an overall quantitative analysis of the artists' exhibition activity that includes the possibility of them exhibiting any abstract works created before 1915.

Quantitative analysis

Taken together, the thirteen women participated in 86 exhibitions from 1908 to 1915. That means an average of 10.75 exhibitions per year for the group. In fact, however, as is visible on the graph (fig. 38), the number of exhibitions rises constantly until the years 1913 and 1914, when it peaks with 16 exhibitions and then drops slightly to 11 in 1915. Contrary to the men studied above, whose exhibition activity logically drops much more noticeably after 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War, this shows that even after the start of the war, cultural activities may indeed have reduced but did not stop altogether, and that women artists continued to partake in them.

In these 86 exhibitions, the thirteen women exhibited works equating to 1,992 catalogue numbers. This number is remarkable, particularly given that the seven men in this study 'only' showed about 1,154 works in the same time-frame (granted, the sample of women is larger than the sample of men). It must be noted, however, that this very high number for the women is strongly inflated by Natalia Goncharova's solo exhibitions from 1913, in which she presented a remarkable number of works, over 760 pieces in Moscow alone, and 257 in Saint Petersburg. Subtracting these two shows, the women are still left with about 975 catalogue entries. Among the 86 exhibitions they participated in, 82 were group exhibitions and only four were solo shows: two were dedicated to Gabriele Münter (*Kollektiv-Ausstellung G. Münter (1904–1913)*, March–April 1913, Munich; *Der Sturm. Fünfundreißigste Ausstellung. Gabriele Münter*, October–November 1915, Berlin) and two to Natalia Goncharova, as mentioned (*Exhibition of Paintings by Nataliya Sergeyevna Goncharova 1900–1913*, August 1913, Moscow; *Exhibition of Paintings by Natalya Sergeevna Goncharova 1900–1913*, 1914, Saint Petersburg).

Geographically speaking, the exhibition activity of the thirteen women occurred mainly in Europe and the western Russian Empire. Some activity can be spotted on the east coast of the United States, in New York, where Olga Oppenheimer participated in the *Armory Show* in 1913, and in Japan, where Gabriele Münter participated in an exhibition of woodcut prints in 1914. On a European scale, the cities where the thirteen women exhibited the most were Saint Petersburg, with fifteen exhibitions, followed by Berlin with thirteen

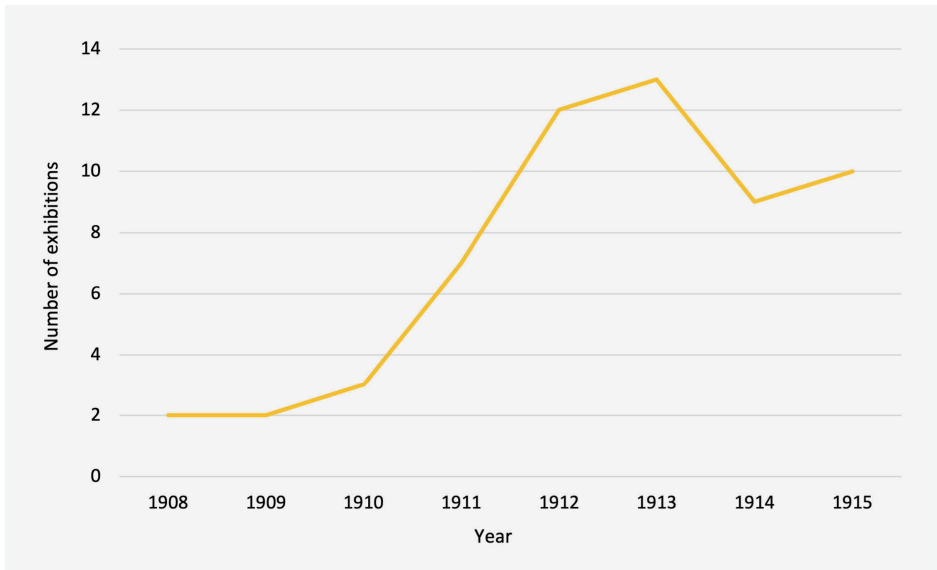


Figure 38: Development of solo and group shows of 13 selected women artists combined, 1908–1915.

exhibitions and Moscow with twelve (see details in Appendix A3, p. 315). In fourth and fifth place are Munich and London, with eight and seven exhibitions respectively. Surprisingly, Paris (considered *the* art capital of the time) is not in the top five cities but comes in seventh place, with only four exhibitions showing the work of any of the thirteen women known to have painted in an abstract manner before 1915.³⁴⁴ These numbers suggest that the European centres for women of the avant-garde working in abstraction before 1915, at least in terms of exhibition activity, were the cities Saint Petersburg and Berlin. Here, women seem to have had much more visibility (as I would argue was also the case for Moscow) than in other (more established) art capitals such as Paris.³⁴⁵ In fact, according to recent publications, this may have been due to the fact that Saint Petersburg was home to gallerist Nadezhda Dobychina and Berlin was home to gallerist Herwarth Walden. The

344 At the moment of writing, the exhibitions of the *Salon d'Automne* and the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris were not yet included in the database. This certainly influenced the outcome of these numbers and the subsequent analysis. However, even if they were to be added and (some of) the thirteen women did participate in all of them (in a maximum of sixteen exhibitions), this would nevertheless not lessen the importance of Berlin for women artists around that time, putting it in second place at the least.

345 In Paris, Berthe Weill supported women artists in above-average numbers: between 1908 and 1915, she presented ten women in her gallery, almost half of them more than once (see Le Morvan 2011, pp. 189–213). However, none of these women created abstract works before 1915 and are therefore not included in this study.

latter represented women particularly strongly.³⁴⁶ In a German-wide comparison of art dealers, Pfeiffer stipulates that nobody ‘showed anywhere near as many women artists as he [Walden] did (well over thirty). With the exception of the [...] Galerie Arnold [in Dresden], the others included only a handful at most.’³⁴⁷ Indeed, of the thirteen women included here, Walden officially represented three (Sonia Delaunay-Terk, Jacoba van Heemskerck, and Gabriele Münter) and included at least six of them in exhibitions.³⁴⁸ Similarly, Alexandra Exter and Natalia Goncharova worked with gallerists in Russia.³⁴⁹

The majority of the thirteen women – about two-thirds, or eight of them – exhibited mostly in two or fewer cities and largely focused on their home countries.³⁵⁰ The other third – or four women: Jacoba van Heemskerck, Alexandra Exter, Natalia Goncharova, and Gabriele Münter – were particularly international in their exhibition activity and showed in five, eight, nine, and thirteen cities, respectively.³⁵¹ However, it must be mentioned that at the time of writing, DoME only listed a fraction of the exhibitions that are mentioned in the available secondary literature on these women. It is therefore likely that more than four of the thirteen women were more internationally active than the database presented at the time of writing. To give just one example, Sonia Delaunay-Terk was listed in the database with only two exhibitions in Berlin and Paris, but several authors clearly state that she participated in further exhibitions during the time-frame studied here.³⁵²

Furthermore, as mentioned, DoME only contains paintings and drawings, but several of the thirteen artists, particularly Sonia Delaunay-Terk, created and exhibited many

346 Among the latest publications are van Rijn 2012, Bilanz 2013, Pfeiffer and Hollein 2015. Pfeiffer 2015 (p. 353) suggests the following explanation: ‘One has to ask why Walden exhibited so many more women artists than any other art dealer or museum director of his time. The reasons are manifold and have to do not only with Walden’s personal biography – he was married to two artists – but also to his basic stance as an idealistic champion of abstraction and modern art in general.’

347 Pfeiffer 2015, p. 355.

348 In addition to the three listed, Alexandra Exter, Natalia Goncharova, and Hilla von Rebay were part of Walden’s exhibitions (see Pfeiffer and Hollein 2015).

349 According to Kemfert and Chilova 2009, p. 15, Goncharova’s solo exhibition from 1913 was organized by gallerist Klawdija Michailowa, who trusted the artist enough to commit to such an endeavour; subsequently, Nadeshda Dobychina realized the exhibition in a reduced size in her gallery in Saint Petersburg in 1914. See Budanova and Murray 2022 for more details about these two pioneering female gallerists in Russia.

350 As such, according to DoME (24 November 2023), Vanessa Bell and Helen Saunders, both British, exhibited in London and Paris; Sonia Delaunay, living in France, exhibited in Paris and Berlin; Lyubov Popova, Nadeshda Udaltsova, both Russian, exhibited in Moscow and Saint Petersburg; Adriana van Rees-Dutilh, Dutch, exhibited in Prague; Olga Rozanova, also Russian, exhibited in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and Rome; Olga Oppenheimer, German, exhibited in Cologne and New York; Hilla von Rebay, German, exhibited in Munich.

351 Van Heemskerck: Amsterdam, Arnhem, Berlin, Brandenburg an der Havel, Domburg. Exter: Brussels, Kyiv, Moscow, Odessa, Paris, Riga, Rome, Saint Petersburg. Goncharova: Berlin, Budapest, Kyiv, Moscow, Munich, Odessa, Paris, Riga, Saint Petersburg. Münter: Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Dresden, Kyiv, London, Moscow, Munich, Odessa, Riga, Saint Petersburg, Tokyo, Zurich.

352 Musée d’Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris and Tate Modern 2014 (pp. 17, 43) and Hille 2015 (p. 359) list at least one more exhibition for Sonia Delaunay-Terk in the time period between 1908 and 1915, at the *Salon des Indépendants* in 1914. It can be assumed that she participated in other such Salons in Paris as well. An extensive list of her exhibition activity is not contained in either publication.

artworks in the media of applied arts and printmaking.³⁵³ Pfeiffer describes this variety in medium as a strategy to circumnavigate competition with men – a theory I strongly support.³⁵⁴ Additionally, I would argue, the exhibition of different media may also have attracted a more varied clientele and potential buyers, addressing not only male but also female collectors, who might have been more likely to have a stronger interest in the decorative and applied arts. As such, Sonia Delaunay's central work at the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon* was her large, abstract, hanging piece on paper, accompanying Blaise Cendrars's *La Prose du Transsibérien et de la petite Jehanne de France* (listed as catalogue number 99 in the exhibition catalogue), in addition to abstract book covers, pillow cases, and lampshades.³⁵⁵ According to Hille, the response to her works was largely negative,³⁵⁶ notwithstanding Apollinaire's encouraging words towards her exhibits.³⁵⁷

Noting the different types of venues where the thirteen women exhibited, it becomes clear that they vary greatly, suggesting that the women of the avant-garde seized every opportunity to exhibit, just like the men – and seem to have had similar opportunities as well, despite their lower social status. In fact, the thirteen women showed their art in museums (like the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam or the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne), in commercial galleries (such as Der Sturm and Galerie Paul Cassirer in Berlin or the Doré Galleries in London), in art associations (such as the Neue Secession in Berlin or the Royal Society of British Artists in London), in exhibition halls (like the Königliches Ausstellungsgebäude in Munich), in alternative spaces (as was often the case in Russia, for example, Levinsky House),³⁵⁸ and in privately funded salons (such as Izdebsky's Salons in the Russian Empire). The types of exhibitions are just as varied and include shows positioned at the spearhead of the avant-garde, such as the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibitions in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the *Salon de la Section d'Or* in Paris (October 1912), or the Vorticist exhibition at the Doré Galleries in London (June 1915) (see Appendix A3, p. 315). The women also exhibited at very large modern exhibitions like that of the New English Art Club, the Munich Secession, or the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris. Overall, the list

353 Pfeiffer 2015, p. 23

354 Ibid., p. 23.

355 Walden 1913, pp. 16–17.

356 Hille 2015, p. 360, writes: 'Admittedly, press reviews of the Herbstsalon and the "new art" were predominantly negative. Critics of Robert Delaunay spitefully characterized the new, simultaneous "circular form" paintings as "shooting targets" and his wife's objects as mere decorative playthings.'

357 As Apollinaire described in an article in the *Soirée de Paris* from 15 November 1913: 'L'exposition de Mme Sonia Delaunay-Terk n'est pas moins attachante. Ce sont: la première affiche simultanée, les premières reliures simultanées, les premiers objets usuels ressortissant à la décoration simultanée [...]. Et cette ivresse de la couleur simultanée, si elle est une des tendances neuves de la peinture, est encore la tendance la plus neuve et peut-être la plus intéressante de l'art décoratif', Apollinaire 2009, p. 426.

358 It is possible that Levinsky House is also occasionally referred to as 'Levinson House' in the Anglophone literature.

Artist	Number of total connections	Number of female connections	Names of female connections
Bell, Vanessa	8	1	Goncharova
Delaunay-Terk, Sonia	27	2	Goncharova, Suzanne Duschamp
Goncharova, Natalia	23	3	Bell, Popova, Delaunay-Terk
Popova, Liubov	11	2	Goncharova, Kseniia Ender
Saunders, Helen	5	0	
Täuber-Arp, Sophie	12	1	Mary Wigman

Table 16: Number of male *and* female connections and number of *just* female connections for the six women featuring both in this study and MoMA's 'Inventing Abstraction' network graph.

does not contain any exhibitions of academic art, suggesting that these women were unmistakably positioning themselves as modern artists and were accepted as such as part of the avant-garde.³⁵⁹

To some extent, the thirteen women had not only gallery representation, as mentioned above, but were part of larger networks that they maintained just as their male counterparts did. Considering MoMA's online network chart resulting from the 2012 exhibition *Inventing Abstraction 1910–1925*, thirteen percent (or eleven) of the 83 artists listed are women.³⁶⁰ Of the 83 male and female artists, twelve have over 24 connections within the network and could therefore be called particularly influential. Two of those twelve are women: Sonia Delaunay-Terk and Natalia Goncharova. Although two women from a total of 83 artists is not many, it is important to note their large networks and thus potential influence. Of the eleven women in MoMA's network chart, six are among the thirteen women artists discussed in this chapter.³⁶¹ Interestingly, the connections between those six women, and between the thirteen women overall, are not very numerous (table 16 and 17). This suggests, I would argue, that the women of the avant-garde did not join forces as a separate fraction but were included in and part of the male-dominated circles. This might be due to the fact that, in smaller numbers and in male-dominated contexts, they would probably have been more readily accepted and perceived less as a threat or rival creative force than if they had been part of a larger, all-female group.

359 This could, however, also be due to the focus of DoME, which is expressly dedicated to modern art exhibitions.

360 URL: <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?page=connections>.

361 Vanessa Bell, Sonia Delaunay-Terk, Natalia Goncharova, Lyubov Popova, Helen Saunders, and Sophie Täuber-Arp.

Artist	Top 1 most frequent co-appearance	Top 2 most frequent co-appearance	Top 3 most frequent co-appearance	Top 4 most frequent co-appearance	Top 5 most frequent co-appearance
Bell (6)	Roger Fry (5)	Spencer Gore (5)	Duncan Grant (4)	Jessie Etchells (3)	Frederick Etchells (3)
Delaunay-Terk (2)	Jean Metzinger (2)				
Exter (19)	Aristarkh Lentulov (12)	Ilya Mashkov (10)	David Burlyuk (10)	Vladimir Burlyuk (9)	Henri Le Fauconnier (8)
Goncharova (27)	Mikhail Larionov (23)	Vladimir Burlyuk (16)	David Burlyuk (14)	Vassily Kandinsky (12)	Ilya Mashkov (11)
Heemskerck (18)	Piet Mondrian (11)	Johannes Sluijters (10)	Gerard Bergsma (8)	Leo Gestel (8)	Jan Toorop (8)
Münter (28)	Vassily Kandinsky (23)	Marianne Werefkin (17)	Franz Marc (17)	Alexei Jawlensky (17)	David Burlyuk (13)
Oppenheimer (3)	Wilhelm Lehmbruck (3)	Franz M. Jansen (3)	Friedrich August Weinzheimer (3)	Hans Thuar (2)	Ernst Isselmann (2)
Popova (3)	Nadezhda Udaltsova (3)	Kazimir Malevich (3)	Xenia Bugoslavskaja (2)	Jean Pougny (2)	Ivan Klyun (2)
Rebay (2)	Susanne Carvallo-Schülein (2)	Franz Klemmer (2)	Max Beringer (2)	Josef Schmid (2)	Hermann Hartmann-Drewitz (2)
Rees-Dutilh (1)	no data available				
Rozanova (6)	Vladimir Tatlin (4)	Kazimir Malevich (4)	Jean Pougny (3)	P. P. Potipaka (3)	Eduard Karlovic Spandikov (3)
Saunders (3)	Frederick Etchells (3)	Duncan Grant (3)	Wyndham Lewis (3)	Jessie Etchells (2)	Jacob Kramer (2)
Udaltsova (3)	Lyubov Popova (3)	Kazimir Malevich (3)	Jean Pougny (2)	Xenia Bogoslavskaja (2)	Ivan Klyun (2)

Table 17: Top 5 most frequent co-appearances for the 13 women for years 1908–1915. Green indicates women external to this study, yellow indicates other women in this study. Number of exhibitions given in brackets.

Notwithstanding their quantitative minority, several female modern artists were as engaged in propagating and defending their art as their male counterparts were. Exter, Goncharova, and Rozanova organized exhibitions of the avant-garde and wrote articles and/or manifestos in favour of their work.³⁶² Exter, Goncharova, and Münter were members of artist groups such as the Jack of Diamonds, the Rayonists, and the Neue Künstlervereinigung München, to name but a few; Goncharova and Münter were even founding members of such groups.³⁶³ Additionally, Delaunay-Terk, Exter, Goncharova, van Heemskerck, and Rozanova diversified their portfolio by producing not only oil paintings but also prints and textiles, among other things, as well as extending their activity to stage or costume design.³⁶⁴ This leads me to the conclusion that these women seized every opportunity that presented itself in order to promote their art and make a living from it, all the while staying true to their hard-won avant-garde credentials.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that the data shows the thirteen women's active role in avant-garde art circles, creating abstract art and propagating their creations before the First World War to comparable extents as the male artists studied here. The means they employed were just as varied as the men's and they tried to reach as large an audience as possible, just as their male counterparts did. Although basic research is still lacking for the thirteen women to date, this chapter demonstrates once more that these gaps in the history of early twentieth-century art must be filled if we are ever to gain a more complete and less distorted understanding of the history of the avant-garde.

362 For Exter, see, for example, Kiblitisky 2001, p. 159, and Raev 2015b, p. 94. For Goncharova, see Kemfert and Chilova 2009, p. 14, and Raev 2015a, p. 116; Goncharova was engaged in the organization of exhibitions of artist groups such as the Jack of Diamonds, Donkey's Tail, and Target. For Rozanova, see Yablonskaya 1990, p. 82.

363 For Exter, see Kiblitisky 2001, p. 158; for Goncharova, see Bilanz 2013, p. 55, and Raev 2015a, p. 116; for Münter see Heller 1997, p. 16, and Büchten 1998, pp. 278–279.

364 For Sonia Delaunay-Terk, see Bilanz 2013, p. 61, and Hille 2015, p. 52; for Alexandra Exter, see Tugendhold 2001, pp. 145, 150, 155, and Raev 2015b, p. 94; for Goncharova, see Kemfert and Chilova 2009, p. 14, and Furman 2017, p. 194; for van Heemskerck, see Bilanz 1998, p. 102, and Schleiffenbaum 2015, p. 367; for Rozanova, see Yablonskaya 1990, p. 85.

Première for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, 1910

Introduction

Kandinsky himself declared his first abstract oil painting to be *Bild mit Kreis*, painted in 1911.³⁶⁵ For *Bild mit Kreis*, the catalogue raisonné lists the exhibition *The Year 1915* in Moscow (April 1915) as its first public appearance. Meanwhile, *Untitled* from 1913 is widely acknowledged as Kandinsky's first abstract watercolour.³⁶⁶ The catalogue raisonné of watercolours states that it was first exhibited in Amsterdam in 1947, several decades after its creation.³⁶⁷ This would appear to suggest that the first time an abstract work by Kandinsky went on view at exhibition, and was thus seen by a larger public, was the spring of 1915 in Moscow.

However, the data collected for this study and the subsequent coding (see Appendix A4, p. 323 for details on the coding process) paint quite a different picture. According to the expert coding, at least two pieces in fact preceded *Bild mit Kreis* and *Untitled* as 'non-representational' images, not only in terms of date of production but also in terms of public presentation: *Improvisation 4* (1909) and *Improvisation 7* (1910) (see A1, exh. 9, p. 241). Both Improvisations were coded as 'non-representational' and, as the catalogue raisonné states, both were first exhibited together at the exhibition of the *Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* in Düsseldorf from 16 July to 9 October 1910.³⁶⁸ In the context

365 See Roethel and Benjamin 1982, no. 405. As the artist specified in 'Selbstcharakteristik' from 1919: '1911 malt er sein erstes abstraktes Bild' (Kandinsky 1980c, p. 60). Rosenberg 2007, pp. 314–315, critically discusses Kandinsky's claim.

366 See Endicott Barnett 1992, no. 365. The catalogue raisonné itself notes that '[...] although this work is well-known as "the first abstract watercolour", there is no evidence that either Kandinsky or Münter called it by this name', Endicott Barnett 1992, p. 327.

367 Endicott Barnett 1992, p. 327.

368 The 1910 exhibition *Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* has so far been given little attention in art-historical research in general and in scholarship on modern art in particular. While several publications are dedicated to its exhibition of 1912 (the most extensive probably being Schaefer 2012), they do not cover the 1910 edition at all. Nevertheless, the following publications deserve mention. Moeller 1984b is dedicated to the early history of the association, including detailed biographical accounts of the persons involved in its founding as well as a presentation of the precursor to the *Sonderbund*. Moeller gives important information regarding Düsseldorf's historical context, with a specific focus on its artistic traditions, by presenting other modern artist associations from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and exhibitions that the city had hosted in the years between 1902 and 1909. Although providing some detail on the first exhibition of the *Sonderbund* from 1909, Moeller only briefly announces the following ones, including the 1910 edition, in the outlook of the book. Peters, Schepers, and Wiese 1984 give insight into Düsseldorf's development into a Modernist city. They compile several articles about the status of the arts in Düsseldorf between 1900 and 1914 and the figures active in the local scene. The compiled articles include Hülsewig's close look (Hülsewig 1984) at the gallery landscape in the city at the time, of which Alfred Flechtheim was part, and Moeller's account of the history of the *Sonderbund* (Moeller 1984a). Here, she summaries its 1910 exhibition



of this study (specifically among the selected artists and within the time-frame studied), these two works can thus be identified as the very first 'non-representational' works shown in public.

Context: the Sonderbund and Kandinsky

In the early twentieth century, a group of artists and art enthusiasts tried to re-position Düsseldorf and the Rhineland in general as *the* cultural hub in western Germany. Founded in 1909, the art association Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler mounted exhibitions of international modern art with the goal of confronting local audiences with the latest developments in art and the questions they posed. In doing so, it rendered them comprehensible to the public.³⁶⁹ Indeed, the catalogue of the association's 1910 exhibition explicitly declares that, given its cultural and geographic proximity to the cultural traditions of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, 'der Rheinische Westen [...] vorzugsweise berufen ist, die Provinz der malerischen Kunst in Deutschland zu sein.'³⁷⁰ This goal justified supporting the newest trends in art and, by extension, the presentation of those trends in exhibitions, as was also the case in the summer and fall of 1910.

The Sonderbund counted among its members not only artists but also collectors and art enthusiasts from various fields of activity, such as lawyers, dealers, and museum directors.³⁷¹ This in turn facilitated the organization, funding, and discussion of exhibitions. Furthermore, many of the members themselves had sufficient funds at their disposal to buy the exhibited artworks for private and public collections. Membership to the Sonderbund was upon invitation only and limited to 100 regular members and 300 associate members ('außerordentliche Mitglieder'). The person responsible for acquiring new members was Alfred Flechtheim, a then very young gallerist in Düsseldorf and fervent supporter of the avant-garde.³⁷² Flechtheim was well connected, among others to two gallerists in Munich, Heinrich Thannhauser and Franz Josef Brakl. These in turn had connections with Kandinsky, ever since he had organized the Neue Künstlervereinigung München's (NKVM) *Ausstellung I, Turnus 1909/10* at Thannhauser's Moderne Galerie in

by focusing on the inclusion of French artists and the first presentation of Cubism to the Düsseldorf public, without, however, mentioning Kandinsky's contributions. Meanwhile, the second volume of Aust 1984 is in large part dedicated to collections and exhibitions in Düsseldorf between 1900 and 1914. However, the Sonderbund exhibition of 1910 is not given any attention whatsoever. Although the authors mentioned above have studied the context and prehistory of the exhibition and organizing body, the 1910 exhibition itself and particularly the first presentation of abstract artworks by Kandinsky are addressed in a very unsatisfying manner, if at all. The exhibition catalogue (Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910) is therefore the primary source that informs this chapter.

369 Moeller 1984b, p. 149.

370 Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910, p. 15.

371 As listed in the exhibition catalogue, the members of the Sonderbund's board and of its exhibition committee included museum directors, gallerists, dealers, lawyers, authors, editors, teachers, and conservators (Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910, p. 54).

372 Dascher 2013, p. 52.

1909, after a failed attempt at collaborating with Brakl.³⁷³ It is likely that it was via this network that Flechtheim and Kandinsky met and/or knew about each other, which in turn led to Kandinsky's membership of the Sonderbund in Düsseldorf. He is indeed listed as a member in the catalogue of the Sonderbund's 1910 exhibition.³⁷⁴ Additionally, a colleague of Kandinsky and fellow founding member of the NKVM, Adolf Erbslöh, originally came from the Rhineland, thus bringing along ties to the local art scene, its supporters and collectors.³⁷⁵ These local ties were reinforced through Gabriele Münter, another founding member, whose brother lived in the area; in him the Munich artists had another supporter prepared to advocate in the region on their behalf.

The 1910 exhibition of the Sonderbund: content and abstraction

According to its catalogue, the exhibition of the Sonderbund in Düsseldorf in 1910 presented 242 paintings, watercolours, drawings, and sculptures by 55 different artists as well as 278 pieces of applied art and printed matter (for instance, posters). The catalogue lists the exhibitors and their artworks, with selected illustrations, as well as the members and board members of the association. A preface by the association's secretary, Wilhelm Niemeyer, precedes the listing. In it, he lays out the situation in which modern German art – and, as such, the art on display – then found itself, particularly with regards to important influences from its French neighbours.³⁷⁶ The author places distinct emphasis on the youth of the participants³⁷⁷ – and thus of the exhibition as a whole – all the while embedding them in recent art history and the lineage of Impressionism, Cézanne, and Matisse. The latter, a contemporary of theirs and one of their latest stylistic forerunners, is also stated as featuring in the exhibition himself. While Niemeyer accentuates the youthfulness of the art on show, the average age of the participants was in fact 36.1. The youngest participating artist (Jules Pascin) was 25 years old, while the oldest (Max Liebermann) was 63, and the age most represented was 30 (with seven artists aged 30 participating).³⁷⁸ Aged 44, Kandinsky was not far off from the average age of participants (being certainly closer in age to the mean average than to the age of the oldest participant) and thus falls in the middle of its overall distribution.

373 See Hoberg, Hoffmeister, and Meissner 1999, p. 33, and Kandinsky 2007b, pp. 329–330, note 11.

374 Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910, p. 61.

375 BIRTHÄLMER and FEHLEMAN 1999, p. 276.

376 Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910, pp. 5–16.

377 In the preface of the catalogue (Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910), Niemeyer mentions the 'Jungpariser Kunst' (p. 7), Matisse's influence on the 'künstlerische Jugend' (p. 15), as well as the development of the 'jüngste Kunst' (p. 15) and of 'jungfranzösischer, jungrussischer, jungdeutscher' (p. 15) artists, all on view in the exhibition.

378 See the profile of the exhibition in DoME (<https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/>) for more details on the distribution of age and nationality of the exhibition's participants.

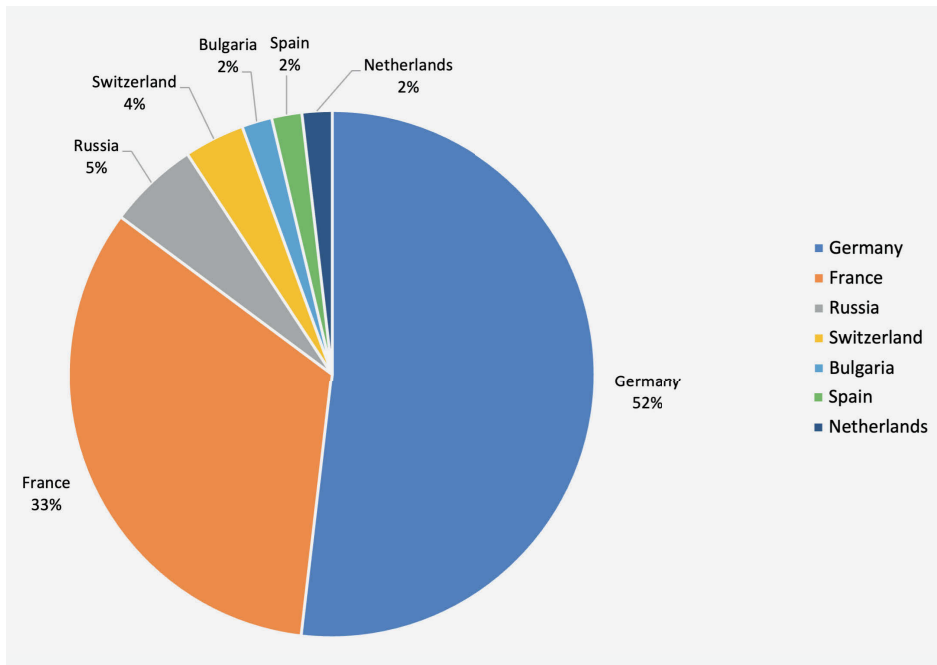


Figure 39: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at *Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler*, Düsseldorf, July–October 1910.

Although today one might expect an even lower average age, considering the strong emphasis on ‘youth’ in the preface, this gives us an understanding of what a ‘young exhibition’ meant in 1910. Similarly, the highlighting of the exhibition’s international character in the foreword is also reflected in the statistics. Seven different nationalities were represented in the exhibition: German, French, Russian, Swiss, Bulgarian, Spanish, and Dutch. While Germany constitutes more than half of the artists (51.9 percent) and catalogue entries (62.2 percent), a third of the artists (33.3 percent) and almost a fifth of the catalogue entries (18.2 percent) are French (see fig. 39 and 40). The other nationalities make for less than 10 percent each in terms of artists and catalogue entries, meaning that as a Russian painter Kandinsky is very much part of a minority in both respects.³⁷⁹ The dominating nationalities are clearly German and French, as one would expect from reading the preface.

³⁷⁹ However, Kandinsky’s name in the catalogue is followed by ‘München’: his place of activity. His nationality is not mentioned in the catalogue. Of the artists in this exhibition, 5.6 percent were Russian, 3.7 percent were Swiss, and 1.9 percent were Bulgarian, Spanish, and Dutch respectively. Of the catalogue entries, 8.1 percent are Swiss, 6.2 percent Russian, 4.3 percent Bulgarian, and 0.5 percent Spanish or Dutch.

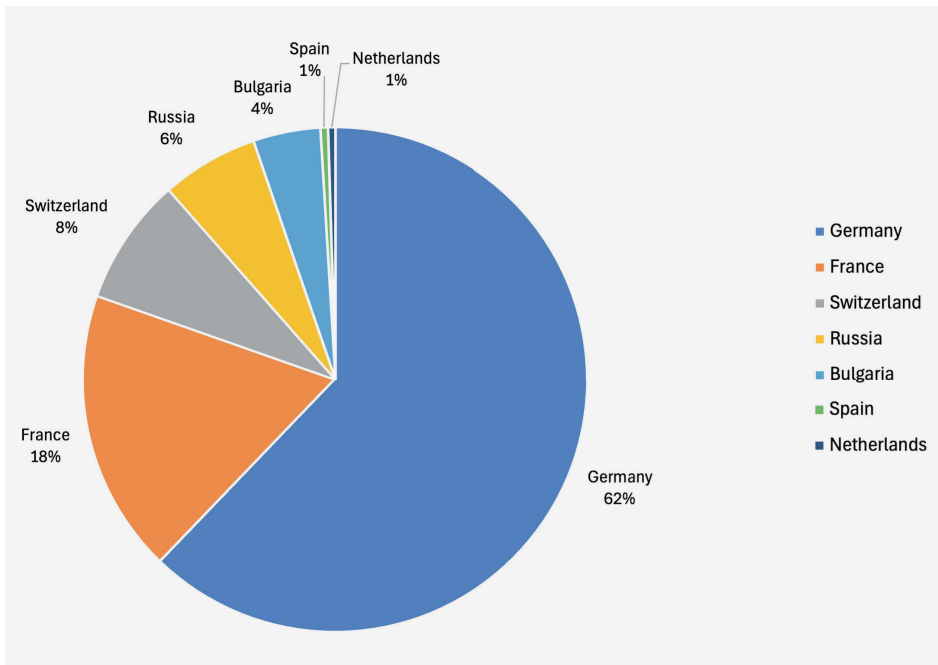


Figure 40: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at *Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler*, Düsseldorf, July–October 1910.

The exhibition was held at the Kunstpalast in Düsseldorf, a large exhibition building erected in 1902 ‘for a major exhibition of industry, trade and art’.³⁸⁰ Its origins date back to the mid-nineteenth century and a strong partnership between the academy and citizens of Düsseldorf.³⁸¹ As per the catalogue, the 242 paintings on show at the *Sonderbund* exhibition were distributed, regardless of nationality or style, over 11 of the 20 galleries available, as well as a reading room and the ‘Kuppelhalle’.³⁸² Although not explicitly mentioned in the catalogue, only two galleries had a national focus: gallery 17 contained only French artists, while gallery 19 showed only German ones.³⁸³ Kandinsky’s pieces were hung in

380 URL: <https://www.kunstpalast.de/en/the-kunstpalast/>.

381 Ibid.

382 As per the exhibition catalogue, paintings were hung in galleries 1, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20. Meanwhile, galleries 2, 7, and 16 contained sculpture, and galleries 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 presented decorative arts. In galleries 3, 4, 5, and 6 the thematic focus was on posters and other printed matter.

383 The exhibition catalogue is organized by section (paintings, sculpture, decorative arts, architecture) and each section is arranged alphabetically according to artist name, along with the number of the gallery in which each artwork was hung. While the first half of the catalogue contains the preface, the listing of exhibited items per section, as well as the listing of members of the association and its board, the second half presents illustrations of selected artworks. Kandinsky’s pieces are not among the illustrations.

gallery 16, and thus most likely preceded the 'French' room. His pictures were hung beside works by a few of his colleagues from the NKVM (Girieu, Jawlensky, and Kanoldt) as well as the Brücke artists (Kirchner, Pechstein, Schmidt-Rottluff, Nolde). Gallery 16 contained 24 paintings by 12 artists. Eight of the 24 paintings were by Jawlensky, the artist with by far the most pictures in the room. Kandinsky showed three canvases, all other painters just one or two. Given the constellation of painters in the room, it can be assumed that the impression on visitors must have been of a strongly Expressionist and colourful hang.

It was here that Kandinsky showed, as mentioned earlier (see A1, exh. 9, p. 241), abstract artworks for the very first time. The three pieces presented were:³⁸⁴

- *Improvisation 5 – Variation I* (1910; listed as number 100 in the exhibition catalogue, under the title 'Improvisation Nr. 5, Presto'),
- *Improvisation 7* (1910; listed as number 101 in the exhibition catalogue under the title 'Improvisation Nr. 7, Sturm'),
- *Improvisation 4* (1909; listed as number 102 in the exhibition catalogue under the title 'Improvisation Nr. 4, Abend').

As mentioned, the coding of these three pieces for the purposes of this study (see A4, p. 323) classified *Improvisation 4* and *Improvisation 7* to be 'non-representational' images, while *Improvisation 5 – Variation I* remained uncoded. Given that only a reproduction in black and white was available, the experts were reluctant to categorize it. However, when comparing *Improvisation 5 – Variation I* with a colour reproduction of the study for *Improvisation 5* (fig. 41) and assuming that the colouration of the study was similar to that of the final work, it is very likely that any coding of *Improvisation 5 – Variation I* would similarly yield 'non-representational' as a result, for illusionistic elements conveying an observable reality are indeed present in the image and, while there is a plasticity and recognizable spatiality to the forms, no pictorial objects can be identified. However, observing the painting a little longer and having prior knowledge of Kandinsky's work, two forms in the top right-hand corner could, potentially, be identified as riders on horses. Against this backdrop, it seems fair to say that the piece could also have been coded as 'stylized – wholly'. Regardless of such speculations on the coding of *Improvisation 5 – Variation I*, it can nevertheless be stated with certainty that the two other works, *Improvisations 4* and *Improvisation 7*, are strongly abstract and vibrantly colourful. All three canvases are medium-format³⁸⁵ and have an average surface area of 1.3 square metres each, which means that they would have

384 Kandinsky's works are listed on p. 24 in the exhibition catalogue (Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910). All three pieces are marked with an asterisk in the catalogue, indicating that they were for sale. The information in the catalogue raisonné of Kandinsky's exhibited pieces matches the listing in the exhibition catalogue.

385 *Improvisation 4* measures 107 × 159 centimetres (or 1.7 square metres); *Improvisation 5 – Variation I* measures 107 × 95 centimetres (or 1 square metres); *Improvisation 7* measures 131 × 97 centimetres (or 1.2 square metres).

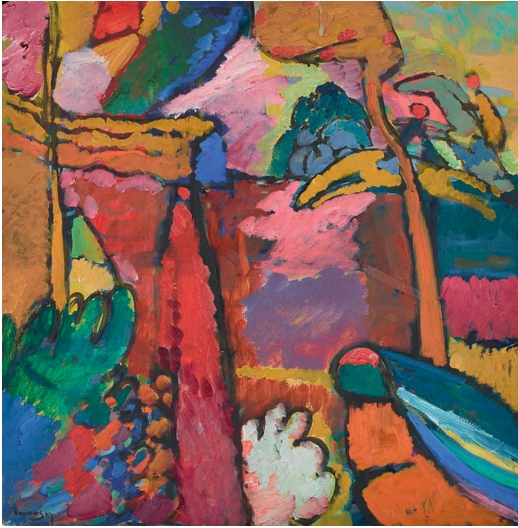


Figure 41:

Wassily Kandinsky, *Study for Improvisation V*, 1910, oil on pulp board, 70.2 x 69.9 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art.

taken up around four metres of wall space if hung closely next to each other. That, in turn, would have resulted in a big abstract area appearing on the wall in question and in the room in general, an effect that would have been visually arresting. Two of the works, *Improvisation 5 – Variation 1* and *Improvisation 7*, are painted in portrait format whereas *Improvisation 4* is a landscape format. The formats alone suggest a symmetrical hanging – with either the landscape format above, below, or in between the two portrait formats – an ensemble that would increase the attention it already attracted. However, no information regarding the placement of the works in the galleries could be found, which is why all this remains supposition. Given the advanced degree of abstraction of all three of Kandinsky's pieces, it can still be assumed that, when combined, they were visually striking, despite what was for all intents and purposes already a very colourful hang in gallery 16.

Regarding the content of Kandinsky's pieces, their titles suggest that they were all part of what he (later) defined as paintings representing the unconscious and the sudden manifestations of the inner human character, a rather abstract concept in and of itself.³⁸⁶ I would thus argue that, because of their formal and conceptual abstraction, they formed a coherent ensemble to submit to an exhibition whose stated goal was ostensibly to present the very latest developments in art. Given that none of Kandinsky's written explanations or theories are known to have featured in the exhibition or its accompanying publication, viewers were left with the titles listed in the catalogue as the sole point of orientation and

386 Kandinsky explains his interpretation of this concept in the 'Schlußwort' of his 1911 publication *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (which was published after the 1910 *Sonderbund* exhibition), see Kandinsky 2009, p. 146.

identification. As such, the titles given in the exhibition catalogue are somewhat more suggestive than the 'official' titles later given by the catalogue raisonné, because they contain the designations (or 'pointers') 'Presto', 'Sturm', and 'Abend'. 'Presto' and 'Sturm' are at least terms that seem to have been borrowed directly from music, a discipline Kandinsky is known to have been interested in and often used as a frame of reference in his development of abstraction.³⁸⁷ I would argue that Kandinsky consciously used the titles intended for publication in the exhibition catalogues to 'frame' his works, inviting viewers to approach them by drawing an analogy with the long-familiar abstract experience of listening to music. This further proposes that Kandinsky chose his titles in order for his artworks to be more understandable for the public, while also expressing his concept of abstraction and arguably using the exhibition as an educational tool. This shows once more that Kandinsky was very conscious of the public visiting the exhibition. Furthermore, I would argue, artworks that are better understood are also more likely to sell, so there might have been an economic motivation to assigning such titles, too.

Reception of Kandinsky's works at the *Sonderbund* exhibition, 1910

Although Kandinsky only presented three works out of the total of 240 on display, the degree of abstraction in his pieces was noticed by the contemporary press and critics reviewing the event, thus reflecting wider public opinion and the reception of the artist's work in Düsseldorf as a whole. Given the novelty that abstraction still represented in the context of art exhibitions at the time, it is worth taking a look at a few selected articles.³⁸⁸ The text by P.F. Schmidt in the November edition of *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* maintains a generally positive tone and welcomes the most recent trends in art as well as the international character of the show, calling the exhibition a 'Zusammenfassung aller vorwärts-strebenden Kräfte in der Kunst [...] nur das entschieden nach neuen Formen, neuem Ausdruck Ringende war zugelassen; ob deutsch, französisch oder belgisch. Das Eigene an dieser Veranstaltung war eben die internationale Zusammengehörigkeit der Qualität im Sturm und Drang der Jüngsten [...]'.³⁸⁹ And although he reports that the 'Düsseldorfer Publikum rang die Hände und entrüstete sich',³⁹⁰ he specifically commends Kandinsky's works as: 'Eine Flut stärksten Kolorismus [...], bei manchen Sonderlichkeiten, oft hinreißend.'³⁹¹

387 Kandinsky 2009, chapter A. III–A. IV (pp. 50–60), chapter B. VI (pp. 70–71). Here, again, it has to be pointed out that *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* was written, or at least first published, about a year and half after the exhibition of the Sonderbund in 1910, in late 1911.

388 Out of the twelve articles and announcements found among German magazines and newspapers (via searches of the Heidelberger Historische Bestände, URL: <https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/digi/digilit.html>, November 2023), only six, or half, explicitly mention Kandinsky and his works among the other artists in the show. The other texts either focus on the better-known foreign and regional artists and/or are short general announcements of the exhibition.

389 Schmidt 1910, p. 264.

390 Ibid.

391 Ibid.

Similarly praising the youthful aspect of the exhibition overall, Adolf Zürndorfer, in contrast, interprets Kandinsky's pieces as 'Farbenparoxismus' and is in no doubt that they should be taken as an 'abschreckendes Beispiel'.³⁹² Meanwhile, the review that appeared in *Kunst für alle* in September 1910 expresses the author's frustration with Kandinsky's pieces by describing them as examples of his 'undefinierbaren Farborgien'.³⁹³ Likewise, Fortlage's appraisal of the exhibition in *Kunst und Künstler* defines Kandinsky's works as brutal and inadequate and calls collectors of such works 'snobs'.³⁹⁴ Finally, Edwin Redslob reflects the general public's dumbfoundment with Kandinsky's pieces when describing them as 'momentane Farbvisionen, die einem sinnenglühenden Temperament im Entstehen zerrannen. Für Künstler anregend und belebend, müssen diese Bilder dem Laien ohne Sprache sein und den unkünstlerischen Betrachter zur Wut reizen'.³⁹⁵

The absence of any clear subject in the works and, by extension, the impossibility of definition and recognition of what is represented seem to have profoundly confounded and irritated many visitors and art critics. It is no stretch of the imagination to claim that, by being unable to recognize any familiar forms, many would have experienced a certain sense of 'failure' in the face of abstract images. It should be noted that the word 'abstract' or any similar adjective is not used in any of these contemporary texts. Instead, they focus much more on the (often pejorative) descriptions of the vibrant colours. Incomprehensibility – which the titles in the catalogues apparently did little to relieve – seems to have been the public's prevailing experience when confronted with Kandinsky's works at the *Sonderbund* exhibition in 1910.³⁹⁶ Despite this, however, as Fortlage mentions, several collectors took to the pieces and bought them. Unfortunately, no detailed accounts of the sales of the exhibition could be found.³⁹⁷ Therefore, Kandinsky's economic success remains unknown in this case.

Conclusion

This chapter and the data gathered show that, for his first presentation of abstract works, Kandinsky chose a large international exhibition, whose public profile was explicitly defined as a platform for young, new, and modern art, and which was organized by a well-known art association, albeit one based in a relatively 'peripheral' city, not generally considered a major European art capital of its day. Kandinsky's pieces were, by and large, met

392 Zürndorfer 1910, p. 5.

393 Howe 1910, p. 570.

394 '[...] nur Snobs können vor den brutalen oder unzulänglichen Bildern der Kandinsky und Jawlensky in Entzücken geraten und ihre Begeisterung durch zahlreiche Ankäufe erhärten', Fortlage 1911, p. 108.

395 Redslob 1910, p. 532.

396 Four out of six critics qualify Kandinsky's works in a negative manner.

397 The paintings are located in collections in Russia, where access and thus verification of provenance is very restricted and difficult. Attempts to locate archival materials about the exhibition via the Kunstpalast Düsseldorf and/or the city of Düsseldorf were unsuccessful.

with negative reactions by critics and public alike. Given the press response, as well as the list of artists contributing to the exhibition and the images illustrated in the catalogue,³⁹⁸ it can be concluded that Kandinsky's pieces were not only the *most* but apparently also the *only* abstract ones on display at the *Sonderbund* exhibition of 1910. However, contrary to his usually very expressive nature (which led him to fully propound his theories and thoughts not only about his art but art in general), no writings, whether in the form of private letters or published texts or articles, are known in which Kandinsky explained or even mentioned his participation in this momentous exhibition. This could be due to the fact that he himself did not yet consider the works exhibited as abstract, although he must have been aware of their striking effect on the public.³⁹⁹

398 All images illustrated in the catalogue (*Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler 1910*, from p. 68) are unequivocally figurative works.

399 The newspaper clippings he and Gabriele Münter collected, now held at the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung in Munich, are a testament to his interest in and knowledge of the public's opinion of his work.

Kandinsky Continues: The NKVM's *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* in Munich, 1910

Introduction

Founded in 1909 by Kandinsky, Gabriele Münter, and their artist friends, Marianne von Werefkin and Alexej von Jawlensky, among others, the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (NKVM) organized its first exhibition in the autumn of 1909, and it subsequently toured Germany until the summer of 1910.⁴⁰⁰ Generally, the association's exhibitions were planned as travelling exhibitions, starting out in Munich, the NKVM's 'home turf', before going on show all across the country. This was in line with the goals of the organization, which were, among others, to spread modern art and to educate the public about the latest tendencies in art by holding exhibitions. Kandinsky laid out the association's ambitions in its founding papers, the *Gründungszirkular*, as follows: '[...] durch Ausstellungen ernster Kunstwerke nach ihren Kräften an der Förderung künstlerischer Kultur mitzuarbeiten. [...] Durch die Gründung unserer Vereinigung hoffen wir diesen geistigen Beziehungen unter Künstlern eine materielle Form zu geben, die Gelegenheit schaffen wird, mit vereinten Kräften zur Öffentlichkeit zu sprechen.'⁴⁰¹ According to the data gathered from Kandinsky's catalogue raisonné (and confirmed by Hoberg and Friedel), it was at the NKVM's *Ausstellung II*, which took place from 1 to 14 September 1910 at the Moderne Galerie in Munich, that, for the *second* time, Kandinsky publicly showed an abstract artwork.⁴⁰²

400 An exact chronology of the founding of the association is given in Hoberg, Hoffmeister, and Meissner 1999, pp. 28–30.

401 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 30.

402 Probably the most relevant publication related to the history of the Künstlervereinigung München and its exhibitions is *Der Blaue Reiter und das Neue Bild*, edited by Hoberg and Friedel 1999a. Although the title may not suggest it, this exhibition catalogue covers several aspects of the NKVM and includes a well-documented, factual anthology detailing its history and exhibitions. The association's relations with other European avant-garde artist groups in Germany, France, and Russia are discussed in several chapters. One chapter records the exhibition activity of the NKVM, with reproductions of numerous works shown at *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11*, giving an impression of the event and the works displayed. The reception of Kandinsky's abstract works is related through transcripts of press articles and his quasi-exclusion from Otto Fischer's publication *Das neue Bild*. The appendix of *Der Blaue Reiter und das Neue Bild* contains a valuable reprint of the original exhibition catalogue including its addendum. However, the role played by the works that Kandinsky presented is analysed merely in regard to their effect on the NKVM's history, especially its break-up and the subsequent founding of Der Blaue Reiter. The publication does not address his works' role within the wider history of abstraction and the development of an exhibition strategy pertaining to the propagation of abstraction, a gap that this chapter now will fill. Additionally, Buchheim 1959 must be mentioned for giving a summary of the exhibition in general, although without giving any specific attention to Kandinsky, but quoting press reviews at large. The angle relating to Thannhauser's Moderne Galerie is communicated most authentically by Thannhauser 1909, as well as by Lüttichau 1992: both contain precise descriptions



Context: the NKVM and Kandinsky

The Moderne Galerie, a commercial art gallery located in Munich's city centre and founded in the autumn of 1909 by Heinrich Thannhauser (originally a bespoke tailor) hosted *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/1911* of the NKVM.⁴⁰³ Thannhauser's programme was devoted to the presentation of contemporary German and international art.⁴⁰⁴ Introduced by the director of the Neue Pinakothek, Hugo von Tschudi, himself a strong advocate of young and modern art (and artists), Thannhauser supported the NKVM from its very beginnings. It thus comes as no surprise that the NKVM held its very first exhibition as a group in his venue.⁴⁰⁵ The gallery occupied two floors, and besides boasting very large exhibition galleries also had smaller rooms which imitated contemporary living interiors. Essentially a sales device, these enabled customers to see and imagine the art on show in a setting similar to their own home environment.⁴⁰⁶ In fact, Kandinsky considered Thannhauser's space to be among the most beautiful in Munich.⁴⁰⁷ The use of a commercial gallery space as the location for their exhibitions appealed to the Künstlervereinigung's members not only from an economic point of view. Collaborating with Thannhauser had the added appeal of giving them access to his professional network, which would enable loans from other galleries – particularly from abroad – that were prepared to lend their works to respected colleagues, but not necessarily to largely unknown artists acting on their own.

Like the gallery, the NKVM was itself founded in 1909 and accepted anybody as member for a yearly membership fee of 10 Marks, as long as they received majority backing from members of the board, which was presided over by Kandinsky himself.⁴⁰⁸ The articles of association guaranteed a certain degree of control to board members, allowing them to admit to their circle only artists they considered avant-garde. One of the NKVM's stated

of the appearance of the gallery space where the exhibition was held, without, however, providing further information on the specific hanging and presentation of the works featured in *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11*.

403 As Lüttichau 1992, p. 299, reports: 'Heinrich Thannhauser (1859–1934) genoß in München als bereits bekannter Maßschneider großes Ansehen [...]. [I]m Herbst 1909 eröffnete [er] eigene Galerieräume im ehemaligen Arco-Palais, Theatinerstraße 7, im Zentrum Münchens.'

404 Ibid., p. 301.

405 *Ausstellung I, Turnus 1909/1910*, took place at the Moderne Galerie from 1 to 15 December 1909.

406 As Thannhauser 1909 explains, in a little booklet published to mark the opening of the gallery in 1909: 'All diese Bilder kommen außer in dem großen Oberlichtsaal in modern-behaglichen Interieurs zur Aufstellung und es bietet sich solchermassen dem Beschauer Gelegenheit, zu erkunden, ob ein Gemälde mehr intimen oder dekorativen Charakter hat, ob es sich mehr für das behagliche Heim des Kunstfreundes oder für die Galerie des Sammlers eignet' (p. 6).

407 As Kandinsky 1960 describes: 'Heinrich Thannhauser hatte damals vielleicht die schönsten Ausstellungsräume in ganz München [...]' (p. 46).

408 Hoberg 1999 explains the NKVM membership conditions and the organization of the board: 'Am 22. Januar 1909 gründete man schließlich den Verein, der bald darauf den Namen "Neue Künstler-Vereinigung München" erhielt. Kandinsky übernahm den 1. Vorsitz der Vereinigung, "da es sonst niemand konnte", wie Münter in ihrem Tagebuch von 1911 schrieb; dabei kamen ihm unter anderem die Erfahrungen als Präsident der "Phalanx" von 1901 bis 1904 und sein Studium der rechte in Rußland zugute' (p. 15). The NKVM's various membership schemes are detailed in Hoberg, Hoffmeister, and Meissner 1999, p. 29.

goals was organizing 'Kunstaussstellungen in Deutschland wie im Auslande'.⁴⁰⁹ Members were automatically entitled to participate in these exhibitions with two jury-free paintings each, provided their size did not exceed four square metres.⁴¹⁰ All other canvases had to be submitted and judged by a jury consisting of all full members present at the moment of submission in the venue of the exhibition.⁴¹¹ For their second exhibition, the NKVM invited a number of French and Russian artists to participate. Such international entries were realizable thanks to the Paris-based network of Pierre Girieud, also a NKVM member, and Kandinsky's connections to his native Russia. In order to control – or at least inform – the choice of works by French artists, fellow member Adolf Erbslöh travelled to Paris in the summer of 1910, where, together with Girieud, he selected artists and works for the exhibition.⁴¹²

These proceedings show that the leading figures of the NKVM were very specific about who and what to include in their exhibitions. Particularly when it came to securing loans from French artists who already had official gallery representation, such as Georges Braque, Pablo Picasso, and Kees van Dongen,⁴¹³ having Thannhauser and his network of contacts as a reference certainly helped open doors and win them over.⁴¹⁴ An equivalent gallery landscape did not yet exist in Russia, which made it more difficult to find like-minded artists to invite to the exhibition: the NKVM thus relied on Kandinsky and his contacts in his native Russia for targeted invitations.

The articles and terms of association resulted in the participation of 29 artists at *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11*. While the exhibition catalogue lists 25, a reproduction in Hoberg and Friedel⁴¹⁵ shows that a supplement must have been added to the catalogue (probably after the opening, but certainly after the catalogue itself had been printed), listing four more artists. Preceding the listing of exhibited artists and artworks, the catalogue contains no less than *five* introductory texts by Henri Le Fauconnier, the Burliuk brothers, Kandinsky, Odilon Redon, and 'Jacques Favelle' (pseudonym for Jacques Maritain).⁴¹⁶ This

409 Quoted in Hoberg and Friedel 1999b, p. 7.

410 Hoberg, Hoffmeister, and Meissner 1999, p. 31.

411 'Die übrigen eingesandten Werke unterliegen der Jury, welche aus allen z.Zt. im Ausstellungslokal in München anwesenden ordentlichen Mitgliedern besteht', *ibid.*, p. 29.

412 Hoberg 1999, p. 18.

413 These are also indicated in the exhibition catalogue (Neue Künstlervereinigung München 1910): at the end of the listing of their artworks, the gallery is given in brackets, accompanied by the respective address in Paris.

414 'Alle Bilder, bis auf die van Dongens, der durch die Galerie Bernheim Jeune vertreten wurde, waren von Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler an Heinrich Thannhauser geliefert worden. Dennoch dürften die Künstler zumindest teilweise selbst die Auswahl ihrer Werke getroffen haben, jedenfalls gilt dies für Girieud, Durrio und wohl auch für Picasso', Hoberg 1999, p. 18.

415 See Hoberg and Friedel 1999a, p. 360, for the 'Nachtrag'. The additional artists listed are David and Vladimir Burliuk, Wassily Denissov, and Seraphim Soudbinine.

416 The text by 'Jacques Favelle' was originally longer and written for the catalogue of the *Exposition de Peintures et de Céramiques de G. Rouault* which took place from 21 February to 5 March 1910 at the Galerie Druet in Paris (the complete text can be found online on the DoME website, see URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/exhibition/271>). It was sent to the NKVM either by Rouault or Druet, as mentioned in *Neue Künstlervereinigung München 1910*, p. 11.

makes clear the associations' intention to explain its objectives as thoroughly as possible. As Lüttichau 1992 already observed,⁴¹⁷ the choice of authors reflects the international orientation of the entire exhibition, by including French and Russian artists as well as a text by Kandinsky, then living in Munich. The texts themselves express a pan-European unity in art as well as their authors' (and by extension their nations') common practices, heritage, and goals regarding contemporary art, thus rendering them as universal as possible. The authors all share a view of the importance of combining external observation with inner experiences and sensations in their art. I would further argue that through its geographic position as the midpoint between France/the West and Russia/the East, and by having Kandinsky's text sandwiched between the other four, the organizers were keen to stress that Munich – and by extension the NKVM and Kandinsky himself – occupied the very centre of avant-garde endeavours in art.

Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11: content and abstraction in Munich in 1910

The NKVM's *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* included 132 artworks by 29 artists, most of whom were living in Paris or Munich at the time.⁴¹⁸ According to the catalogue, the show included painters from seven countries: Austria (including Czech artists), France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the Russian Empire (including Ukrainian artists), and Spain.⁴¹⁹ This reflects the internationality already represented by the authors of the numerous prefaces in the catalogue. This internationality is highlighted in the catalogue by listing the city of residence after each artist's name. Statistically, the majority of the artists are Russian, making up 34 percent of the participants (see fig. 42). German and French artists comprise 23 percent each – or about a quarter – of the exhibition. All other nationalities participate with just one artist, equivalent to 4 percent each. This means that Kandinsky and his compatriots form the largest group of exhibitors at Thannhauser's gallery.

Looking at the distribution from the point of view of catalogue entries (fig. 43), the majority, or 36 percent, of the paintings are unsurprisingly also by Russian painters, followed by 25 percent by German and 16 percent by French painters. Each of the other nationalities represents no more than 13 percent of the paintings on view. Kandinsky thus belongs to the nationality submitting the most works. The reasons for this demographic in all likelihood lie in Kandinsky's German and Russian networks, combined with Girieud's efforts to get artists from Paris to commit to the show.

417 'Mit den einleitenden Texten im Ausstellungskatalog von Le Fauconnier, den Brüdern Burljuk, Odilon Redon und ihm selbst hatte Kandinsky seine programmatische Orientierung nach Frankreich und nach Rußland gleichermaßen festgelegt und die von ihm immer wieder postulierte Synthese aller Künste untermauert', Lüttichau 1992, pp. 300–301.

418 Neue Künstlervereinigung München 1910, pp. 12–36.

419 Given the political map of Europe in 1910, countries that formed part of the Russian Empire at the time are counted as Russian (for example, Ukraine and Belarus). Similarly, the modern-day Czech Republic then fell under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

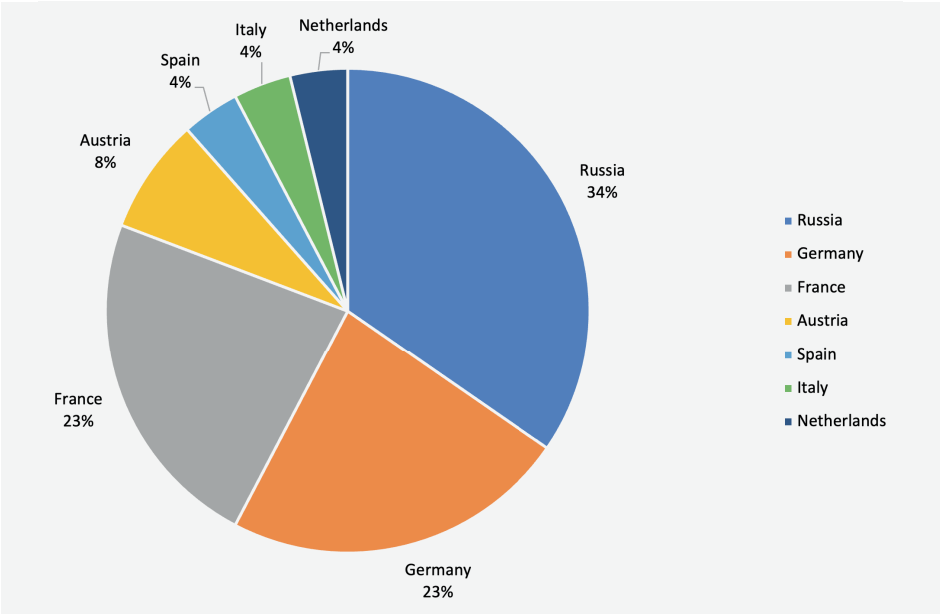


Figure 42: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at NKVM's II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11, at Moderne Galerie, Munich, September 1910.

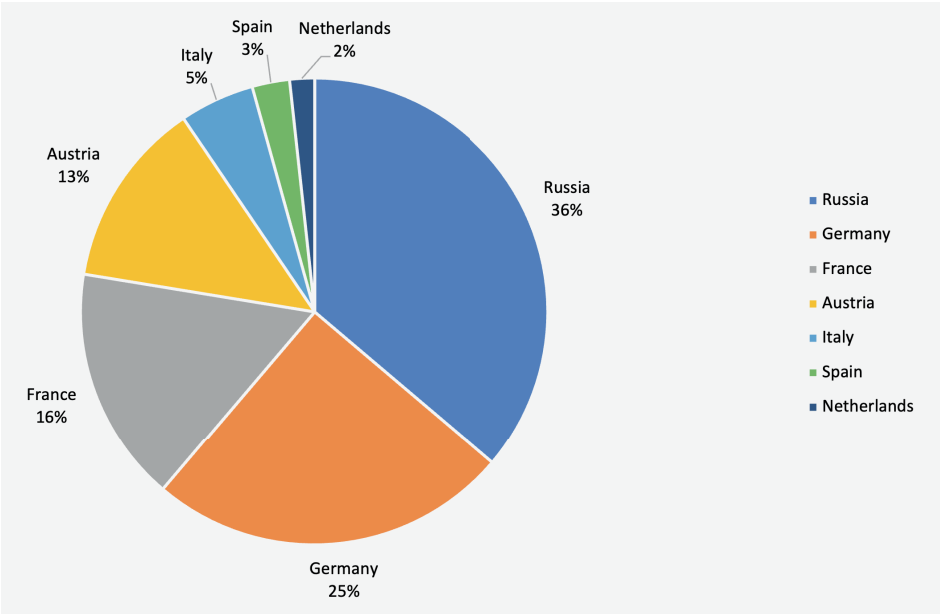


Figure 43: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at NKVM's II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11, at Moderne Galerie, Munich, September 1910.

While numerous nationalities were represented, the age range of featured artists was similarly wide, ranging from just 23 (Vladimir Burliuk) to 50 years of age (Marianne von Werefkin), with a mean average of 32.9 and 29 being the most common age (shared by four artists) – making it a relatively ‘young’ exhibition. At the time, Kandinsky was 44 years old and thus ranked among the oldest artists at this exhibition. However, while coming mostly at or near the top of the categories studied (age and nationality), Kandinsky was far from being the artist with the most works on show. While Kandinsky was represented by five works, Jawlensky showed more than double that amount, with 11 pictures on display, as listed in the exhibition catalogue.

No photographic documentation of the hang is known to have survived (or to have existed in the first place), which makes it impossible to know exactly or recreate the arrangement in the rooms of the Moderne Galerie in September 1910. Only a few sources reveal that the NKVM had eight rooms at its disposal,⁴²⁰ including the large ‘Oberlichtsaal’ on the second floor. This was a large room measuring more than 300 square metres and illuminated by a large skylight ceiling.⁴²¹ All other rooms, as briefly mentioned, imitated contemporary living and drawing rooms, and we must assume that a part of the NKVM exhibition was presented in these, too.⁴²² However, where exactly Kandinsky’s pieces were hung, in what order, and adjacent to which pieces by other artists, remains unknown. Given that the catalogue lists the artists alphabetically by last name, without giving any clue as to their spread across the rooms, it remains unclear how the exhibition was organized as a whole, and whether or not the display of works followed the alphabetical listing in the catalogue or any other (curatorial) order.

NKVM members considered themselves and the artists participating at the exhibition as belonging to the avant-garde, as is made clear by the prefaces to the catalogue. Further contributors to the exhibition, who were not themselves members of the NKVM, included Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso, the recent centre of attention thanks to their newly developed concept of Cubism, as well as André Derain, Kees van Dongen, and Maurice de Vlaminck, who, five years previously, had brought Fauvism to the public’s attention with their contribution to the *Salon d’Automne* in 1905. The Munich exhibition thus included some of the most avant-garde artists of their time, who radically broke with established pictorial traditions by working with form and colour in new ways. However, of the artists displayed at the show, only Kandinsky had already experimented with the concept of radical abstraction at that time. The first manifestation of abstraction in the context of this exhibition was to be found on the cover of its catalogue, in the form of the NKVM’s logo. Kandinsky had designed the logo and, although it still features recognizable traits

420 See Hoberg, Hoffmeister, and Meissner 1999, p. 34.

421 Lüttichau 1992, p. 300.

422 See note 406 above.

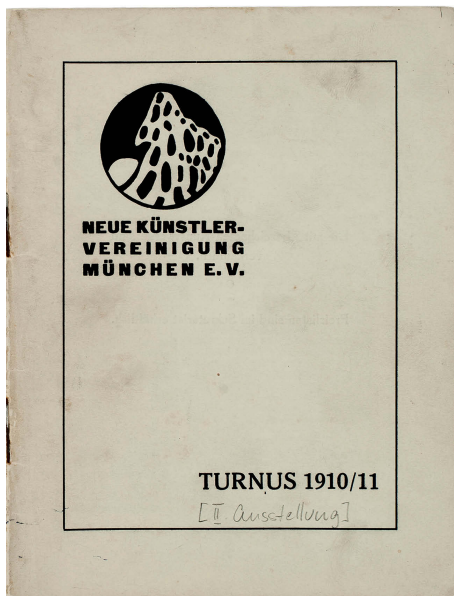


Figure 44:
Front cover of catalogue of NKVM's
II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11, at Moderne
Galerie, Munich, September 1910.

of a mountain, its overall appearance is abstracted (fig. 44).⁴²³ For the visitors to the exhibition, this was the first confrontation with an abstracted image when visiting the show, announcing the avant-gardist nature of the exhibition in a simple but clear fashion.

According to the catalogue raisonné, Kandinsky showed four pieces at the second exhibition of the NKVM in Munich (see A1, exh. 10, p. 242). In chronological order they were:

- *Winterstudie mit Berg* (1908, 33 × 45 centimetres; listed as number 60 in the exhibition catalogue under the title 'Landschaft'; coded as 'stylized – partially')
- *Komposition II* (1910, 200 × 275 centimetres; listed as number 57 in the exhibition catalogue and apparently accompanied by a photograph of the work; coded as 'stylized – wholly')
- *Improvisation 10* (1910, 120 × 140 centimetres; listed as number 58 in the exhibition catalogue; coded as 'non-representational')
- *Kahnfahrt* (1910, 98 × 105 centimetres; listed as number 59 in the exhibition catalogue; coded as 'stylized – wholly')

423 As Hoberg 1999, p. 16, notes: 'Der Katalog wurde mit dem von Kandinsky entworfenen Signet der NKVM geschmückt, das bereits die Briefköpfe und andere Schriftstücke der Vereinigung zierte: eine mit gefleckter Binnenzeichnung zum fließenden Dreieck mutierte Bergformation, die durch ihre Lebendigkeit, aber auch ihren Grad an Abstraktion die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zu ziehen wußte.'

This listing suggests a correlation between the size of the images and their degree of abstraction that shall be addressed in more detail. A closer look at the listing of Kandinsky's works in the exhibition catalogue reveals that numbers 57 to 60 are listed by decreasing size. *Komposition II*, the largest piece shown by Kandinsky, measured 200 by 275 centimetres, is followed by *Improvisation 10*, measuring 120 by 140 centimetres. Another 20 centimetres shorter in height is *Kahnfahrt*, at 98 by 105 centimetres, while, finally, *Winterstudie mit Berg* is the smallest piece, at only 33 by 45 centimetres. This shows that Kandinsky included all sizes in this selection, from small studies and medium-format canvases to large-scale pieces, possibly taking into account the setting of the rooms at Thannhauser's gallery as well as the different settings and wall space available in various collectors' homes.

The exhibition catalogue lists the same artworks as the catalogue raisonné, except for *Winterstudie mit Berg*, where a 'Landschaft' is listed instead, which in all likelihood refers to the same piece.⁴²⁴ According to the experts' coding, one of the four paintings is 'non-representational', while three are figurative. The variation in dimensions is mirrored by the variation in degree of abstraction. Indeed, Kandinsky presented one piece that was coded as 'stylized – partially' (*Winterstudie mit Berg*), suggesting an easily recognizable subject for the viewer, while *Kahnfahrt* and *Komposition II* – coded as 'stylized – wholly' – make it more difficult to quickly identify what is represented. *Improvisation 10* is the only 'non-representational' piece, in which no person, object, and/or landscape can be identified. Presented in combination like this, these artworks not only reveal Kandinsky's increasing shift towards abstraction, his artistic evolution and range of talent, but they also reveal different degrees of abstraction, which, in a manner similar to the deliberately varying dimensions, seem to address different viewers. More conservative visitors would have

424 While the catalogue raisonné of oil paintings (Roethel and Benjamin 1982) identified catalogue entry number 60, 'Landschaft', as *Winterstudie mit Berg* (no. 257 in the catalogue raisonné), Hoberg and Friedel 1999a, pp. 344–345, mention that the 'Landschaft' listed in the catalogue was *Studie für Landschaft (Dünaberg)* (1910, Roethel and Benjamin 1982, no. 366). A note relating to this information on the same page mentions that, according to Kandinsky's *Hauskatalog*, the 'Landschaft' must have been *Landschaft mit Fabrikschornstein* (1910, Roethel and Benjamin 1982, no. 343). Which of these really hung on the walls of Thannhauser's gallery in September 1910 cannot be resolved within the scope of this study. However, it is important to note here that none of them is abstract: in fact, the experts rated *Winterstudie mit Berg* as 'stylized – partially' and *Landschaft mit Fabrikschornstein* as 'stylized – wholly'. *Studie für Landschaft (Dünaberg)* was not part of the set selected for coding, but following the expert's criteria for classification, it most likely would be coded as 'stylized – wholly'. In the context of this study, the identification given by the catalogue raisonné – *Winterstudie mit Berg* – was adopted. Additionally, the exhibition catalogue (p. 25) lists six woodcuts in an album with text as Kandinsky's last catalogue number, 61. As Kandinsky's woodcuts were entirely excluded from this study, they will not be taken into account for the following analysis. According to Hoberg and Friedel 1999a, pp. 344–345, three more pieces by Kandinsky were shown but not listed in the catalogue: *Studie für Improvisation 8* (1909, Roethel and Benjamin 1982, no. 288), *Romantische Landschaft* (1911, Roethel and Benjamin 1982, no. 374), and *Improvisation 18 (Mit Grabstein)* (1911, Roethel and Benjamin 1982, no. 384). Given the dating in the catalogue raisonné, *Romantische Landschaft* and *Improvisation 18 (Mit Grabstein)* could not have been part of an exhibition in 1910 if they were only executed in 1911. As per the experts' coding for the purposes of this study, all of them fell into the category 'stylized – wholly', meaning that none of them can be considered an abstract painting. As Hoberg and Friedel 1999a do not give any sources for this statement, the presence of these works in the exhibition could not be verified. Therefore, they will be disregarded in the present analysis.

been served by his less stylized landscape, while a more avant-gardist public would have relished *Improvisation 10*: a work of total abstraction.

The combination of size and degree of abstraction in this case may also hint at the increased importance of abstract(ed) art for Kandinsky himself, given that the figurative *Winterstudie mit Berg* and *Kahnfahrt* were significantly smaller than *Improvisation 10*, with its less recognizable subject taking up 1.68 square metres on the wall, and *Komposition II*, which even takes up 5.5 square metres of wall space and whose figures are barely discernible (even though the picture as a whole was coded as being 'stylized – wholly' and not 'non-representational').

Again, I would argue that this shows how Kandinsky was conscious of the range of visitors attending exhibitions at the Moderne Galerie. This is not at all surprising, given that the first exhibition of the NKVM the previous year had already taken place in Thannhauser's gallery, allowing Kandinsky to test the waters and gauge his audience. Furthermore, the artist certainly knew how to make the most of the art space and stage his artworks within its walls to great effect. Moreover, being a regular visitor to the gallery himself, I would argue that he was familiar with its public – his potential buyers. Kandinsky's choice of works seems also to have an educational dimension. It traces his artistic path from figurative art into abstraction, thus embedding abstraction in a logical sequence in the development of (his own brand of) modern art. This may also have been an attempt to convince a more moderate public of the progress of art in general, and Kandinsky's art in particular, while keeping an eye on the economic feasibility of the works presented by catering to differing tastes and thus increasing his chances of selling.

Artist's writings and reception

Kandinsky's preface to the exhibition's catalogue indirectly 'comments' on the exhibition and, in a way, announces the works contributed to the show. It is a rather short text, divided into three parts, in which he outlines the progressive abstraction of his artworks through the style employed. In the first part, he gives an account of the pictorial and external process of image making – hence the physical, observable part of the process. He goes on to explain the conceptual and inner process of creating the work of art and how the two come together, this inner necessity being the sole reason and justification for making the piece in the first place. In the third part, he concludes by condemning any artwork realized without the strict combination of internal and external necessity.

Other than his introductory text to the exhibition, no further contemporary commentaries or notes by the artist were identified pertaining to the conception, organization, or reception of the exhibition.⁴²⁵ Only years later, in 1935, did Kandinsky recall the audience's

425 Only a few letters by Kandinsky to fellow NKVM members survive, merely asking them in general terms to prepare works for the upcoming show (see Hoberg, Hoffmeister, and Meissner 1999, p. 34).

reactions to the exhibition: "Die Presse ließ ihre ganze Wut gegen die Ausstellung los, das Publikum schimpfte, drohte, spuckte [...] auf die Bilder. [...] Für uns Aussteller war die Empörung unverständlich."⁴²⁶ In fact, one notable reviewer called the exhibition a 'bluff'.⁴²⁷ The same author declared that 'Sie malen nicht nur die unausdeutbarsten Mysterien, sondern sie schreiben auch geheimnisvolle Dinge über ihre Kunst, wie das Katalogvorwort, an dem die verschiedensten Mitarbeiter beteiligt sind, beweist.'⁴²⁸ This article in *Die Kunst für Alle* even goes so far as to proclaim disappointment in Kandinsky personally, once considered a promising artist, in a strong and even violent tone: 'Jetzt phantasieren sie mit Pinsel und Stift wie Fieberkranke, wie Morphin- oder Haschischtrunkene. Stoff und Motiv ist streng verpönt. Ein farbiges Tohuwabohu von Kandinsky nennt sich bezeichnenderweise "Komposition Nr. 2"; dem Maler fiel wohl selbst kein Titel für diese wahllose Farbenanhäufung ein.'⁴²⁹

Kandinsky's motifs were clearly difficult to understand, and it comes as no surprise that the press focused so strongly on his large, abstract pieces. Given the descriptions in the press, I would suggest that *Komposition II* was seen by the contemporary public as decidedly abstract – or at least as highly incomprehensible – contrary to its coding for the purposes of this study as 'only' 'stylized – wholly'. There is little doubt that the dominant size of the less readable pieces *Improvisation 10* and *Komposition II* added to the critic's outrage and feeling of provocation – a conscious gesture on Kandinsky's part as I would argue. Overall, however, the number of reviews of *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* in Munich seems to have been very low. In fact, this text seems to be the only serious discussion of the exhibition.⁴³⁰

Conclusion

As a choice of venue, Thannhauser's Moderne Galerie was much smaller and a more overtly commercial environment than the venue Kandinsky chose for his first showing of abstract works. That being said, for his second presentation of 'non-representational' work(s), Kandinsky chose an exhibition that was equally international, avant-garde, and even 'younger' in profile. Despite Kandinsky's efforts to elucidate the art shown in the NKVM's *Ausstellung II* in a number of introductory texts by different authors in the exhibition's

426 As Kandinsky remembered in 1935, in a text about his friend and colleague Franz Marc, see Kandinsky 1960, p. 46.

427 As G.J.W. 1910, p. 68, described: 'Man will es lange nicht glauben, daß man es hier mit einem Bluff zu tun hat.'

428 G.J.W. 1910, p. 70.

429 Ibid.

430 The Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung in Munich holds Münter's estate, which contains two folders of press clippings from the period between 1910 and 1912: The vast majority of clippings referring to the NKVM's *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11* are merely announcements, preceding the actual show. See, among others, sheets 72 to 81 in the subcategory 'Neue Münchner Künstler-Vereinigung 1909–1913' in folder labelled '3 Kandinsky im Urteil seiner Zeit, I Ausstellungen Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Blauer Reiter', at the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, Munich.

catalogue, as well as his combination of more and less figurative pieces in his own selection, the criticism was particularly harsh, and the public seems not to have appreciated the progressive art that was shown. In the two reviews found, the critics did not differentiate between more or less abstract works, be it in regard to Kandinsky's pieces or those by other featured artists. Although it seems safe to assume that Kandinsky's *Improvisation 10* and *Komposition II* were the most abstract pieces in the entire show, the critics were just as damning of the exhibition as a whole. I would argue that Kandinsky's submission choices reflect his efforts to explain his artistic evolution from figuration to abstraction, in the hope of being met with greater understanding by the public, while still catering to different tastes among potential buyers and without forfeiting a strong response in general. According to Kandinsky's recollections, the public's incomprehension and his own surprise at their reaction did not, however, discourage him from showing his abstract art. In fact, they seem to have encouraged him to continue on his path of introducing abstraction to the public, not just in Germany but even on an international stage.

From Munich to Moscow: Kandinsky's Abstraction at the *Jack of Diamonds* Exhibition, 1910

Introduction

In introducing this chapter, it is important to recall some biographical details about Kandinsky. Originally a Russian citizen, Kandinsky moved from Moscow to Munich in 1897, aged 31, leaving behind his successful studies of law and economics to become a painter. Despite living in Germany, he always maintained strong ties to his native country, visited it regularly and, throughout his artistic career, exhibited his art consistently and continually in Russian cities.⁴³¹ In the autumn of 1910, after having been absent from Russia for an unusually long period of time, since 1903,⁴³² he returned for a few months in order to visit family, colleagues, and fellow artists and to get to know the latest trends in Russian contemporary art. He left Munich in October 1910, arrived in Moscow a few weeks later, on the first stop of his journey, and spent most of December in Odessa where his parents lived, before returning to Munich for Christmas.⁴³³ During this time spent in the Russian Empire, Kandinsky was introduced to the local avant-garde, including Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov – with whom he had already had contact as he had previously excluded them from participating in *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11*, the second presentation by the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (NKVM).⁴³⁴ Most importantly, however, without planning it, he ended up participating in the first exhibition of the Jack of Diamonds group, which the collected data shows was subsequently the *third* exhibition at which now recognizably abstract art went on public display. And, as on the previous two occasions in Germany, now for the third time, the maker of these works of pure abstraction was Kandinsky.⁴³⁵

431 The most recent and complete list of his group and solo shows can be found in Endicott Barnett 2006, pp. 555–594.

432 Hoberg 2000, p. 65.

433 The correspondence between Kandinsky and Münter during this time, which also describes Kandinsky's travel route, was partially published in Hoberg 2000, pp. 65–103.

434 Uhlig 1999, p. 295.

435 There is only a very limited number of publications about the Jack of Diamonds group in any language other than Russian. Pospelow 1985a dedicates his publication to the Jack of Diamonds group. In it, he gives a detailed account of the prehistory and formation of the group and its artists, their development, and stylistic concepts pursued. He also covers the period after Larionov and Goncharova had left the group and distanced themselves from the purpose of their exhibitions, in particular the first, described as a provocative farce. Pospelow further discusses the presentation of the works, the hanging's effect on visitors, and the exhibition's public reception. However, he does not address Kandinsky's presence or role in this context. Uhlig 1999 recounts the relationship between the Russian artists of the Jack of Diamonds and the NKVM's members, and the background to Kandinsky's participation in their first exhibition in Moscow. Like Pospelow,



Context: Jack of Diamonds and Kandinsky

The first encounter between Kandinsky and Goncharova is described by the former in a letter to Gabriele Münter, who had stayed in Munich while Kandinsky was travelling in the autumn and winter of 1910. Kandinsky and Münter regularly updated each other about their activities, sometimes even several times a day, which is why detailed documentation of Kandinsky's journey survives.⁴³⁶ In a letter from 26 October 1910, Kandinsky informs Münter that he had met Goncharova the previous day:

Sie war erst ziemlich kühl (es ist die, die den groben Brief geschrieben hat). In liebenswürdigster Weise wusch ich ihr das wirklich nette Köpfchen (sie ist sehr jung), was ihr sehr imponierte, da sie gern viel Bilder zeigte, die ich zu kritisieren (sehr weich) mir erlaubte. *Sehr* talentvolle Sachen, mit *viel* Gefühl, mit einem Wort *sehr* interessant, wenn auch etwas einerseits zu theoretisch, andererseits nicht durchgearbeitet. [...] – Als wir gingen, schüttelte sie mir auf Studentenart warm die Hand.⁴³⁷

Following this first meeting and several others, Kandinsky was invited to participate at the first exhibition of the Jack of Diamonds group,⁴³⁸ the most avant-garde artist grouping

she also discusses the baroque-style hang and recounts the visitors' experience. However, she does not give any specific attention to abstract art presented there. Lentulov 1984 gives a valuable but short eyewitness report of the exhibition and its reception (dating originally from the mid-1930s) but without any mention of Kandinsky. In Hoberg 2000, the correspondence between Kandinsky and Münter during the conception of the exhibition shows, in the most direct way, the chronology of its coming together and of the NKVM's members' inclusion. Although Kandinsky's efforts to become a part of this exhibition are very clear from the transcribed letters, his correspondence contains no exact information regarding what was to be exhibited or his reasoning as to why. Significantly, Shatskikh 2015 acknowledges the first exhibition of the Jack of Diamonds group as Kandinsky's first presentation of abstract art in Russia, but his ensuing analysis is limited to a comparison to Larionov's art and abstraction. The author does not address the strategy Kandinsky may have been pursuing with this presentation, although he does observe the interesting constellation of Kandinsky's works in Izdebsky's *Salon 2*. Gray 1963 gives a good overview of the exhibition's appearance but concentrates on the core group of the Jack of Diamonds artists, largely leaving out Kandinsky. She does, however, provide important contextual information, which places Kandinsky within the event, but does not go into abstraction, as her focus is first and foremost on the Primitivist aspect of the art shown. Overall, the literature gives information relevant to situating the first exhibition of the Jack of Diamonds group and Kandinsky in the wider context of the Russian art scene of the time, but it fails to discuss the exhibition's role in the development of the featured artists' exhibition strategies or of abstraction at large.

436 The correspondence between the two artists is kept at the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung in Munich. In parts, it has been published in Hoberg 2000.

437 Quoted in Hoberg 2000, p. 73.

438 In a letter to Münter from 29 October, Kandinsky writes: 'Eben von Lentuloff gekommen (der von mir abgewiesene Maler). Erst seine nette Frau zu Hause gefunden. Dann kamen lauter Maler: Kontschalowsky (Le Fauconnier's Freund), welchen ich übermorgen bei Maschkoff nochmals treffen werde, die Gontscharowa, Larionoff, noch ein paar Maler u. endlich kam der Herr selbst. [...] Heute aber entpuppte es sich, daß sie eine Sitzung haben wegen der Ausstellung am 1/14 [russ. u. dt. Datum] XII, zu welcher ich und Jawl. nach München Einladungen geschickt bekommen sollen', quoted in *ibid.*, p. 76.

in Russia at that time, founded by Mikhail Larionov.⁴³⁹ Larionov was busy organizing the group's inaugural exhibition, in preparation for an opening in mid-December 1910. Kandinsky managed to convince his Russian colleagues to also invite his fellow members of the NKVM to participate.⁴⁴⁰ On 3 November 1910 Kandinsky wrote to Münter from Moscow: 'Nun werden alle unsere 8 Münchner durch mich eingeladen mit 2 juryfreien Werken an der Dez.-Ausstellung "Bubnowi Walet" teilzunehmen. [...] Ich lege dir Anmeldeschein bei.'⁴⁴¹ Except for Marianne von Werefin and Adolf Erbslöh, who both only showed two works, the other members of the NKVM participated with more than two pieces each.⁴⁴² From his own accounts, Kandinsky made an indisputable effort to have his fellow NKVM members also be included in the exhibition. He helped arrange for them an opportunity to show their work abroad, in order for it to be received by a different public and hang alongside work by the most daring artists then active in the Russian art world. At the same time, however, Kandinsky himself profited from their participation, as their works consequently framed his art as being part of a larger movement, whose artistic ideas carried more weight than if he had stood or participated alone. Furthermore, with this exhibition, all NKVM artists including Kandinsky had the chance to address a new public and new collectors, and were given the opportunity to increase their reputation and network of contacts.

Around 1910 Moscow was considered the modern counterpart to Saint Petersburg, then Russian capital, known for its prevailing stuffy and old-school tastes. Besides the Muscovite origins of the Jack of Diamonds' members themselves, from a publicity perspective it made sense for such an expression of avant-garde art to take place in a forward-looking city.⁴⁴³ Despite favourable comparisons being drawn between Moscow and Paris by many local artists,⁴⁴⁴ there was nevertheless one element still starkly missing in early twentieth-century Russia: unlike in Europe the commercial galleries that hosted a large share of contemporary art exhibitions simply did not exist there.⁴⁴⁵ Therefore, the exhibitions

439 Endicott Barnett 2015, p. 71. At the time, the Jack of Diamonds was still a loose formation of artists around Larionov and not yet an officially registered association, which only got formed after Larionov and Goncharova had left the group in late 1911 (see Pospelow 1985a, p. 7). The group rejected all artistic tendencies preceding them and drew inspiration from traditional Russian folk art (see Sarabianov 1984, pp. 26–28).

440 As Kandinsky specifies in a letter to Münter from 1 November 1910: 'Dann geschwind Thee u. zu Maschkoff wohin auch Kotschalowsky kam. [...] Schließlich wurde ich gestern gebeten eine Liste unserer Leute (nach meiner Wahl) aufzustellen, damit die Einladungen geschickt werden können. [...] Für deine Wahl (bzw. deine Bilder für hier) habe ich schon eine provis. Liste aufgestellt und. warte auf die Unterhaltung von morgen um noch Änderungen darin zu machen u. sie dir zu schicken', quoted in Hoberg 2000, p. 79.

441 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 80.

442 Erma Bossi and Kanoldt showed three pieces each, Le Fauconnier and Kandinsky four each, Jawlensky five, and Gabriele Münter seven.

443 Pospelow 1985a addresses Moscow's position in the contemporary-art world, pp. 17–18.

444 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

445 When filtering out the exhibitions that took place in art galleries between 1905 and 1915 in DoME (advanced search > venue filter: 'art galleries' > venues > show map), the map shows 73 venues in Central Europe, compared to four in Russia. Source: DoME, URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/search/map?entity=Venue&filter%5Blocation%5D%5Btype%5D%5B0%5D=art%20galleries&page=1>. Although the data in DoME is certainly not extensive, it does confirm this general trend.

showcasing contemporary art often took place in alternative spaces, as was also the case for the first *Jack of Diamonds* show in late 1910. In fact, the exhibition was installed in a private room of Levinsky House on Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street.⁴⁴⁶

The exhibition's catalogue contains neither a foreword nor an explanatory or introductory text. It is limited to an alphabetical list (as per the Cyrillic alphabet) of exhibitors and their works. The members of the NKVM are listed among them, as if they formed part of the Jack of Diamonds group. Nowhere is the NKVM even mentioned in the catalogue.

Jack of Diamonds: content and abstraction

The first *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition counted 38 participating artists. Among those were nine from the NKVM in Munich, while the others were Russian and French. Goncharova had the most works on view, 33, while all other artists showed 20 pieces or fewer. Kandinsky contributed four canvases.

Regarding the distribution of nationalities by artist (fig. 45), the majority, or 65 percent, were, unsurprisingly, Russian, followed by German and French artists, who participated with 8 percent (or three artists) each. Italy and Poland were represented by 3 percent (or one artist) each, and the nationality of the remaining 13 percent (or five artists) remains unknown. In this context, Kandinsky occupied an interesting role, given that in Russia he was at one and the same time a citizen in terms of nationality yet a foreign visitor in terms of place of residence. In terms of nationality, the proportion of works by Russian artists is even larger (fig. 46), with 82 percent of the total of 250 catalogue entries being by Russians, while only 4 and 5 percent of the entries were by French and German artists respectively, and even fewer by Polish and Italian artists. This shows that, despite the presence of foreign nationals, they exhibited far fewer works than their Russian counterparts. In both cases, Kandinsky was part of the majority of exhibitors. In contrast, from the perspective of age, Kandinsky's 44 years put him among the oldest participants, as the age of his peers spanned from 21 (Sofia Baudouin de Courtenay) to 50 (von Werefkin), with a particularly low mean average of 29.5 and 29 being the most common age. This makes the exhibition of this show the 'youngest' among the six studied in detail.

When the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition opened in Moscow on 14 December 1910, Kandinsky had already travelled on to Odessa, to visit his parents. He therefore never got to see the exhibition in person. Nevertheless, a friend of Kandinsky's sent him a sketch of the hanging scheme drawn on the day of the opening, which suggests a very dense, baroque hang.⁴⁴⁷ In fact, Magda Uhlig remarked that all 250 canvases were plastered over the walls of a single room, packed tightly from top to bottom and from left to right, with

⁴⁴⁶ Wilhelmi 2001, p. 211.

⁴⁴⁷ Uhlig 1999, p. 296.

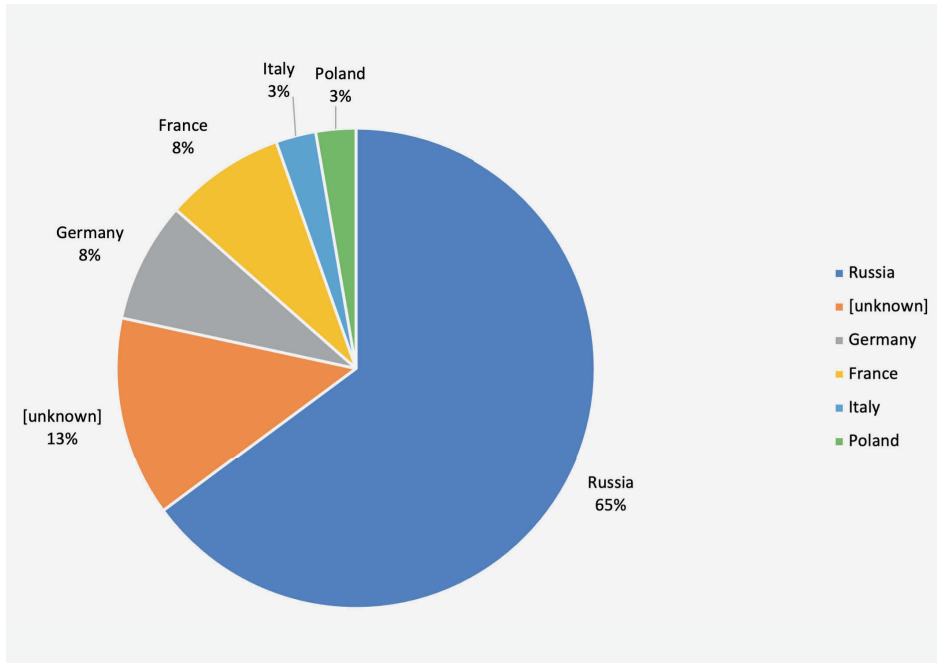


Figure 45: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at *Jack of Diamonds* show, Moscow, December 1910–January 1911.

the goal of confusing the beholder.⁴⁴⁸ This leads to the question of whether Kandinsky's works – despite their large size and advanced degree of abstraction – were even noticeable in such a densely packed gallery, particularly considering the strength and variety of colour that would have undoubtedly dominated the room overall. As already mentioned, the members of the Jack of Diamonds largely took inspiration from Primitivist painting and Russian folk art, making their paintings from that time no less vibrantly colourful than the works contributed by the members of the NKVM.⁴⁴⁹

According to Kandinsky's catalogue raisonné of oil paintings⁴⁵⁰ and the exhibition catalogue, he showed four paintings at the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition in late 1910 (see A1, exh. 12, p. 244), all dating from that same year and thus representing his latest creations. Two works – half of what he showed or 0.8 percent of the total number of works on show – were coded as 'non-representational' and can therefore be considered abstract:

448 See *ibid.*, p. 296, note 32.

449 Gray 1963, pp. 98, 100.

450 Roethel and Benjamin 1982.

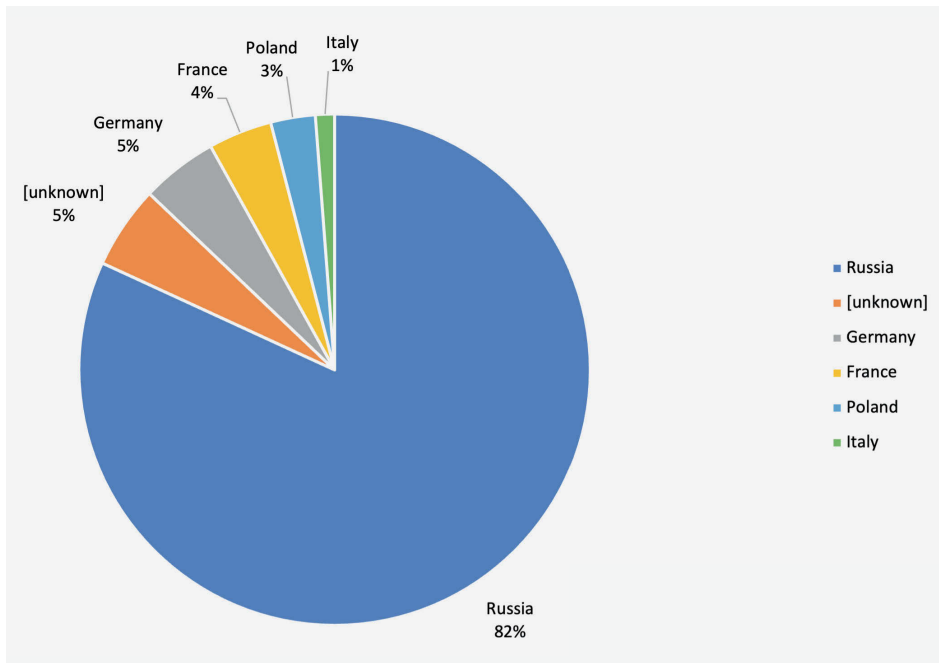


Figure 46: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at *Jack of Diamonds* show, Moscow, December 1910–January 1911.

- *Improvisation 8* (1909, 125 × 73 centimetres, coded ‘stylized – wholly’)
- *Improvisation 10* (1910, 120 × 140 centimetres, coded ‘non-representational’)
- *Improvisation 13* (1910, 120 × 140 centimetres, coded ‘non-representational’)
- *Improvisation 16* (1910, 110 × 110 centimetres, uncoded)

Although ‘only’ two of them are abstract, all four works have non-figurative titles, thus denying the viewer any clue to help identify a recognizable subject or object. Given the oeuvres of the other artists present at the exhibition, it can be assumed that no other works were ‘non-representational’,⁴⁵¹ and that Kandinsky once again presented the *only*

451 In fact, the description that Gray 1963 gives of some of the artists’ work included in the exhibition shows that they were all figurative pieces: ‘Die vier Moskauer Künstler [Lentulov, Konchalovsky, Mashkov, and Fa’lk] malten mit Vorliebe Porträts und Stilleben, für die sie einfache, nebensächliche Gegenstände bevorzugten, um jedes anekdotische Element zu vermeiden’, p. 98. ‘Die Bilder Natalia Gontscharowas standen dem primitivistischen Stil Larionoffs nahe. Französische Einflüsse sind noch auf dem Gemälde *Fischfang* erkennbar, jedoch persönlicher abgewandelt als im Vorjahr. Ihre Bildthemen sind nun dem russischen Bauernleben entnommen, beispielsweise *Wäschewaschen* (Russisches Museum, Leningrad). Von ihren religiösen Bildern waren vier ausgestellt’, p. 100. And in reference to David Burljuk’s exhibited paintings, Gray writes: ‘Es handelte sich um ländliche Szenen in einem gewollt kindlichen Stil’, p. 102.

and by far the *most* abstract pieces at the exhibition. This is confirmed by a look at the painting exhibited by Malevich (see A1, exh. 12, p. 244), making the difference in degree of abstraction particularly apparent: his *Nature morte aux fruits* (1910, Nakov 2002, no. F-187) was coded 'stylized – partially' and, indeed, the fruits and table, as well as the scene's foreground, background, and general sense of depth can easily be identified in the painting. Despite the members of the Jack of Diamonds forming the most radical group of artists in Russia at the time, Kandinsky overtook them in terms of the boldness of his abstraction, and this exhibition would clearly have marked his supreme position at the spearhead of the international avant-garde. Yet, for all their startling degree of abstraction, in terms of colourfulness, Kandinsky's pieces must have fitted in very well with the overall ensemble, given the polychrome nature of *Improvisation 8*, *Improvisation 10*, and *Improvisation 13*. As only black-and-white images survive of *Improvisation 16*, it is difficult to say which colours were employed; however, given the rest of the ensemble and his general style at the time, it can be assumed that it was similarly vibrant in appearance. When visiting the exhibition, spectators must have been plunged into an overwhelmingly colourful *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which chimed with Kandinsky's notion of the exhibition as a work of art in and of itself.⁴⁵² Nevertheless, I would argue that it was precisely because Kandinsky's colours 'melted' into their shrill surroundings that he apparently failed to catch the critics' attention, despite the striking degree of abstraction and largeness of his pictures.

Artist's writings and reception

It is rather unusual for Kandinsky not to have commented on the exhibition or his participation in it, other than a few words regarding preparatory and organizational matters in letters to Münter from October/November 1910. No explanatory or introductory texts, such as a preface to the catalogue, are known. It can therefore be assumed that, as the exhibition's organizing body, the Jack of Diamonds group chose not to include such texts in their catalogue. Further, I would propose that the absence of any explanatory words enabled Kandinsky to test cosmopolitan Russian tastes by showing his works without any written cues or contextualization to see how the local public would react.⁴⁵³ The response was, as mentioned, non-existent, or at least no known written account of it survives. Although, in general, the exhibition did provoke numerous negative announcements and comments in the press, even before the actual opening,⁴⁵⁴ and saw many visitors during

452 See note 10 in the Introduction.

453 The absence of any text could, of course, also have been the policy of the artist group, or have had another reason such as scheduling (considering that Kandinsky's participation in the show, and that of the NKVM, happened at short notice).

454 See Pospelow 1985a, pp. 8, 14, 70, 72, 73.

its month-long run,⁴⁵⁵ there is no record of any newspaper article, Russian or foreign, that mentions Kandinsky by name. I would thus further argue that this led the artist to change his course of action and adapt his exhibition strategy in Russia accordingly.

Indeed, his next group show was Izdebsky's *Salon 2*, whose opening in Odessa was delayed by two months, so that by the time it did open, in February 1911, the *Jack of Diamonds* show was no longer on view, having closed a month earlier (see A1, exh. 14, p. 246). At *Salon 2* Kandinsky's strategy was markedly different. To the Odessa show he contributed not only a staggering number of works – more than 50 (or 10 percent) of the 442 pieces exhibited – but also two extensive texts to its catalogue.⁴⁵⁶ On this occasion, Kandinsky clearly had something of a retrospective in mind, mixing figurative and abstract pieces from his production. He sent at least 25 'older' figurative works and expressionistic landscapes, as well as the four new, purely abstract works, fresh from their showing at the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition.⁴⁵⁷ This gives me reason to believe that, given the disappointing reception of his works at the *Jack of Diamonds* show, Kandinsky immediately changed his strategy and went to great efforts to contribute a much larger number of works in an effective and visible way at Izdebsky's *Salon 2*, thus pulling off 'one of the first retrospectives in his career'.⁴⁵⁸ Furthermore, such a comprehensive combination enabled him not only to show the breadth of his talent, but also to introduce viewers to abstraction in a more controlled and contextualized manner, by showing the creative steps leading up to it. This strategy would also have allowed him to reach different tastes and increase his chances of selling works. His strategy paid off, in that he was seen, respected, and commented on by the critics and thus also by his colleagues and the public.⁴⁵⁹ However, at this point it has to

455 Lentulov 1984, pp. 155–156, remembers: 'Toward the end of the day there was nowhere to hang your coat, so great was the interest and curiosity provoked by our exhibition, about which many notices had appeared in the press long before opening day. [...] The public's conduct was extremely strained. Worthy people evaluated the exhibition with extreme disgust and indignation and attempted to leave quickly, leading with them their children so tenderly educated in fear and responsibility. Critics and connoisseurs were bitterly quarreling. One could see here or there a group of people heatedly arguing, or surrounding an artist with clever questions and derisive remarks: "Even I could have painted that", "This is a child's drawing", "This sketch is crudely done", and so on, and so forth.'

456 One of those texts is conceived and written by him, supposedly forming the basis on which he will then elaborate *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (as suggested by Petrova 2005, p. 5), the other is his annotated translation of a text by Arnold Schönberg.

457 The catalogue raisonné identifies only 34 works as having been at Izdebsky's *Salon 2*, although more than 50 were actually exhibited there (see Shatskikh 2015, pp. 80–81). Therefore, only the 34 images known to have been exhibited at *Salon 2* were presented to the experts for coding for this study (with 7 being coded as 'stylized – partially', 18 as 'stylized – wholly', 4 as 'non-representational', and 5 being left uncoded).

458 Shatskikh 2015, pp. 80–81.

459 Two articles published in *Odessaer Nachrichten* on 6/19 January 1911 announce Kandinsky's retrospective, described as 'das Haupt der Neuen Künstlervereinigung' leading an 'erfolgreichen Kampf mit dem deutschen Künstler-Konservatismus', see sheet 118, subcategory 'Neue Münchner Künstler-Vereinigung 1909–1913', in folder labelled '3 Kandinsky im Urteil seiner Zeit, I Ausstellungen Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Blauer Reiter', at the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, Munich. Another article is entirely devoted to Kandinsky and describes his works at length (sheet 121, subcategory 'Neue Münchner Künstler-Vereinigung 1909–1913', folder '3 Kandinsky im Urteil seiner Zeit, I Ausstellungen Neue Künstlervereinigung München, Blauer Reiter', at the Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, Munich).

be noted, too, that Kandinsky certainly had much more time to prepare for this exhibition and to develop a calculated strategy, as he had already been part of Izdebsky's first *Salon* a year earlier and was re-invited to feature in the second edition. This goes to show that at this point in his career Kandinsky was keen to show his art regardless of the preparation time available, no matter whether he had a year or just a few weeks to plan things.

Conclusion

The data collected shows that Kandinsky used a very young, international, mid-sized exhibition organized by a highly avant-garde artist group to show mostly 'non-representational' works for the third time. Of all the artworks on display at the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition in late 1910, his were definitely the most abstract. His position as an 'outside insider' in his native country enabled him to be welcomed into the Muscovite art scene, while nevertheless assuming the role of the Western-educated avant-gardist, and surpassing the boundaries of representational art, a direction many of his Russian colleagues would follow just a few years later. Despite his advanced age, or maybe precisely because of it, he made even bolder statements by exhibiting his 'non-representational' pieces than the young and most avant-garde of the local artists did. In spite of this, the press took absolutely no notice of him. His following participation at Izdebsky's *Salon 2* in Odessa thus came as a great opportunity to redirect attention to himself by unveiling a quasi-retrospective, accompanied and underscored by the publication of extensive texts. I would propose that this might have been the time around which Kandinsky realized (or was validated in his belief) that in order to be noticed on a larger scale, his art needed to be accompanied by some kind of explanatory discourse, which would eventually result in the conception and publication of *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, a year later.

Picabia as Kandinsky's First Follower at the *Salon de Juin*, Rouen 1912

Introduction

Within the scope of the data collected, the *Salon de Juin* of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, which took place in Rouen from 15 June to 15 July 1912, marks the first time that an artist other than Kandinsky exhibited abstract art. That artist was Francis Picabia.⁴⁶⁰ Curiously enough, this exhibition took place in the provincial city of Rouen and not, as might be expected, in the French capital. Yet, as Claudine Grammont observes, 'Si à l'orée du XX^e siècle, l'enjeu social de l'art doit être considéré non plus à l'échelle nationale mais à celle plus large de l'international, le rôle croissant des capitales des arts ne doit pas pour autant occulter le dynamisme de la province.'⁴⁶¹ Picabia's choice of a provincial city for his first exhibition of abstract art is indeed interesting and shall be studied later in this chapter.⁴⁶²

460 Curiously, according to the data collected (and as appendix A1, exh. 16, p. 250 clearly shows), it would appear that the first abstract piece to have been exhibited by an artist *other than* Kandinsky was not a work by Picabia after all, but by Kupka: *Printemps cosmique II* (1911, Lekeš et al. 2016, no. 171), which Kupka presented at the *Salon des Indépendants* in the spring of 1911. However, this information could not be verified: no sources or literature confirm this statement from the catalogue raisonné (Lekeš et al. 2016, p. 292). The exhibition catalogue of the *Salon des Indépendants* of 1911 does not list *Printemps cosmique II*, and although Kupka is repeatedly mentioned in contemporary press reviews with regard to his exhibited *Gigolettes*, not a single comment can be found pertaining to *Printemps cosmique II*. Direct correspondence with the editors of Kupka's catalogue raisonné did not yield any comprehensible reasoning or justification for stating that this painting had featured at the *Salon des Indépendants* in 1911. It must therefore be assumed that Kupka's catalogue raisonné is incorrect in this regard. Therefore, among the seven male artists considered for this study, Picabia remains the first after Kandinsky to have publicly exhibited abstract art.

461 Grammont 2012, p. 222.

462 Salomé 2010 and Haudiquet and Lefebvre 2012a provide important context in discussing the city of Rouen and its importance for modern art. Salomé focuses on the city's role in welcoming the Impressionists, whereas Haudiquet and Lefebvre's exhibition catalogue looks at the network of collectors of modern art in Normandy at large and Le Havre in particular, including Rouen more peripherally. They offer insight into the function of the periphery for modern art and the art market. However, they neglect the development of abstraction, rather concentrating on Impressionism and Fauvism, respectively. Meanwhile, Werner 2011 repeatedly mentions the exhibition in Rouen as a precursor to the 1912 *Salon de la Section d'Or*, but focuses on the presentation of Cubism as well as the programming surrounding the exhibition rather than the works presented and their advanced degree of abstraction. And although she discusses strategies in the fourth chapter of her book, she makes no mention of either the Rouen exhibition or Picabia. Instead she focuses on a comparison between the Futurists and the activities of the artists in the Section d'Or. Borràs 1985 and Calté 1999 both note the importance of the works Picabia showed at the *Salon de Juin*, but neither draws any further conclusions regarding the motivations for this display or its consequences. Overall, this exhibition has received little attention from art scholars and none whatsoever in scholarship on the history of exhibitions or abstraction in the early twentieth century. The present chapter situates its importance within this context.



Context: the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne and Picabia

Although it is surprising that Picabia would first present his abstract works at an exhibition in a regional capital rather than the national one, it can equally be claimed that there was a certain tradition of modern art in Rouen, for it had played an important role in the establishment of Impressionism in the previous century.⁴⁶³ The most famous example of its relevance in early modern art is Claude Monet's series on Rouen Cathedral.

Rouen may have been of little importance to the avant-garde art scene itself, particularly in comparison to Paris, but its port was nevertheless an important place of transshipment for the coal trade.⁴⁶⁴ This in turn brought wealth not only to the city but to the merchants involved in the trade, and many of them started to collect art.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, new trends like the fashion of spending the summer months by the seaside as well as the development of infrastructure, such as the train lines leading from Paris to French coastal resorts, also pushed Parisians to seek out these towns, particularly during the summer.⁴⁶⁶ Geographically, Rouen is located exactly between Paris and such *stations balnéaires*. This combination of factors – economic and social – made Rouen a relevant place for artists, given that it provided seasonal accommodation to an interested and prosperous public. This is certainly also why the organizers of the exhibition chose mid-June to mid-July as the dates for their event.

The Société Normande de Peinture Moderne was founded in 1909 by a group of artists including Pierre Dumont,⁴⁶⁷ a painter from Rouen and friend of Marcel Duchamp and Picabia.⁴⁶⁸ Picabia became a member that same year and participated in all its exhibitions, starting in December 1909, when he showed a Post-Impressionist landscape in Rouen (see A1, exh. 6, p. 237).⁴⁶⁹ Dumont arranged for the Société's exhibitions to be accompanied by a programme of events that included lectures on modern art by well-known figures like Apollinaire and Maurice Raynal, giving the exhibitions an additional educational dimension and an incentive for the public – and collectors – to attend.⁴⁷⁰

The Société's exhibition of summer 1912, called the *Salon de Juin*, was accompanied by a catalogue containing two prefaces, one by the art historian Élie Faure and one by the aforementioned art critic Maurice Raynal, as well as lists of the artists and their exhibited works. The participating artists were all from Rouen or Paris and included relative unknowns as

463 See Salomé 2010.

464 Patry 2012, pp. 48–49.

465 Haudiquet and Lefebvre 2012a devote a large part of their publication to the presentation of the collectors of modern art in Normandy, specifically in Le Havre.

466 Patry 2012, p. 44.

467 Maingon 2010, p. 183.

468 Werner 2011, p. 61.

469 Camfield 2014, p. 60.

470 Camfield 1970, pp. 16–17. See also Maingon 2010, p. 183; Werner 2011, p. 220; and Grammont 2012, p. 226.

well as respected 'big names'.⁴⁷¹ Picabia is listed as being part of the exhibition's 'comité', although it is not clear what exact function this bestowed upon him.⁴⁷²

Salon de Juin: content and abstraction

According to the exhibition's catalogue, 123 paintings and 4 sculptures by 29 artists were shown. The age span of the participating artists ranged from 24 (Jean Dufy) to 48 (Julien Féron – although Féron was the oldest by a good ten years). Being 33 years old at the time, Picabia was close to the average age, which was 30.7 years, making it a decidedly young event. The internationality of the exhibition was rather limited, with just three different nationalities explicitly represented: French, Spanish, and Russian. In all, 69 percent of its participants were French and accordingly almost 70 percent of its catalogue entries are by French artists (fig. 47 and 48), among them Picabia, while 7 percent of the artists are Spanish, contributing 9 percent of the artworks. One participating artist is Russian (equating to 3 percent of participants), who presented 2 percent of the artworks. Although the nationality is unknown for 21 percent of the artists and, by extension, 19 percent of the artworks, the exhibition was clearly a solidly French affair. Therefore, Picabia's first presentation of abstract art happened in a much less international environment than was the case for Kandinsky (see chapter 'Première for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, 1910', p. 169).

As the exhibition's exact location is no longer known, there is sadly also no record of its spatial arrangement or the hanging of the pieces, particularly the presentation of the abstract works. The exhibition catalogue contains no clue as to the organization or presentation of the artworks and is, in fact, slightly unstructured in itself. Starting with the mention of the honorary presidencies and current society president, the exhibition's *comité* and *comité de placement* are cited on the first page. This suggests that a specific committee existed that was responsible for the placement and hanging of the pictures. It consisted of five artists participating in the show and included the society's president. This information is followed by Elie Faure's preface and then by the listing of artists and artworks, in random, non-alphabetical order. It is possible that this order mirrored the hanging of the works themselves, but that remains a matter of conjecture. After two pages of naming artists and artworks, Maurice Raynal's preface interrupts the list, which is only taken up again three pages later and continues until the end of the catalogue. Interestingly enough, according to the catalogue, Robert Pinchon, an artist from Rouen and member of the *comité de placement*, showed the largest number of works, with twelve pieces on show. All others, including Picabia with four works, participated with two to seven pieces.

471 Among the unknown artists are, for example, three women: Mme. Hassembert, Mlle. Ritleng, and Mme. Jeanne Laurier. Canonized artists (besides Picabia) include Fernand Léger, Albert Gleizes, Marie Laurencin, Juan Gris, and Marcel Duchamp.

472 Dumont 1912, p. 1.

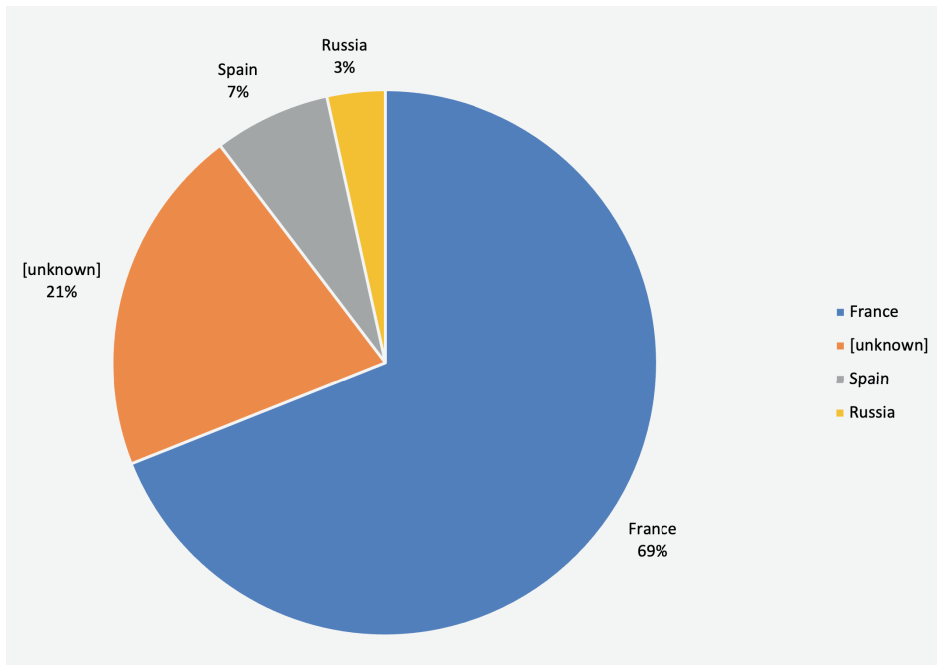


Figure 47: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at exhibition of Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, Rouen, June–July 1912.

As the title suggests, there was no prevailing theme to the exhibition. The prefaces, however, hint at the fact that not only modern but also particularly *young* art (as also suggested by the age average) and its newest trends were on show. While admitting a certain difficulty in understanding modern art, Elie Faure's text does call for respect and patience towards it, as these are the very things that will ultimately lead to its appreciation. Although Faure does not explicitly refer to abstract art here, I would argue that this is implicit in his reasoning. Moreover, he touches on ideas that are also found in Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst*, by saying that art is the expression of a combination of outer observations and inner experiences.⁴⁷³ I assume that Faure would have known Kandinsky's publication (released in late 1911), as it was widely distributed and into its second edition by the summer of 1912. And although he does not go as far as Kandinsky, by proclaiming abstraction as the *only* possible future art, there is an undertone of defence for this newly emerged art in Faure's statement – and thus for Picabia's works that featured in the exhi-

473 Faure 1912, p. 2: 'Mais aucun, pour être entendu, n'exige plus d'efforts que la peinture où nos habitudes paisibles voudraient retrouver l'apparence que nous voyons aux objets au dehors. La peinture n'est pas cela. Elle cherche le point instable où cette apparence s'accorde avec le sentiment héroïque qu'en prend un homme exceptionnel.'

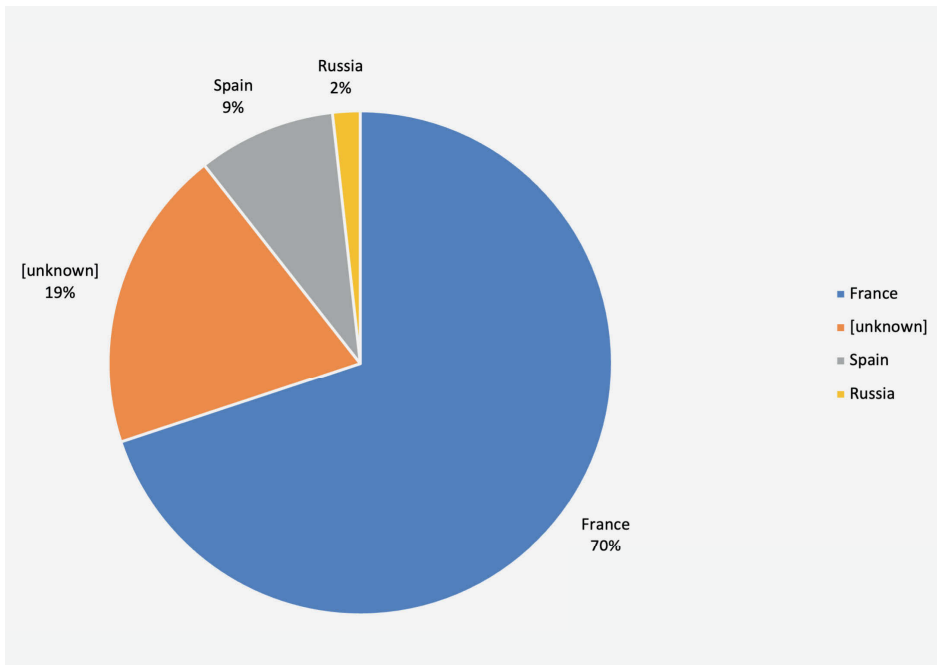


Figure 48: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at exhibition of Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, Rouen, from June–July 1912.

bition. Meanwhile, in contrast to the tone in Faure's text, Raynal argues for modern art to be primarily grounded in scientific knowledge and mental thought processes and less so in painting itself, using Cubism as his main reference. In Raynal's view, such an approach results in a more profound art than anything created up until then, which he describes as being little more than 'jolies'⁴⁷⁴ pieces. Given that Picabia's art at the time was still strongly influenced by Cubism and he was often considered part of the larger Cubist movement, it is safe to assume that Raynal was indirectly including Picabia's art in his defence of the newest artistic trends, even though, like Faure, he does not mention abstraction or Picabia by name either.

As the prefaces clearly state, the 1912 summer exhibition of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne definitely also epitomized new and modern art: '[...] le XX^e siècle a vu naître une génération d'artistes qui [...] ont voulu renouveler à l'aide de leurs connaissances et de leurs affinités, avec le mouvement moderne, les conceptions et les manières picturales des anciens.'⁴⁷⁵ Picabia showed four new works (see A1, exh. 24, p. 259), dated that

⁴⁷⁴ Raynal 1912, p. 9.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

same year, two of which were coded for the purposes of this study as 'non-representational' and can thus be considered abstract, one was left uncoded, while the fourth was coded as 'stylized – wholly'. The four works were:

- *Untitled (Grimaldi après la pluie)* (1912, 92.5 × 73.4 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')
- *Tarentelle* (1912, 73.6 × 92.1 centimetres, coded 'stylized – wholly')
- *Port de Naples* (1912, 91.5 × 73.5 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')
- *Dessin pour un tableau (Danses à la source I)* (1912, dimensions unknown, uncoded)

Although strongly deconstructed and difficult to identify, schematic and stylized figures can still be recognized in *Tarentelle*. The painting's title, written in plain view along the top of the canvas and alluding to a specific scene, cannot have been of much help to contemporary viewers in deciphering the image. In the drawing subtitled *Danses à la source I* and left uncoded, it is virtually impossible to recognize any figures, objects, or a landscape whatsoever. Overall, I would thus argue that Picabia's entire Rouen presentation was abstract.

The four works are all influenced by Cubism, as is visible not only in their formal division into squares but also by their reduced colour palette: indeed, except for the drawing, the works are dominated by grey-and-red or grey-and-orange tones. Despite this reduction, the colours appear strong and bright, particularly compared to the much more muted colours preferred by Cubists also of the likes of Juan Gris and Albert Gleizes, which the catalogue states were also represented in the hang. The unity of colours in Picabia's works and their uniformity of format (*Untitled (Grimaldi après la pluie)*, *Port de Naples*, and *Tarentelle* are the same size, the latter being a landscape format while the former two are in portrait format) leads one to suspect a possible symmetrical hanging. Whether arranged with the landscape format flanked by the two others, or organized in a pyramidal fashion with the landscape format below *Untitled* and *Port de Naples*, or vice versa, their size and colour combination must have been visually arresting to contemporary visitors.

The exhibition in Rouen can, in fact, be counted as pivotal for Picabia, as it marks the first unveiling of his abstract works in public. Indeed, in every subsequent exhibition he participated in, he showed *nothing but* abstract pieces until late 1915 in New York, when he completely changed his style again and presented his mechanomorphic pieces. It is interesting, particularly given his Parisian connections, including with dealers, that he would choose Rouen for such a momentous presentation. I would argue that he first wanted to test the pieces and the public's reaction to them in a less formal environment, before presenting them to the much larger, and probably more judgmental Parisian public. However, it has to be noted that Picabia was probably not the only artist to present abstract works at

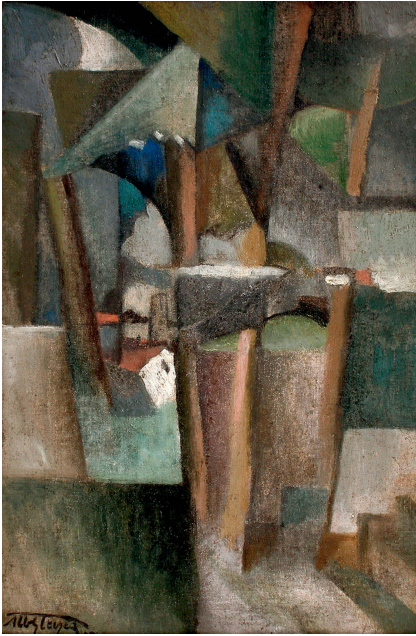


Figure 49:

Albert Gleizes, *Les Arbres*, 1910-1912, oil on canvas, location unknown.

the exhibition in Rouen. Indeed, when looking through the illustrations in the catalogue,⁴⁷⁶ one notices that Gleizes' *Les arbres* (catalogue number 90) would also have had a barely legible subject (fig. 49), being at least as stylized as Picabia's *Tarentelle*.

Artist's writings and reception

Picabia becomes a fervent defender of abstraction around the time of the exhibition in Rouen. Given Picabia's character in general and his attitude towards abstract art in particular, I argue that his choice to exhibit starkly if not totally abstract pieces at the *Salon de Juin* was not a tentative experiment but a conscious decision and strong statement in favour of abstraction, despite it being voiced in a provincial city. The public's overall reaction to the exhibition was rather restrained, but it was nevertheless interested in the modern works, with Picabia's landscapes enjoying the greatest attention.⁴⁷⁷ This is evident in an article in *Gil Blas* from 29 June 1912:

⁴⁷⁶ Gordon 1974, vol. 1, pp. 229-230.

⁴⁷⁷ Unknown author 1912a, p. 3. Nevertheless, the author also notes: 'À vrai dire les dimensions de cette salle sont beaucoup trop vastes pour l'importance de cette exposition [...]. Bien qu'ils aient lu, non sans une certaine fatigue cette préface, hier après-midi, les visiteurs s'arrêtaient interloqués, principalement devant une grande toile de Francis Picabia – un maître de la nouvelle école, nous dit-on – et tous cherchaient en vain à

Nous devons reconnaître que l'apparition dans notre ville des 'cubistes', que Paris seul avait l'heur de connaître, a provoqué une véritable curiosité. Nous doutons cependant que dès la première heure le public, même le mieux préparé, accepte les théories et les œuvres de ces hardis novateurs que sont les 'cubistes', d'autant plus hardis qu'ils sont plus difficiles à saisir et à pénétrer et par suite moins accessibles à la foule. Mais ils se contentent pour l'instant de l'estime de quelques initiés et de l'approbation d'une élite.⁴⁷⁸

The author further explicitly mentions Picabia as one of Cubism's most faithful followers, describing him rather objectively as among 'les plus fidèles et les plus strictes représentants'⁴⁷⁹ of the Cubist movement. He continues: 'Tout en obéissant à leur sensibilité personnelle ils appliquent leur méthode analytique propre à traduire l'objet, comme le dit Maurice Raynal, suivant sa caractéristique.' Despite these almost encouraging words, his overall impression of the exhibition resonates in the words 'estime de quelques initiés' and 'approbation d'une élite', which shows that the local public's willingness to tackle this contemporary art was clouded by the elitist theorizing of the cosmopolitan critics expounding on it. Nonetheless, the regional public's inclination to try and understand the art presented is remarkable and marked a first step on the way to its appreciation and acceptance.

Guillaume Apollinaire published a report in *L'Intransigeant* on 22 June 1912, in which he explicitly mentions some artists' names, including Picabia.⁴⁸⁰ However, he does not reflect on any particular works and remains superficial overall, refraining from passing any clear judgement on the art or commenting on its reception by the visitors. Moreover, given his close personal involvement with the artists themselves, his opinion might be regarded as biased and is unlikely to have reflected the general public's view. As such, Apollinaire's text should be disregarded here when pondering the early reception history of abstraction.

Conclusion

For the first presentation of his abstract works, Picabia chose a small and only moderately international, provincial exhibition of young modern artists, organized by an artists' society. For both Picabia and the presentation of abstraction in France, the exhibition in Rouen marks a decisive moment, as it is not only Picabia's first public display of abstract artworks, but also the first display of abstraction in France by one of this study's seven selected

comprendre ce qu'elle pouvait bien représenter. "Accident d'automobile!"... "Tapis persant" disaient les uns. "Eruption volcanique!" ... "La terre en formation" opinait les autres. Et le plus curieux, c'est que tous avaient raison, quoique la toile portât ce titre: *Paysage*!

478 Unknown author 1912b, p. 3.

479 Ibid., p. 4.

480 Apollinaire 1912, p. 2.

artists during the studied time-frame. Moreover, the cautiously positive attitude the local public adopted towards the exhibition suggests that they were prepared to follow the catalogue authors' request for a serious consideration of this new kind of art and did not reject it outright.⁴⁸¹ This highlights, yet again, the importance of art *discourse* in strengthening the public perception and appreciation of avant-garde and abstract art shown at exhibition.⁴⁸² That such an important presentation could conceivably take place in a provincial capital and not the capital of the country (and the art world) is also proof, I would argue, of the artists' esteem for the provinces, their public, and, by extension, their significant role for the development of avant-garde circles working in abstraction. In fact, Grammont identified the provinces as the *Salon d'Automne's* 'antennae',⁴⁸³ a statement which can be confirmed by the course of events that followed the exhibition in Rouen, as laid out in the subsequent chapter.

481 However, the art itself seems to have been too progressive for local collectors to buy (see Haudiquet and Lefebvre 2012b, p. 119).

482 As already suggested for Kandinsky, most recently, by Rosenberg 2017, p. 49ff.

483 Grammont 2012, p. 226.

Abstraction Double Bill: Kupka and Picabia at the *Salon d'Automne*, Paris 1912

Introduction

The data shows that the tenth exhibition of the Société du Salon d'Automne in Paris in autumn 1912 was the first event at which *two* artists presented abstract artworks in the same exhibition: František Kupka and Francis Picabia.⁴⁸⁴ This chapter explores this larger showing of abstraction and the artworks presented by the two artists.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, the *Salon de la Section d'Or*, held in parallel in the same city (but opening a few weeks after the *Salon d'Automne*), featured equally abstract works by the same two artists – and thus serves my analysis as a comparative event.

Context: the Société du Salon d'Automne, Kupka and Picabia

The Société du Salon d'Automne was founded in 1903 and, with a few exceptions, has held its annual exhibition every autumn at the Grand Palais in Paris, in order to encourage the arts in all its manifestations, as stated in the Société's statutes.⁴⁸⁶ It gained particular fame with its 1905 exhibition and the formation of Fauvism. In order to participate in its exhibitions, one had to be an elected member of the society ('sociétaire'), which entailed a yearly membership fee of 25 francs; foreign exhibitors could participate by submitting their works to the jury and, if accepted, paying the same sum as the members.⁴⁸⁷ Members could submit up to six paintings they wanted to show, out of which they could designate

484 If the collected data were to be taken at face value, the 1911 edition of the *Salon de la Société des Artistes Indépendants* would have to count as the first exhibition to feature two artists, in this case Kupka and Kandinsky, showing abstract artworks. However, the information in Kupka's catalogue raisonné (Lekeš et al. 2016) on that presentation is most likely erroneous. Consequently, the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 must be seen as the first such event. For more details, see note 460 in chapter "Picabia as Kandinsky's First Follower at the *Salon de Juin*, Rouen 1912".

485 Surprisingly, despite the much-publicized photograph showing the abstract paintings of Kupka, Picabia, and Le Fauconnier hanging on the wall of salle XI in the Grand Palais (see fig. 7, p. 45) and the lively debate they provoked at the time, the *Salon d'Automne* of 1912 has not yet been the subject of detailed analysis in art history. Although the exhibition is repeatedly albeit briefly mentioned in monographic literature concerning Kupka (such as Lekeš et al. 2016 and Leal, Theinhardt, and Brullé 2018) and Picabia (for example, Camfield et al. 2014 and Umland and Hug 2016), a comprehensive evaluation of its pivotal function for art history in general and for abstraction in particular remains lacking. Coret 2003 studies the 1912 edition of the Salon in the first volume of the history of the Société du Salon d'Automne, focusing on the political scandal that the exhibition provoked due to the participation of foreign artists. Similarly, Joyeux-Prunel 2007 includes the event among several others, while also addressing, from a quantitative angle, the subject of foreign participation by avant-garde artists.

486 Société du Salon d'Automne 1903, p. 117. The statutes are reprinted in the exhibition catalogue every year.

487 Société du Salon d'Automne 1912, p. 273.



two to be accepted jury-free. The rules stipulated that no work would be accepted if it had already been shown at any other Parisian Salon.⁴⁸⁸ This means that Kupka and Picabia, both Société members, may have designated their most abstract works as the jury-free entries, thus securing their place in the exhibition. Given that Kupka and Picabia were aware of the novelty of their art, their reason for submitting such abstract works to the exhibition was certainly, first and foremost, their desire to place themselves at the apex of the avant-garde.

However, as Grammont 2012 observes: '[...] il faut admettre que le statut d'une telle structure repose sur une ambiguïté majeure, à la fois organe de validation esthétique et lieux de commercialisation de l'œuvre d'art.'⁴⁸⁹ Thus, for Kupka and Picabia, participation in this exhibition also meant validation by an official and widely recognized organization as well as commercial possibilities ensuing from it. Since Kupka and Picabia lived in financially stable and satisfactory conditions at the time, I would argue that commercial success was not necessarily their primary goal. Furthermore, they both knew each other and were aware of the art the other was producing, being both fervent developers and defenders of abstraction by that time.⁴⁹⁰ This means, by extension, that they may have agreed between themselves on what art to show, in order to make an even stronger impact than if just one of them had shown abstract art on his own. Or, conversely, it could also mean, however, that they were competing to present the *most* abstract piece at the Grand Palais that year.

Salon d'Automne, 10^e exposition: content and abstraction

The catalogue of the tenth edition of the *Salon d'Automne* states that it featured 2,127 works by around 760 artists.⁴⁹¹ According to Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel,⁴⁹² around 45 percent of exhibitors were foreign (or, if residents of France, did not have French citizenship), and as such, Picabia (a Frenchman) and Kupka (a foreigner) perfectly reflect the national demographic of this show. (It should be noted, however, that the catalogue lists Kupka as French.)⁴⁹³

Held at the Grand Palais des Champs Élysées, the *Salon d'Automne* had taken place every autumn since 1903. Thanks to newspaper reports, we know that the gallery in which Kupka's and Picabia's works were shown in 1912, salle XI, dubbed 'la salle cubiste' that year,

488 'Seront seuls admis les ouvrages n'ayant pas figuré dans les Salons de Paris', Société du Salon d'Automne 1912, p. 272.

489 Grammont 2012, pp. 223–224.

490 Both artists were associated with the Puteaux group, although Kupka was never a core member. MoMA's *Inventing Abstraction* network chart also depicts each artist in the other's network (Kupka, URL: <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?artist=46>; Picabia, URL: <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?artist=64>).

491 As the exhibition had not yet been entered in DoME, statistics for the age distribution of participants of this *Salon d'Automne* were not available at the time of writing (November 2023) and a manual calculation was not feasible within the limits of this study.

492 See Joyeux-Prunel 2007, p. 152.

493 See Société du Salon d'Automne 1912, p. 143.

was located on the first floor, together with the rest of the exhibited paintings. Gallery XI immediately preceded the rooms that housed the exhibition of nineteenth-century portraits,⁴⁹⁴ thus forming a stark stylistic contrast between the two rooms. Luckily, a now-famous photograph was taken and has survived (fig. 7, p. 45), depicting one side of salle XI with, among others, one of Kupka's and one of Picabia's large paintings on the wall, thus offering a glimpse of the presentation of their works in situ.

According to their respective catalogues raisonnés, the works they showed there were (see A1, exh. 27, p. 263):

- Kupka, *Le Miroir Oval*
(1910, 108.3 × 88.6 centimetres, coded 'stylized – wholly')
- Kupka, *Portrait du musician Follot*
(1910, 72.4 × 66.3 centimetres, coded 'stylized – wholly')
- Kupka, *Étude pour Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs*
et pour Amorpha, chromatique chaude
(1911–1912, 84 × 128 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')
- Kupka, *Amorpha, chromatique chaude*
(1911–1912, 105 × 105 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')
- Kupka, *Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs*
(1912, 211 × 220 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')
- Picabia, *Danses à la source (II)*
(1912, 251.8 × 248.9 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')
- Picabia, *La source*
(1912, 249.6 × 249.3 centimetres, coded 'non-representational')

It is immediately evident that, while Picabia had only two very large and abstract pieces at the exhibition – both coded 'non-representational' – Kupka, as stated by his catalogue raisonné, contributed five works of various sizes and degrees of abstraction (although the *Salon d'Automne* exhibition catalogue only lists two works for Kupka).⁴⁹⁵ Interestingly enough, while figures can still be discerned in Kupka's smaller works, the larger they get in scale, the greater their degree of abstraction (as was also the case for Kandinsky at the NKVM's *Ausstellung II, Turnus 1910/11*, see pp. 182–187). This gave Kupka's canvases much more importance in the exhibition overall and also signalled to viewers the growing importance of abstract art over figurative, while at the same time providing a visual 'way-in' to abstraction. Furthermore, the three largest works by the two artists – *Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs*, *Danses à la source (II)*, and *La source*, measuring over 4.5 square metres

494 Warnod 1912a, p. 1. The paintings section was separated from the decorative arts that were displayed on the ground floor.

495 Société du Salon d'Automne 1912, p. 143, lists only two paintings for Kupka: numbers '925 Amorpha, fugue à 2 couleurs' and '926 Amorpha, chromatique chaude'.

each – dominated the wall space on their respective walls. This gave them undeniable heft in the room, as the photograph of salle XI shows (fig. 7). The other images surrounding them were dwarfed by their size. Despite the fact that it can be assumed that, proportionally, the abstract artworks (in other words, those by Kupka and Picabia) equated to just 0.2 percent of the total display, their groundbreaking character still demanded all the attention.

Formally, Picabia's large-scale paintings still bear some formal resemblance to Cubism – which is certainly why they were hung in the Cubist room in the first place and partly why the room was given that name. This characterization is due to the deconstruction of their subject into cubes and thus their dominating formal angularity, as well as the reduced colour palette, limited to red and black in *Danses à la source (II)* and to flesh and grey tones in *La source*. Picabia's images are still rooted in figurative scenes the artist had observed himself, suggesting that figures are hidden in them, even though they are almost impossible to discern. Kupka, on the other hand, presented a much more personal style, no longer bound to Cubism's visual vernacular, even though his works were also being presented in the gallery dedicated to that movement. The forms are reduced and elliptical, and thus softer in shape, giving Kupka's paintings a much simpler appearance than Picabia's disorienting pictures. Kupka conveyed his agenda – which was to create an 'objective art' as he stated in a letter to his friend Roessler a few months later⁴⁹⁶ – in a much more straight-forward fashion. His images are, in fact, pure form and colour. They do not need a figure as a starting point and thus, once completed, bear no remnants of figuration. Their titles, *Amorpha*, *fugue à deux couleurs* and *Amorpha, chromatique chaude*, emphasize that intention in a very transparent manner. Consequently, in terms of abstract formal rigour, Kupka was much more advanced than Picabia. For the public, however, their juxtaposed pieces were equally unintelligible, as will be laid out below.

With their presentations at the high-profile *Salon d'Automne*, both artists intended to declare themselves as *the* undisputed representatives of abstraction. They reinforced this claim via their choice of works presented at the *Salon de la Section d'Or* (see A1, exh. 30, p. 272), which opened just ten days after the *Salon d'Automne*, on 10 October 1912 at the Galerie La Boétie in Paris. Although just as accessible to the public, the *Salon de la Section d'Or* had a notably different profile. Taking place in a for-hire venue and organized by the Puteaux group of artists⁴⁹⁷ (which included Marcel Duchamp, his brothers Raymond Duchamp Villon and Jacques Villon, as well as Picabia and, to a lesser extent, Kupka), the show lacked the prominence that the *Salon d'Automne* had managed to gather over its ten-

496 Kupka explains to Roessler: 'Linien, flächen, farben sind Werte. [...] Jetzt höre: ist es denn nothwendig zu malen um die Natur nachzuahmen? Scheint es Dir nicht absolut unlogisch? [...] für mich ist es mit der Malerei wie mit einem Kinde, das die Welt zu sehen anfängt. Wir müssen ganz und gar von Neuen anfangen. Wenn wir eine Linie, einen Punkt zeichnen, soll es so im Raum richtig sitzen dass mann nett den Eindruck hat das es ein Ergebniss ist, etwas ist geschehen; die farbe ebenso; [...] mein Suchen einer ganz objektiven Kunst [...]', *Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung*, H.I.N. 151.163.

497 Camfield 2014, p. 72, calls Picabia 'one of the major organizers' of the *Section d'Or* exhibition. Wilhelmi 2001 gives an overview of the Puteaux artist group and the *Salon de la Section d'Or*, pp. 496–500.

year existence, despite the fact that the Puteaux artists had been placing announcements for its *Salon de la Section d'Or* in the press in the months leading up to the opening.⁴⁹⁸ Visitor numbers for the *Section d'Or* were undoubtedly lower, although the public attending it would have been more knowledgeable about progressive art movements than the masses attracted by the *Salon d'Automne*. And here, too, both artists showed their affiliation to the most modern and abstract tendencies of the avant-garde: Kupka again presented two 'non-representational' pieces, albeit in a much smaller format (*Compliment*, 89 × 108 centimetres, and *Composition*, 50 × 60 centimetres);⁴⁹⁹ and Picabia showed several works, with two now coded as 'stylized – wholly' and four as 'non-representational'. Although we know that Picabia showed more works than just these six, they could not be identified by the catalogue raisonné.⁵⁰⁰ Given Picabia's highly avant-gardist selection in the two exhibitions preceding this one, the *Salon d'Automne* and the exhibition of the Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, as well as in all following exhibitions, it can be assumed that the unidentified works in Picabia's selection for the *Section d'Or* were equally abstract.

Analysis of the works exhibited by Kupka and Picabia shows that – whether they were encouraging each other or competing – both were making bold statements that effectively laid claim to their originality of abstraction, regardless of the exhibition context.

Artists' writings and reception

In a letter from early February 1913, Kupka recounted to his Viennese friend, art critic, and sponsor Arthur Roessler that he held a place of honour in the latest *Salon d'Automne*, although the organizers had placed him among the Cubists, with which he had no affiliation and with whom he felt wrongly associated.⁵⁰¹ He further described more precisely what he had showed:

Was ich in letzter Zeit ausstellte hiess: Pläne durch farben, Amorpha, fuga in 2. Farben, warme chromatique etc., im ganzen was ich jetzt suche sind es symmorphien – errinnerst du dich 'farben symphonist', erst jetzt bin ich es – und hast keine Ahnung was ich für Spott zu ertragen habe. Dieses unwiederstehliche:

498 See Werner 2011, pp. 257–258.

499 These pieces by Kupka are listed by the catalogue raisonné as having been part of the *Salon de la Section d'Or*. However, his participation at the exhibition is uncertain, as he is not listed in the exhibition catalogue. For more details, see note 197 in chapter 'When Less Is More: Kupka's Concentrated Exhibition Activity'.

500 Although the first volume of Picabia's catalogue raisonné (Camfield et al. 2014) lists only six pictures for the *Salon de la Section d'Or*, thirteen are listed in the exhibition catalogue. As Camfield 2014, p. 72, specifies, only the six listed could be identified.

501 Kupka in a letter to Roessler from 2/5 February 1913: 'Im letzten Herbstsalon habe ich einen schönen Ehrenplatz gehabt, leider im Saal der Kubisten, mit denen ich fast paralel gehe. Es ist mir aber so wie mit Degas, den man zu den Impressionisten zählte. [...] Die Pariser Picaso [sic.] epigonen, die Kubisten, kenne ich persönlich, sie fühlen dass ich Gründe habe nicht ihre Besuche bei mir zu ermuthigen und ich such sie auch nicht auf', Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung, H.I.N. 151.163.

Was stellt es vor? Musst den ein Kunstwerk etwas vorstellen? Ist es nicht genug daran wenn ein Rhythmus Herr des Werkes ist? Und musst dem dazu ein auf die animalischen Gefühle wirkender Vorwand zum Bilde dienen?⁵⁰²

His account clearly indicates that his art was not well received, as the public missed having a represented subject. This was an argument he seemingly could not understand, as he did not believe in the need to represent anything other than the colours and the forms that they take on the canvas. I would argue that Kupka was determined to take whatever steps were available to him to promote abstract art and make people understand his point of view. Supporting this supposition are his preparedness to have his works filmed by Gaumont (see chapter 'When Less Is More: Kupka's Concentrated Exhibition Activity', p. 106), his conceptual teaching to students,⁵⁰³ and his decision to show his abstractions in public exhibitions (despite his displeasure with events of this kind – as already explicitly stated in a letter to Roessler in 1909).⁵⁰⁴ The variety of these activities and the very different audiences they would reach (from the ordinary masses watching newsreels, to cosmopolitan exhibition-goers, all the way to theory-loving students in art schools) show that Kupka was probably more strategic in his approach to propagating abstraction than has been acknowledged so far.

Although Kupka did mention his participation at the *Salon d'Automne* to Roessler and was obviously determined to impart his artistic theory to the world, the correspondence contains no indication as to potential sources of inspiration that might have influenced him, whether stylistically or in his exhibition behaviour. While he was certainly at least influenced by fellow members of the Puteaux group (to which he belonged for about a year after its founding in 1911, before eventually withdrawing interest), some of whom were even his immediate neighbours, and the Paris art scene at large, his correspondence with Roessler suggests that he alone was responsible for his art and actions, and that he worked in seclusion and actively avoided influence from anyone else. In the case of Picabia (also of the Puteaux group), no record of any comments on his participation in the *Salon de la Section d'Or* could be found during research for this study. However, the Fonds Picabia of the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet in Paris, which holds a part of Picabia's estate, does contain a collection of numerous press clippings on the exhibition and on Picabia's

502 Letter from Kupka to Roessler, dated 2 February 1913, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung, H.I.N. 151.163.

503 In the same letter, Kupka informs Roessler that he tried to pass on the torch to young artists: 'Habe einige junge Menschen denen ich mein Evangelium predige, hoffe dass mein Suchen einer ganz objektiven Kunst fruchte und Verbreitung bringen wird [...]', Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung, H.I.N. 151.163.

504 Letter from Kupka to Roessler, 2 February 1909: 'Das ausstellen ist mir recht zuwider, ich fühle mir nicht viel Kraft, und da wo ich den eigenen Weg gehe, gehe ich peinlich wie ein schwacher Mensch, ich möchte gerne viel Kraft haben, nicht um zu imponieren, um wenigstens selber fühlen zu können, dass all mein Plagen es zu etwas führt', Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Handschriftensammlung, H.I.N. 151.159.

exhibits in particular. Picabia clearly collected these clippings but did so without attaching any observations or notes to them. Although this indicates a general interest in the public's opinion of his work, it does not reveal how he reacted to the press reports or what he thought about the exhibition and his fellow exhibitors.

The press reviews of 'la salle cubiste' are predominantly negative in tone, particularly with regard to Kupka's and Picabia's art. Louis Vauxcelles, for example, in his article in *Gil Blas* from 30 September 1912, dismisses the exhibits in salle XI by calling them puerilities which shouldn't be taken seriously by the public and are not worth discussing.⁵⁰⁵ Agreeing with a colleague's statement about the artists, 'Je vous concède qu'ils sont idiots et qu'ils n'ont pas de talent',⁵⁰⁶ he deliberately avoids mentioning any names, which only makes his report all the more damning and humiliating through insinuation. He portrays Picabia as a career-driven joker lacking in substance: 'L'un d'eux est un farceur. On le sait. Ses camarades l'avouent. Il est cubiste comme il fut fauve, après avoir été impressionniste. Il hume le vent. Il cherche dans le scandale et le bluff la notoriété qui le fuit.'⁵⁰⁷ And when deriding Kupka's paintings, Vauxcelles writes: 'Un autre – qui pour n'être pas cubiste n'en est pas moins candide – intitule "*Fugue en deux couleurs*" et *Chromatique chaude* (!) un enchevêtrement d'arabesques ovoïdes bleues et rouges sur fond noir et blanc.'⁵⁰⁸ Gustave Kahn's account in *Mercure de France* from 16 October 1912, while still negative, was less horrified and sounds almost objective⁵⁰⁹ compared to Vauxcelles' text. Nevertheless, he expressed his disappointment: 'Un homme qui a montré beaucoup de talent, M. Kupka, déconcerte en exposant de simples arabesques.'⁵¹⁰ André Warnod also described the 'Cubist' gallery in less polemic a way than Vauxcelles, although he does start his report about salle XI with the statement: 'C'est la salle infernale.'⁵¹¹ His commentary about Picabia is limited to: 'Picabia, rouge et noir, expose deux grands tableaux qui, selon le catalogue, représentent *La Source* et *Danses à la Source*.' He concludes his account by announcing that this is the room where 'éclatera l'indignation du public', while remarking that the organizers of the exhibition had no doubt thought of this and, in anticipation, had placed the nineteenth-century portraitists in the rooms immediately following it, so as to 'remettre [le public] de son émotion'.

505 'Discuter ces puérlités? Vous ne voudriez pas. Nul ne les a prises au sérieux', Vauxcelles 1912, p. 3.

506 Ibid.

507 Ibid.

508 Ibid.

509 Kahn 1912 writes: 'Les Cubistes préparant une exposition générale très prochaine, nous ne feront ici que mentionner leur envois curieux et volontaires ; ce sont toujours les mêmes exagérations de synthèse, les mêmes sculptures des volumes, le même mépris de la vérité apparente au profit d'une vérité plus abstraite et proclamée plus profonde, et le même agrément général du ton, la même saveur neuve de la couleur [...]', p. 883.

510 Kahn 1912, p. 884.

511 Warnod 1912a, p. 2.

At the parallel *Salon de la Section d'Or*, reviews were more varied.⁵¹² Although the so-called 'Cubist' and 'Orphist' artworks exhibited here corresponded to the ones in salle XI at the *Salon d'Automne*, the reviews were less aggressive than those quoted above. The fact that the entire *Section d'Or* exhibition, counting approximately 200 works, was filled by avant-garde artists – including Kupka and Picabia – and the styles they represented, resulted in an avant-gardist but homogenous exhibition as a whole – and as such certainly also addressed a more likeminded or at least receptive public. At the *Salon d'Automne*, on the other hand, the Cubists had been placed, like some alien contingent, among much more moderate Modernists, in what amounted to a confrontation with a more conservative public, which only made the difference to the other artists and movements all the more glaring, but also more impactful.

Conclusion

The double presentation of abstraction by Kupka and Picabia took place in a very large, highly international, generally modern and at times even avant-gardist exhibition, organized annually by the famous art association Société du Salon d'Automne. Given that the two artists knew each other and were in contact around the time of the exhibition, it can be assumed that each knew what the other would show and both tried to be as avant-gardist in their public appearance as possible. Whether they had the (possibly shared) intention of provoking the intense response to their works remains unknown. However, at least in the case of Kupka, records show that the reactions took him by surprise and he could not fully understand them. The effect the artists had through their works (compounded by the organizers' decision to hang them together in a designated room) was ultimately effective and long-lasting – for the two artists personally, for the *Salon* itself, and for abstraction – insofar as the event has long been considered a milestone in the history both of exhibiting abstraction and twentieth-century art in general. Clustering the most avant-gardist artists in a single room was an important curatorial decision – regardless of the motivations behind it – with consequences the organizers had probably not planned for. It eventually gave Kupka and Picabia a much more efficient platform for the presentation and defence of abstraction and catapulted them to the top of the avant-garde movement, not just in Paris, but also in progressive art capitals across Europe that soon got to hear of the show.

512 Werner 2011 collected reviews published about the *Salon de la Section d'Or* in appendix A.6 of her book, pp. 257–269.

Total Abstraction: The First Fully Abstract Exhibition: Picabia in New York, 1913

Introduction

The solo exhibition *An Exhibition of Studies Made in New York, by François Picabia, of Paris* presented to the public the artist's very latest works and took place at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession in New York City from 17 March to 5 April 1913. It is included here, because, as the data shows, it was the first exhibition known to have consisted *solely* of abstract art. Although Picabia had shown abstract works before – on several occasions in 1912 alone, as well as at the *Armory Show* in New York in early 1913 – this was the first exhibition without any figurative pieces to distract from the highly abstract works on show.⁵¹³

Context: Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession and Picabia

Picabia's exhibition at Alfred Stieglitz's Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession – or '291' as it was better known, given its location at 291 Fifth Avenue in New York City – was immediately preceded by the city's major art event of the year, the *International Exhibition of Modern Art*. Remembered as the *Armory Show*, it had presented to the American public the latest trends of European avant-garde art for the first time and featured artworks by Kandinsky and Picabia, to name but a few. Picabia presented four pieces at the *Armory Show* (see A1, exh. 31, p. 273): *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi* (1911, uncoded), *Paris* (1912, coded 'non-representational'), *La procession, Séville* (1912, coded 'non-representational'), and *Danses à la Source (I)* (1912, coded 'stylized – wholly'). Despite being coded as 'stylized – wholly' (in other words, measurably less abstract), the latter was certainly as unintelligible to the public as the other works coded as 'non-representational'. In summary, it can be stated that the majority of Picabia's canvases shown at the *Armory Show* were abstract.

Accompanying his works to New York, Picabia was, thanks to his financial means, the only European artist present in the city during the exhibition and was therefore (albeit unofficially) the spokesperson for the entire European avant-garde, and particularly for the

513 Hardly any publications address this exhibition. Monographs dedicated to the artist such as Camfield et al. 2014 and Umland and Hug 2016 mention Picabia's stay in New York as well as his solo exhibition at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession. However, they mainly study the watercolours exhibited there from a stylistic point of view in the context of the artist's larger oeuvre, overlooking the importance of the exhibition itself as the first completely abstract show in the history of twentieth-century art. In the literature on Alfred Stieglitz and/or the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession (most importantly de Zayas 1996), the exhibition setting and its historical context are explored in depth, but other exhibitions are presented as being more pivotal to the history of the gallery. Overall, this event has so far been widely disregarded in art-historical research.



new concept of abstraction. By extension, given his attendance in combination with his highly avant-gardist works on view, he was particularly coveted by the press, gladly gave interviews, and expounded on his views on art, with his name subsequently appearing in numerous press headlines.⁵¹⁴ Picabia definitely knew how to take advantage of the situation and promoted himself and his art at every given opportunity.⁵¹⁵ At the many social events surrounding the *Armory Show*, Picabia made the acquaintance of Alfred Stieglitz and his circle.⁵¹⁶ Stieglitz had founded the commercial Photo-Secession galleries and started organizing exhibitions of photography there in 1905, adding contemporary art to his portfolio in 1907.⁵¹⁷ Besides his public engagements and busy social life in New York in the early months of 1913, Picabia still found time to make abstract watercolours in his hotel room. These were watercolours in which he processed his impressions of Manhattan, a metropolis very different in its modernity from Paris and the European capitals at the time.⁵¹⁸ These watercolours would be the sole subject of his solo exhibition at 291.

An Exhibition of Studies Made in New York, by François Picabia, of Paris: content and abstraction

The exhibition was a solo show consisting of works by Picabia created while in New York, in his hotel room rather than an atelier, which explains why they are all either watercolours or pencil drawings rather than larger oil paintings on canvases, as the ones included in the *Armory Show* had been. The latter would of course have been much more difficult to realize within the confines of a hotel room. In total, the exhibition catalogue lists sixteen works, of which the catalogue raisonné has identified all but one.

The 291 gallery was located on the top floor of the building, and its main room measured less than 20 square metres. A large part of the space was occupied by a 'large box with burlap' with a bowl for flowers on top (fig. 50).⁵¹⁹ As the gallery was conceived to exhibit photographs, that is to say works on paper which were, in general, most likely small-

514 Such as unknown author 1913a, 'Picabia, art rebel, here to teach new movement'; unknown author 1913b 'A post-cubist's impressions of New York'.

515 See chapter 'Picabia: Ambassador of Abstraction' (subchapter 'Picabia's exhibition strategy'), p. 155.

516 Silveri 2016, p. 314.

517 As Zilczer 2000, pp. 482–483, explains: 'In November of 1905, with Steichen's assistance, he opened the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession on the top floor of 291 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Later known simply as 291 the gallery displayed selections of Pictorial photography and became the headquarters of the Photo-Secession. With Steichen's help, Stieglitz began to show contemporary art at 291 in 1907 and was the first in the USA to present works by such European modernists as Matisse (1908 and 1912), Cézanne (1911), Picasso (1911) and Constantin Brancusi (1914), as well as African art and sculpture. [...] Under Stieglitz's direction, 291 became a meeting-place and focal point for the New York avant-garde.'

518 Silveri 2016, pp. 314–315.

519 Stieglitz's associate, Marius de Zayas, described the space: 'The Photo-Secession galleries were on the top floor, or rather in the attic, of an old and decrepit building at number 291 Fifth Avenue. The floor space was 15 feet by 15 feet, most of it occupied by a large box covered with burlap on which always stood a big bronze bowl full of dry branches and pussy willows, a decoration characteristic of the epoch', de Zayas 1996, p. 2.

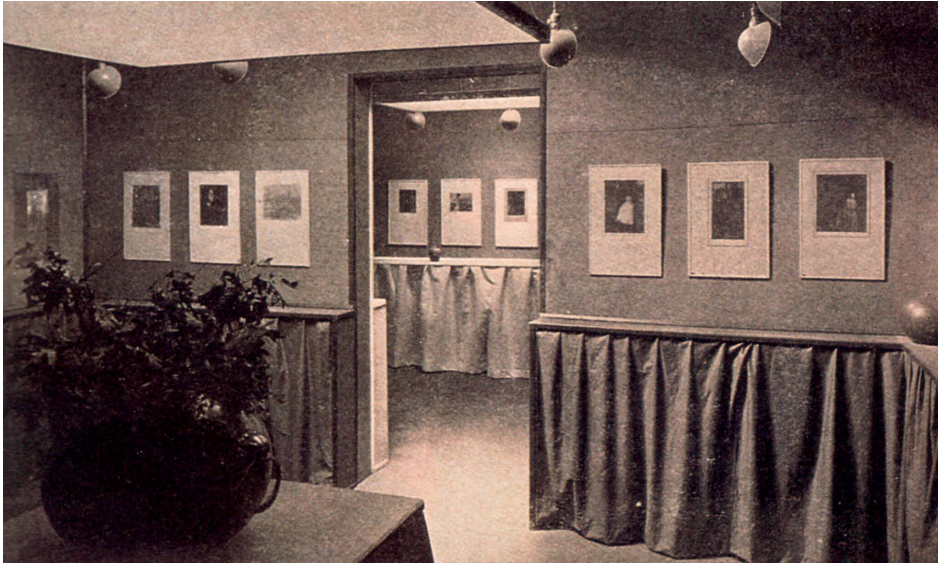


Figure 50: Interior of Alfred Stieglitz's Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, New York City, 1906.

to medium-size at the time (as is evident in the photograph, fig. 50), the venue lent itself very well to Picabia's medium-sized watercolours on paper (the majority of these works measured 75 by 55 centimetres – or vice versa – with only two pieces being smaller in format).⁵²⁰ The exact arrangement and hanging of the pieces is unknown, as no precise description or photographic evidence of the exhibition remains.⁵²¹ The exhibition catalogue does not contain any clues either, as the sixteen items are simply enumerated with their titles and lack any further classification or information (such as size or medium). The catalogue is basic and consists solely of a piece of paper folded in half, resulting in four pages: the cover page with the exhibition's title and date as well as the announcement of the following exhibition, the inner double spread containing a preface written by Picabia himself and an extract from Plato's *Dialogues*, and the back, which lists the artworks. It must be assumed that the presentation of Picabia's pieces was similarly straightforward, allowing visitors to focus on the works on show, illuminated by the spotlights hanging from

520 *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 453) measures 17.5 × 15.4 centimetres and *Study for a Study of New York* (?) (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 455) measures 20 × 25 centimetres.

521 Although descriptions and rare photographs of the gallery space do survive, it is interesting that, although Stieglitz was a photographer, no systematic photographic documentation of the exhibitions in his galleries is known to exist. This could be due to his specialization in art photography instead of documentary photography, or simply to the fact that photographic documentation was not yet standard practice at the time.

the ceiling. Such a simple presentation would have contrasted with the dynamic pieces on display, which must have appeared so striking as to have leapt off the walls.

The sixteen watercolours and drawings on paper, inspired mostly by the city of New York, were (see A1, exh. 33, p. 276):

- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 452, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 453, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York (study for)*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 454, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *Study for a Study of New York (?)*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 455, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 456, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 457, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 458, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 459, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *La ville de New York aperçue à travers le corps*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 460, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *Chanson nègre (II)*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 462, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *Chanson nègre (I)*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 463, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *Danseuse étoile et son école de danse*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 464, coded as ‘stylized – wholly’)
- *Danseuse étoile sur un transatlantique*
(1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 465, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *New York* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 466, coded as ‘non-representational’)
- *Révérances* (1913, Camfield et al. 2014, no. 473, coded as ‘non-representational’)

As this list clearly shows, with the exception of just one watercolour (*Danseuse étoile et son école de danse*), all works were ‘non-representational’. This makes this exhibition the first at which virtually all of the exhibited pieces were abstract. The data gathered for this study proves that this had never happened before.

The watercolours and drawings on show formed an overall picture of soft, muted tones and pastel colours, such as beige, soft-black, grey, pink, and yellow. Only two pieces stood out with stronger red accents: *New York* (no. 459) and, most of all, *La ville de New York aperçue à travers le corps* (no. 460). In all works there is an interpenetration of the forms: straight lines and round forms all find their way into these pieces, some of them being so strongly intertwined that they (quite intentionally) convey a dizzying sense of vertigo. Different planes of foreground and background switch within the pieces, which results in a constant jumping back and forth between picture planes as the eye moves around the

sheet. Overall, the viewer's gaze is not granted any rest, a sensation amplified in *La ville de New York aperçue à travers le corps* by the use of an intense red. Despite its very high degree of abstraction, the collection of watercolours unambiguously conveyed the overwhelming impression of restlessness and brash modernity that Picabia had personally gained by being in New York.⁵²²

Considering the assemblage of works and knowing Picabia's financial situation, it becomes clear that this exhibition, although taking place in a commercial gallery, was not primarily designed with commercial success in mind. Indeed, it was, first and foremost, a solid public statement for abstraction, with Picabia claiming his trailblazing status among the avant-garde. At the same time, it presented Picabia with an occasion to publicly demonstrate his increased confidence and stylistic independence from Cubism. While the closeness to Cubism is still visible in *Révérances*, for example, *Chanson nègre (I)* and *Danseuse étoile sur un transatlantique* mark the artist's shift away from this by now well-known art movement, as the cubes increasingly give way to a variation of other, less controlled geometrical forms. In this sense, this exhibition is not only an important declaration for abstract art in general, but also for Picabia personally. As an artist working in an abstract vocabulary, now with two New York shows under his belt, Picabia assumed the status of sole ambassador of abstraction in America.

The audiences addressed by these two separate events were distinct from each other, given that the *International Exhibition of Modern Art* – by its size and singular character – was much more visible to the general public than the highly specialized and almost niche character of the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, which attracted a more 'insider' crowd. I would argue that Picabia's awareness of the *Armory Show's* character is evident in the fact that he presented very large and abstract pieces in order to attract attention amid the hundreds of modern artworks exhibited there. And although the works on paper shown at Stieglitz's gallery were constricted by the conditions of their creation in a hotel room, and were consequently much smaller in scale and, as works on paper, more delicate in terms of material, they were by no means less abstract. On the contrary, I would argue that they were *all the more so*. This was clearly due to their nominal subject matter, but was certainly also influenced by other factors besides. I would suggest that their heightened boldness of abstraction was also the result of Picabia's reception by the American press, whose members were treating him like a spokesperson for the entire European avant-garde, making him the centre of attention in New York's art world. Another factor shaping the abstraction of these watercolours was Picabia's awareness of 291's image and the kind of public or clientele it attracted. In fact, the drawings and watercolours deserve to be recognized as more avant-gardist than the canvases exhibited at the *Armory Show*, given

522 During the course of the exhibition, Picabia published an article about his view of New York as a city, his art on show, and his approach to art in general in *The New York American*, 30 March 1913, page 11 (quoted in Picabia 1975, p. 23).

that they were inspired by the experience of modern urbanism rather than the rural landscapes and more traditional subjects Picabia had routinely painted until then (as was the case with *La procession, Séville* and *Danses à la Source (I)*, both in the *Armory Show*). The choice of works largely depended on the space in which they were to be shown – a vast arsenal building in one case and a twenty-square-metre attic in the other – but even within these parameters, Picabia certainly knew how to make an impression on his audience. He was aware that he had the opportunity to address different communities in the art world while making a statement on his own art and on abstraction. Addressing two different audiences in this way would heighten his impact, and he knowingly used that opportunity to the fullest.

Artist's writings and reception

The most direct commentary by Picabia on his exhibition at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession was the preface he wrote for the catalogue. In it, he is very explicit about the need for abstraction in art in overcoming the unsatisfactory copying of nature:

The objective representation of nature through which the painter used to express the mysterious feelings of his ego in front of his subject 'motive' no longer suffice for the fulness of his new consciousness of nature. [...] The qualitative conception of reality can no longer be expressed in a purely visual or optical manner; and in consequence pictorial expression has had to eliminate more and more objective formulae from its convention in order to relate itself to the qualitative conception. The resulting manifestations of this state of mind which is more and more approaching abstraction, can themselves not be anything but abstraction.⁵²³

Although he writes of a progression in art in general and of art's development towards abstraction in particular, the conclusions he draws concern only *his* paintings and how they are to be understood: "Therefore, in my paintings the public is not to look for a "photographic" recollection of a visual impression or a sensation, but to look at them as but an attempt to express the purest part of the abstract reality of form and color in itself."⁵²⁴ These ideas are reminiscent of Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (published a year and a half earlier and already well into its second edition), which Picabia certainly knew.⁵²⁵ His familiarity with Kandinsky's treatise is reflected not only in the thoughts themselves – the obsolescence of figuration and the rise of abstraction in the future – but also in the text's

523 Picabia 1913, unpaginated (first page of preface).

524 Picabia 1913, unpaginated (second page of preface).

525 Although Picabia could not speak German, his close friendship with Apollinaire, who knew Kandinsky's publication well (see Rosenberg 2007, p. 313), leads me to assume that Picabia was already familiar with Kandinsky's ideas.

structural composition, with Picabia writing first about art in general before concluding on a more personal note, just as Kandinsky had done in his 'Schlußwort'.⁵²⁶

In his telling of the latest chapter of art history (abstraction), Picabia may generalize, but only does so to frame himself at the very centre of developments. He presents the ideas raised in the preface as accepted truths that the public would come to understand with time. However, in this generalization, he conveniently neglects to mention any other artists, such as Kandinsky or Kupka, whose art he knew well and who were working on the same ideas. (It is worth mentioning here that, conversely, neither do they acknowledge him or each other in their own publications or texts).⁵²⁷ This clearly shows, I would argue, that at that moment these artists were all trying to claim the 'invention' of abstraction for themselves alone. Thus, Picabia's preface is followed by an extract from Plato's *Dialogues*,⁵²⁸ which could be a direct description of Picabia's works exhibited at 291:

For I will endeavor to speak of the beauty of figures, not as the majority of persons understand them such as those of animals, and some paintings to the life; but as reason says, I allude to something straight and round, and the figures formed from them by the Turner's lathe, both superficial and solid and those by the plumb-line and the angle-rule [...]. For these, I say, are not beautiful for a particular purpose, as other things are; but are by nature ever beautiful by themselves, and possess certain peculiar pleasures [...].⁵²⁹

Against this backdrop, the artist's work is not only declared beautiful in itself by the canonical sage that is Plato, but it is also inscribed into a line of thought and philosophy that dates back to antiquity, lending the *concept* of abstraction and Picabia's own work in particular an undeniable historical value that places Picabia in Plato's lineage. Moreover, the text seems to claim abstraction's rootedness in the Platonic tradition – preceding Kandinsky, for example, and his latest publication by several millennia. Indirectly, abstraction, and by extension Picabia himself, are even given preeminence over other forms of art and over other abstract artists.

Supposedly visited by nearly 2000 people over the course of its three-week run⁵³⁰ (which equates to an average of over 110 visitors a day), the exhibition at Stieglitz's gallery gave Picabia the opportunity to position himself as *the* abstract European artist in New York's avant-garde circles, in addition to his visibility with the general public through the

526 See note 386 in chapter "Première for Abstraction: Kandinsky at the *Sonderbund* in Düsseldorf, 1910".

527 Moreover, Picabia certainly also knew Kandinsky's art, given that Stieglitz purchased the one piece Kandinsky had sent to the *Armory Show, Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, in 1912.

528 The text was previously published in Stieglitz's *Camera Work*, no. 36, as a note in the catalogue points out.

529 Stieglitz 1913, unpaginated (p. 3).

530 Silveri 2016, p. 315, reports: 'According to Stieglitz, nearly two thousand visitors attend, and the show receives national attention, with critics continuing their lively descriptions of Picabia's paintings [...].'

Armory Show. For such a small gallery as 291, these visitor numbers are noteworthy and, given the cultural background of many of its visitors, the resulting cultural cachet from this show was arguably *more important* for abstraction than the mainstream 'buzz' generated by the *Armory Show*. The press reactions are even more remarkable, given the small size of the exhibition and its short run. Although very critical, the vast majority of the press reports merely served to confirm Picabia's strategy of attracting attention to abstraction and to himself. Indeed, the *New-York Tribune* devoted an entire page to the artist and his impressions of New York in its edition of 9 March, more than a week *before* Picabia's studies went on show in Stieglitz's gallery. The article not only praised Picabia as the most modern – or in its words 'ultra-modern'⁵³¹ – artist Europe had to offer, but also built up an interest for the pieces that would be displayed at the Photo-Secession shortly after. It was thus the perfect advertisement for the movement of abstraction, for the artist personally, and for the upcoming exhibition.

Once the exhibition opened, however, the reviews were numerous and predominantly negative.⁵³² Some described the exhibition and its works as 'foolishness',⁵³³ 'even more incomprehensible and [...] dull in the tones and monotonous to the last degree'.⁵³⁴ Another called the show 'sheer idiocy',⁵³⁵ while one reporter described it as:

[...] appalling jumble of figures, chiefly of a fierce red colour, which yesterday called to the mind of a young boy in the gallery an idea of the tumult in a boiler factory. Not a bad 'abstraction' of New York, perhaps. It may bring satisfaction to the mind of Mr. Picabia to study the world in this way, but the wonder is why any one else should be interested in a thing so purely subjective – in a conception so entirely incommunicable.⁵³⁶

Some articles seem to have tried to better understand Picabia's point of view, but ultimately rejected it: 'For these artists are endeavoring to give us a pictorial representation of the physical reaction to sense stimuli, the cellular and nervous reactions which carry the messages of sense perception to the brain. [...] M. Picabia has a perfect right to depict

531 Unknown author 1913b.

532 The Fonds Picabia at the Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet in Paris includes an album containing press clippings. The clippings pertaining to the exhibition at the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession in the spring of 1913 can be found in Album I, 1 (1) 112, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, 138, 139, 152ff., 172–173.

533 In *City Tribune*, 14 March 1913, clipped in Album I, 1 (1) 129, Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.

534 In *New York City*, 20 March 1913, clipped in Album I, 1 (1) 131, Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.

535 In *New York City American*, 24 March 1913, clipped in Album I, 1 (1) 134, Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.

536 In *Mail*, 20 March 1913, with headline: 'Echo of International Show', by J.E.C., clipped in Album I, 1 (1) 139, Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.

sensations of anything else in any mode which pleases him. The question is, can these paintings properly be designated works of art?⁵³⁷

Finally, one author admitted that the exhibition and the abstract images made him look at the city of New York differently:

[...] but as a result of my visit to '291', with a little more abstraction of perception, I became vividly conscious of what every critical foreigner, on his first visit to New York, observes—namely, that a great many of these structures which we know to be buildings do not give the impression of buildings, but of slabs of form. [...] If we could feel in their abstraction the elements of force, embodied in this huge congeries of concrete phenomena, and then could intellectualise our impressions, it may be we should find something very stimulating as well as spiritually true in these creations of Picabia's.⁵³⁸

In fact, Picabia managed to prolong the specialized public's engagement with abstraction and his art well beyond the exhibition dates, by getting two articles published in the June 1913 edition of Stieglitz's *Camera Work*, thus reinforcing his artistic approach. One was written by his wife, Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia,⁵³⁹ and one by Maurice Aisen.⁵⁴⁰ Thus, even a few months after the exhibition had already closed, readers were still being reminded of it, of Picabia's art, and the concepts it put forward. Ultimately, this reflected Picabia's effective long-term strategy of not merely catapulting himself to the forefront of the avant-garde but making sure he *stayed* there.

Conclusion

Picabia certainly made the most of his stay in New York in the winter and spring of 1913. Through his active attendance, he managed not only to show himself spearheading the European avant-garde in the USA, but also to disseminate abstraction to a particularly receptive audience whose attention was heightened thanks to the momentous *Armory Show*. As a result, the small solo exhibition of a young French avant-gardist ended up being much more widely received than would have otherwise been the case. Whether confronting several thousand visitors a day at the *Armory Show* with his large-scale, eye-catching oil paintings, or presenting delicate works on paper to a select, almost private audience at Stieglitz's 291 gallery, Picabia's strategy was to attract attention and propagate abstraction – and

537 In *New York City Tribune*, 11 March 1913, clipped in Album I, 1 (1) 142, Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.

538 In *New York City American*, 24 March 1913, clipped in Album I, 1 (1) 134, Fonds Picabia, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.

539 Buffet 1913.

540 Aisen 1913.

thus his own art – at every occasion he found. Ultimately, his strategy must be deemed successful: on the one hand, because while he was in town his name dominated press reports, with articles dedicated to him even after his departure from New York, and, on the other, because his presence marked the start of an enduring friendship with Alfred Stieglitz and Marius de Zayas, Stieglitz's influential curator. These contacts would secure him at least two more exhibitions at the gallery and exposure to a sympathetic public (or rather clientele) (see the example A1, exh. 52, p. 301). And, finally, the presentation of his abstract works at the *Armory Show* and '291' first introduced abstraction to an American public and to American avant-garde artists, who then largely reacted to it by adopting it for themselves.⁵⁴¹ Despite his success at the *Armory Show*, Picabia was but one of many modern artists represented in the exhibition. Picabia not only knew how to prolong his moment of fame but also how to simultaneously make it all about him – by agreeing to 'the first one-man show of Picabia's in America', as read the cover of the exhibition catalogue.

541 Georgia O'Keefe is worth mentioning here as a prime example. The *Armory Show's* and the Photo-Secession's role for the American avant-garde is explored in detail by de Zayas 1996, with specific mentions on pp. vii and 41.

Famous Last Words – So What?

The present book and the study it is based on grew out of the conviction that no show equals no impact. In other words, art that isn't exhibited can have no influence beyond its mere material existence. The idea was thus to trace and verify the *visibility* of abstract works of art at the time of the so-called 'birth of abstraction'.

In order to understand the rise of abstraction around 1910, I chose to look at a central but understudied area of art history in the early twentieth century: the art exhibition. Just as art is not a product of chance but a thought-through construction, most exhibitions are the product of numerous decisions taken by many actors and parties involved. Therefore, when putting the exhibition at the centre, it is futile to do so without taking the art, (other) artists, and the wider infrastructure into consideration.

How, then, did the artists go about navigating exhibitions as events that would ideally ensure their financial survival and catapult them to the top of the avant-garde? To answer that question, I chose a quantitative, empirical approach, unusual in art-history scholarship. Although art is a highly subjective field, that does not mean that all decisions leading up to it are equally subjective. Defying this subjectivity at least in part, I looked at the *measurable* elements and very *real* sets of human behaviours at play, and thus, to a degree, consciously challenged the image of the impenetrable, headstrong artistic genius working away in a vacuum. Consequently, I was able to show how the artists employed strategies when it came to their exhibition activities. How they targeted certain audiences through their choice of exhibits. How they used peripheral locations as testing grounds to float new artistic ideas. How canvas size was used as an indicator of prioritization of abstraction over figuration. How artists used membership in groups as a lever to get opportunities to exhibit. How colour coordination was used to brand the artists' personal style and attract attention. How still (!) understudied women artists managed to exhibit some of their work, including their abstract creations. How the number of figurative artworks shown at exhibitions far outnumbered the abstract ones between 1910 and 1915, the time of abstraction's supposed 'birth'. How influential one single exhibit(ion) could be.

Finally, I would like to come back to the complexity of the creation and reception of exhibitions. As postulated by Actor-Network Theory, all 'actants' in a network, whether animate or inanimate, play an equally important part: the artists, the artworks, the colours, the critics, the exhibition venues, the juries, the press, the public, the writings (to name just a few).

The artists certainly tried to exert influence wherever possible, but the network they were part of was and is too complex for anyone to have sole influence over it. To get a more accurate picture of art history, more actants in the network should be studied in depth and brought into the analysis. This will show us what else we have missed.



APPENDIX A1

Exhibitions and Exhibited Artworks



Note to Reader

The following Appendix A1 lists the exhibitions discussed in the previous chapters of this book and the artworks exhibited each time by the seven artists in question – Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, Wassily Kandinsky, František Kupka, Kazimir Malevich, Piet Mondrian, and Francis Picabia. Although desirable, it was, for reasons of copyright, not possible to publish a full list containing all their solo and group shows of the period with illustrations – including exhibitions not explicitly discussed in the text.

The list follows the chronological order of the exhibitions (with unknown opening dates preceding known ones). Within each exhibition, the works are ordered chronologically by known date of creation. The titles of the exhibitions as well as their dates were mainly compiled using DoME (Database of Modern Exhibitions, URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at>) and thus originate from each exhibition's catalogue. The various catalogues raisonnés were only consulted if the required information was not first available in DoME.

The same information is given for every work: artist's last name, artwork's title, date, and number (all as stated in the catalogue raisonné), and the artwork's degree of abstraction as per the experts' coding. Exact exhibition dates are given wherever possible. When, due to a lack of information in the sources, only the opening or closing date is known, the unknown date is indicated by '??'.

The majority of illustrations were reproduced from the images in the catalogues raisonnés, the rest were collected in secondary literature, with some found online or sourced from the institutions now holding the work (the illustrations' sources can be found in the section 'Illustration Sources', on p. 349). The seven artists' catalogues raisonnés from which this list was compiled are:

- For Balla:
 - Lista, Giovanni, *Balla*, Modena 1982
- For Boccioni:
 - Calvesi, Maurizio and Coen, Ester, *Boccioni, L'opera completa*, Milan 1983
- For Kandinsky:
 - Roethel, Hans K. and Benjamin, Jean K., *Kandinsky: Werkverzeichnis der Ölgemälde*, Band I, 1900–1915, London 1982
 - Endicott Barnett, Vivian, *Kandinsky: Werkverzeichnis der Aquarelle*, Band I, 1900–1921, London 1992
- For Kupka:
 - Lekeš, Vladimír, et al., *František Kupka. Catalogue Raisonné of Oil Paintings*, Prague and London 2016
- For Malevich:
 - Nakov, Andréi, *Kazimir Malwicz*, Paris 2002

- For Mondrian:
 - Welsh, Robert, *Piet Mondrian Catalogue Raisonné. I Catalogue Raisonné of the Naturalistic Works (until Early 1911)*, Blaricum 1998
 - Joosten, Joop, *Piet Mondrian Catalogue Raisonné. II Catalogue Raisonné of the Work of 1911–1944*, Blaricum 1998
- For Picabia:
 - Camfield, William A., et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné. Volume I. 1898–1914*, New Haven and London 2014
 - Camfield, William A., et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné. Volume II. 1915–1927*, New Haven and London 2016

For Kandinsky's works, the catalogue raisonné number indicated with each work refers to the first volume of the catalogue raisonné of oil paintings (Roethel and Benjamin 1982), unless 'EB' is specifically indicated, in which case the work appears in the first volume of the catalogue raisonné of watercolours (Endicott Barnett 1992). For some of Kandinsky's works, the illustrations appearing in the catalogues raisonnés represent not the actual work but sketches by Kandinsky related to them (these sketches are the only visual evidence available for these works). In these cases, these items have been marked with an asterisk (*) in the appendix, as I decided it was nevertheless preferable to provide a visual clue as to the appearance and degree of figuration or abstraction of the final work, rather than not include any visual material at all. More details on each illustration can be found in the corresponding catalogue raisonné alongside the work's entry.

For Mondrian's works, all the works whose catalogue raisonné number is preceded by 'A' or 'UA' are listed in the first volume of the catalogue raisonné (Welsh 1998); all the works whose catalogue raisonné number is preceded by 'B' or 'U' are listed in the second volume of the catalogue raisonné (Joosten 1998).

For Picabia's works, all works are listed in the first volume of the catalogue raisonné (Camfield et al. 2014) unless 'vol. 2' is specifically indicated, in which case the work figures in the second volume of Picabia's catalogue raisonné (Camfield et al. 2016).

1. Salon 1909

1908-1909, Saint Petersburg, Menshikov Palace(?), in the galleries of the museum and 'Menshikov's apartments'



Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Herbstimpression*, 1908, no. 247, stylized - partially

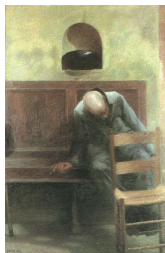
2. LXXIX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti

231

5 Feb-30 Jun 1909, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni



Balla, *Ritratto della Contessa Castelnovo De Luca Cinque*, 1902, no. 62, naturalistic



Balla, *Il mendicante*, 1902, no. 125, naturalistic



Balla, *I malati*, 1903, no. 123, naturalistic



Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, naturalistic



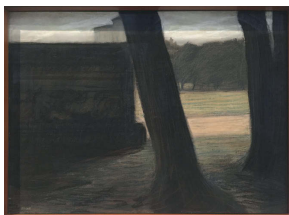
Balla, *Inverno*, 1905, no. 120, naturalistic



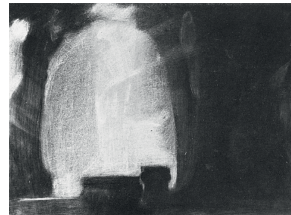
Balla, *La pazza*, 1905, no. 122, naturalistic



Balla, *Tronchi di Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 150, stylized - partially



Balla, *Tronchi di Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 151, naturalistic



Balla, *Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 152, uncoded



Balla, *Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 153, naturalistic



Balla, *Compitando*, 1909, no. 178, naturalistic

3. Exposition de tableaux par F. Picabia

17-31 Mar 1909, Paris, Galeries Georges Petit



Picabia, *Pêcheurs à la ligne*, 1904, no. 122, naturalistic



Picabia, *Ef et d'automne au bord du Loing, Saint-Mammès*, 1905, no. 172, naturalistic



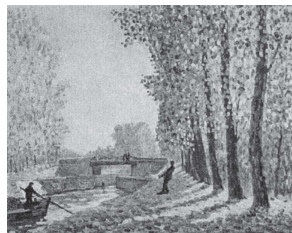
Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Moret, ef et de soleil*, 1908, no. 349, naturalistic



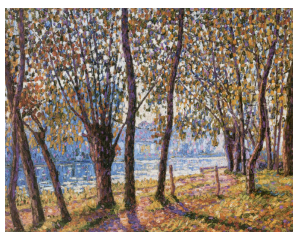
Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Saint-Mammès, ef et d'automne*, 1908, no. 351, naturalistic



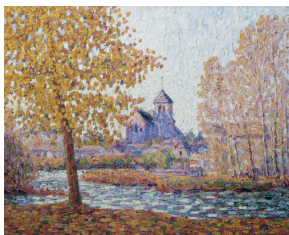
Picabia, *Soleil de novembre, ef et d'automne*, 1908, no. 352, naturalistic



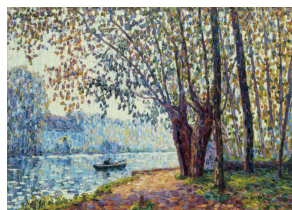
Picabia, *Ef et d'automne, soleil du matin*, 1908, no. 353, naturalistic



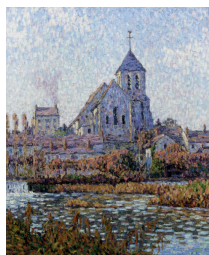
Picabia, *Bords du Loing, Seine et Marne, ef et de soleil*, 1908, no. 354, naturalistic



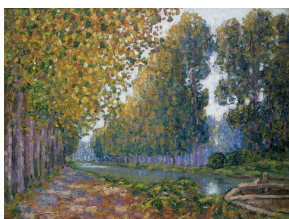
Picabia, *L'église de Montigny, ef et d'automne*, 1908, no. 355, naturalistic



Picabia, *Soleil du matin au bord du Loing*, 1908, no. 356, naturalistic



Picabia, *L'église de Montigny, ef et de soleil*, 1908, no. 357, naturalistic



Picabia, *Le canal de Moret, ef et d'automne*, 1908, no. 358, naturalistic



Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Montigny, ef et d'automne*, 1908, no. 359, naturalistic



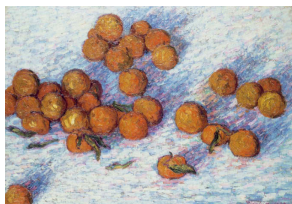
Picabia, *La femme aux mimosas, Saint-Tropez*, 1908, no. 360, stylized - partially



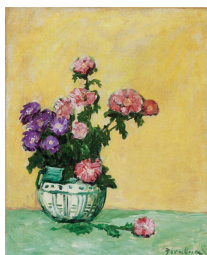
Picabia, *Les pommes, nature morte*, 1908, no. 362, stylized - partially



Picabia, *Untitled*, 1909, no. 364, naturalistic



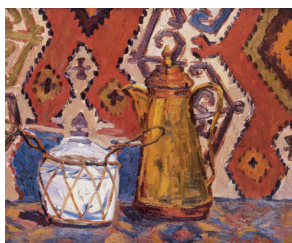
Picabia, *Les oranges*, 1909, no. 367, stylized - partially



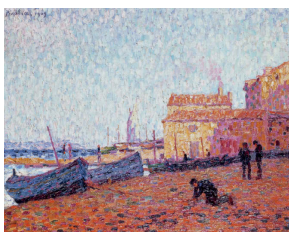
Picabia, *Untitled*, 1909, no. 368, naturalistic



Picabia, *Untitled*, 1909, no. 370, stylized - partially



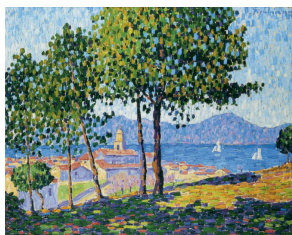
Picabia, *Nature morte*, 1909, no. 371, naturalistic



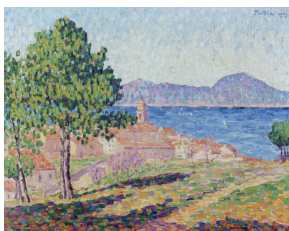
Picabia, *La Pointe du port, ef et de soleil, Saint-Tropez*, 1909, no. 372, naturalistic



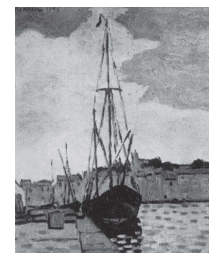
Picabia, *Le port de Saint-Tropez, ef et de soleil*, 1909, no. 373, stylized - partially



Picabia, *Saint-Tropez, ef et de soleil*, 1909, no. 374, naturalistic



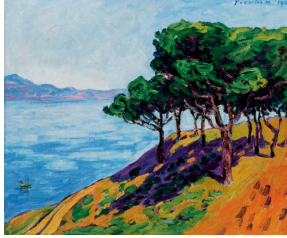
Picabia, *Saint-Tropez vu de la citadelle*, 1909, no. 375, naturalistic



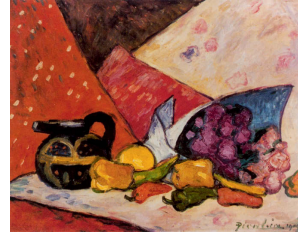
Picabia, *Le port de Saint-Tropez, temps gris*, 1909, no. 377, uncoded



Picabia, *Le port de Saint-Tropez, ef et de soir*, 1909, no. 378, stylized – partially



Picabia, *Les pins, ef et de soleil, Saint-Tropez*, 1909, no. 379, stylized – partially



Picabia, *Nature morte*, 1909, no. 390, stylized – partially

4. Salon d'Automne. 7^e Exposition

235

1 Oct-8 Nov 1909, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Elysées



Balla, *Il mendicante*, 1902, no. 125, naturalistic



Balla, *I malati*, 1903, no. 123, naturalistic



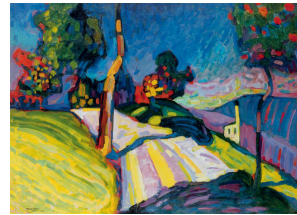
Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, naturalistic



Balla, *La pazza*, 1905, no. 122, naturalistic



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Strasse mit Frauen*, 1908, no. 207, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Kohlgruberstrasse*, 1908, no. 252, stylized - wholly

5. Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V., I. Ausstellung, Turnus 1909/10

1-15 Dec 1909, Munich, Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Strasse mit Frauen*, 1908, no. 207, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Turm*, 1908, no. 220, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Riegsee - Dorfkirche*, 1908, no. 225, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, stylized - partially



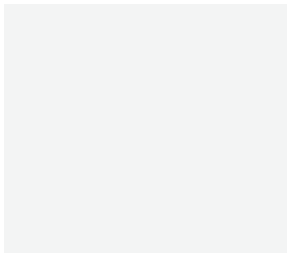
Kandinsky, *Reifröcke*, 1909, no. 263, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Skizze (Reiter)*, 1909, no. 280, stylized - wholly

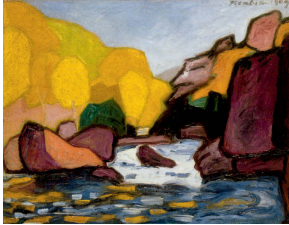


Kandinsky, *Die Hügel*, 1909, no. 573, no visual evidence

6. Exposition de peinture moderne

237

20 Dec 1909–20 Jan 1910, Rouen, Société Normande de Peinture Moderne



Picabia, *Bords de la Sédelle*, 1909,
no. 396, stylized – partially

7. Vereniging Sint-Lucas. Twintigste Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling

24 Apr-?? Jun 1910, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum



Mondrian, *Avond (Evening): The Red Tree*, 1908, no. A671, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Rhododendrons*, 1909, no. A618, uncoded



Mondrian, *Lelie (Lily): Golden-Banded Lily*, 1909, no. A620, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Aäronskelken*, 1909, no. A621, stylized - wholly



Mondrian, *Aäronskelk*, 1909, no. A623, stylized - partially



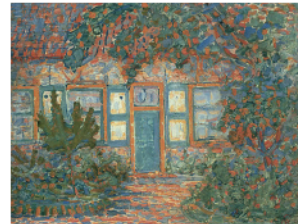
Mondrian, *Lentazon (Spring Sun): Castle Ruin: Brederode*, 1909, no. A651, stylized - partially



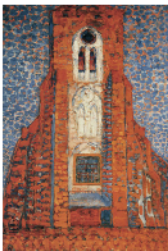
Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Boer*, 1909, no. A675, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Meisje*, 1909, no. A676, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Huisje bij Zon*, 1909, no. A679, stylized - partially



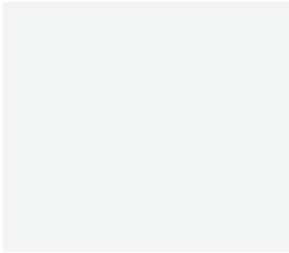
Mondrian, *Zon, Kerk in Zeeland*, 1909, no. A689, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Amarilles*, 1910, no. A626, stylized - partially



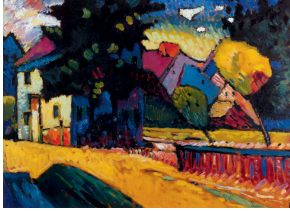
Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, stylized - partially



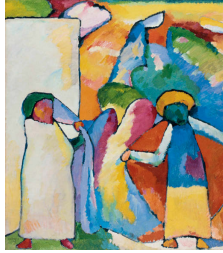
Mondrian, *Meisjeskop*, 1910, no.
UA38, no visual evidence

8. The London Salon of Allied Artists' Association: 3rd Year

?? Jul-6 Aug 1910, London, Royal Albert Hall



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Grünem Haus*, 1909, no. 277, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 6*, 1909, no. 287, stylized - wholly

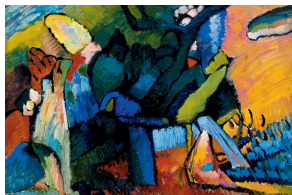


Kandinsky, *Komposition I*, 1910, no. 327, stylized - wholly

9. Ausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler

241

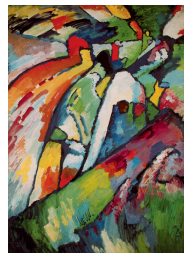
16 Jul-9 Oct 1910, Düsseldorf, Städtischer Kunstpalast



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 - Variation I*, 1910, no. 330, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, non-representational

10. Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V., II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11

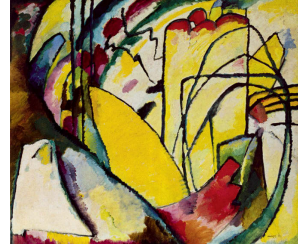
1-14 Sep 1910, Munich, Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)



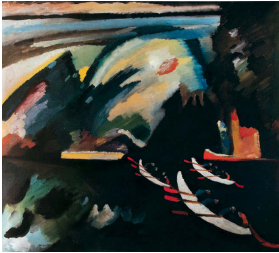
Kandinsky, *Winterstudie mit Berg*, 1908, no. 257, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, stylized - wholly

11. Esposizione Annuale d'Arte della Famiglia Artistica

243

Dec 1910–Jan 1911, Milan, Famiglia Artistica Milanese



Boccioni, *Crepuscolo*, 1909, no. 421, naturalistic



Boccioni, *Tre donne*, 1909, no. 455, naturalistic



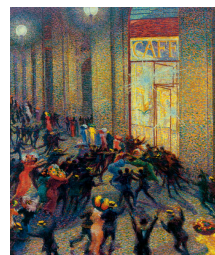
Boccioni, *Controluce*, 1910, no. 457, naturalistic



Boccioni, *Maestra di scena*, 1910, no. 464, naturalistic



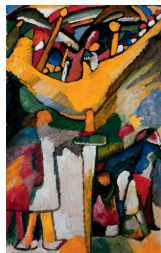
Boccioni, *Il lutto*, 1910, no. 650, stylized – partially



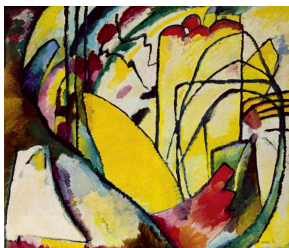
Boccioni, *Rissa in Galleria*, 1910, no. 657, naturalistic

12. Jack of Diamonds

10 Dec 1910–16 Jan 1911, Moscow, Levinsky House



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 289, stylized – wholly



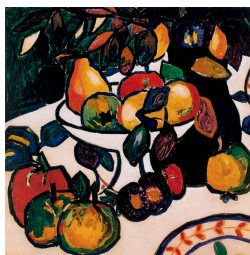
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 16*, 1910, no. 360, uncoded

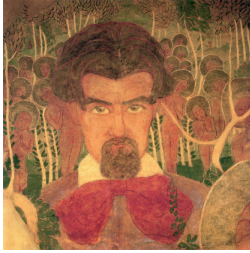


Malevich, *Nature morte aux fruits*, 1910, no. F-187, stylized – partially

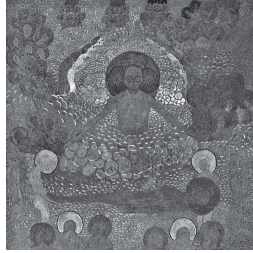
13. Society of Artists 'Moscow Salon'

245

1911, Moscow, Of cer's Room at the Economic Society



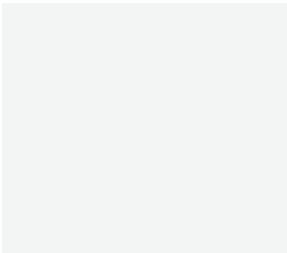
Malevich, *Autoportrait*, 1907, no. F-79, stylized - partially



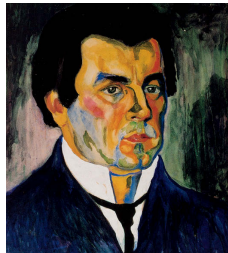
Malevich, *Assomption*, 1907, no. F-83, stylized - wholly



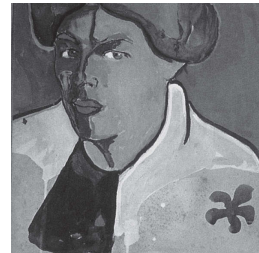
Malevich, *Repos. Société avec chapeaux hauts de forme*, 1908, no. F-118, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Maternité*, 1909, no. F-180, no visual evidence



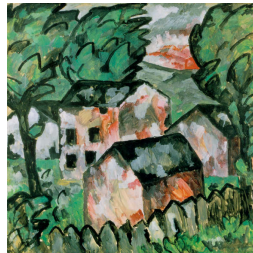
Malevich, *Autoportrait*, 1910, no. F-184, stylized - partially



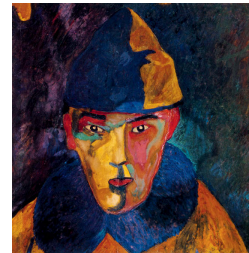
Malevich, *Portrait de femme*, 1910, no. F-186, uncoded



Malevich, *Masseur aux bains*, 1910, no. F-201, uncoded



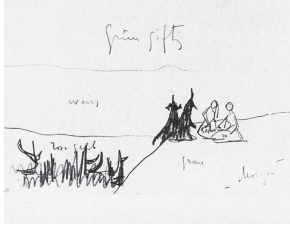
Malevich, *Paysage avec trois maisons rouges*, 1910, no. F-221, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Homme au chapeau pointu*, 1911, no. F-158, stylized - partially

14. Salon 2, 1910–11: International Art Exhibition

6 Feb–3 Apr 1911, Odessa (exact location unknown)



Kandinsky, *Morgen**, 1905, EB no. 196, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Begräbnis*, 1907, EB no. 216, stylized – partially



Kandinsky, *Der Bär*, 1907, EB no. 217, stylized – partially



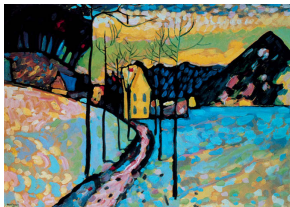
Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, stylized – partially



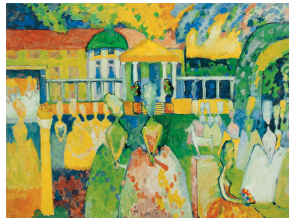
Kandinsky, *Sturmglocke*, 1907, EB no. 224, stylized – partially



Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Turm*, 1908, no. 220, stylized – wholly



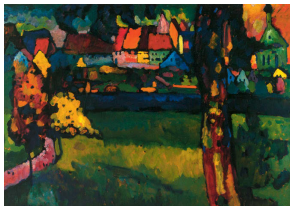
Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, stylized – partially



Kandinsky, *Reifröcke*, 1909, no. 263, stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, stylized – wholly



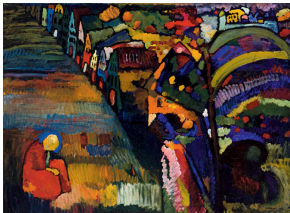
Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, stylized – partially



Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, stylized – wholly



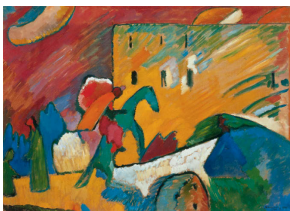
Kandinsky, *Bild mit Häusern*, 1909, no. 269, stylized - wholly



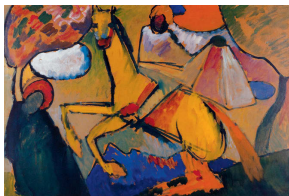
Kandinsky, *Bild mit Bogenschützen*, 1909, no. 270, stylized - wholly



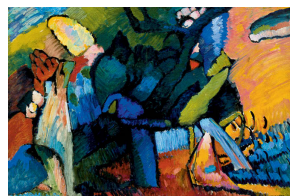
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 2 (Trauermarsch)*, 1909, no. 274, stylized - wholly



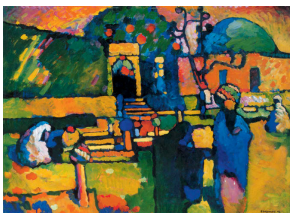
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 3*, 1909, no. 276, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Skizze (Reiter)*, 1909, no. 280, stylized - wholly



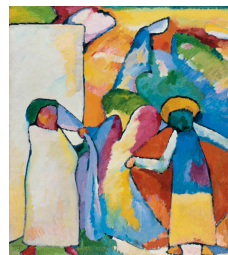
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, non-representational



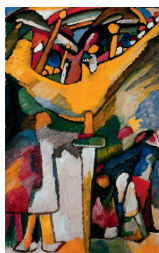
Kandinsky, *Araber I (Friedhof)*, 1909, no. 283, stylized - wholly



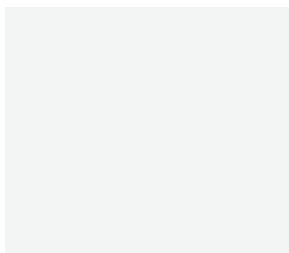
Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Kirche II*, 1909, no. 284, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 6*, 1909, no. 287, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 289, stylized - wholly



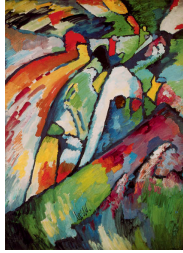
Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Schule*, 1909, no. 574, no visual evidence



Kandinsky, *Komposition I*, 1910, no. 327, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 - Variation I*, 1910, no. 330, uncoded



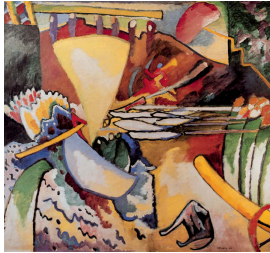
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 11*, 1910, no. 338, stylized - wholly



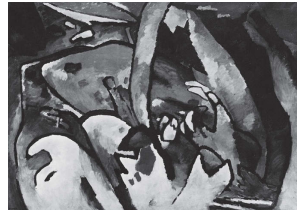
Kandinsky, *Studie für Landschaft mit Regen*, 1910, no. 341, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 14*, 1910, no. 356, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Komposition III*, 1910, no. 359, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 16*, 1910, no. 360, uncoded

15. Mostra d'Arte Libera: I manifestazione collettiva dei Futuristi

249

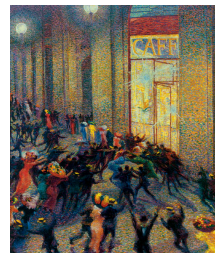
Mar 1911, Milan, Padiglione Ricordi



Boccioni, *Crepuscolo*, 1909, no. 421, naturalistic



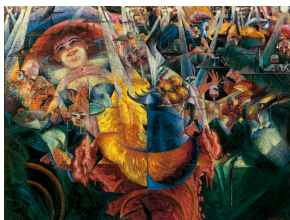
Boccioni, *Il lutto*, 1910, no. 650, stylized - partially



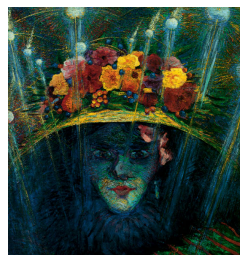
Boccioni, *Rissa in Galleria*, 1910, no. 657, naturalistic



Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, stylized - wholly



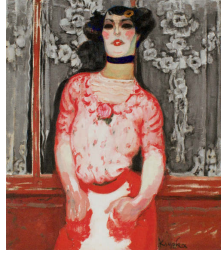
Boccioni, *Idolo Moderno*, 1911, no. 709, stylized - wholly

16. Société des Artistes Indépendants: 27e Exposition. Henri Rousseau

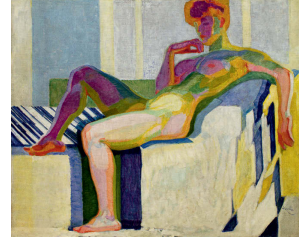
21 Apr–13 Jun 1911, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Pont de L'Alma



Kupka, *Gigolettes (Zusa et Vilette)*, 1909, no. 078, stylized - partially



Kupka, *La Môme à Gallien, Au gout de Gallien*, 1909, no. 083, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu*, 1909, no. 090, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Gigolette: Io, la vache*, 1910, no. 086, stylized - partially



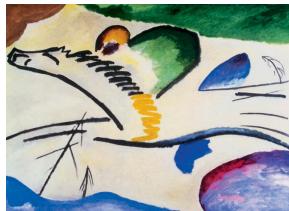
Kupka, *Portrait de famille*, 1910, no. 088, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Printemps cosmique II*, 1911, no. 171, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Lyrishes*, 1911, no. 377, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Impression V (Park)*, 1911, no. 397, stylized - wholly

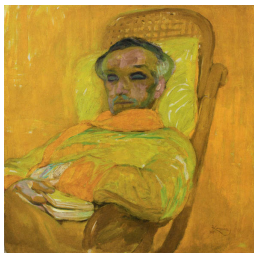


Picabia, *Printemps (?)*, 1911, no. 415, stylized - wholly

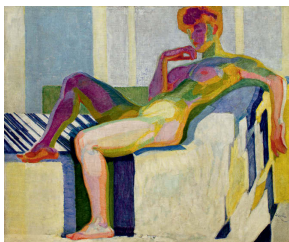
17. Salon d'Automne. 9e exposition

251

1 Oct-8 Nov 1911, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Élysées



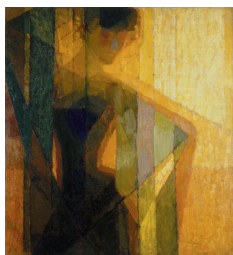
Kupka, *La Gamme jaune II*, 1907, no. 077, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu*, 1909, no. 090, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Portrait de famille*, 1910, no. 088, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Plans par couleurs*, 1910, no. 114, stylized - wholly



Picabia, *Untitled*, 1911, no. 418, stylized - partially

18. Internationale Tentoonstelling van Moderne Kunst. Moderne Kunstkring

6 Oct-5 Nov 1911, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum



Mondrian, *Evolutie*, c. 1911, no. A647, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Kerktoeren*, 1911, no. A691, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Molen*, 1911, no. A692, stylized - partially



Mondrian, *Duinlandschap*, 1911, no. B1, stylized - partially

19. Exposition d'Art Contemporain / Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, 2^{me} Exposition

20 Nov-16 Dec 1911, Paris, Galerie d'Art Ancien & d'Art Contemporain



Picabia, *Les cygnes*, 1911, no. 419,
stylized - partially



Picabia, *Les chevaux*, 1911, no. 425,
stylized - partially

20. Die zweite Ausstellung der Redaktion. Der Blaue Reiter. Schwarz-Weiss

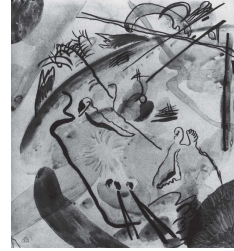
Feb 1912, Munich, Hans Goltz



Kandinsky, *Regenlandschaft*, 1911, EB no. 291, stylized - wholly



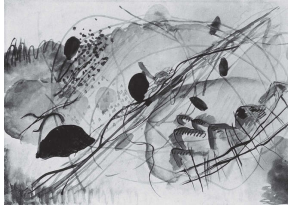
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 3 (Liebesgarten)*, 1911, EB no. 299, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Ohne Titel*, 1911, EB no. 300, uncoded



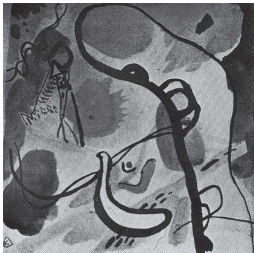
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 2*, 1911, EB no. 301, stylized - wholly



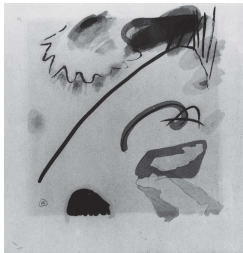
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 6*, 1911, EB no. 302, non-representational



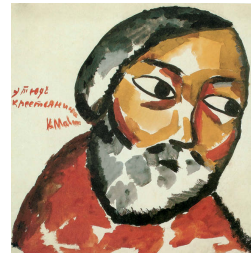
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 8 'Jüngster Tag'*, 1911, EB no. 303, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 10*, 1911, EB no. 304, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 12 'Mit Bogen'*, 1911, EB no. 305, uncoded



Malevich, *Visage de paysan*, 1911, no. F-279, stylized - partially

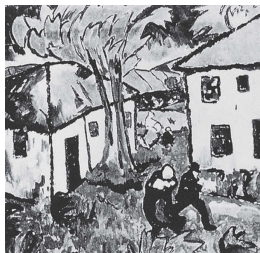
21. Donkey's Tail

255

11 Mar-8 Apr 1912, Moscow, Stroganov School of Applied Arts ('Stroganovka')



Malevich, *Homme avec sac*, 1910, no. F-204, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Village*, 1910, no. F-219, stylized - partially



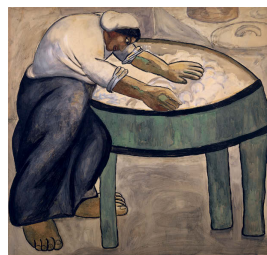
Malevich, *Moissonneuses / Récolte de seigle I*, 1910, no. F-241, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Polka argentine*, 1911, no. F-194, stylized - partially



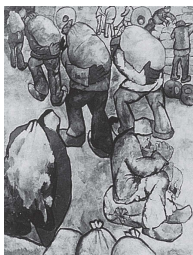
Malevich, *Polisseurs de parquet*, 1911, no. F-196, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Lessiveuse*, 1911, no. F-198, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Le Pédicure*, 1911, no. F-203, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Travail au moulin*, 1911, no. F-207, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Jardinier*, 1911, no. F-214, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Sur le boulevard*, 1911, no. F-215, stylized - wholly



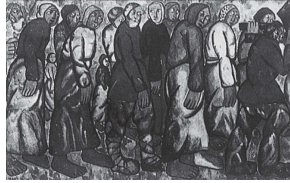
Malevich, *Province*, 1911, no. F-217, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Semeur*, 1911, no. F-218, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Moissonneuses*, 1911, no. F-237, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Enterrement paysan*, 1911, no. F-278, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Paysannes à l'église / Procession paysanne I*, 1911, no. F-285, stylized - partially



Malevich, *Paysannes à l'église / Procession paysanne I*, 1911, no. F-287, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Port*, 1911, no. F-307, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Paysannes à l'église / Procession paysanne II*, 1912, no. F-288, stylized - wholly

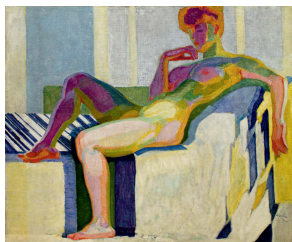


Malevich, *Moissonneuse / Récolte de seigle II*, 1912, no. F-289, stylized - wholly

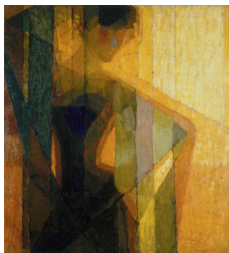
22. Société des Artistes Indépendants: 28e exposition

257

20 Mar-16 May 1912, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Pont de L'Alma



Kupka, *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu*, 1909, no. 090, stylized - partially



Kupka, *Plans par couleurs*, 1910, no. 114, stylized - wholly



Picabia, *Printemps (?)*, 1911, no. 415, stylized - wholly



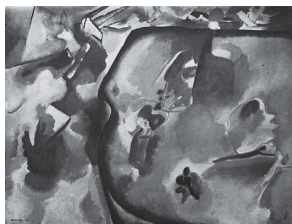
Picabia, *Grimaldi après la pluie*, 1911, no. 433, stylized - wholly



Picabia, *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, 1911, no. 434, uncoded



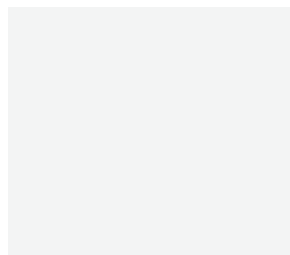
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, 1912, no. 427, non-representational



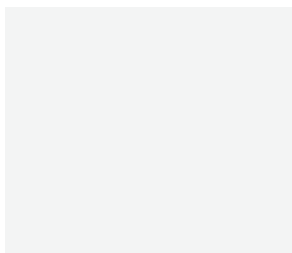
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 25 (Garten der Liebe I)*, 1912, no. 428, non-representational



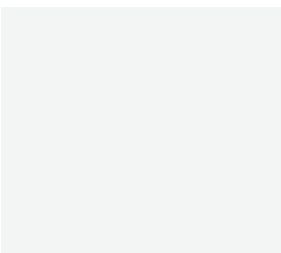
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 26 (Rudern)*, 1912, no. 429, non-representational



Mondrian, *Dans le Jardin / In den Tuin*, 1912, no. U2, no visual evidence



Mondrian, *Dans la Forêt*, 1912, no. U3, no visual evidence



Mondrian, *La Fruitière*, 1912, no. U4, no visual evidence

23. Dritte Ausstellung. Graphik

May 1912, Berlin, Der Sturm



Kandinsky, *Glasbild mit Sonne*, 1910, no. 370, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Allerheiligen I*, 1911, no. 412, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Apokalyptische Reiter I*, 1911, no. 423, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Sintf ut (zu Komposition VI)*, 1911, no. 425, stylized - wholly

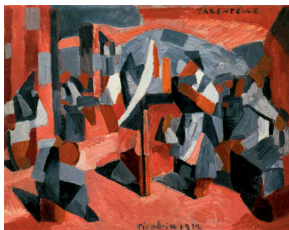
24. Société Normande de Peinture Moderne

259

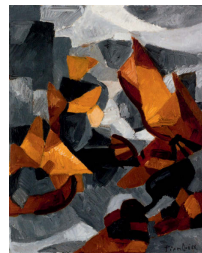
15 Jun–15 Jul 1912, Rouen, Société Normande de Peinture Moderne



Picabia, *Untitled*, 1912, no. 436, non-representational



Picabia, *Tarentelle*, 1912, no. 438, stylized – wholly



Picabia, *Port de Naples*, 1912, no. 439, non-representational



Picabia, *Dessin pour un tableau (Danses à la source I)*, 1912, no. 444, uncoded

25. Moderner Bund. II. Ausstellung

7-31 Jul 1912, Zurich, Kunsthaus Zürich



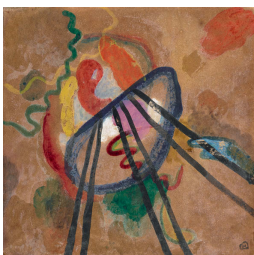
Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1910, EB no. 260, stylized - wholly



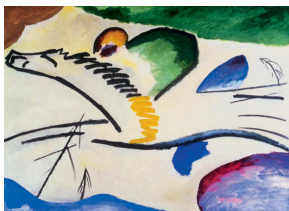
Kandinsky, *Fragment zu Komposition II*, 1910, no. 325, stylized - wholly



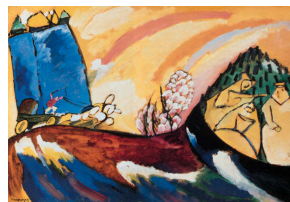
Kandinsky, *Studie für Landschaft mit Regen*, 1910, no. 341, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Boot*, 1911, EB no. 295, non-representational



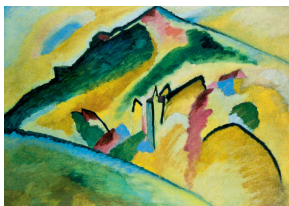
Kandinsky, *Lyrisches*, 1911, no. 377, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Bild mit Troika*, 1911, no. 378, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Herbstlandschaft*, 1911, no. 381, stylized - wholly



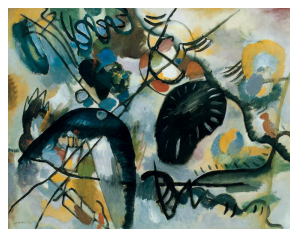
Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Studie für Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, 1912, no. 426, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Schwarzer Fleck I*, 1912, no. 435, non-representational

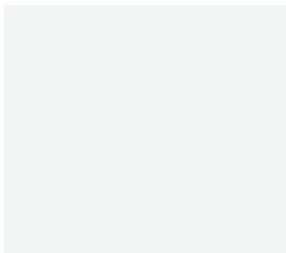
26. Neue Kunst. Erste Gesamt-Ausstellung

261

Oct 1912, Munich, Hans Goltz



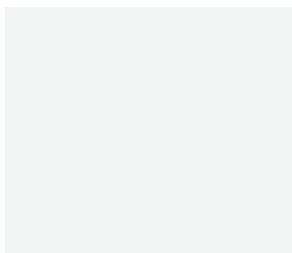
Kandinsky, *Frühling - Umgebung von Augsburg*, 1902, no. 45, stylized - partially



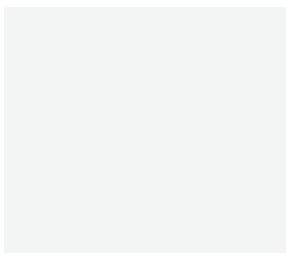
Kandinsky, *Alte Zeiten*, 1902, EB no. 67, no visual evidence



Kandinsky, *Der reitende Ritter*, 1903, EB no. 74, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Im Königsgarten*, 1904, EB no. 124, no visual evidence



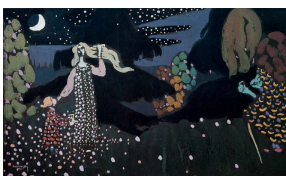
Kandinsky, *Die letzten Strahlen*, 1904, no. 543, no visual evidence



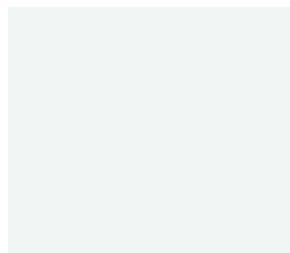
Kandinsky, *Arabische Reiterei*, 1905, EB no. 183, stylized - partially



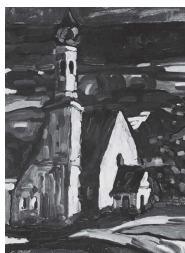
Kandinsky, *Studie für 'Reitendes Paar'*, 1906, EB no. 215, stylized - partially



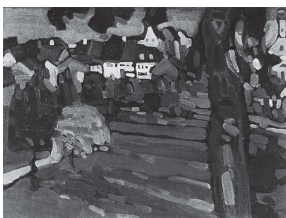
Kandinsky, *Die Nacht*, 1907, EB no. 225, stylized - partially



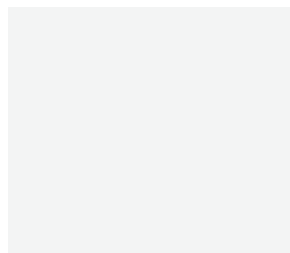
Kandinsky, *Mittag*, 1907, EB no. 226, no visual evidence



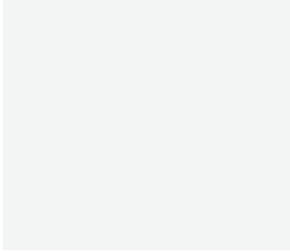
Kandinsky, *Kirche in Froschhausen*, 1908, no. 224, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Studie für Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1908, no. 234, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Die Hügel*, 1909, no. 573, no visual evidence



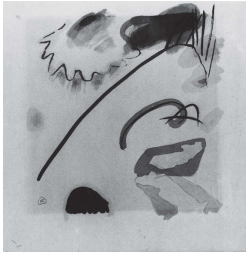
Kandinsky, *Berge*, 1909, no. 578,
no visual evidence



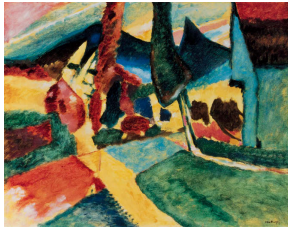
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 3*
(*Liebesgarten*), 1911, EB no. 299,
stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 6*, 1911, EB
no. 302, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 12 'Mit*
Bogen', 1911, EB no. 305, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit*
zwei Pappeln, 1912, no. 437,
stylized – wholly

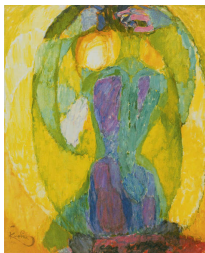


Kandinsky, *Herbst II*, 1912, no. 438,
stylized – wholly

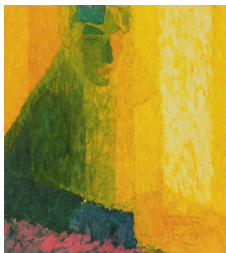
27. Salon d'Automne. 10^e Exposition

263

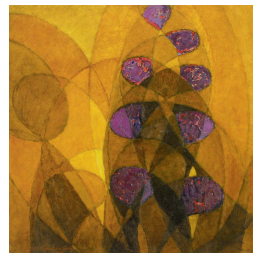
1 Oct–8 Nov 1912, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Élysées



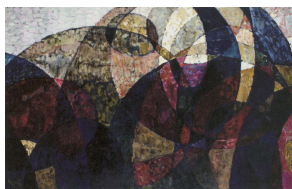
Kupka, *Le Miroir Oval*, 1910, no. 093, stylized – wholly



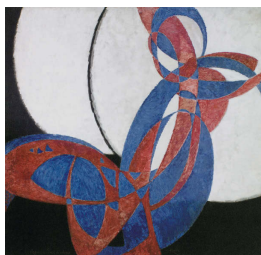
Kupka, *Portrait du musicien Follot*, 1910, no. 112, stylized – wholly



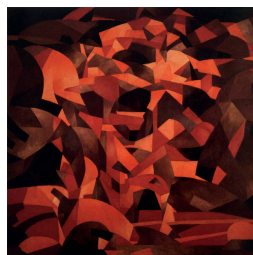
Kupka, *Amorpha, chromatique chaude*, 1911, no. 103, non-representational



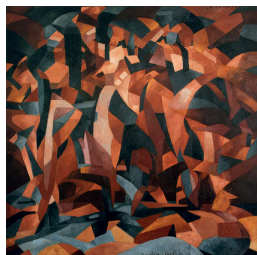
Kupka, *Étude pour Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs et pour Amorpha, chromatique chaude*, 1911, no. 099, non-representational



Kupka, *Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs*, 1912, no. 102, non-representational



Picabia, *Danses à la source (II)*, 1912, no. 445, non-representational



Picabia, *La source*, 1912, no. 447, non-representational

28. Der Sturm. Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung. 1902-1912. Siebente Ausstellung

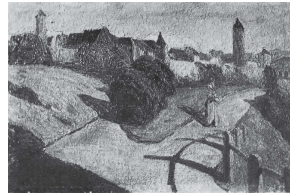
2-28 Oct 1912, Berlin, Der Sturm



Kandinsky, *Binz auf Rügen (Dühne)*, 1901, no. 27, uncoded



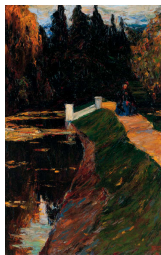
Kandinsky, *Helle Luft*, 1901, no. 36, naturalistic



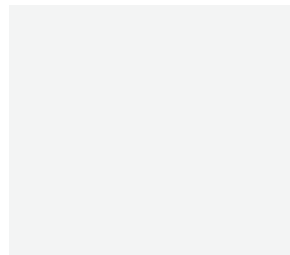
Kandinsky, *Alte Stadt I*, 1901, no. 37, naturalistic



Kandinsky, *Mädchen am Ufer*, 1902, no. 43, stylized - partially



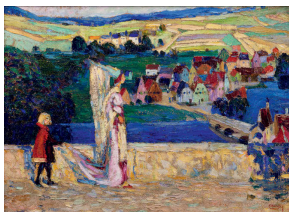
Kandinsky, *Schleuse*, 1902, no. 44, naturalistic



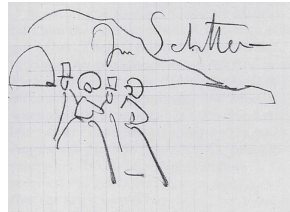
Kandinsky, *Kochel - Weg nach Schlehdorf*, 1902, no. 527, no visual evidence



Kandinsky, *Zweikampf*, 1902, EB no. 54, stylized - partially



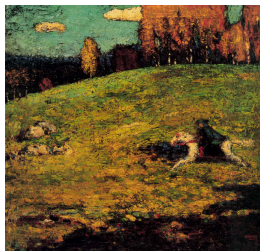
Kandinsky, *Spaziergang (Skizze)*, 1903, no. 107, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Der Schatten**, 1903, EB no. 71, stylized - wholly



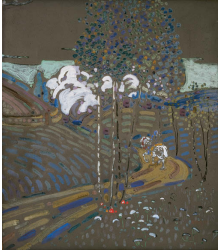
Kandinsky, *Reitendes Paar*, 1903, EB no. 77, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Der Blaue Reiter*, 1903, no. 82, naturalistic



Kandinsky, *Grüner Vogel*, 1903, EB no. 86, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Weisse Wolke*, 1903, EB no. 88, stylized - partially



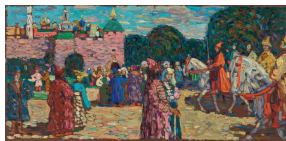
Kandinsky, *Das Junge Paar*, 1904, EB no. 103, stylized - partially



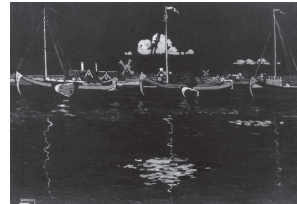
Kandinsky, *Karneval*, 1904, EB no. 113, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Spazierende Gesellschaft I*, 1904, no. 115, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Sonntag (Altrussisch)*, 1904, no. 118, naturalistic



Kandinsky, *Die Schiffe (Holland)*, 1904, EB no. 140, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Rapallo - Boote*, 1905, no. 145, naturalistic



Kandinsky, *Gegen Abend*, 1905, EB no. 188, stylized - partially



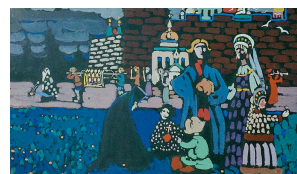
Kandinsky, *Die Rosen*, 1905, EB no. 190, stylized - partially



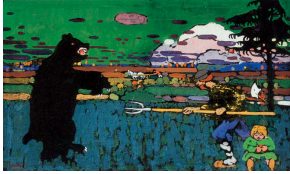
Kandinsky, *Troikas*, 1906, no. 174, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Provinz*, 1906, EB no. 212, stylized - partially



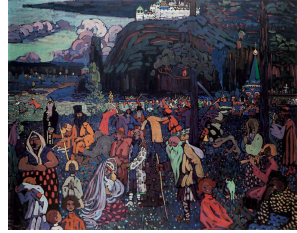
Kandinsky, *Begräbnis*, 1907, EB no. 216, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Der Bär*, 1907, EB no. 217, stylized - partially



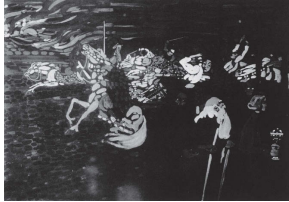
Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Das Bunte Leben*, 1907, EB no. 219, stylized - partially



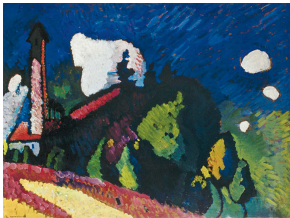
Kandinsky, *Morgenstunde*, 1907, EB no. 221, stylized - partially



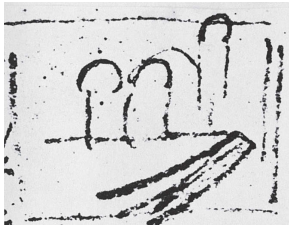
Kandinsky, *Panik*, 1907, EB no. 223, stylized - partially



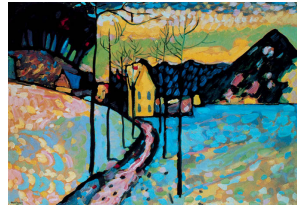
Kandinsky, *Sturmglocke*, 1907, EB no. 224, stylized - partially



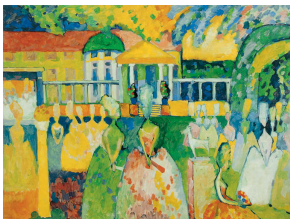
Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Turm*, 1908, no. 220, stylized - partially



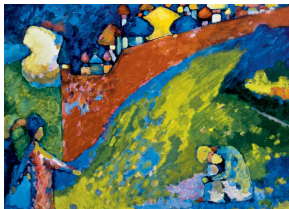
Kandinsky, *Schloss am Stafelsee**, 1908, no. 240, uncoded



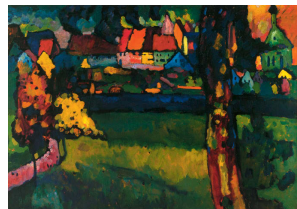
Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Reifröcke*, 1909, no. 263, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, stylized - wholly



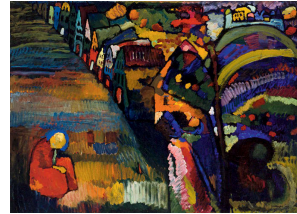
Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, stylized - partially



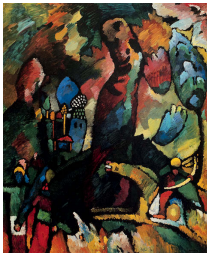
Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, stylized - wholly



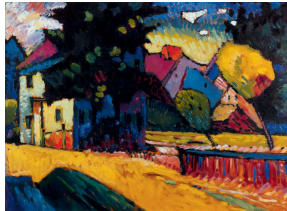
Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, stylized - wholly



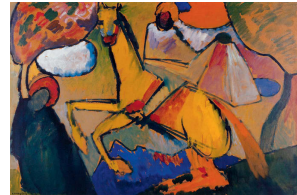
Kandinsky, *Bild mit Häusern*, 1909, no. 269, stylized - wholly



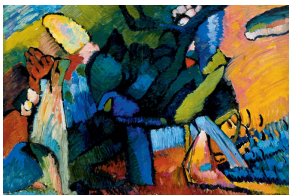
Kandinsky, *Bild mit Bogenschützen*, 1909, no. 270, stylized - wholly



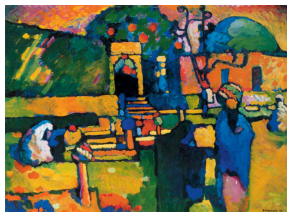
Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Grünem Haus*, 1909, no. 277, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Skizze (Reiter)*, 1909, no. 280, stylized - wholly



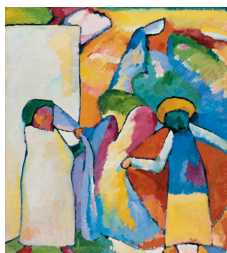
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, non-representational



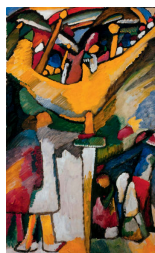
Kandinsky, *Araber I (Friedhof)*, 1909, no. 283, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Murnau - Landschaft mit Kirche II*, 1909, no. 284, stylized - partially



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 6*, 1909, no. 287, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 289, stylized - wholly



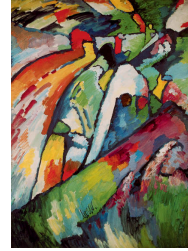
Kandinsky, *Treppe zum Schloss**, 1909, no. 323, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Komposition I*, 1910, no. 327, stylized - wholly



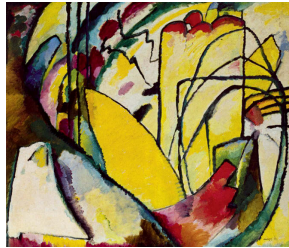
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 - Variation II*, 1910, no. 331, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, stylized - wholly



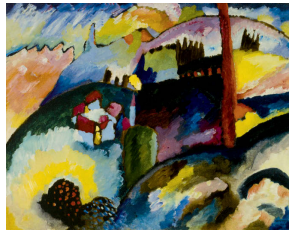
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, non-representational



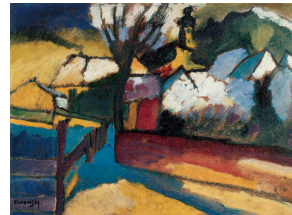
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 11*, 1910, no. 338, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit Bewegten Bergen*, 1910, no. 342, stylized - partially



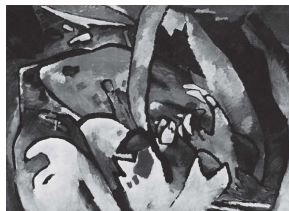
Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit Fabrikschornstein*, 1910, no. 343, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Herbstlandschaft mit Baum*, 1910, no. 350, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Komposition III*, 1910, no. 359, uncoded



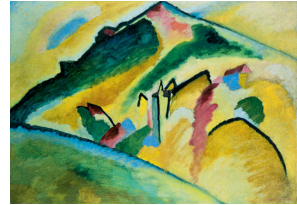
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 16*, 1910, no. 360, uncoded



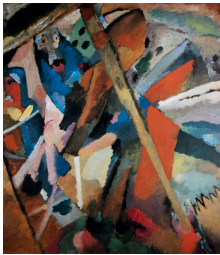
Kandinsky, *Lyrisches*, 1911, no. 377, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Herbstlandschaft*, 1911, no. 381, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, non-representational



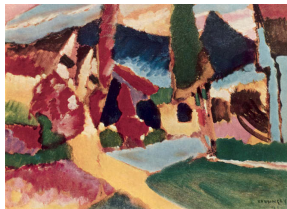
Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*, 1911, no. 388, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 20*, 1911, no. 394, stylized - wholly



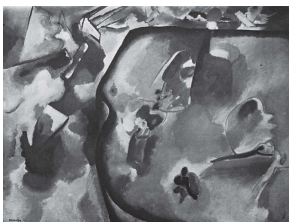
Kandinsky, *Impression V (Park)*, 1911, no. 397, stylized - wholly



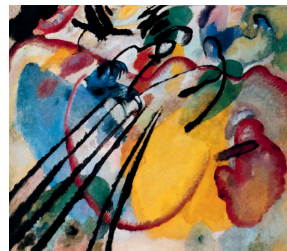
Kandinsky, *Studie für Landschaft mit zwei Pappeln*, 1911, no. 403, stylized - wholly



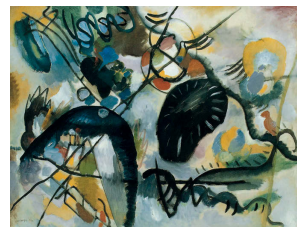
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, 1912, no. 427, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 25 (Garten der Liebe I)*, 1912, no. 428, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation 26 (Rudern)*, 1912, no. 429, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Schwarzer Fleck I*, 1912, no. 435, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Bild mit schwarzem Bogen*, 1912, no. 436, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation mit rot-blauem Ring*, 1913, no. 477, non-representational

29. Moderne Kunstkring (Cercle de L'art moderne). Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Dessin, Gravure

271

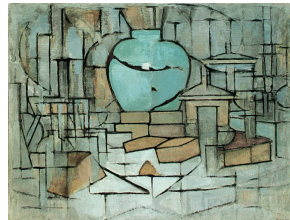
6 Oct-7 Nov 1912, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum



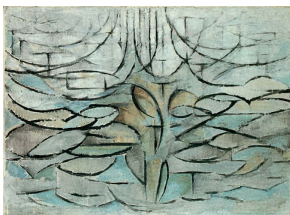
Mondrian, *Paysage*, 1912, no. B16, stylized - wholly



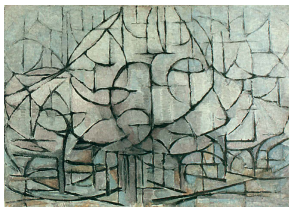
Mondrian, *The Sea*, 1912, no. B17, non-representational



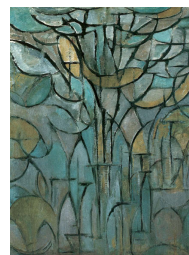
Mondrian, *Still Life with Gingerpot*, 1912, no. B18, stylized - wholly



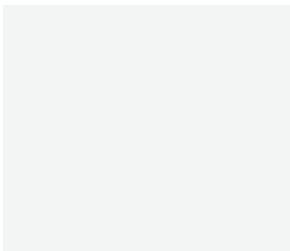
Mondrian, *Bloeiende Appelboom*, 1912, no. B19, non-representational



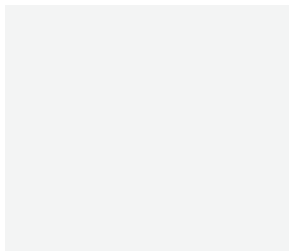
Mondrian, *Bloeiende Bomen*, 1912, no. B20, non-representational



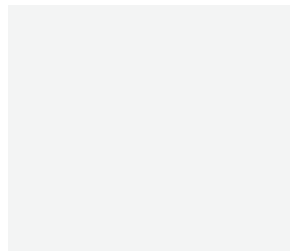
Mondrian, *The Trees*, 1912, no. B21, non-representational



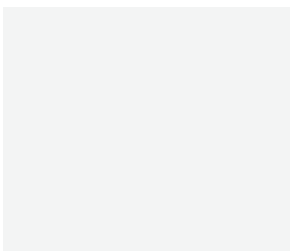
Mondrian, *Marine (esquisse)*, 1912, no. U5, no visual evidence



Mondrian, *Sur les dunes (esquisse)*, 1912, no. U6, no visual evidence



Mondrian, *Arbres (esquisse)*, 1912, no. U7, no visual evidence



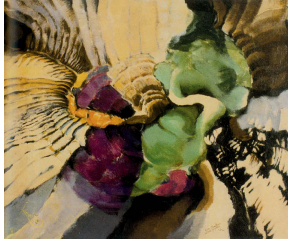
Mondrian, *Arbres*, 1912, no. U8, no visual evidence

30. Salon de la 'Section d'Or'

10–30 Oct 1912, Paris, Galerie La Boétie



Kupka, *Compliment*, 1912, no. 202, non-representational



Kupka, *Composition*, 1912, no. 206, non-representational



Picabia, *Untitled*, 1912, no. 436, non-representational



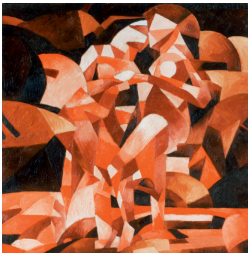
Picabia, *Paris*, 1912, no. 437, non-representational



Picabia, *Figure triste*, 1912, no. 440, stylized – wholly



Picabia, *La procession, Séville*, 1912, no. 442, non-representational



Picabia, *Danses à la source (I)*, 1912, no. 443, stylized – wholly

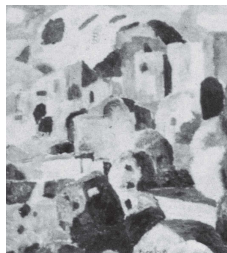


Picabia, *Musique de procession*, 1912, no. 446, non-representational

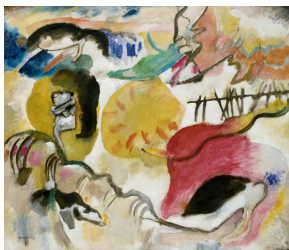
31. International Exhibition of Modern Art (Armory Show)

273

17 Feb–15 Mar 1913, New York, Armory of the 69th Infantry



Picabia, *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, 1911, no. 434, uncoded



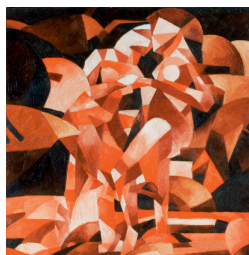
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, stylized – wholly



Picabia, *Paris*, 1912, no. 437, non-representational



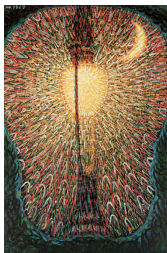
Picabia, *La procession, Séville*, 1912, no. 442, non-representational



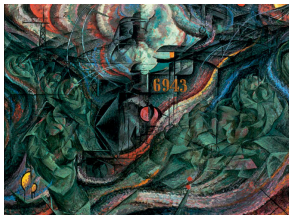
Picabia, *Danses à la source (I)*, 1912, no. 443, stylized – wholly

32. Prima Esposizione Pittura Futurista

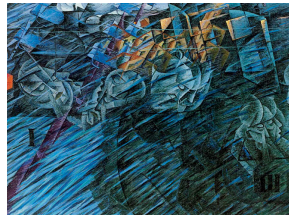
21 Feb–21 Mar 1913, Rome, Ridotto del Teatro Costanz



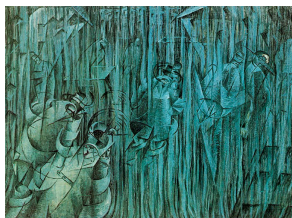
Balla, *Lampada ad arco*, 1909, no. 208, stylized - partially



Boccioni, *Gli addii - Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, stylized - wholly



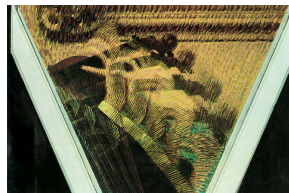
Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno - Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, stylized - wholly



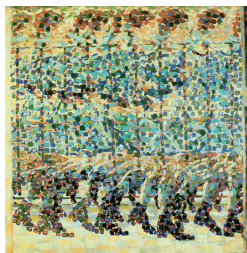
Boccioni, *Quelli che restano - Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, stylized - wholly



Balla, *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 1912, no. 241, stylized - partially



Balla, *La mano del violonista*, 1912, no. 253, stylized - wholly



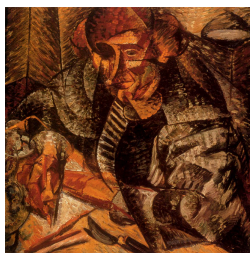
Balla, *Bambina che corre sul balcone*, 1912, no. 290, stylized - wholly



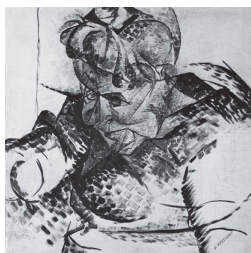
Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, stylized - wholly



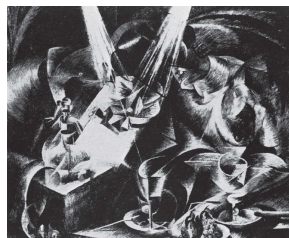
Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Antigrazioso*, 1912, no. 787, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Dimensioni astratte*, 1912, no. 794, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Scomposizione di figure a tavola*, 1912, no. 796, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, stylized - wholly



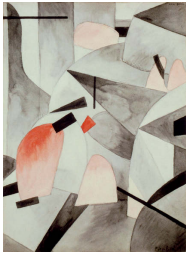
Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, non-representational



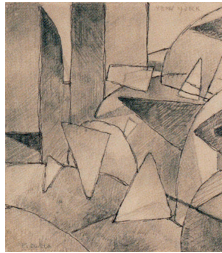
Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 878, uncoded

33. Exhibition of Studies Made in New York, by François Picabia, of Paris

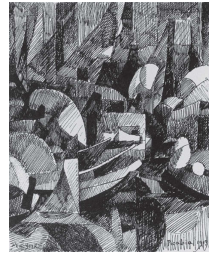
17 Mar–5 Apr 1913, New York, Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession



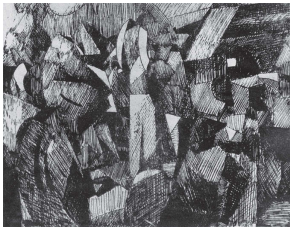
Picabia, New York, 1913, no. 452, non-representational



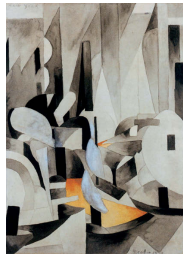
Picabia, New York, 1913, no. 453, non-representational



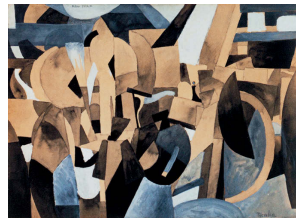
Picabia, New York (study for), 1913, no. 454, non-representational



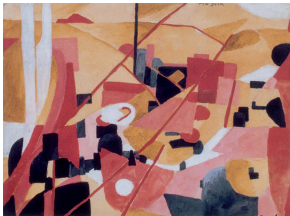
Picabia, Study for a Study of New York (?), 1913, no. 455, non-representational



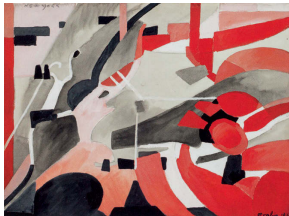
Picabia, New York, 1913, no. 456, non-representational



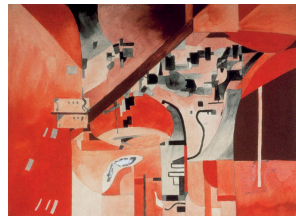
Picabia, New York, 1913, no. 457, non-representational



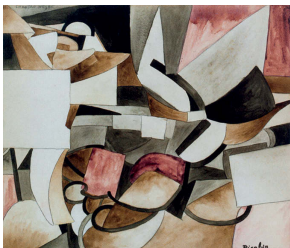
Picabia, New York, 1913, no. 458, non-representational



Picabia, New York, 1913, no. 459, non-representational



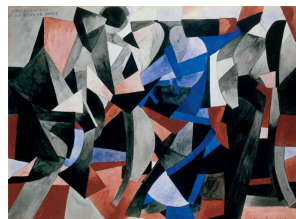
Picabia, La ville de New York aperçue à travers le corps, 1913, no. 460, non-representational



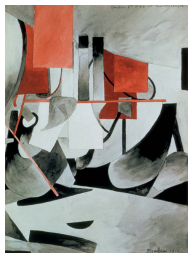
Picabia, Chanson nègre (II), 1913, no. 462, non-representational



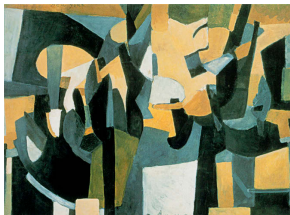
Picabia, Chanson nègre (I), 1913, no. 463, non-representational



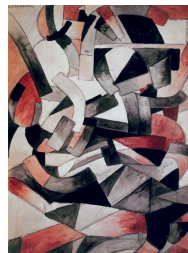
Picabia, Danseuse étoile et son école de danse, 1913, no. 464, stylized - wholly



Picabia, *Danseuse étoile sur un transatlantique*, 1913, no. 465, non-representational



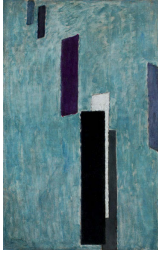
Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 466, non-representational



Picabia, *Révérences*, 1913, no. 473, non-representational

34. Société des Artistes Indépendants / 29e Exposition

19 Mar-18 May 1913, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Pont de L'Alma



Kupka, *Plans verticaux I*, 1911, no. 125, non-representational



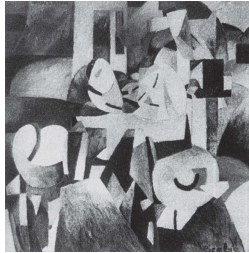
Kupka, *Plans verticaux II*, 1912, no. 126, non-representational



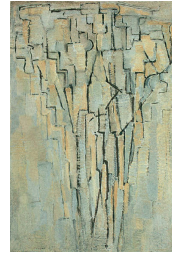
Kupka, *Plans verticaux III*, 1912, no. 127, non-representational



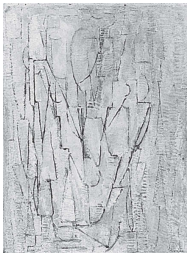
Kupka, *Le Solo d'un trait brun*, 1912, no. 224, non-representational



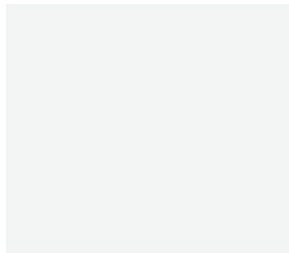
Picabia, *Procession*, 1912, no. 450, stylized - wholly



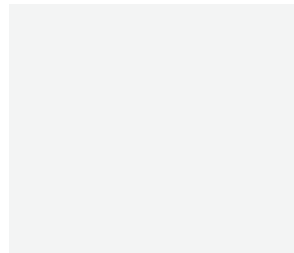
Mondrian, *The Tree A*, 1913, no. B30, non-representational



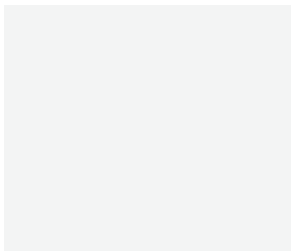
Mondrian, *Composition No. XI*, 1913, no. B31, non-representational



Mondrian, *Arbre*, 1913, no. U9, no visual evidence



Mondrian, *Arbre en fleurs*, 1913, no. U10, no visual evidence

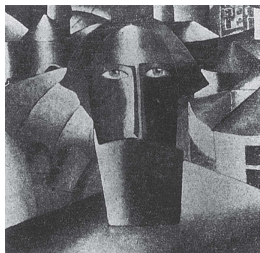


Mondrian, *Femme*, 1913, no. U11, no visual evidence

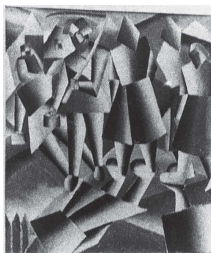
35. Exhibition of Paintings by 'Target' Art Association

279

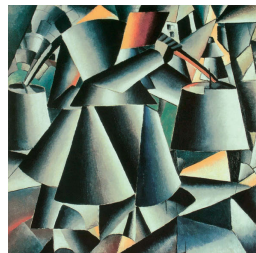
24 Mar–7 Apr 1913, Moscow, Khudozhestvenny'j's Salon, Boshaja Dmitrovka 11



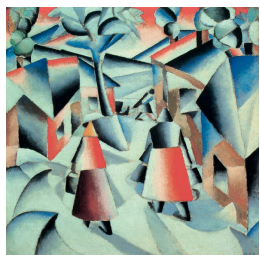
Malevich, *Orthodoxe II / Portrait de Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, 1912, no. F-302, stylized - wholly



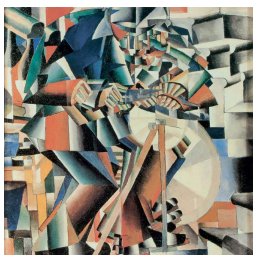
Malevich, *Rue de village*, 1912, no. F-322, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Paysanne avec sceaux II*, autumn 1912, no. F-332, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Matin au village après la tempête de neige*, winter 1912-1913, no. F-320, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Rémouleur*, winter 1912-1913, no. F-354, stylized - wholly

36. 1^{re} Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du Peintre et Sculpteur Futuriste Boccioni

20 Jun–16 Jul 1913, Paris, Galerie La Boëtie



Boccioni, *Testa + casa + luce*, 1912, no. 757, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, stylized – wholly



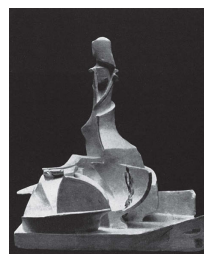
Boccioni, *Antigravioso*, 1912, no. 774, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Vuoti e pieni astratti di una testa*, 1912, no. 775, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, uncoded



Boccioni, *Forme-forze di una bottiglia*, 1913, no. 853, non-representational



Boccioni, *Espansione spiraleica di muscoli in movimento*, 1913, no. 854, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Sintesi del dinamismo umano*, 1913, no. 855, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, non-representational



Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 878, uncoded

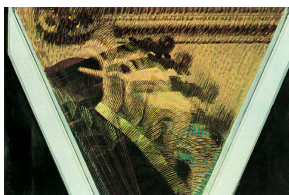
37. Der Sturm. Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon

281

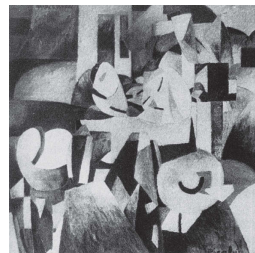
20 Sep-1 Dec 1913, Berlin, Lepke-Räume



Balla, *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 1912, no. 241, stylized - partially



Balla, *La mano del violonista*, 1912, no. 253, stylized - wholly



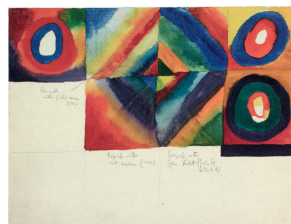
Picabia, *Procession*, 1912, no. 450, stylized - wholly



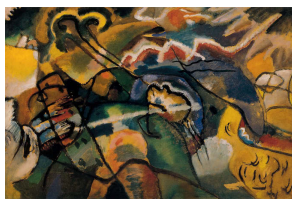
Boccioni, *Scomposizione di figure a tavola*, 1912, no. 796, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, stylized - wholly



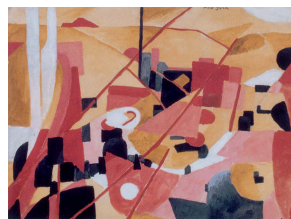
Kandinsky, *Farbstudien mit Angaben zur Maltechnik*, 1913, EB no. 344, uncoded



Kandinsky, *Entwurf II zu Bild mit weissem Rand (Moskau)*, 1913, no. 454, non-representational



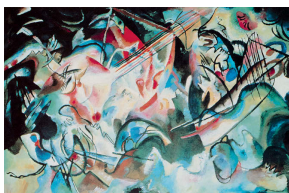
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 31 (Seeschlacht)*, 1913, no. 455, stylized - wholly



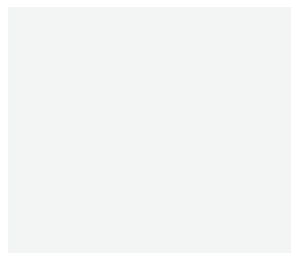
Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 458, non-representational



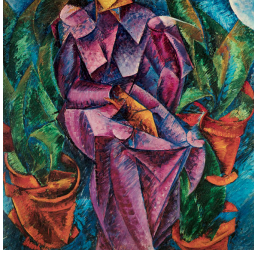
Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit roten Flecken II*, 1913, no. 460, stylized - wholly



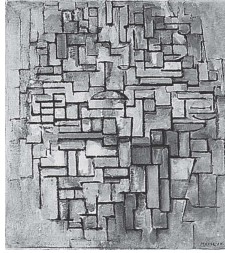
Kandinsky, *Komposition VI*, 1913, no. 464, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Skizze zu Komposition VI*, 1913, no. 583, no visual evidence



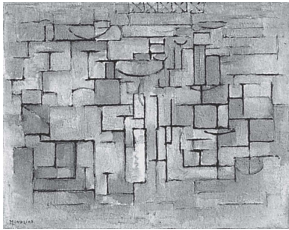
Boccioni, *Costruzione spiraleca*, 1913, no. 899, non-representational



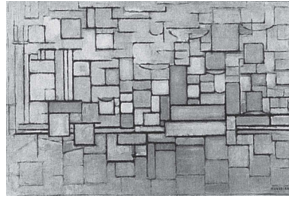
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, non-representational



Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913, no. B38, non-representational



Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, non-representational

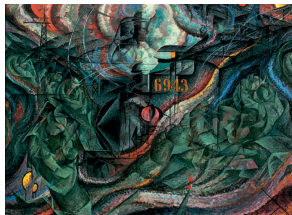


Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XII*, 1913, no. B40, anti-illusionistic

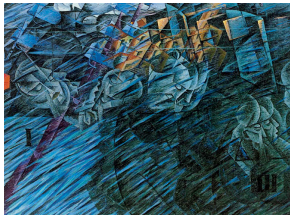
38. Esposizione di Pittura Futurista di 'Lacerba'

283

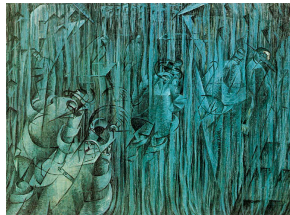
Nov 1913–Jan 1914, Florence, Galleria Gonnelli



Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, stylized – wholly



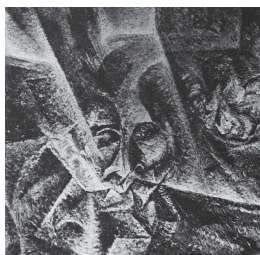
Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, stylized – wholly



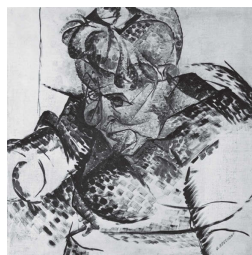
Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, stylized – wholly



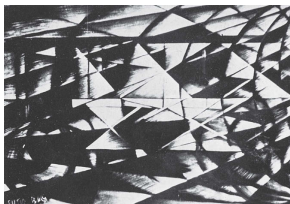
Boccioni, *Testa + luce + ambiente*, 1912, no. 793, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Dimensioni astratte*, 1912, no. 794, stylized – wholly



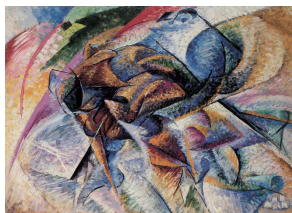
Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, non-representational



Balla, *Plasticità di luci + velocità*, 1913, no. 329, non-representational



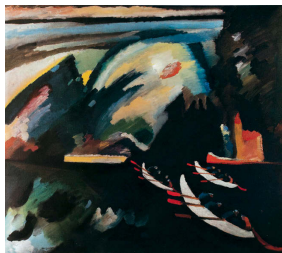
Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, non-representational



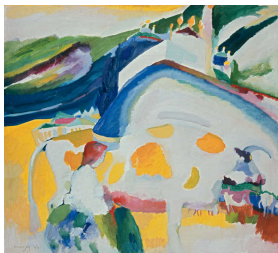
Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, non-representational

39. Moderne Kunstkring (Cercle de L'Art Moderne)

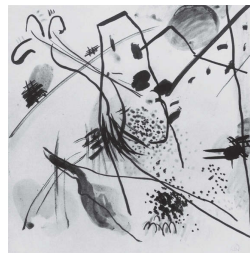
7 Nov–8 Dec 1913, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum



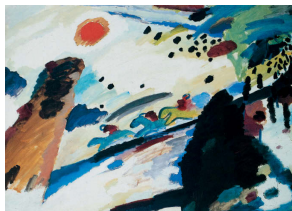
Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, stylized – wholly



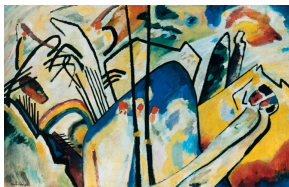
Kandinsky, *Die Kuh*, 1910, no. 365, stylized – wholly



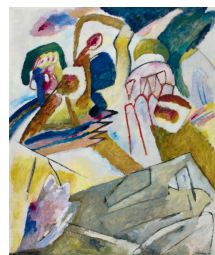
Kandinsky, *Entwurf zu 'Improvisation 23 (Troika I)'*, 1911, EB no. 292, non-representational



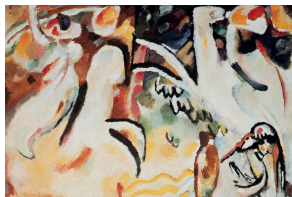
Kandinsky, *Romantische Landschaft*, 1911, no. 374, stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Komposition IV*, 1911, no. 383, stylized – wholly



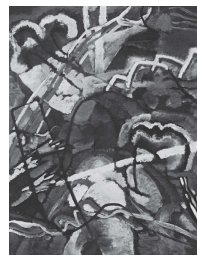
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 18 (mit Grabsteinen)*, 1911, no. 384, stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*, 1911, no. 388, stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1911, no. 389, stylized – wholly



Kandinsky, *Entwurf I zu Bild mit weissem Rand (Moskau)*, 1913, no. 453, non-representational



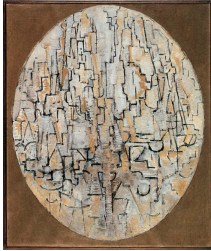
Kandinsky, *Entwurf zu Bild mit weisser Form*, 1913, no. 456, stylized – wholly



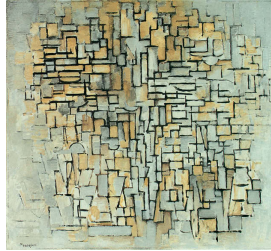
Kandinsky, *Landschaft (Dünaberg bei Murnau)*, 1913, no. 467, stylized – wholly



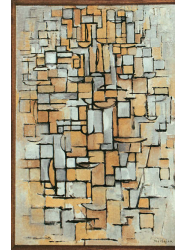
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, non-representational



Mondrian, *Tableau No. 3: Composition in Oval*, 1913, no. B33, anti-illusionistic



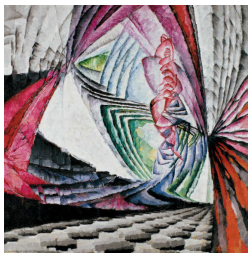
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, non-representational



Mondrian, *Tableau No. 1*, 1913, no. B37, anti-illusionistic

40. Salon d'Automne. 11e exposition

15 Nov 1913–5 Jan 1914, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Élysées



Kupka, *Localisation de mobiles graphiques I*, 1912, no. 177, non-representational



Kupka, *Localisation de mobiles graphiques II*, 1913, no. 178, non-representational



Picabia, *Udrnie*, 1913, no. 467, non-representational

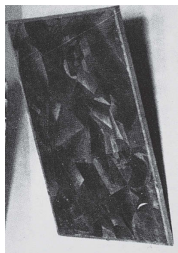


Picabia, *Edtaonisl*, 1913, no. 470, non-representational

41. Union of Youth (7)

287

23 Nov 1913–23 Jan 1914, Saint Petersburg, Nevsky 73



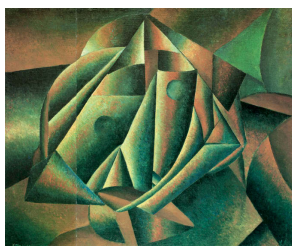
Malevich, *Composition cubofuturiste*, 1913, no. F-363, uncoded



Malevich, *Lampe / Instruments de musique*, 1913, no. F-417, stylized – wholly



Malevich, *Portrait perfectionné d'Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, spring 1913, no. F-393, non-representational



Malevich, *Visage de jeune fille paysanne*, spring/summer 1913, no. F-342, non-representational



Malevich, *Samovar II*, summer 1913, no. F-377, non-representational



Malevich, *Pendule*, summer 1913, no. F-383, uncoded

42. Esposizione di scultura futurista del pittore e scultore futurista Boccioni

Dec 1913, Rome, Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri



Boccioni, *Testa + casa + luce*, 1912, no. 757, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, stylized - wholly



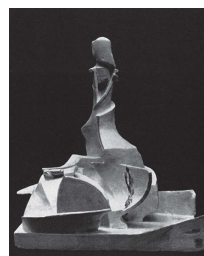
Boccioni, *Antigravioso*, 1912, no. 774, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Vuoti e pieni astratti di una testa*, 1912, no. 775, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, uncoded



Boccioni, *Forme-forze di una bottiglia*, 1913, no. 853, non-representational



Boccioni, *Espansione spiraleica di muscoli in movimento*, 1913, no. 854, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Sintesi del dinamismo umano*, 1913, no. 855, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, stylized - wholly



Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, stylized - wholly

43. Exhibition of Paintings by the 'Jack of Diamonds' Association

289

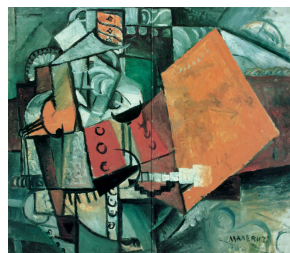
Jan-Feb 1914, Moscow, Levinsky House



Malevich, *Portrait de M. V. Matiushin*, late 1913, no. F-401, non-representational



Malevich, *Dame dans un tramway*, 1913, no. F-424, non-representational



Malevich, *Oficier de la garde*, 1913, no. F-436, non-representational

44. Werke moderner Pariser Künstler

Feb-Mar 1914, Zurich, Kunstsalon Wolfsberg



Mondrian, *The Tree A*, 1913, no. B30,
non-representational

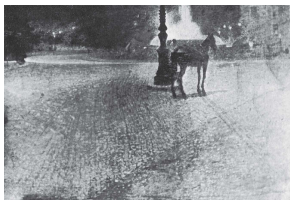
45. LXXXIII Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti

291

Feb-Jun 1914, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni



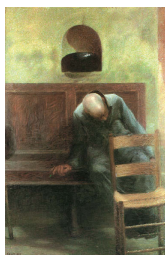
Balla, *Luci di marzo*, 1897, no. 8, naturalistic



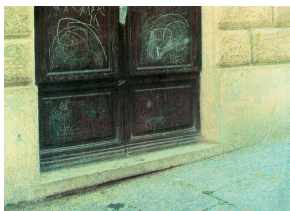
Balla, *Il Pertichino*, 1900, no. 19, naturalistic



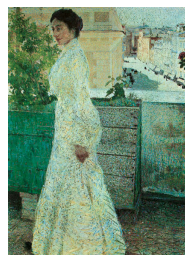
Balla, *La Fiera di Parigi – Luna-park*, 1900, no. 22, naturalistic



Balla, *Il mendicante*, 1902, no. 125, naturalistic



Balla, *Fallimento*, 1903, no. 80, naturalistic



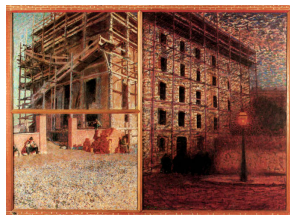
Balla, *Ritratto all'aperto*, 1903, no. 82, naturalistic



Balla, *I malati*, 1903, no. 123, naturalistic



Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, naturalistic



Balla, *La giornata dell'operaio*, 1904, no. 89, naturalistic



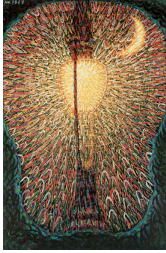
Balla, *Il falegname*, 1904, no. 99, naturalistic



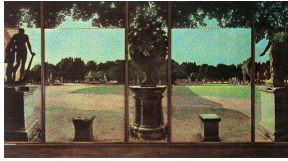
Balla, *La pazza*, 1905, no. 122, naturalistic



Balla, *Ritratto della Signora Pardo con la figlia*, 1905, no. 139, naturalistic



Balla, *Lampada ad arco*, 1909, no. 208, stylized - partially



Balla, *Villa Borghese - Parco dei daini*, 1910, no. 188, naturalistic



Balla, *Af etti*, 1910, no. 196, naturalistic

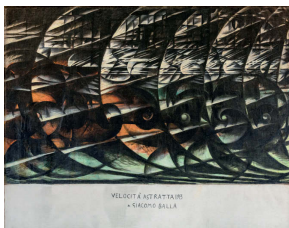
46. Esposizione di Pittura Futurista / Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Sofici

293

Feb-Mar 1914, Rome, Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri



Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, stylized - wholly



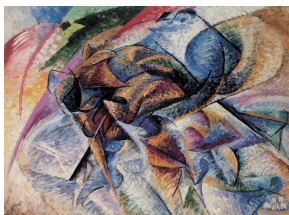
Balla, *Velocità astratta*, 1913, no. 293, non-representational



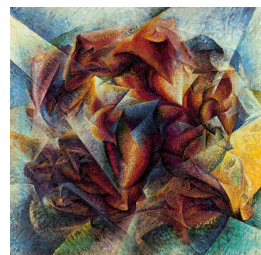
Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, non-representational



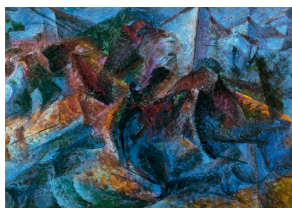
Balla, *Linee andamentali + successioni dinamiche - Volo di rondini*, 1913, no. 357, non-representational



Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, non-representational



Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un Foot-baller*, 1913, no. 895, non-representational



Boccioni, *Cavallo + Cavaliere + Caseggiato*, 1913, no. 908, non-representational

47. Esposizione di Pittura Futurista. Boccioni – Carrà – Russolo – Balla – Severini – Sofici

Feb-Mar 1914, Florence, Galleria Gonnelli



Boccioni, *Testa + casa + luce*, 1912, no. 757, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, stylized – wholly



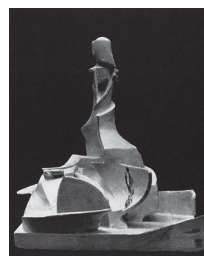
Boccioni, *Antigravioso*, 1912, no. 774, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Vuoti e pieni astratti di una testa*, 1912, no. 775, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, uncoded



Boccioni, *Forme-forze di una bottiglia*, 1913, no. 853, non-representational



Boccioni, *Espansione spiraleica di muscoli in movimento*, 1913, no. 854, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Sintesi del dinamismo umano*, 1913, no. 855, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, stylized – wholly

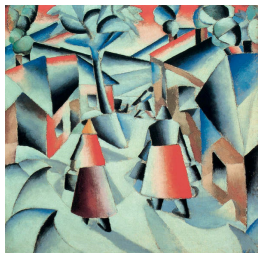


Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, non-representational

48. Société des Artistes Indépendants: 30^e exposition

295

1 Mar–30 Apr 1914, Paris, Champs de Mars (Avenue la Bourdonnais près de L'École Militaire)



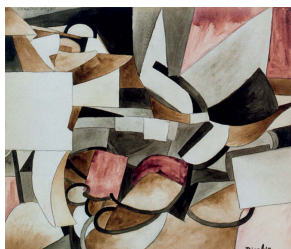
Malevich, *Matin au village après la tempête de neige*, winter 1912–1913, no. F-320, stylized – wholly



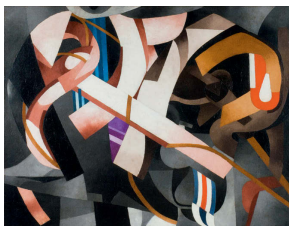
Malevich, *Samovar II*, summer 1913, no. F-377, non-representational



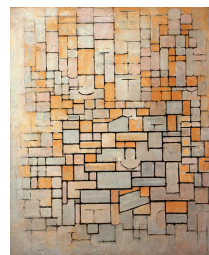
Malevich, *Portrait perfectionné d'Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, spring 1913, no. F-393, non-representational



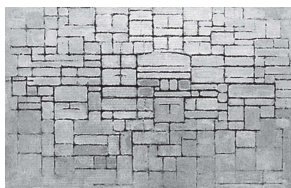
Picabia, *Chanson nègre (II)*, 1913, no. 462, non-representational



Picabia, *Culture physique*, 1913, no. 471, non-representational



Mondrian, *Tableau No. 1 / Composition No. 1 / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. V*, 1914, no. B45, anti-illusionistic

49. Exhibition of Works of the Italian Futurist Painters and Sculptors

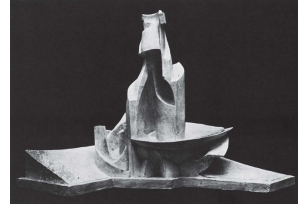
Apr–May 1914, London, Doré Galleries



Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752, stylized – wholly



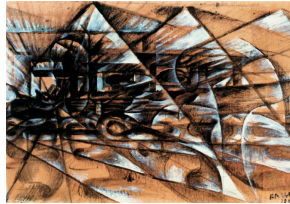
Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, stylized – wholly



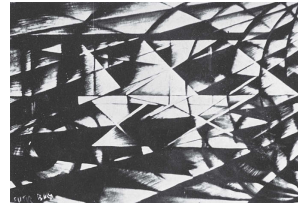
Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, uncoded



Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, stylized – wholly



Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, non-representational



Balla, *Plasticità di luci + velocità*, 1913, no. 329, non-representational



Balla, *Linee andamentali + successioni dinamiche – Volo di rondini*, 1913, no. 357, non-representational



Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, stylized – wholly



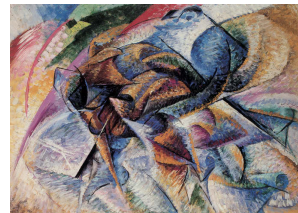
Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, stylized – wholly



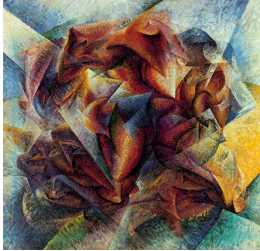
Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, non-representational



Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 878, uncoded



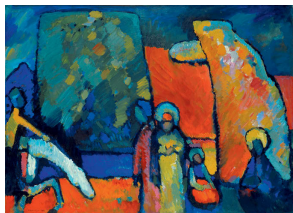
Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, non-representational



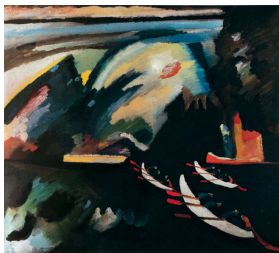
Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un Footballer*, 1913, no. 895,
non-representational

50. Baltiska Utställningen / Konstavdelningen [Baltic Exhibition]

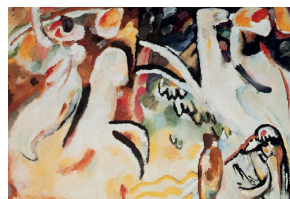
15 May-4 Oct 1914, Malmö, Baltiska parken



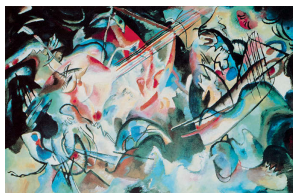
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 2*
(*Trauermarsch*), 1909, no. 274,
stylized - wholly



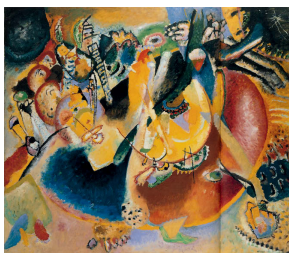
Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352,
stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*,
1911, no. 388, stylized - wholly



Kandinsky, *Komposition VI*, 1913,
no. 464, non-representational



Kandinsky, *Improvisation mit kalten*
Formen, 1914, no. 485,
non-representational

51. 16 Composities van P. Mondrian, Parijs

299

15 Jun–31 Jul 1914, The Hague, Kunsthandell W. Walrecht



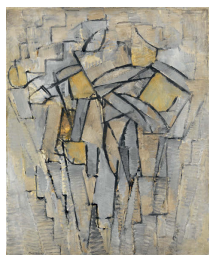
Mondrian, *Composition No. X*, 1912, no. B25, non-representational



Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, non-representational



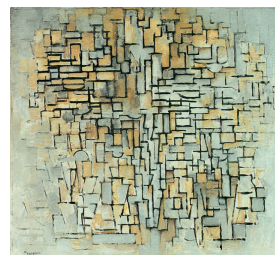
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, non-representational



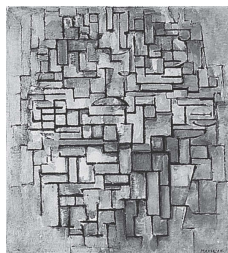
Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie 2*, 1913, no. B28, non-representational



Mondrian, *Composition No. XI*, 1913, no. B31, non-representational



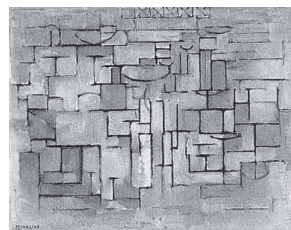
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, non-representational



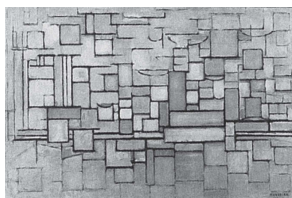
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, non-representational



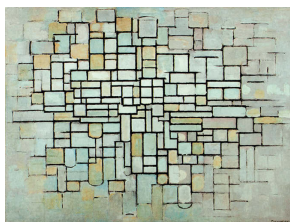
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913, no. B38, non-representational



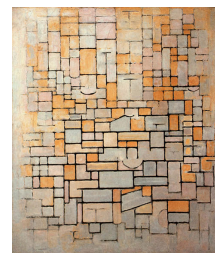
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, non-representational



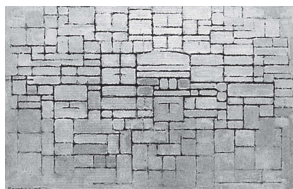
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XII*, 1913, no. B40, anti-illusionistic



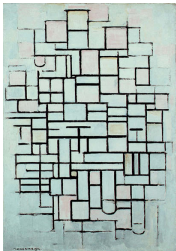
Mondrian, *Composition No. II*, 1913, no. B42, non-representational



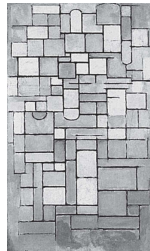
Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, anti-illusionistic



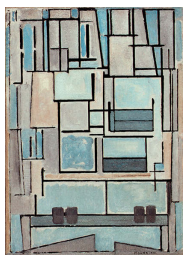
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. V*, 1914, no. B45, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie 6*, 1914, no. B46, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie 8*, 1914, no. B47, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie 9*, 1914, no. B50, non-representational

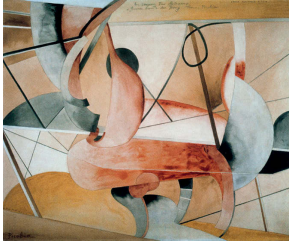


Mondrian, *Composition with Colour Planes: Façade*, 1914, no. B51, non-representational

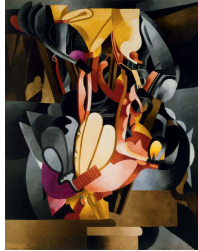
52. An Exhibition of Recent Paintings – Never before Exhibited Any Where – by Francis Picabia, of Paris

301

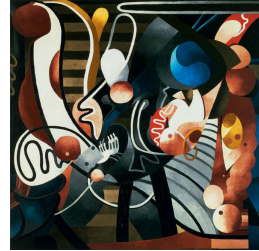
12–26 Jan 1915, New York, Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession



Picabia, *Chose admirable à voir*, 1913, no. 484, non-representational



Picabia, *Je revoie en souvenir ma chère Udnie*, 1914, no. 489, non-representational



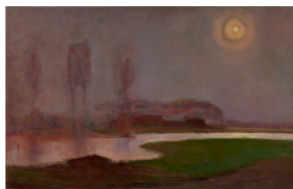
Picabia, *Mariage comique*, 1914, no. 490, non-representational



Picabia, *C'est de moi qu'il s'agit*, 1914, no. 491, non-representational

53. Tentoonstelling Alma, Le Fauconnier en Mondrian

31 Jan–28 Feb 1915, Rotterdam, Rotterdamsche Kunstkring



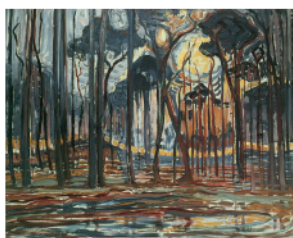
Mondrian, *Zomernacht*, 1907, no. A523, naturalistic



Mondrian, *Dredge II*, 1907, no. A532, naturalistic



Mondrian, *Sheepfold with Tree at Right*, c. 1907, no. A550, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Bosch (Woods); Woods near Oele*, 1908, no. A593, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Bloem (Flower): Dying Chrysanthemum*, 1908, no. A601, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Aäronskelk*, 1909, no. A623, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Brown*, 1909, no. A683, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Pink*, 1909, no. A684, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Orange, Pink, Purple and Blue*, c. 1910, no. A687, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, stylized – partially



Mondrian, *Duinen bij Domburg*, c. 1910, no. A709, stylized – partially



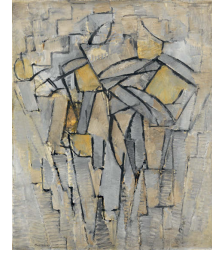
Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Kerktoeren*, 1911, no. A691, stylized – partially



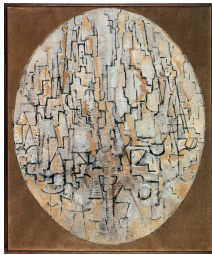
Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, non-representational



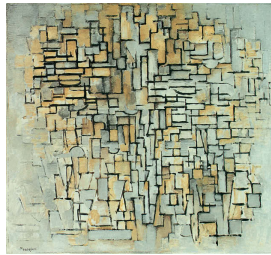
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, non-representational



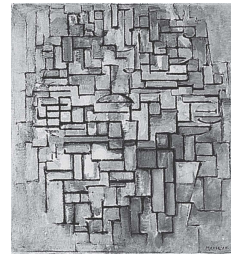
Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie 2*, 1913, no. B28, non-representational



Mondrian, *Tableau No. 3: Composition in Oval*, 1913, no. B33, anti-illusionistic



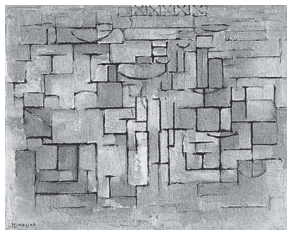
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, non-representational



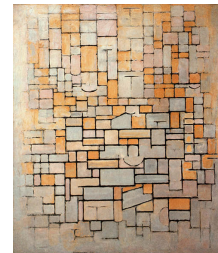
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, non-representational



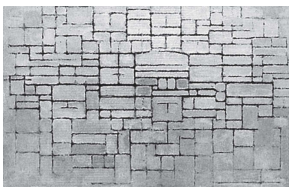
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913, no. B38, non-representational



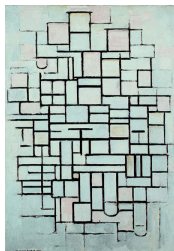
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, non-representational



Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, anti-illusionistic



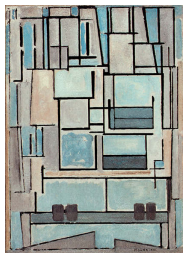
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. V*, 1914, no. B45, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie 6*, 1914, no. B46, anti-illusionistic



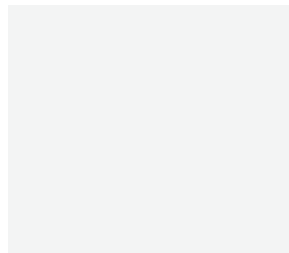
Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie 8*, 1914, no. B47, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie 9*, 1914, no. B50, non-representational



Mondrian, *Composition with Colour Planes: Façade*, 1914, no. B51, non-representational



Mondrian, *Maanavond*, 1915, no. UA44, no visual evidence

54. First Futurist Exhibition: Tramway V

305

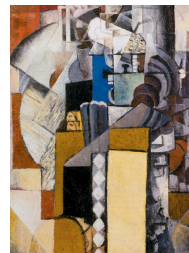
Mar 1915, Saint Petersburg, Small Hall of the Imperial Society of the Promotion of the Arts



Malevich, *Machine à coudre*, 1913, no. F-365, non-representational



Malevich, *Vache et violon*, 1913, no. F-418, stylized - wholly



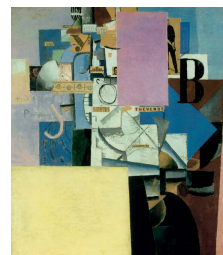
Malevich, *Laquais avec samovar*, early 1914, no. F-385, non-representational



Malevich, *Un Anglais à Moscou*, autumn 1914, no. F-440, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Aviateur*, autumn 1914, no. F-444, stylized - wholly



Malevich, *Dame auprès d'une colonne d'af chage*, summer/autumn 1914, no. F-455, non-representational

55. Tentoonstelling der Werken van Lodewijk Schelfhout, Piet Mondriaan, Jan Sluyters, Leo Gestel, Le Fauconnier, J. C. van Epen, Architect

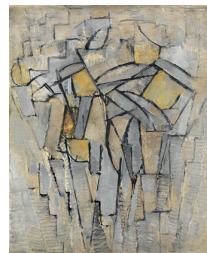
3-25 Oct 1915, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum



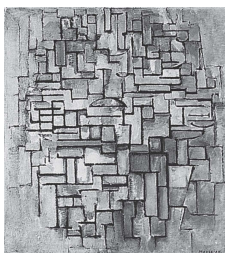
Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, non-representational



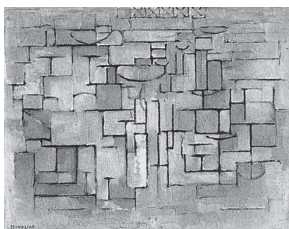
Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, non-representational



Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie 2*, 1913, no. B28, non-representational



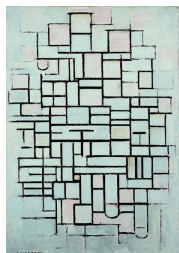
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, non-representational



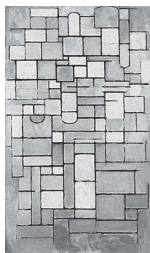
Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, non-representational



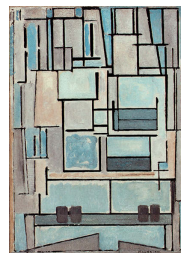
Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, anti-illusionistic



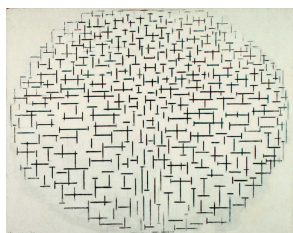
Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie 6*, 1914, no. B46, anti-illusionistic



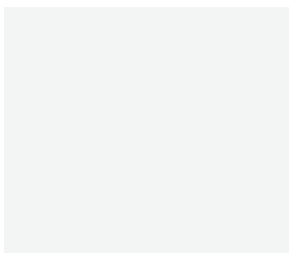
Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie 8*, 1914, no. B47, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie 9*, 1914, no. B50, non-representational



Mondrian, *Compositie 10 in Zwart Wit*, 1915, no. B79, anti-illusionistic



Mondrian, *Compositie XI (Teekening) in Zwart Wit*, 1915, no. U12, no visual evidence

56. First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art

307

6 Nov–8 Dec 1915, Moscow, Galerie Lemerçié



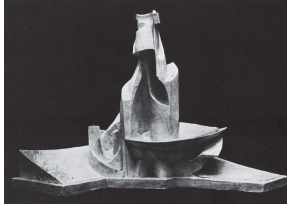
Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*,
1915, no. S-77, anti-illusionistic

57. The Department of Fine Arts / Panama-Pacific International Exposition

Dec 1915, San Francisco, Palace of Fine Arts



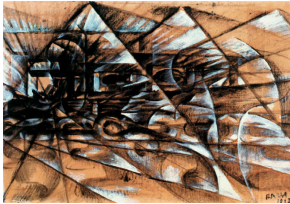
Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752,
stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia
nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, uncoded



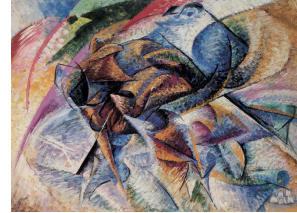
Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799,
stylized – wholly



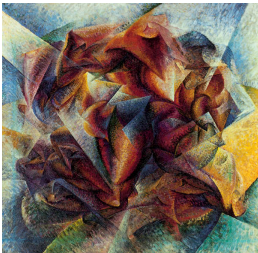
Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913,
no. 321, non-representational



Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913,
no. 857, stylized – wholly



Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*,
1913, no. 884, non-representational

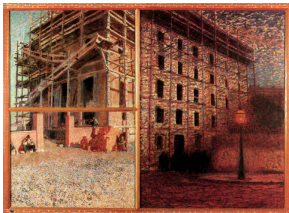


Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un Foot-
baller*, 1913, no. 895,
non-representational

58. Esposizione Fu Balla e Balla Futurista

309

Dec 1915, Rome, Sala d'Arte A. Angelelli



Balla, *La giornata dell'operaio*, 1904, no. 89, naturalistic



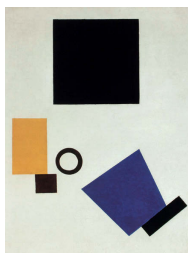
Balla, *Canto patriottico in piazza di Siena*, 1915, no. 432, non-representational

59. The Last Futurist Exhibition of Painting 0.10 ('Zero-Ten')

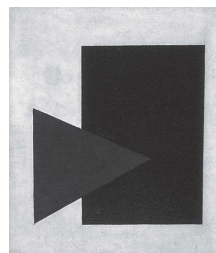
2 Jan - 1 Feb 1916, Saint Petersburg, Dobychnina's Art Bureau



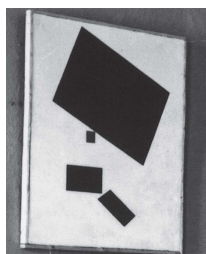
Malevich, *Réalisme pictural d'un footballeur*, 1915, no. S-14, non-representational



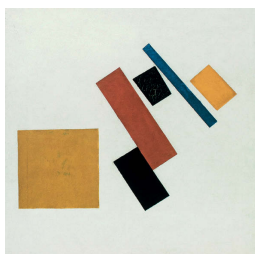
Malevich, *Autoportrait en deux dimensions*, 1915, no. S-21, anti-illusionistic



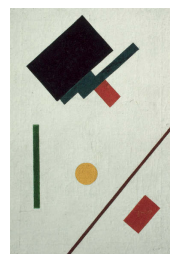
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-25, anti-illusionistic



Malevich, *Composition 2 c*, 1915, no. S-26, anti-illusionistic



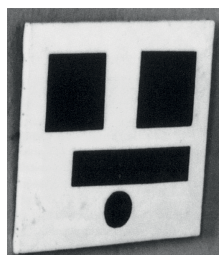
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-31, anti-illusionistic



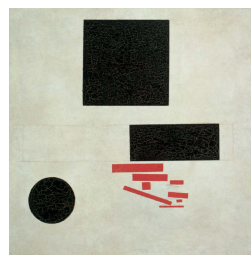
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-33, anti-illusionistic



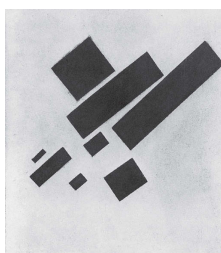
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-34, anti-illusionistic



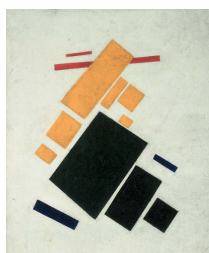
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-40, anti-illusionistic



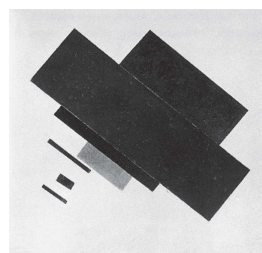
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-42, anti-illusionistic



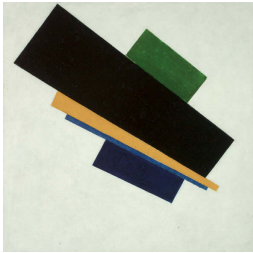
Malevich, *Composition suprématisse*, 1915, no. S-45, anti-illusionistic



Malevich, *Avion en vol*, 1915, no. S-48, anti-illusionistic



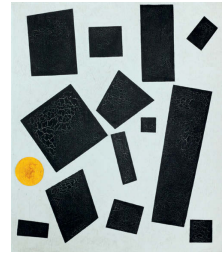
Malevich, *Automobile et dame*, 1915, no. S-52, anti-illusionistic



Malevich, *Suprématisme dix-huitième construction*, 1915, no. S-56, anti-illusionistic



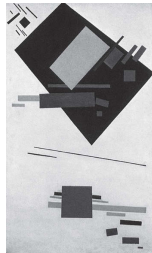
Malevich, *Dame*, 1915, no. S-58, non-representational



Malevich, *Composition suprématisme*, 1915, no. S-60, anti-illusionistic



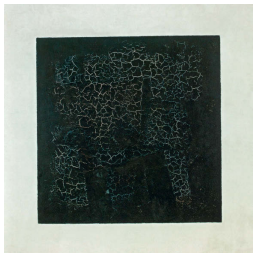
Malevich, *Composition suprématisme*, 1915, no. S-77, anti-illusionistic



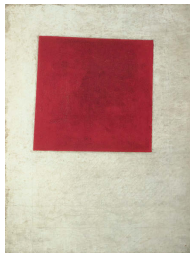
Malevich, *Composition suprématisme*, 1915, no. S-82, anti-illusionistic



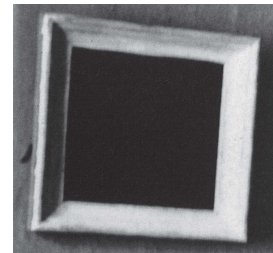
Malevich, *Promenade en barque*, 1915, no. S-104, anti-illusionistic



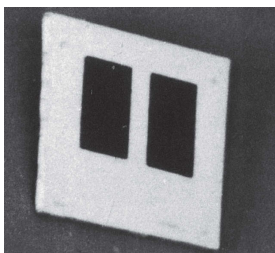
Malevich, *Quadrilatère*, 1915, no. S-116, anti-illusionistic



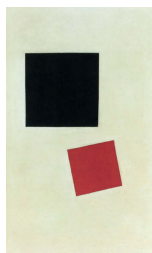
Malevich, *Réalisme pictural d'une paysanne en deux dimensions*, 1915, no. S-126, anti-illusionistic



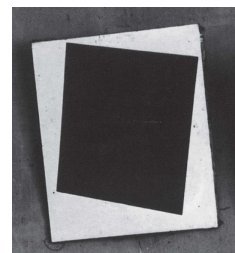
Malevich, *Masses picturales en deux dimensions en état de quiétude*, 1915, no. S-131, anti-illusionistic



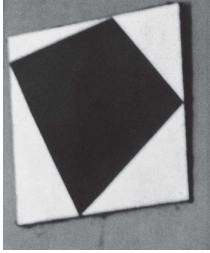
Malevich, *Troisième état du carré*, 1915, no. S-135, anti-illusionistic



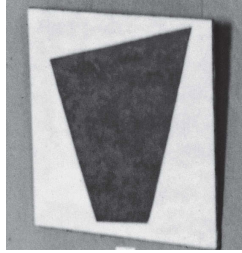
Malevich, *Réalisme pictural d'un garçon avec sac à dos*, 1915, no. S-139, anti-illusionistic



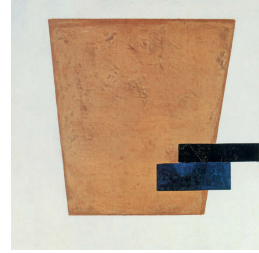
Malevich, *Quadrilatère en projection dynamique*, 1915, no. S-146, anti-illusionistic



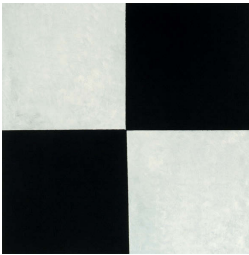
Malevich, *Plan non objectif en projection dynamique*, 1915, no. S-153, anti-illusionistic



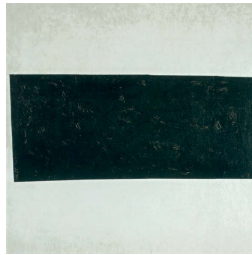
Malevich, *Plan non objectif en projection*, 1915, no. S-156, anti-illusionistic



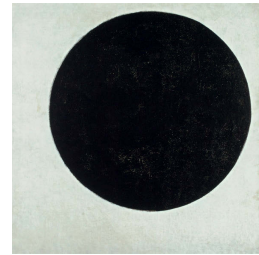
Malevich, *Composition suprématisme avec plan en projection*, 1915, no. S-159, anti-illusionistic



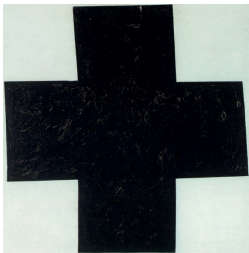
Malevich, *Division quadripartite du plan*, 1915, no. S-172, anti-illusionistic



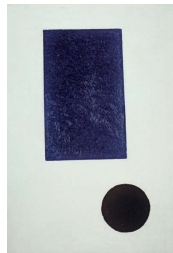
Malevich, *Plan en extension*, 1915, no. S-184, anti-illusionistic



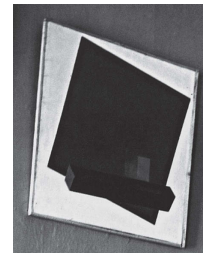
Malevich, *Plan en rotation*, 1915, no. S-195, anti-illusionistic



Malevich, *Deux plans suprématismes en rapport orthogonal*, 1915, no. S-206, anti-illusionistic



Malevich, *Composition suprématisme*, 1915, no. S-216, anti-illusionistic



Malevich, *Composition suprématisme avec volume non objectif*, 1915, no. S-661, anti-illusionistic

APPENDIX A2

Comparative Table of Exhibition Statistics for the Seven Male Artists



1908-1915	Balla	Boccioni	Kandinsky	Kupka	Malevich	Mondrian	Picabia
Exhibitions	21	24	64	9	27	27	24
Works shown at exhibition	43	60	176	23	140	98	138
Catalogue entries at exhibition	72	176	398	28	159	174	156
Naturalistic works shown	29	18	6	1	0	8	83
Stylized – partially works shown	4	6	39	7	41	33	14
Stylized – wholly works shown	2	23	64	3	41	4	7
Non-representational works shown	5	9	36	12	17	17	30
Anti-illusionistic works shown	0	0	0	0	32	8	0
Uncoded works shown	3	5	17	0	8	1	4
Works without visual evidence shown	0	0	14	0	1	27	0
Documented works created by 1915	428	938	1025	168	633	850	512
Works created in period	287	643	596	89	526	232	186
Towns and cities exhibited in	11	11	26	2	6	14	8
Countries exhibited in	8	7	11	2	3	6	5
Group shows	20	22	60	9	27	26	20
Solo shows	1	2	4	0	0	1	4

Comparative table showing the results of some of the quantitative enquiries of the compiled dataset regarding the seven artists, for the time range 1908-1915 (unless otherwise specified). All data was gathered by the author from the respective catalogues raisonnés.

APPENDIX A3

Table of Exhibitions by the 13 Women Artists



Date	Title	City	Venue
1908	Link	Kyiv	Exact location unknown
3.5.1908– 15.6.1908	18e Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling van Kunstwerken van Leden der Vereeniging	Amsterdam	Stedelijk Museum
8.5.1908	Exhibition ‘Modern Trends in Art’	Saint Petersburg	Exact location unknown
21.12.1908– 15.1.1909	Unknown (Catalogue des Oeuvres Exposées)	Paris	Galerie Notre-Dame-des-Champs
1909	Exhibition of Paintings of the Group ‘Wreath-Stephen’	Saint Petersburg	Nevski 68
22.5.1909	Forty-First Exhibition of Modern Pictures by the New English Art Club	London	Galleries of the Royal Society of British Artists
10.7.1909– 22.8.1909	Gemeentelijke Tentoonstelling van Kunstwerken van Levende Meesters	Arnhem	Musis Sacrum
1.12.1909– 15.12.1909	Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V., I. Ausstellung, Turnus 1909/10	Munich	Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)
17.12.1909– 6.2.1910	Salon. International Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Prints and Drawings, 1909–1910	Odessa	Vladimir Izdebsky
1910	Forty-Third Exhibition of Modern Pictures by the New English Art Club	London	Galleries of the Royal Society of British Artists
9.1.1910– 13.2.1910	‘Golden Fleece’ Exhibition of Paintings	Moscow	Exact location unknown
26.2.1910– 27.5.1910	Salon. International Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Prints and Drawings	Kyiv	Valdimir Izdebsky
Mar 1910	Exhibition of Paintings of ‘Union of Youth’ Artist Group	Saint Petersburg	Exact location unknown
24.4.1910– Jun 1910	20ste Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling van Kunstwerken der Vereeniging Sint Lucas	Amsterdam	Stedelijk Museum
25.1910– 7.6.1910	Salon. International Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Prints and Drawings	Saint Petersburg	Vladimir Izdebsky

Date	Title	City	Venue	Bell	Delaunay-Terk	Exter	Goncharova	Van Heemskerck	Münter	Oppenheimer	Popova	Von Rebay	Van Rees-Dutilh	Rozanova	Saunders	Udaltsova
1914	Exhibition of Paintings by Natalya Sergeevna Goncharova 1900-1913	Saint Petersburg	Khudozhestvennoe Byuro Doby'chinoj				*									
1914	Exhibition of Paintings for the Artists' Inf rmary	Saint Petersburg	Khudozhestvennoe Byuro Doby'chinoj			*										
Jan 1914	Expressionistische Ausstellung / Die neue Malerei	Dresden	Galerie Ernst Arnold						*							
Jan 1914	The Grafton Group. Vanessa Bell, Roger Fry, Duncan Grant. Second Exhibition	London	Galleries of the Alpine Club	*												
Jan 1914-Feb 1914	Exhibition of Paintings by the 'Jack of Diamonds' Association	Moscow	Levinsky House			*				*						*
Feb 1914-Mar 1914	45. výstava S. V. U. Manes v Praze. Moderní um ěni	Prague	Pavilon v zahrad ě Kinských									*				
Mar 1914	Der Sturm. Dreiundzwanzigste Ausstellung.	Berlin	Der Sturm					*								
Mar 1914-Apr 1914	No. 4	Moscow	Levinsky House				*									
14.3.1914-28.3.1914	Woodcut Prints (Mokuhanga tenrankai mokuroku)	Tokyo	Hibiya Art Museum						*							
13.4.1914-25.5.1914	Esposizione Libera Futurista Internazionale / Pittori e Scultori / Italiani - Russi - Inglesi - Belgi - Nordamericani	Rome	Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri			*							*			
8.5.1914-20.6.1914	Twentieth Century Art. A Review of Modern Movements	London	Whitechapel Art Gallery	*											*	
16.5.1914-7.6.1914	Exposition d'Œuvres de Sculpture et de Peinture du Salon des Artistes Indépendants de Paris	Brussels	Galerie Georges Giroux			*										
17.6.1914-30.6.1914	Exposition Natalie de Gontcharowa et Michel Larionow	Paris	Galerie Paul Guillaume			*										
Jul 1914-Aug 1914	Tentoonstelling van Schilderijn	Domburg	Tentoonstellingszaal						*							
Nov 1914-Dec 1914	Der Sturm. Neunundzwanzigste Ausstellung	Berlin	Der Sturm					*								

Date	Title	City	Venue
			Udaltsova
			Saunders
			Rozanova
			Van Rees-Dutilh
			Von Rebay
			Popova
			Oppenheimer
			Münter
			Van Heemskerck
			Goncharova
			Exter
			Delaunay-Terk
			Bell
1915	Sammlung Walden. Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Plastiken	Berlin	Der Sturm
Jan 1915– Feb 1915	Der Sturm. Dreissigste Ausstellung	Berlin	Der Sturm
Mar 1915	Der Sturm. Einunddreißigste Ausstellung. Jacoba van Heemskerck	Berlin	Der Sturm
3.3.1915	First Futurist Exhibition: Tramway V	Saint Petersburg	Malvi Zal Imperatorskogo Obshestva Pooshrenija Hudozhestv
5.4.1915	Exhibition of Paintings 1915	Moscow	Khudozhestvenny'j salon 11
10.6.1915	Vorticist Exhibition	London	Doré Gallery
30.6.1915– 31.10.1915	Kunstausstellung der Münchener Secession	Munich	Königl. Kunstausstellungsgebäude am Königsplatz
24.10.1915– Nov 1915	Der Sturm. Fünfunddreißigste Ausstellung. Gabriele Münter	Berlin	Der Sturm
14.11.1915– 30.11.1915	Der Sturm. Neue Kunst	Brandenburg an der Havel	Annenstr. 30
Dec 1915	Der Sturm. Sechsenddreißigste Ausstellung. Graphische Werke	Berlin	Der Sturm
2.1.1916– 1.2.1916	The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10	Saint Petersburg	Khudozhestvennoe Byuro Doby chinov

APPENDIX A4

Methodology Extended: Coding the Dataset



Quantitative basis

In order to work with scientifically viable and verifiable facts, this study employed a quantitative approach: it is largely built on the dataset I compiled via the catalogues raisonnés of the artists studied. This collection of data (see selection in A1, p. 227) allows for quantitative analysis in the form of descriptive statistics, as per the following definition: “Essentially, statistical methods can be divided into descriptive and inferential statistics, which are based on probability theory. In descriptive statistics, all data required for the question of interest is determined in its entirety. The resulting outcomes of the data analysis relate exclusively to the statistical population under examination.”⁵⁴²

The data was compiled in a database custom-built by historian and computer scientist Daniel Burckhardt for the research project Exhibitions of Modern European Painting 1905–1915 (funded by the Austrian Science Fund, 2017–2020, project number P 29997-G24, principle investigator: Prof. Dr Raphael Rosenberg). Within this publicly accessible relational database (DoME),⁵⁴³ a sub-section with restricted access was built according to the requirements of this study, containing all relevant data while still being connected to the rest of the database at large.⁵⁴⁴ Qualitative analyses were used to determine the degrees of abstraction of each work (see details below), as well as to answer the research questions.⁵⁴⁵ In order to reflect the complexity of the situation, a dual approach was chosen for the study overall. Related throughout this study are thus both the perspectives of the public (regarding, for example, the coding of the artworks – see below – and the reception of the artists) and the perspectives of the artists themselves (regarding, for example, their exhibition activity and strategies).

542 Schulze 2007, p. 1 (translation my own).

543 URL: <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at>.

544 To this end and for every artist considered, I carefully studied each catalogue raisonné and every artwork exhibited between 1908 and 1915, incorporating them into the custom-built database. I also included all available metadata about the artworks, such as title, date, medium, measurements, location, and – most importantly – all exhibitions that each piece featured in during the time-frame in question. Crucially, the illustrations of these artworks were scanned or photographed and added to the respective entry in the database. In total, 678 artworks exhibited by the seven selected artists between 1908 and 1915 were recorded (the complete list is given in the Addendum, p. 358; details such as the visual sources are given in the list of illustration sources, p. 349). For 42 of these, no visual evidence exists in the catalogues raisonnés. Given the relational nature of the database, all artworks were automatically linked to the relevant exhibitions and artists. The database allows visualizations of the aggregated data mainly in the form of graphs and lists as well as geographical maps. It also permits ordering and filtering the data according to specified criteria. The artworks can thus be displayed and quantified by artist, by exhibition and by grade of abstraction in a non-public section of the database. Keeping the data in a separate, closed-access part of the database was necessary because of copyright restrictions in the case of some artists and their estates and because the research was still ongoing.

545 Here, qualitative analyses can be distinguished from quantitative analyses as per the definition of Schulze 2007, p. 9: ‘Für qualitative Merkmale sind dagegen keine Zahlen, sondern Merkmalsausprägungen in Form von Kategorien kennzeichnend. Während bei quantitativen Merkmalen die Abstände zwischen ihren Ausprägungen durch reelle Zahlen meßbar sind, müssen die Ausprägungen bei qualitativen Merkmalen durch charakteristische Eigenschaften bestimmt werden.’

One method deliberately avoided in this study is network analysis. Although this approach might have yielded highly interesting results and provided fresh insight into the dynamics between the artists when exhibiting together, the present study lacked the resources to examine both the artists' use of networks for exhibition purposes and how exhibition networks function in general. The sources necessary for network analysis were not yet reliable enough and the method itself, which constitutes a field of its own, was too complex to be adequately employed here within the scope of this study.

Degrees of abstraction

A major observation that informs the present study and that constituted a substantial requirement for all further analyses is the systematic gradation of abstraction of each image contained within the image set. Considering the research questions as well as the quantitative approach taken, it was necessary first to quantify how many figurative and how many abstract works each artist exhibited. As abstraction in the sense of 'non-figurative' or 'non-objective' art was still an emerging concept and practice in the period of study, 1908 to 1915, a substantial number of artworks cannot – from today's point of view – be categorized as either figurative or abstract; instead, they represent a stage that can best be described as an 'in-between' of those two extremes. As Jean-Claude Lebensztejn put it: 'One of the most fascinating things about the first abstract paintings is the impossibility of making any clear demarcation between figuration and pure abstraction.'⁵⁴⁶ Additionally, I argue that such a gradation and further quantification enables me to call into question the abstraction of the exhibited paintings and, more particularly, the purported linearity of abstract creation in twentieth-century European art.

As no such classification system has yet been established and/or published, it was necessary to arrive at a common definition and gradation system for the 'degree of abstraction' of each artwork. Perhaps the most immediate question raised by this approach is whose point of view should such a gradation system adopt, in other words, the public's or the artists', as the two might not coincide. In fact, in 1864 Emile Zola already described the divergence in perception between public and artist: 'Les peintres [...] n'ont pas cette préoccupation du sujet qui tourmente la foule avant tout; le sujet pour eux est un prétexte à peindre, tandis que pour la foule le sujet seul existe.'⁵⁴⁷ Considering the goal of this endeavour – comparing levels of abstraction and, further, novelty between artists – the public's point of view should be adopted. It was, after all, the public's opinion that judged the exhibited art and was, to a large degree, responsible for its success or failure. Particularly regarding the novelty that abstraction still presented for the public at the time, it can

⁵⁴⁶ Lebensztejn 2010, p. 42.

⁵⁴⁷ Zola 1989, p. 120. Although Zola was talking about Édouard Manet at the time, this statement still holds true for 1908–1915, when the public was confronted with pictures far more abstract than Manet's.

also be assumed that its judgment and reactions may have impacted the artists' choice of images to be exhibited. This is another strong argument for adopting the public's point of view when judging the degree of abstraction of the images at hand. Moreover, it quickly became clear that a categorization as per each artist's own understanding of 'abstraction' was not feasible, as this would generate too many different categories and subjective understandings of abstraction. This, in turn, would be confusing and render comparisons between the artists impossible. It was thus decided to devise a unified system or a single scale, in looking at the image set from the vantage point of the public rather than each artist separately.

Two papers have so far addressed a similar problem of measuring abstraction in artworks, taking an empirical approach. Both found solutions for their requirements but failed to explain their gradation and/or definition of abstraction in closer detail. First, Kuchinke, Jacobs, and Leder assessed the attraction, accessibility, and compositional legibility of paintings based on a selection of 39 Cubist images representing different levels of 'complexity', 'abstractness', and 'familiarity'.⁵⁴⁸ Although they clearly found a way of grouping the images, they neglect to specify the conditions of determining the difference in level of abstractness in the first place as well as the selection process for the images used in the study. Moreover, the measurement was done on a seven-point scale, without any specification as to the reasoning underlying that choice. Therefore, their method and scale cannot be applied to determine the degree of abstraction in the dataset used here.

Second, Stamkou, van Kleef, and Homan empirically studied the reasons underlying artists' impact. They propose that deviation from the norm was one such reason, as 'artists who deviate from a given artistic norm are perceived as more impactful than artists who follow the norm'.⁵⁴⁹ To show this, they used image sets containing figurative as well as abstract artworks,⁵⁵⁰ concluding that 'perceived artistic impact differed depending on whether artists followed or deviated from their contemporaries' style [...]'. They further argue:

that artists who deviated from their contemporaries' style were considered more impactful when the predominant style was realistic rather than non-realistic [...]. Thus, artists who deviated from their contemporaries' style towards a progressive style (non-realism) were more influential than artists who deviated towards a retrogressive style (realism). Furthermore, artists who followed their contemporaries' style were considered more impactful when the predominant style was non-realistic rather than realistic [...].⁵⁵¹

548 Kuchinke, Jacobs, and Leder 2009, p. 158.

549 Stamkou, van Kleef, and Homan 2018, p. 277.

550 See study 6, p. 291, and illustrations, pp. 301–303, in *ibid.*

551 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

Yet, as with Kuchinke, Jacobs, and Leder before them, the authors do not define the different grades of abstraction used. Consequently, no pre-established gradation system could be used for the present case.

After two different attempts at establishing a measurement system for the degrees of abstraction had proved unsatisfying⁵⁵² – my own categorization on the one hand and an empirical study⁵⁵³ on the other – a solution was found in consultation with Dr Eva Specker, a psychologist based at the Department of Basic Psychological Research and Research Methods as well as the Department of Art History, both at the University of Vienna. Consequently, the method finally selected is borrowed from psychology, where it is widely applied, and consists of ‘coding’ a dataset according to specific parameters. The dataset thus coded could, if published in this form, be reused and investigated from different angles and/or in different disciplines.

Specifically for the case at hand, this translates to three to four experts coding the image set. The coding itself, in principle, comprises four stages: first, experts are selected; second, the experts view the material and determine the categories and criteria according to which the material is to be organized. This step also includes a test run assessing the applicability of the categories and criteria. Third, each of the experts independently codes the entire set of images according to the jointly established categories and criteria. Fourth, all images whose categorization was not unanimous in the previous round are now discussed and collectively re-categorized in a joint session. This coding process is considered successful if the inter-rater reliability (k) is high. If k lies between 0.61 and 0.80, agreement is considered substantial; if k is between 0.81 and 0.99, it is considered an almost perfect agreement. In principle, the clearer the distinction between categories and criteria, the higher the inter-rater reliability. In the case of this project, the more images there are that are unanimously coded the first time round, the higher the inter-rater reliability and the stronger and more trustworthy the categories and criteria. In the ideal but very improbable case of a unanimous result for 100 percent of the data, the fourth step becomes superfluous. The initial dataset coded for this study consists of 678 artworks exhibited between 1908 and 1915. For 42 of these, no physical evidence remains, thus excluding them from the coding process. This leaves a total of 636 artworks that form the final dataset coded by a formal image analysis.

552 The first attempt consisted in dividing the artworks into just three groups: ‘figurative’, ‘abstracted’, and ‘abstract’. The assignment of those adjectives to the artworks, however, was swiftly seen as highly subjective and arbitrary and was therefore abandoned. The second possibility explored attempted to determine the degree of abstraction via an empirical study. However, the large amount of time such a study would take – in set-up and execution – in addition to the difficulties of interpreting the results made this option impractical.

553 The idea of solving the problem with an empirical study would carry the difficulties of defining a representative sample size and then finding the appropriate number of participants (whether lay people or experts) and carrying out the study in a reasonable amount of time. Further, the interpretation of the results would again be at risk of arbitrariness.

Choice of experts

This study required three to four experts. Two would not have been representative enough; more than four could have caused difficulties in agreeing on criteria and might have lowered inter-rater reliability rates. The experts had to be art historians,⁵⁵⁴ based (for practical reasons) in Vienna, with specialisms in modern art and, more specifically, in the history of early twentieth-century European art. This knowledge about the historical conditions and art-historical context was deemed necessary for evaluating the degree of abstraction and, thus, to some extent, each artwork's modernity and contemporary conspicuousness. In an ideal situation, it was hoped that the experts would have a research focus and/or have published on *abstract* art in this time period. Eventually, four doctoral candidates enrolled at the University of Vienna's Department of Art History were found who were willing to contribute their time and expertise by coding the image dataset: Jane Boddy, Marei Döhring, Béatrice Immelmann, and Christian Scherrer.

Choice and naming of categories and criteria⁵⁵⁵

The research field of three of the four experts was indeed abstract art in the first half of the twentieth century, with a particular focus on the history of the term 'abstraction' itself. This was reflected in their choice and naming of categories. Generally, the selection of categories and criteria was based on the formal analysis of the artworks. The first aspect that the experts agreed on was that the term 'abstract', as used between 1908 and 1915, does not necessarily mean non-representational and that use of the terms 'abstract' and 'abstraction' at the beginning of the twentieth century was very diverse, with a wide range of positive and negative connotations. Each artist used and understood these terms differently, sometimes even in the course of their own career. Therefore, the word 'abstract' with its numerous, often contradictory definitions was quickly excluded as a qualifying adjective for this study. The terms 'mimetic' and 'amimetic' were soon disqualified, too, as, in the understanding of the experts, they relate to (something reproduced from) the tangible world. Similarly, the description 'non-figurative' was excluded because, although it designates a break from any type of spatial, illusionistic, and perspectival representation, a painting is always a figure in and of itself. Thus, it was argued that the term 'non-figurative' could be construed as oxymoronic.

554 The decision to ask art historians rather than lay people is based on the necessity to understand the overall stylistic and art-historical context and development of abstract images at the time. Lay people would in their judgement of the individual images be strongly influenced by our current twenty-first-century 'image vocabulary', with abstract images probably much more common now than they were at the beginning of the twentieth century; for this reason as well as for lack of knowledge and specialization, they would not have been appropriate to judge the grade of abstraction reliably.

555 The entire discussion and coding took place in the spring of 2018 and was audio-recorded (lasting 2 hours 49 minutes), which helped to reconstruct and summarize the decision-finding process.

Ultimately, the experts' task was to decide on categories to label the different degrees of figuration and abstraction of the images at hand. The dataset was always present and viewable in the course of the process. In this, the experts were to address a (not necessarily linear) development from a faithful rendition of nature, objects and/or persons to the creation of art without any recognizable or nameable subjects or pictorial objects. After an extensive discussion⁵⁵⁶ concerning the etymology and significance of different candidate terms, and in order to avoid misunderstandings, it was decided to use expressions that are unambiguous in their semantics. As a result, the experts agreed to use the following terms to describe the different degrees of abstraction:

- Naturalistic
- Stylized – form *or* colour
- Stylized – form *and* colour
- Non-representational
- Anti-illusionistic

Interestingly, Annegret Hoberg chose a similar gradation in order to describe early twentieth-century 'contemporary art – whether it be abstract, tending to abstraction, representational or realistic [...]'.⁵⁵⁷

Although the history of the terms 'abstract' and 'abstraction' is not the focus of this study, and although the terms were used in the sense in which they are held now, in the early 2000s, in describing images with unrecognizable pictorial objects and/or subjects, it must be acknowledged that differences in their definition still exist and did exist at the time of the artworks' creation.⁵⁵⁸ These differences were taken into account by the experts during the coding sessions in order to avoid distorting the classification and, by extension, the use of the terms here.

Considering the number of images at hand, a detailed analysis of each image was not feasible. Therefore, criteria that can be applied to all of them had to be designated, informing the formal character of the image analyses. The focus in establishing the criteria thus lay on formal, purely visual aspects such as the artwork's colours, forms, effects of depth, perspective, spatiality and/or three-dimensionality, and not on ideational content. Features like brushstroke, style (Cubist, Expressionist, Futurist, et cetera), and title⁵⁵⁹ were purpose-

556 The entire process of discussion was moderated by the author in order to assure the practicability of the outcome. However, I refrained from involving myself in the subject matter and decision-making process in order to guarantee as objective an outcome as possible.

557 Hoberg 2010b, p. 71. As far as I am aware, none of the experts had knowledge either of the publication or of this detail in her text. Unfortunately, I only came across Hoberg's text a few months after the expert study had been completed; prior knowledge of Hoberg's work might have helped and/or eased the process.

558 Cf. Roque 2003 and Cramer 2006.

559 The title does not necessarily give any hint as to the grade of abstraction of an image. In fact, whereas some titles can be descriptive and help in the identification and understanding of a picture, others, like Whistler's

fully excluded from consideration, as these could be observed throughout all categories and do not necessarily reflect the degree of abstraction. Table 1 (p. 20) lists the criteria for each category. As the table shows, this classification is based on the concept that images in the category ‘naturalistic’ recreate the illusion of a visible reality that becomes less and less visible as one progresses through each subsequent category.⁵⁶⁰ However, it has to be noted that this range does not necessarily reflect the degree of modernity or avant-gardism of the images.

After determining the categories and criteria, the experts jointly tested the construct with a test set of 30 images. This test set was representative of the total set of 636 viewable images. They were shown in random order, without any additional information (such as artist name, title, et cetera) and categorized as per the criteria.⁵⁶¹ The test run helped to specify and sharpen the criteria, resulting in the final reference table (table 1). In case of doubt regarding the categorization, the experts were advised to take the stance of an uninformed viewer of the image in both the test run and during the individual coding.

Individual assessment and final discussion

An assessment mode in the database, specifically installed by its developer for this study, enabled the independent coding sessions. Each expert received personal log-in details together with the link to the database’s assessment mode. The screen randomly displayed

Symphony in White (1861–62), may indicate an abstract painting while actually depicting something entirely figurative, in this case, the portrait of a young woman in a white dress. Sometimes, the title has a complimentary function and is part of the image itself (for example, Picabia’s, *Udnie*, 1913, Musée National d’Art Moderne, Paris, or *Figure triste*, 1912, Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo). Generally speaking, the title can either help with the understanding and identification of the represented object, but it can also be misleading and (whether intentionally or not) increase confusion and misunderstanding of the artwork. Furthermore, besides the catalogues, which have survived, little is known of labelling practices in exhibition galleries in the early twentieth century: it is unknown if visitors even had access to the title and thus potential help in deciphering more abstract images.

560 The use of the word ‘progress’ here simply denotes the transition into the next category and does not reflect a value hierarchy.

561 The test run proved particularly interesting with regard to the recognition of objects in artworks. Two specific situations shall be mentioned here. First, categorizing Malevich’s *Visage de jeune fille paysanne* from 1913 led to the formation of two groups. The first group was represented by one expert who knew the painting as well as its title and accordingly recognized in it the head of the titular peasant girl. The expert therefore categorized it as ‘stylized – form and colour’. The other group contained the three remaining experts who knew neither the piece nor its title and could not recognize any figure that might be hidden – or abstracted – within it. Even after being told the title, they still could not make out the head in the picture and insisted on categorizing it, as per the other criteria, as ‘non-representational’. Second, in several cases where the individual coding had resulted in two or three different opinions among the experts, a unanimous opinion was quickly found in the final discussion round when the picture was shown again. These two examples clearly show how much the differences in the perception of abstract artworks – even among experts – depend on the personal and highly subjective image vocabulary as well as on short-term and long-term memory of other – potentially similar – images one has been exposed to. Or, as Cramer 2006, p. 140, puts it: ‘[...] there is strictly speaking no such thing as “objective vision”, for vision is by definition subjective, a property of the subject or viewer, not of the object or view.’

every artwork, one at a time, without any information as to its identity. Information on title, artist, date, measurements, or any further data was withheld in order for the experts to keep as objective a mind as possible. Next to the artwork, the five categories were listed and the expert had to choose the one term that best applied. In case of doubt, the expert had the possibility to 'skip' the artwork presently displayed. These skipped images would then be shown again later as part of the random display of all so-far unassessed images. As soon as the 'send' button was clicked, the choice was saved, and the next image would randomly appear on the screen. Via a 'show' selection bar, each expert could choose to be shown all artworks, or all those they had already personally assessed, or all those they had not yet assessed.

During the assessment stage, one recurring difficulty the experts reported was presented by images in black and white and/or the sometimes insufficient quality of the reproduction. As most of the reproductions were scanned or photographed from the artists' catalogues raisonnés, published for the most part in the 1980s and 1990s, many of the images were reproduced in black and white, sometimes in insufficient quality. Although efforts were made to find as many reproductions in colour as possible – in secondary literature as well as via online searches – some black-and-white images still remained in the database. This clearly makes it very difficult to assess the painting's degree of abstraction, and in several cases the experts chose not to code those images (preferring to leave them marked as 'uncoded').

Results

The result of the individual coding was exported from the database into Excel format sheets, showing the categorization of every single artwork by each expert. Using Fleiss' kappa, inter-rater reliability was calculated as $k = 0.62$, which is considered to be high agreement amongst coders. About 50 percent of the images were coded unanimously during the individual coding sessions. Out of the other roughly 50 percent (302 out of 628), about two-thirds showed a three-to-one majority in assessment. In order to reach a final set of images to code in a joint discussion session, these 3:1 cases were swiftly decided by applying 'majority' rule, meaning that the artwork was assigned to the category the majority had selected. Subsequently, Fleiss' kappa was calculated again, this time resulting in even stronger inter-rater reliability at $k = 0.827$.

The remaining set of images, representing a non-unanimous outcome in the assessment of the degree of abstraction, contained 117 pictures. A final and unanimous decision was reached via discussion among the experts, again moderated by myself. Ultimately, 37 images remained uncoded. This was either due to the poor quality of the reproduction, which did not allow for a scientifically responsible, reliable and justifiable assessment, or due to the lack of a colour image, in which cases it was assumed that the colour might have had a major impact on the categorization of the image.

The final numbers per category are as presented below:

Category	Number of artworks
1 – Naturalistic	145
2 – Stylized – form <i>or</i> colour	144
3 – Stylized – form <i>and</i> colour	144
4 – Non-representational	126
5 – Anti-illusionistic	40
Uncoded	37
No visual evidence	42
Total	678

Conclusion

The coding was deemed successful. Each artwork from the dataset presenting visual evidence was tagged with the appropriate designation as per the experts’ assessments. Subsequently, it became possible to rate how abstract an artwork was when exhibited and compare the artists in that (temporal but also local) context. Additionally, this allowed me to quantify the artworks as well as question and verify the chronology and linearity of the production and presentation of abstract artworks.

Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that the first attempt to order the data – an unsatisfactory and subjective approach – was effectively replaced by the still inter-subjective opinion of a larger number of individuals, albeit experts. This is certainly the more viable solution.

During the writing of this book, the term ‘figurative’ was sometimes used in order to subsume the categories ‘naturalistic’ and/or ‘stylized – form *or* colour’, while the term ‘abstract’ was occasionally employed to refer to works categorized as ‘non-representational’ and/or ‘anti-illusionistic’. Meanwhile, the works coded as ‘stylized – form *and* colour’ are sometimes described as ‘abstracted’ in the text where appropriate. Finally, during the editing of this book, it was decided that the simplified form ‘stylized – partially’ be used in place of the coders’ category ‘stylized – form *or* colour’, while the more distinctive wording ‘stylized – wholly’ would serve in place of the original coding option ‘stylized – form *and* colour’.

Register of Artist Names

- Arp, Jean 152
- Balla, Giacomo 16, 27, 28, 30, 33, 35–38, 40, 42–43, 55–56, 61–75, 76, 228, 231, 235, 274, 281, 283, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296, 308, 309, 314, 336, 337, 359, 360, 362–365, 368–372, 374.
- Baudouin de Courtenay, Sofia 193.
- Baum, Paul 47.
- Bell, Vanessa 161, 164, 166, 167, 316–321.
- Boccioni, Umberto 16, 20, 27, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 43, 54–56, 61, 70, 74, 76–90, 228, 243, 249, 274, 275, 280, 281, 282, 283, 288, 293, 294, 296, 297, 308, 314, 336, 337, 361–366, 368–372, 374.
- Bonnard, Pierre 28, 29.
- Boroni, J-R 50, 51, 53, 337.
- Bossi, Erma 192.
- Braque, Georges 85, 181, 184.
- Brancusi, Constantin 217.
- Burliuk, David 181.
- Burliuk, Vladimir 181, 184.
- Carrà, Carlo 36, 40, 70, 76, 85, 86, 371.
- Cézanne, Paul 27, 171, 217.
- Degas, Edgar 212.
- Delaunay, Robert 17, 106.
- Delaunay-Terk, Sonia 17, 160, 161, 164–168, 316–321.
- Denis, Maurice 29.
- Denissov, Wassily 181.
- Derain, André 184.
- Dongen, Kees van 85, 181, 184.
- Druet, Eugène 181.
- Duchamp, Marcel 13, 15, 158, 200, 201, 211.
- Duchamp-Villon, Raymond 211.
- Dufy, Jean 201.
- Dumont, Pierre 200.
- Ender, Kseniia 161, 166.
- Erbslöh, Adolf 171, 181, 192.
- Exter, Alexandra 125, 127, 128, 132, 161, 164, 167, 168, 316–321.
- Fauconnier, Henri Le 116, 135, 138, 143, 144, 145, 167, 181, 182, 191, 192, 208.
- Favelle, Jacques 181.
- Féron, Julien 201.
- Freundlich, Otto 17.
- Gauguin, Paul 29.
- Girieu, Pierre 174, 181, 182.
- Gleizes, Albert 201, 204, 205, 338.
- Gogh, Vincent van 27–29.
- Goncharova, Natalia 17, 131, 160, 161, 162, 164, 166–168, 190–193, 316–321.
- Gris, Juan 201, 204.



- Grünhof, Helene 161.
 Guro, Elena 161.
 Hassebert, Mme. (first name unknown) 201.
 Hayek, Hans von 27.
 Heemskerck, Jacoba van 29, 161, 164, 167, 168, 316–321.
 Houghton, Georgiana 13, 55, 56, 160.
 Hugo, Victor 13.
 Izdebsky, Vladimir 36, 37, 43, 47, 67, 98, 99, 165, 191, 197, 198, 316–317.
 Jawlensky, Alexej von 167, 174, 177, 179, 184, 192.
 Kandinsky, Wassily 13, 15–18, 20, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33–38, 40, 42–48, 51–56, 61, 91–106, 109, 118, 131, 150, 154, 167, 169, 170–182, 184–202, 204, 206–208, 210, 216, 221, 222, 228–230, 235, 236, 240–242, 244, 246–248, 250, 254, 257, 258, 260–262, 264–270, 273, 281, 284, 298, 314, 336, 337, 338, 359–373.
 Kanoldt, Alexander 174, 192.
 Kirchner, Ludwig 28, 174.
 Kickert, Conrad 139.
 Klimt, Gustav 28.
 Klint, Hilma af 13, 16, 17, 55, 56, 104.
 Kliun, Ivan 128, 130.
 Konchalovsky, Pyotr (as 'Kontschalowsky' in notes 438, 440, chapter 'From Munich to Moscow', p. 190) 195.
 Kubicka, Margarete 161.
 Kunze, Emma 13.
 Kupka, František 16, 20, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 44–46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 61, 81, 94, 106–118, 142, 152, 199, 208–215, 222, 228, 250, 251, 257, 263, 272, 278, 286, 314, 336, 337, 359, 363, 364, 366–370.
 Langenstrass-Uhlig, Magda 161.
 Larionov, Mikhail 50, 131, 167, 190–192.
 Laurencin, Marie 201.
 Laurier, Jeanne 201.
 Léger, Fernand 17, 152, 201.
 Liebermann, Max 171.
 Malevich, Kazimir 13, 16, 17, 20, 27, 30, 33, 34, 38, 40, 41, 43, 49, 52, 55–56, 61, 119–133, 137, 167, 196, 228, 244, 245, 254–256, 279, 287, 289, 295, 305, 307, 310–312, 314, 330, 336–338, 359, 361–366, 368, 369–374.
 Marc, Franz 167, 188.
 Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso 36, 74, 76, 85, 89.
 Mashkov, Ilya (as 'Maschkof' in notes 438, 440, chapter 'From Munich to Moscow', p. 191) 167, 195.
 Matisse, Henri 29, 85, 158, 171, 217.
 Matiushin, Mikhail 41, 131, 289, 370.
 Mondrian, Piet 16, 20, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 38, 41, 43, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 61, 94, 134–146, 167, 228, 229, 238, 239, 252, 257, 271, 278, 282, 284, 285, 290, 295, 299, 300, 302–304, 306, 314, 359–364, 366–374.
 Monet, Claude 27, 200.
 Münter, Gabriele 17, 101, 161, 162, 164, 167–169, 171, 178–180, 188, 190–192, 196, 197, 316–321.
 Nevinson, Christopher 29.
 Nolde, Emil 174.

- O'Keefe, Georgia 225.
Oppenheimer, Olga 161, 162, 164, 167, 316-321.
Pascin, Jules 171.
Pechstein, Max 174.
Pestel, Vera 128.
Picabia, Francis 16, 17, 27, 28, 30, 33-35, 38, 41, 44-46, 48, 52-56, 61, 94, 106, 147-158, 199,
200-206, 208-225, 228, 229, 232-234, 237, 250, 251, 253, 257, 259, 263, 272, 273, 276-278,
281, 286, 295, 301, 314, 330, 336, 338, 359-362, 364-374.
Picasso, Pablo 29, 50, 85, 181, 184, 217.
Pinchon, Robert 201.
Popova, Lyubov 128, 161, 164, 166, 167, 316-321.
Puni, Ivan 129, 132.
Rebay, Hilla von 161, 164, 167, 316-321.
Rees-Dutilh, Adriana Catharina van 161, 164, 167, 316-321.
Redon, Odilon 181, 182.
Renoir, Pierre Auguste 28, 29.
Ritleng, Mlle. (first name unknown) 201.
Rouault, Georges 181.
Rozanova, Olga 128, 161, 164, 167, 168, 316-321.
Saunders, Helen 161, 164, 166, 167, 316-321.
Schmidt-Rottluf, Karl 174.
Severini, Gino 36, 40, 67, 70, 71, 74, 76, 77, 84, 85, 89, 293, 294.
Sluyters, Jan 139, 306.
Soudbinine, Seraphim 181.
Stepanova, Varvara 161.
Stieglitz, Alfred 98, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, 216-218, 220, 222-225, 374.
Stolba, Leopold 13, 55, 56, 104.
Täuber-Arp, Sophie 161, 166.
Toorop, Jan 139, 167, 369.
'Tour Donas', Marthe 161.
Turner, JMW 13, 222.
Udaltsova, Nadezhda 161, 164, 167, 316-321.
Villon, Jacques 211.
Vlaminck, Maurice de 28, 184.
Vuillard, Édouard 28, 29.
Walden, Nell 89, 161.
Wereffkin, Marianne von 167, 179, 184, 193.
Zayas, Marius de 46, 156, 216, 217, 225.

Table of Tables and Figures

Table	Page
1: Results of coding process: terms denoting degrees of abstraction and conditions defining allocation of pictures to each category.	20
2: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Balla per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.	65
3: Number of catalogue entries shown by Balla per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	68
4: Number of catalogue entries shown by Boccioni per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	80
5: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Boccioni per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.	82
6: Number of catalogue entries shown by Kandinsky per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	96
7: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Kandinsky per city, per year, as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total (1908–1915).	97
8: Number of catalogue entries shown by Kupka per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	109
9: Total number of works created by Kupka per year, and total number of catalogue entries per city, per year (1908–1915).	114
10: Number of catalogue entries shown by Malevich per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	123
11: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Malevich per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.	126
12: Number of catalogue entries shown by Mondrian per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	138
13: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Mondrian per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.	140
14: Number of catalogue entries shown by Picabia per category, per year (1908–1915), in absolute numbers, and as percentage share for each year.	151
15: Number of catalogue entries exhibited by Picabia per city, per year (1908–1915), as well as number of exhibitions featured in, per city in total, and per year in total.	153
16: Number of male <i>and</i> female connections and number of <i>just</i> female connections for the six women featuring both in this study and MoMA's 'Inventing Abstraction' network graph.	166
17: Top 5 most frequent co-appearances for the 13 women for years 1908–1915. Green indicates women external to this study, yellow indicates other women in this study. Number of exhibitions given in brackets.	167



Figure	Page
1: Schematic of Bourdieu's 'Fields of Cultural Production'.	22
2: Development of number of exhibitions, 1905-1915.	29
3: Number of group and solo shows per artist, per year, 1908-1915.	31
4: Chart showing development of share of figurative works (naturalistic and both categories of stylized – partially and wholly) and abstract works (non-representational and anti-illusionistic) shown at exhibition, per year.	32
5: Share of exhibited artworks (1908-1915) by degree of abstraction.	32
6: Share of abstract works (non-representational and anti-illusionistic) shown by each artist at exhibition per year, 1908-1915.	33
7: Installation view of so-called 'Cubist room' (Salle XI) at the <i>Salon d'Automne</i> exhibition of 1912.	45
8: J-R Boronali, <i>Et le soleil s'endormit sur l'Adriatique</i> , 1910, oil on canvas, private collection.	51
9: Share of exhibited works by degree of abstraction, for each artist, 1908-1915.	52
10: Development of number of Balla's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	64
11: Share of degrees of abstraction of Balla's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	66
12: Development of share of Balla's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	67
13: Development of number of Boccioni's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	78
14: Share of degrees of abstraction of Boccioni's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	79
15: Development of share of Boccioni's artworks in exhibitions by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	81
16: Installation view of 1 ^{ère} <i>Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du Peintre et Sculpteur Futuriste Boccioni</i> , at Galerie La Boétie, Paris, summer 1913.	84
17: Development of number of Kandinsky's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	93
17a: Share of degrees of abstraction of Kandinsky's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	94
18: Development of share of Kandinsky's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	95
19: Development of number of Kupka's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	108
20: Share of degrees of abstraction of Kupka's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	110
21: Development of share of Kupka's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	110
22: Kupka naked in atelier posing as Orpheus, holding empty picture frame instead of lyre, 1912.	112
23: Development of number of Malevich's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	121
24: Installation view of <i>The Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0.10</i> , Petrograd (Saint Petersburg), early 1916.	121
25: Share of degrees of abstraction of Malevich's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	122

Figure	Page
26: Development of share of Malevich's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	122
27: Kazimir Malevich, <i>Paysanne avec Sceaux II</i> , 1912, oil on canvas, Museum of Modern Art, New York.	124
28: Installation view of <i>First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art</i> , Galerie Lemerici��, Moscow, late 1915.	125
29: Development of number of Mondrian's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	136
30: Share of degrees of abstraction of Mondrian's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	136
31: Development of share of Mondrian's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	137
32: Photograph of Piet Mondrian in 1908.	142
33: Photograph of Piet Mondrian in 1911.	142
34: Development of number of Picabia's solo and group shows, 1908-1915.	149
35: Share of degrees of abstraction of Picabia's exhibited artworks, 1908-1915.	149
36: Development of share of Picabia's artworks in exhibitions, by degree of abstraction, 1908-1915.	150
37: Installation view of inaugural edition of <i>International Exhibition of Modern Art</i> (a.k.a. Armory Show) at Art Institute of Chicago, March-April 1913, with Picabia's works visible in background, hung in pyramidal arrangement, just right of sculpture in middle of gallery.	157
38: Development of solo and group shows of 13 selected women artists combined, 1908-1915.	163
39: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at <i>Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und K��nstler</i> , D��sseldorf, July-October 1910.	172
40: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at <i>Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und K��nstler</i> , D��sseldorf, July-October 1910.	173
41: Wassily Kandinsky, <i>Study for Improvisation V</i> , 1910, oil on pulp board, 70.2 x 69.9 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art.	175
42: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at NKVM's <i>II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11</i> , at Moderne Galerie, Munich, September 1910.	183
43: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at NKVM's <i>II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11</i> , at Moderne Galerie, Munich, September 1910.	183
44: Front cover of catalogue of NKVM's <i>II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11</i> , at Moderne Galerie, Munich, September 1910.	185
45: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at <i>Jack of Diamonds</i> show, Moscow, December 1910-January 1911.	194
46: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at <i>Jack of Diamonds</i> show, Moscow, December 1910-January 1911.	195
47: Distribution of nationalities of artists participating at exhibition of Soci��t�� Normande de Peinture Moderne, Rouen, June-July 1912.	202
48: Distribution of catalogue entries by nationality of artist at exhibition of Soci��t�� Normande de Peinture Moderne, Rouen, from June-July 1912.	203
49: Albert Gleizes, <i>Les Arbres</i> , 1910-1912, oil on canvas, location unknown.	205
50: Interior of Alfred Stieglitz's Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, New York City, 1906.	218

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Fig. 27: Souter 2008, p. 69.

Fig. 28: Nakov 2010b, vol. 2, p. 107.

Fig. 32: Welsh 1998, p. 126.

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- Dessin pour un tableau (Danses à la source I)*, 1912, no. 444: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 339.
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- Musique de procession*, 1912, no. 446: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 341.
- La source*, 1912, no. 447: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 342.
- Procession*, 1912, no. 450: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 345.
- New York*, 1913, no. 452: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 346.
- New York*, 1913, no. 453: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 346.
- New York (study for)*, 1913, no. 454: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 347.
- Study for a Study of New York (?)*, 1913, no. 455: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 347.
- New York*, 1913, no. 456: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 347.
- New York*, 1913, no. 457: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 349.
- New York*, 1913, no. 458: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 349.
- New York*, 1913, no. 459: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 349.
- La ville de New York aperçue à travers le corps*, 1913, no. 460: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 349.
- Chanson nègre (II)*, 1913, no. 462: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 352.
- Chanson nègre (I)*, 1913, no. 463: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 352.
- Danseuse étoile et son école de danse*, 1913, no. 464: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 352.
- Danseuse étoile sur un transatlantique*, 1913, no. 465: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 354.
- New York*, 1913, no. 466: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 354.
- Udnie*, 1913, no. 467: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 357.
- Edtaonis*, 1913, no. 470: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 362.
- Culture physique*, 1913, no. 471: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 363.
- Révérances*, 1913, no. 473: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 365.
- Chose admirable à voir*, c. 1913–1914, no. 484: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 376.
- Je revoie en souvenir ma chère Udnie*, 1914, no. 489: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 379.
- Mariage comique*, 1914, no. 490: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 381.
- C'est de moi qu'il s'agit*, 1914, no. 491: Camfield et al., *Francis Picabia. Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 2014, p. 382.

Addendum

Full List of Exhibitions and Exhibited Artworks

This addendum lists all exhibitions that the seven artists participated in between 1908 and 1915, as well as the artworks shown there, as per their catalogues raisonnés (in other words: ‘the dataset’). For reasons of copyright, illustrations of each work could not be included here. Despite this limitation, it seemed important to provide the dataset in its entirety.

Every work is named using the title bestowed upon it by the catalogue raisonné and comes with the number from the catalogue raisonné, to allow for exact identification. Further to this, the degree of abstraction as per the experts’ coding is stated.

The spelling and titling of the exhibitions correspond to the titles given by the exhibition catalogues themselves. These titles thus also appear in the Database of Modern Exhibitions (DoME, <https://exhibitions.univie.ac.at/>) and can therefore also be found in the database. Further information is also available there. In cases where no exhibition catalogue exists, information is taken from the respective catalogue raisonné of the artist.

For ease of identification and cross-reference, the exhibitions listed in Appendix A1 are marked with the number attributed to them in Appendix A1. For more notes regarding the listings, refer to the Introduction to Appendix A1, p. 227.

AI = anti-illusionistic
N = naturalistic

NR = non-representational
NVE = no visual evidence

SP = stylized – partially
SW = stylized – wholly

U = uncoded

1908

The 15th Exhibition of Paintings. Moscow Association of Artists

1908, Moscow (exact location unknown)

Kandinsky, *Provinz*, 1906, EB no. 212, SP
Kandinsky, *Venedig*, 1906, EB no. 213, SP
Kandinsky, *Panik*, 1907, EB no. 223, SP

The 16th Exhibition of Paintings. Moscow Association of Artists

1908, Moscow (exact location unknown)

Malevich, *Triomphe du ciel*, 1907, no. F-80, SW

Salon 1909 (exh. 1)

1908–1909, Saint Petersburg, Menshikov Palace(?), in the galleries of the museum and ‘Menshikov’s apartments’

Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, SP
Kandinsky, *Herbstimpression*, 1908, no. 247, SP

LXXVIII Esposizione internazionale di Belle Arti

Feb–Jun 1908, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni

Balla, *Ritratto dello scultore Glicenstein*, 1903, no. 70, N
Balla, *Maggio*, 1906, no. 116, N
Balla, *Il dubbio*, 1908, no. 176, N

27th Exhibition of the Moscow Society of Art Lovers

17 Feb 1908–??, Moscow, House of Countess Vasil’eva-Silovskaja

Malevich, *Maison à la campagne (Le toit rouge)*, 1906, no. F-34, U

Arti et Amicitiae: Kunstwerken van Leden

April–May 1908, Amsterdam (exact location unknown)

Mondrian, *Avond*, 1908, no. UA29, NVE

Grosse Kunstausstellung Dresden

1 May–15 Oct 1908, Dresden, Städtischer Ausstellungspalast

Kandinsky, *Der Bär*, 1907, EB no. 217, SP
Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, SP
Kandinsky, *Die Nacht*, 1907, EB no. 225, SP
Kandinsky, *Mittag*, 1907, EB no. 226, NVE

18^e Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling van Kunstwerken van Leden der Vereeniging

3 May–15 Jun 1908, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

Mondrian, *Avond (Evening); Haystacks in a Field*, 1908, no. A561, N
Mondrian, *Boerderij*, 1908, no. UA30, NVE
Mondrian, *Buiten*, 1908, no. UA31, NVE
Mondrian, *Schets*, 1908, no. UA32, NVE

‘Les Cinquantes’: Exposition de gravures originales en noir (eau-forte, pointe sèche, burin, gravure sur bois)

16–28 May 1908, Paris, Galeries Georges Petit

Picabia, *Untitled*, 1907, no. 322, N

Kunstschau Wien

1 Jun–16 Nov 1908, Vienna, Gebäude der Kunstschau Wien



Kupka, *Soleil d'automne*, 1906, no. 059, N

Concorso Milius alla Permanente

Jul 1908, Milan, Palazzo della Permanente

Boccioni, *Romanzo di una cucitrice*, 1908, no. 309, N

Boccioni, *Campagna lombarda*, 1908, no. 323, N

1909

Schilderijen en teekeningen door C. Spoor, Piet Mondriaan en Jan Sluyters

6-31 Jan 1909, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

Mondrian, *Passie Bloem*, c. 1901 (later?), no. A145, N

Mondrian, *Avond aan de Weesperzijde*, 1901, no. A205, N

Mondrian, *De Rode Wolk*, c. 1907, no. A569, SW

Mondrian, *Five Tree Silhouettes along the Geim with Moon*, 1907, no. A660, SP

Mondrian, *Avond (Evening); Haystacks in a Field*, 1908, no. A561, N

Mondrian, *Bosch (Woods); Woods near Oele*, 1908, no. A593, SP

Mondrian, *Dying Sunflower I*, 1908, no. A596, SP

Mondrian, *Dying Sunflower II*, 1908, no. A597, SP

Mondrian, *Dying Sunflower, Watercolour*, 1908, no. A598, SP

Mondrian, *Upright Sunflower*, 1908, no. A599, SP

Mondrian, *Bloem (Flower): Dying Chrysanthemum*, 1908, no. A601, SP

Mondrian, *Chrysanthemum with Red Curtain*, 1908, no. A603, N

Mondrian, *Devotie*, 1908, no. A642, SP

Mondrian, *Mill in Sunlight: The Winkel Mill*, 1908, no. A654, SP

Mondrian, *Haystacks I*, 1908, no. A655, SP

Mondrian, *Haystacks II*, 1908, no. A656, SP

Mondrian, *Haystacks III*, 1908, no. A657, SP

Mondrian, *Avond (Evening): The Red Tree*, 1908, no. A671, SP

LXXIX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti (exh. 2)

5 Feb-30 Jun 1909, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni

Balla, *Ritratto della Contessa Castelnuevo De Luca Cinque*, 1902, no. 62, N

Balla, *Il mendicante*, 1902, no. 125, N

Balla, *I malati*, 1903, no. 123, N

Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, N

Balla, *Inverno*, 1905, no. 120, N

Balla, *La pazza*, 1905, no. 122, N

Balla, *Tronchi di Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 150, SP

Balla, *Tronchi di Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 151, N

Balla, *Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 152, U

Balla, *Villa Borghese*, 1906, no. 153, N

Balla, *Compitando*, 1909, no. 178, N

Tableaux, aquarelles, dessins, gravures, eaux-fortes par F. Picabia

7-8 Mar 1909, Paris, Hôtel Drouot

Picabia, *Les vieux moulins de Moret*, 1902, no. 51, N

Picabia, *Pêcheurs à la ligne*, 1904, no. 122, N

Picabia, *Effet du matin, le brouillard*, Moret, 1904, no. 129, N

Picabia, *Église de Moret*, 1904, no. 130, N

Picabia, *Église de Moret, effet de soleil matinal en décembre*, 1904, no. 131, N

Picabia, *Meules en contre-jour*, Moret, 1904, no. 141, N

Picabia, *Bords du Loing*, Moret, 1904, no. 143, N

Picabia, *Untitled*, 1904, no. 158, N

Salon d'Automne. 6^e Exposition

1 Oct-8 Nov 1908, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Élysées

Kandinsky, *Mit Gelber Wolke*, 1907, no. 181, U

Kandinsky, *Farbige Zeichnung No.4 (mit Birke)*, 1907, EB no. 233, NVE

Kandinsky, *Gelbe Wolke auf Weiss*, 1907, EB no. 234, NVE

Picabia, *Rue aux Martigues, effet de soleil*, 1904, no. 160, N

Picabia, *La porte de Moret-sur-Loing*, 1904, no. 164, N

Picabia, *Les vieux saules à Moret*, 1905, no. 166, N

Picabia, *Bords du Loing, Moret, soleil de juillet*, 1905, no. 170, N

Picabia, *Effet du matin en hiver, bords de l'Yonne*, 1905, no. 174, N

Picabia, *Bords de la Loire, effet de soleil*, 1905, no. 180, N

Picabia, *Effet de soleil sur les bords du Loing, Moret*, 1905, no. 184, N

Picabia, *Bords du Loing, temps gris*, 1905, no. 185, N

Picabia, *Les peupliers, soleil du matin, Moret*, 1905, no. 188, N

Picabia, *La laveuse, effet d'automne*, 1905, no. 190, N

Picabia, *Le pont du chemin de fer à Moret*, 1905, no. 195, N

Picabia, *Effet de soleil dur les bords du Loing, Moret*, 1905, no. 201, N

Picabia, *Lever du soleil dans la brume, Montigny*, 1905, no. 206, N

Picabia, *L'église de Ouistreham, effet de soleil*, Calvados, 1905, no. 210, N

Picabia, *Untitled*, 1905, no. 212, N

Picabia, *Le Peuplier, effet de soleil, septembre, Montigny*, 1905, no. 213, N

Picabia, *Effet de soleil sur les bords de l'étang de Berre*, 1905, no. 214, N

Picabia, *Les barques aux Martigues*, 1905, no. 215, N

Picabia, *Coucher de soleil, Port-de-Bouc*, 1905, no. 216, N

Picabia, *Les Oliviers, effet de soleil, Martigues*, 1905, no. 218, N

Picabia, *Les pins, effet de soleil sur l'étang de Berre*, 1905, no. 220, N

Picabia, *Untitled*, 1905, no. 234, N

Picabia, *Effet de soleil à Poissy*, 1905, no. 244, N

Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Montigny, effet de brouillard*, 1906, #207, N

Picabia, *Untitled*, 1906, no. 237, N

Picabia, *Bords du Loing, effet de brouillard le matin, Montigny*, 1906, no. 238, N

Picabia, *Effet de brouillard, Montigny*, 1906, no. 240, N

Picabia, *Canal de Saint-Mammès*, 1906, no. 242, N

Picabia, *Ruines de Passy-les-Tours, effet de soleil*, 1906, no. 245, N

Picabia, *Passy-les-Tours, effet de nuit*, 1906, no. 247, N

Picabia, *Les châtaigniers, effet de soleil*, Munot, Nièvre, 1906, no. 250, N

Picabia, *Église de Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, le soir*, 1906, no. 253, N

Picabia, *Pont de Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, effet de soleil*, 1906, no. 255, N

Picabia, *Premières feuilles, effet de soleil, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 258, N

Picabia, *Le peuplier, effet de soleil, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 261, N

Picabia, *Les arbres en fleurs à Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 262, N

Picabia, *Effet d'automne, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 263, N
 Picabia, *La laveuse, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 267, N
 Picabia, *Les Meules, le soir, contre-jour, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 270, N
 Picabia, *Les deux peupliers, effet de soleil, bords de l'Yonne*, 1906, no. 272, N
 Picabia, *Effet de soleil sur les bords de l'Yonne le matin*, 1906, no. 273, N
 Picabia, *Laveuse sur les bords de l'Yonne, le matin*, 1906, no. 274, N
 Picabia, *Bords de l'Yonne, effet de soleil*, 1906, no. 275, N
 Picabia, *Soleil du matin, bords de l'Yonne*, 1906, no. 279, N
 Picabia, *À l'approche de l'automne, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, 1906, no. 281, N
 Picabia, *Oliviers, effet de soleil aux Martigues*, 1906, no. 290, N
 Picabia, *Port de mer dans le Midi, effet de soleil*, 1907, no. 298, N
 Picabia, *Les Martigues, effet du matin*, 1907, no. 299, N
 Picabia, *Oliviers au bord de l'Étang de Berre*, 1907, no. 301, N
 Picabia, *Les deux jumeaux à Hendaye*, 1907, no. 309, N
 Picabia, *Effet de soleil dans les collines à Fuenterrabia, Espagne*, 1907, no. 310, N
 Picabia, *Bords de la Cure, effet de soleil, le soir*, 1907, no. 312, N
 Picabia, *Effet d'automne, Yonne*, 1907, no. 316, N
 Picabia, *Bords de l'Yonne en automne, effet de soleil*, 1907, no. 317, N
 Picabia, *Bords de l'Orne à Bénouville*, 1908, no. 335, N
 Picabia, *Effet de soleil par temps d'orage (Larchant)*, 1908, no. 339, N
 Picabia, *Ruines, effet de soir*, 1908, no. 341, N

Exposition de tableaux par F. Picabia (exh.3)

17–31 Mar 1909, Paris, Galeries Georges Petit

Picabia, *Pêcheurs à la ligne*, 1904, no. 122, N
 Picabia, *Effet d'automne au bord du Loing, Saint-Mammès*, 1905, no. 172, N
 Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Moret, effet de soleil*, 1908, no. 349, N
 Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Saint-Mammès, effet d'automne*, 1908, no. 351, N
 Picabia, *Soleil de novembre, effet d'automne*, 1908, no. 352, N
 Picabia, *Effet d'automne, soleil du matin*, 1908, no. 353, N
 Picabia, *Bords du Loing, Seine et Marne, effet de soleil*, 1908, no. 354, N
 Picabia, *L'église de Montigny, effet d'automne*, 1908, no. 355, N
 Picabia, *Soleil du matin au bord du Loing*, 1908, no. 356, N
 Picabia, *L'église de Montigny, effet de soleil*, 1908, no. 357, N
 Picabia, *Le canal de Moret, effet d'automne*, 1908, no. 358, N
 Picabia, *Bords du Loing à Montigny, effet d'automne*, 1908, no. 359, N
 Picabia, *La femme aux mimosas, Saint-Tropez*, 1908, no. 360, SP
 Picabia, *Les pommes, nature morte*, 1908, no. 362, SP
 Picabia, *Untitled*, 1909, no. 364, N
 Picabia, *Les oranges*, 1909, no. 367, SP
 Picabia, *Untitled*, 1909, no. 368, N
 Picabia, *Untitled*, 1909, no. 370, SP
 Picabia, *Nature morte*, 1909, no. 371, N
 Picabia, *La Pointe du port, effet de soleil, Saint-Tropez*, 1909, no. 372, N
 Picabia, *Le port de Saint-Tropez, effet de soleil*, 1909, no. 373, SP
 Picabia, *Saint-Tropez, effet de soleil*, 1909, no. 374, N
 Picabia, *Saint-Tropez vu de la citadelle*, 1909, no. 375, N
 Picabia, *Le port de Saint-Tropez, temps gris*, 1909, no. 377, U
 Picabia, *Le port de Saint-Tropez, effet de soir*, 1909, no. 378, SP

Picabia, *Les pins, effet de soleil, Saint-Tropez*, 1909, no. 379, SP
 Picabia, *Nature morte*, 1909, no. 390, SP

Exhibition at the Art School of F. Rerberg

22–25 Mar 1909, Moscow, Art School of F. Rerberg

Malevich, *Composition symboliste*, 1908, no. F-92, SW
 Malevich, *Bourgade*, 1908, no. F-116, SW
 Malevich, *Petite ville*, 1908, no. F-117, SP
 Malevich, *Jeux d'enfants*, 1908, no. F-119, SP
 Malevich, *Veuve*, 1908, no. F-172, SP

Société des Artistes Indépendants: 25e exposition

25 Mar–2 May 1909, Paris, Jardin des Tuileries, Serres de l'Orangerie

Kandinsky, *Mit Roten Wolken*, 1907–08, no. 182, SP
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit blauer Wolke*, 1907, no. 560, NVE

Achtzehnte Ausstellung der Berliner Secession

Apr 1909, Berlin, Ausstellungshaus am Kurfürstendamm 208/9

Kandinsky, *Weisser Klang*, 1908, no. 189, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Strasse mit Frauen*, 1908, no. 207, SP
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Kohlgruberstrasse*, 1908, no. 252, SW
 Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP

Esposizione riservata agli artisti lombardi e ai soci

10 Apr–12 May 1909, Milan, Palazzo della Permanente

Boccioni, *La Signora Virginia*, 1905, no. 43, N

Negentiende Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling van

Kunstwerken van Leden der Vereeniging

11 Apr–16 May 1909, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

Mondrian, *Three Flower Blossoms, One a Chrysanthemum*, c. 1909, no. A608, SP
 Mondrian, *Avond*, 1909, no. UA34, NVE
 Mondrian, *Chrysanth*, 1909, no. UA35, NVE
 Mondrian, *Zonnepit*, 1909, no. UA36, NVE

Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen uit het Genootschap Kunstliefde

11–25 Apr 1909, Utrecht, Gebouw Kunstliefde

Mondrian, *Amstel, Café 't Vissertje II*, 1907, no. A536, N
 Mondrian, *Chrysanthen in Pot*, 1909, no. UA33, NVE

Esposizione di pittura e scultura

May–Jun 1909, Brunate (exact location unknown)

Boccioni, *Autoritratto*, 1908, no. 303, N

The London Salon of the Allied Artists' Association: 2nd Year

Jul 1909, London, Royal Albert Hall

Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP
 Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW

Doe Stil Voort. Ille Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling. Ille Exposition Annuelle

10 Jul–1 Aug 1909, Brussels, Hedendaagsche Museum – Musée Moderne

Mondrian, *Bosch (Woods); Woods near Oele*, 1908, no. A593, SP
 Mondrian, *Bloem (Flower): Dying Chrysanthemum*, 1908, no. A601, SP
 Mondrian, *Mill in Sunlight: The Winkel Mill*, 1908, no. A654, SP
 Mondrian, *Zomerdag – Journée d'Été*, 1909, no. UA37, NVE

Sonderausstellung / Graphische Arbeiten meist / französischer Künstler / Deutsche und holländische Keramik

4 Aug–16 Sep 1909, Hagen, Museum Folkwang
 Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP
 Kandinsky, *Reiffröcke*, 1909, no. 263, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP
 Kandinsky, *Interieur (Mein Esszimmer)*, 1909, no. 266, SP

Tentoonstelling van teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken vervaardigd door leden der Maatschappij (Arti et Amicitiae)

Oct–Nov 1909, Amsterdam (exact location unknown)
 Mondrian, *Lelie (Lily): Golden-banded Lily*, 1909, no. A619, N

Salon d'Automne. 7e Exposition (exh. 4)

1 Oct–8 Nov 1909, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Élysées
 Balla, *Il mendicante*, 1902, no. 125, N
 Balla, *I malati*, 1903, no. 123, N
 Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, N
 Balla, *La pazza*, 1905, no. 122, N
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Strasse mit Frauen*, 1908, no. 207, SP
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Kohlgruberstrasse*, 1908, no. 252, SW

Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V., I. Ausstellung, Turnus 1909/10 (exh. 5)

1–15 Dec 1909 Munich, Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Strasse mit Frauen*, 1908, no. 207, SP
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Turm*, 1908, no. 220, SW

1910

LXXX Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti

Feb–Jun 1910, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni
 Balla, *Salutando*, 1908, no. 177, N
 Balla, *Affetti*, 1910, no. 196, N

Salon. International Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Prints and Drawings

25 Feb–27 Mar 1910, Kyiv, Vladimir Izdebsky
 Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP
 Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Schule*, 1909, no. 574, NVE

Mostra annuale degli artisti lombardi

Mar 1910, Milan, Palazzo della Permanente
 Boccioni, *Nonna*, 1905, no. 51, N
 Boccioni, *Mattino*, 1909, no. 420, N
 Boccioni, *Tre donne*, 1909, no. 455, N

Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V., I. Ausstellung, Turnus 1909/10

Apr 10, 1910, Dresden, Galerie Ernst Arnold
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Häusern*, 1909, no. 269, SW

Kursk Artist Society: Exhibition of Pictures and Sketches

Apr 11, 1910, Kursk, Rooms of the Sainte Marie Girls School
 Malevich, *Repos. Société avec chapeaux hauts de forme*, 1908, no. F-118, SP

Kandinsky, *Riegsee – Dorfkirche*, 1908, no. 225, SP
 Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP
 Kandinsky, *Reiffröcke*, 1909, no. 263, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, SW
 Kandinsky, *Skizze (Reiter)*, 1909, no. 280, SW
 Kandinsky, *Die Hügel*, 1909, no. 573, NVE

Esposizione Annuale d'Arte della Famiglia Artistica

15 Dec 1909–8 Jan 1910, Milan, Famiglia Artistica Milanese
 Boccioni, *Mattino*, 1909, no. 420, N
 Boccioni, *Crepuscolo*, 1909, no. 421, N

Salon. International Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Prints and Drawings

17 Dec 1909–6 Feb 1910, Odessa, Vladimir Izdebsky
 Balla, *Ritratto dello scultore Glicenstein*, 1903, no. 70, N
 Balla, *Elisa al cancello*, 1903, no. 78, N
 Balla, *Il proprietario*, 1904, no. 98, N
 Kandinsky, *Morgen**, 1905, EB no. 196, U
 Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP
 Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Kirche II*, 1909, no. 284, SP
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Schule*, 1909, no. 574, NVE

Exposition de peinture moderne (exh. 6)

20 Dec 1909–20 Jan 1910, Rouen, Société Normande de Peinture Moderne
 Picabia, *Bords de la Sédelle*, 1909, no. 396, SP

Malevich, *Cueillette de fruits/Abondance*, 1909, no. F-178, NVE

Vereeniging Sint-Lucas. Twintigste Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling (exh. 7)

24 Apr 1910–?? Jun 1910, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum
 Mondrian, *Avond (Evening): The Red Tree*, 1908, no. A671, SP
 Mondrian, *Rhododendrons*, 1909, no. A618, U
 Mondrian, *Lelie (Lily): Golden-Banded Lily*, 1909, no. A620, SP
 Mondrian, *Aäronskelken*, 1909, no. A621, SW
 Mondrian, *Aäronskelk*, 1909, no. A623, SP
 Mondrian, *Lentezon (Spring Sun): Castle Ruin: Brederode*, 1909, no. A651, SP
 Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Boer*, 1909, no. A675, SP
 Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Meisje*, 1909, no. A676, SP
 Mondrian, *Huisje bij Zon*, 1909, no. A679, SP
 Mondrian, *Zon, Kerk in Zeeland*, 1909, no. A689, SP
 Mondrian, *Amarilles*, 1910, no. A626, SP
 Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, SP
 Mondrian, *Meisjeskop*, 1910, no. UA38, NVE

Salon

2 May–7 Jun 1910, Saint Petersburg, Vladimir Izdebsky
 Kandinsky, *Morgen**, 1905, EB no. 196, U
 Kandinsky, *Sturmglöcke*, 1907, EB no. 224, SP
 Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP
 Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Schule*, 1909, no. 574, NVE

**Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V.,
I. Ausstellung, Turnus 1909/10**

Jun 1910, Hamburg, Kunstsäle Louis Bock & Sohn

Kandinsky, *Bild mit Bogenschützen*, 1909, no. 270, SW

Kandinsky, *Araber I (Friedhof)*, 1909, no. 283, SW

Kandinsky, *Studie für Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 288, SW

Kandinsky, *Berge*, 1909, no. 578, NVE

Salon

27 Jun–20 Jul 1910, Riga, Vladimir Izdebsky

Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP

Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Schule*, 1909, no. 574, NVE

**The London Salon of Allied Artists' Association:
3rd Year (exh. 8)**

?? Jul–6 Aug 1910, London, Royal Albert Hall

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Grünem Haus*, 1909, no. 277, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 6*, 1909, no. 287, SW

Kandinsky, *Komposition I*, 1910, no. 327, SW

Mostra d'estate Ca' Pesaro

Jul 1910, Venice, Ca' Pesaro

Boccioni, *Nonna*, 1905, no. 51, N

Boccioni, *Gisella*, 1907, no. 263, SP

Boccioni, *Gisella*, 1907, no. 264, N

Boccioni, *Gisella*, 1907, no. 265, N

Boccioni, *La sorella che lavora*, 1907, no. 267, N

Boccioni, *Uomo sdraiato su un prato*, 1907, no. 270, N

Boccioni, *La Signora Sacchi*, 1907, no. 272, SP

Boccioni, *La madre con l'uncinetto*, 1907, no. 275, SP

Boccioni, *La signora Massimino*, 1908, no. 299, N

Boccioni, *Autoritratto*, 1908, no. 303, N

Boccioni, *Testa di vecchio*, 1909, no. 408, U

Boccioni, *Interno con la madre che lavora*, 1909, no. 409, SP

Boccioni, *Mattino*, 1909, no. 420, N

Boccioni, *Crepuscolo*, 1909, no. 421, N

Boccioni, *Ritratto femminile*, 1909, no. 435, SP

Boccioni, *Controluce*, 1910, no. 457, N

Boccioni, *La madre davanti al tavolo canforbici*, 1910, no. 460, N

Boccioni, *Casa in costruzione*, 1910, no. 461, N

Boccioni, *Maestra di scena*, 1910, no. 464, N

Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti

12 Jul–13 Nov 1910, Buenos Aires (exact location unknown)

Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, N

**Ausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher
Kunstfreunde und Künstler (exh. 9)**

16 Jul–9 Oct 1910, Düsseldorf, Städtischer Kunstpalast

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 – Variation I*, 1910, no. 330, U

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, NR

Kunstkring / Cercle d'Art 'Doe Stil Voort': IVE Salon

30 Jul–21 Aug 1910, Brussels, Hedendaagsche Museum – Musée Moderne

Mondrian, *Lentezon (Spring Sun): Castle Ruin: Brederode*, 1909, no. A651, SP

Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Meisje*, 1909, no. A676, SP

**Neue Künstlervereinigung München E.V.,
II. Ausstellung, Turnus 1910/11 (exh. 10)**

1–14 Sep 1910, Munich, Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)

Kandinsky, *Winterstudie mit Berg*, 1908, no. 257, SP

Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, NR

Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, SW

Esposizione Nazionale

Autumn 1910, Milan, Regia Accademia di Belle Arti

Balla, *Villa Medici*, 1908, no. 175, N

Salon d'Automne. 8e Exposition

1 Oct–8 Nov 1910, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Elysées

Kupka, *Étude pour Rouge à lèvres*, 1907, no. 070, SP

Kupka, *La Gamme jaune II*, 1907, no. 077, SP

**XIII. Jahrgang. Winter 1910/1911. III. Ausstellung.
Vincent van Gogh**

25 Oct–20 Nov 1910, Berlin, Paul Cassirer

Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, SW

**Esposizione Annuale d'Arte della Famiglia Artistica
(exh. 11)**

Dec 1910–Jan 1911, Milan, Famiglia Artistica Milanese

Boccioni, *Crepuscolo*, 1909, no. 421, N

Boccioni, *Tre donne*, 1909, no. 455, N

Boccioni, *Controluce*, 1910, no. 457, N

Boccioni, *Maestra di scena*, 1910, no. 464, N

Boccioni, *Il lutto*, 1910, no. 650, SP

Boccioni, *Rissa in Galleria*, 1910, no. 657, N

**Moscow Painter's Society: Exhibition of Watercolours
and Sketches**

4 Dec 1910–2 Jan 1911, Moscow, Salon of K. Mikhailova

Malevich, *Bourgade*, 1908, no. F-116, SW

Malevich, *Cueillette de fruits / Abondance*, 1909, no. F-178, NVE

Malevich, *Autoportrait*, 1909, no. F-183, SP

Malevich, *Autoportrait*, 1910, no. F-184, SP

Jack of Diamonds (exh. 12)

10 Dec 1910–16 Jan 1911, Moscow, Levinsky House

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 289, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 16*, 1910, no. 360, U

Malevich, *Nature morte aux fruits*, 1910, no. F-187, SP

Malevich, *Repos. Société avec chapeaux hauts de forme*, 1908, no. F-118, SP

Malevich, *Maternité*, 1909, no. F-180, NVE

Malevich, *Autoportrait*, 1910, no. F-184, SP

1911

Society of Artists 'Moscow Salon' (exh. 13)

1911, Moscow, Of cer's Room at the Economic Society

Malevich, *Autoportrait*, 1907, no. F-79, SP

Malevich, *Assomption*, 1907, no. F-83, SW

Malevich, *Portrait de femme*, 1910, no. F-186, U
 Malevich, *Masseur aux bains*, 1910, no. F-201, U
 Malevich, *Paysage avec trois maisons rouges*, 1910, no. F-221, SP
 Malevich, *Homme au chapeau pointu*, 1911, no. F-158, SP

2nd Exhibition of Paintings of 'Union of Youth' Artist Group
 1911, Saint Petersburg (exact location unknown)

Malevich, *Masseur aux bains*, 1910, no. F-201, U
 Malevich, *Travail dans les serres, jardiniers*, 1910, no. F-212, SP

**XIII. Jahrgang. Winter 1910/11. VI. Ausstellung.
 Neue Künstler-Vereinigung München**

21 Jan–2 Feb 1911, Berlin, Paul Cassirer

Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, SW

Salon 2, 1910–11: International Art Exhibition (exh. 14)

6 Feb–3 Apr 1911, Odessa (exact location unknown)

Kandinsky, *Morgen**, 1905, EB no. 196, U
 Kandinsky, *Begräbnis*, 1907, EB no. 216, SP
 Kandinsky, *Der Bär*, 1907, EB no. 217, SP
 Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, SP
 Kandinsky, *Sturmglöcke*, 1907, EB no. 224, SP
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Turm*, 1908, no. 220, SW
 Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP
 Kandinsky, *Reifröcke*, 1909, no. 263, SW
 Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP
 Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Häusern*, 1909, no. 269, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Bogenschützen*, 1909, no. 270, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 2 (Trauermarsch)*, 1909, no. 274, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 3*, 1909, no. 276, SW
 Kandinsky, *Skizze (Reiter)*, 1909, no. 280, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, NR
 Kandinsky, *Araber I (Friedhof)*, 1909, no. 283, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Kirche II*, 1909, no. 284, SP
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 6*, 1909, no. 287, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 289, SW
 Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Schule*, 1909, no. 574, NVE
 Kandinsky, *Komposition I*, 1910, no. 327, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 – Variation I*, 1910, no. 330, U
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, NR
 Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 11*, 1910, no. 338, SW
 Kandinsky, *Studie für Landschaft mit Regen*, 1910, no. 341, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 14*, 1910, no. 356, SW
 Kandinsky, *Komposition III*, 1910, no. 359, U
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 16*, 1910, no. 360, U

**Mostra d'Arte Libera: I manifestazione collettiva dei
 Futuristi (exh. 15)**

Mar 1911, Milan, Padiglione Ricordi

Boccioni, *Crepuscolo*, 1909, no. 421, N
 Boccioni, *Il lutto*, 1910, no. 650, SP
 Boccioni, *Rissa in Galleria*, 1910, no. 657, N
 Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, SW
 Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, SW
 Boccioni, *Idolo Moderno*, 1911, no. 709, SW

Esposizione Internazionale di Roma / Mostra di Belle Arti

Apr 1911, Rome: Palazzo delle Belle Arti

Balla, *Ritratto di Tolstoj*, 1910, no. 192, N
 Balla, *Ritratto di Ernesto Nathan*, 1910, no. 193, N
 Balla, *Contadine all'ingresso di una capanna*, 1910, no. 194, SP
 Balla, *Contadina davanti a due capanne*, 1910, no. 195, U

**Société des Artistes Indépendants: 27^e Exposition.
 Henri Rousseau (exh. 16)**

21 Apr–13 Jun 1911, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Pont de L'Alma

Kupka, *Gigolettes (Zusa et Vilette)*, 1909, no. 078, SP
 Kupka, *La Môme à Gallien, Au gout de Gallien*, 1909, no. 083, SP
 Kupka, *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu*, 1909, no. 090, SP
 Kupka, *Gigolette: Io, la vache*, 1910, no. 086, SP
 Kupka, *Portrait de famille*, 1910, no. 088, SP
 Kupka, *Printemps cosmique II*, 1911, no. 171, NR
 Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, SW
 Kandinsky, *Lyrisches*, 1911, no. 377, SW
 Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, SW
 Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, NR
 Kandinsky, *Impression V (Park)*, 1911, no. 397, SW
 Picabia, *Printemps (?)*, 1911, no. 415, SW

Second Exhibition

May 1911, Rouen, Société Normande de Peinture Moderne

Picabia, *Adam et Ève*, 1911, no. 416, SP

**Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen en Teekeningen van
 Walchersche Schilders**

Jul–Aug 1911, Domburg, Tentoonstellingszaal

Mondrian, *Huisje bij Zon*, 1909, no. A679, SP
 Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Kerktoren*, 1911, no. A691, SP
 Mondrian, *Bloemen*, 1911, no. UA39, NVE

Kunst unserer Zeit in Kölner Privatbesitz

Oct 1911, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum

Kandinsky, *Marktplatz*, 1902, no. 42, SP

Salon d'Automne. 9^e exposition (exh. 17)

1 Oct–8 Nov 1911, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Elysées

Kupka, *La Gamme jaune II*, 1907, no. 077, SP
 Kupka, *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu*, 1909, no. 090, SP
 Kupka, *Portrait de famille*, 1910, no. 088, SP
 Kupka, *Plans par couleurs*, 1910, no. 114, SW
 Picabia, *Untitled*, 1911, no. 418, SP

**Internationale Tentoonstelling van Moderne Kunst.
 Moderne Kunstkring (exh. 18)**

6 Oct–5 Nov 1911, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

Mondrian, *Evolutie*, c. 1911, no. A647, SP
 Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, SP
 Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Kerktoren*, 1911, no. A691, SP
 Mondrian, *Molen*, 1911, no. A692, SP
 Mondrian, *Duinlandschap*, 1911, no. B1, SP

Neue Secession Berlin. IV. Ausstellung. Gemälde.

18 Nov 1911–31 Jan 1912, Berlin, Räumlichkeiten der Neuen Secession

Kandinsky, *Romantische Landschaft*, 1911, no. 374, SW
 Kandinsky, *Komposition IV*, 1911, no. 383, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 18 (mit Grabsteinen)*, 1911, no. 384, SW
 Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1911, no. 389, SW

Exposition d'Art Contemporain / Société Normande de Peinture Moderne 2^{me}, Exposition (exh. 19)

20 Nov-16 Dec 1911, Paris, Galerie d'Art Ancien & d'Art Contemporain

Picabia, *Les cygnes*, 1911, no. 419, SP
Picabia, *Les chevaux*, 1911, no. 425, SP

Esposizione Intima Annuale

Dec 1911 Milan, Famiglia Artistica Milanese

Boccioni, *Rissa in Galleria*, 1910, no. 657, N
Boccioni, *La retata*, 1910, no. 660, U
Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, SW
Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, SW

1912

Esposizione Internazionale

1912, Buenos Aires (exact location unknown)

Balla, *Dittico di Villa Borghese*, 1910, no. 185, U

Exhibition of Paintings by the 'Jack of Diamonds' Association

23 Jan-26 Feb 1912, Moscow (exact location unknown)

Kandinsky, *Impression III (Konzert)*, 1911, no. 375, SW
Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, NR
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 20*, 1911, no. 394, SW
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR
Kandinsky, *Entwurf zu Komposition V*, 1911, no. 398, NR
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 23 (Troika I)*, 1911, no. 402, NR

Der Blaue Reiter. Die Erste Ausstellung der Redaktion

23-31 Jan 1912, Cologne, Gereonshaus

Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, SW
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR

Die zweite Ausstellung der Redaktion. Der Blaue Reiter. Schwarz-Weiss (exh. 20)

Feb 1912, Munich, Hans Goltz

Kandinsky, *Regenlandschaft*, 1911, EB no. 291, SW
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 3 (Liebesgarten)*, 1911, EB no. 299, SW
Kandinsky, *Ohne Titel*, 1911, EB no. 300, U
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 2*, 1911, EB no. 301, SW
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 6*, 1911, EB no. 302, NR
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 8 'Jüngster Tag'*, 1911, EB no. 303, SW
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 10*, 1911, EB no. 304, U
Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 12 'Mit Bogen'*, 1911, EB no. 305, U
Malevich, *Visage de paysan*, 1911, no. F-279, SP

Les Peintres Futuristes italiens

5-24 Feb 1912, Paris, MM. Bernheim-Jeune & Cie

Boccioni, *La retata*, 1910, no. 660, U
Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, SW
Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, SW
Boccioni, *Idolo Moderno*, 1911, no. 709, SP
Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW
Boccioni, *Visioni simultanee*, 1911, no. 744, SW
Boccioni, *La strada entra nella casa*, 1911, no. 745, SW
Boccioni, *Le forze di una strada*, 1911, no. 747, SW

Union of Youth

17 Dec 1911-23 Jan 1912, Saint Petersburg, Nevsky 73

Malevich, *Sur le boulevard*, 1909, no. F-157, SP
Malevich, *Paysage avec trois maisons rouges*, 1910, no. F-221, SP
Malevich, *Polka argentine*, 1911, no. F-194, SP
Malevich, *Portrait d'une parente*, 1911, no. F-227, SP

Der Blaue Reiter. Die Erste Ausstellung der Redaktion

18 Dec 1911-3 Jan 1912, Munich, Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)

Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, SW
Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR
Kandinsky, *Allerheiligen I*, 1911, no. 412, SW
Kandinsky, *Apokalyptische Reiter I*, 1911, no. 423, SW

Exhibition of Works by the Italian Futurist Painters

5 Mar-?? 1912, London, Sackville Gallery

Boccioni, *La retata*, 1910, no. 660, U
Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, SW
Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, SW
Boccioni, *Idolo Moderno*, 1911, no. 709, SP
Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW
Boccioni, *Visioni simultanee*, 1911, no. 744, SW
Boccioni, *La strada entra nella casa*, 1911, no. 745, SW
Boccioni, *Le forze di una strada*, 1911, no. 747, SW

Donkey's Tail (exh. 21)

11 Mar-8 Apr 1912, Moscow, Stroganov School of Applied Arts ('Stroganovka')

Malevich, *Homme avec sac*, 1910, no. F-204, SP
Malevich, *Village*, 1910, no. F-219, SP
Malevich, *Moissonneuses / Récolte de seigle I*, 1910, no. F-241, SP
Malevich, *Polka argentine*, 1911, no. F-194, SP
Malevich, *Polisseurs de parquet*, 1911, no. F-196, SP
Malevich, *Lessiveuse*, 1911, no. F-198, SP
Malevich, *Le Pédicure*, 1911, no. F-203, SP
Malevich, *Travail au moulin*, 1911, no. F-207, SP
Malevich, *Jardinier*, 1911, no. F-214, SP
Malevich, *Sur le boulevard*, 1911, no. F-215, SW
Malevich, *Province*, 1911, no. F-217, SP
Malevich, *Semeur*, 1911, no. F-218, SW
Malevich, *Moissonneuses*, 1911, no. F-237, SP
Malevich, *Enterrement paysan*, 1911, no. F-278, SP
Malevich, *Paysannes à L'église / Procession paysanne I*, 1911, no. F-285, SP
Malevich, *Paysannes à L'église / Procession paysanne I*, 1911, no. F-287, SW
Malevich, *Port*, 1911, no. F-307, SW
Malevich, *Paysannes à L'église / Procession paysanne II*, 1912, no. F-288, SW
Malevich, *Moissonneuse / Récolte de seigle II*, 1912, no. F-289, SW

Der Sturm. Erste Ausstellung. Der Blaue Reiter.

Franz Flaum. Oskar Kokoschka. Expressionisten

12 Mar-10 Apr 1912, Berlin, Gilka-Villa

Kandinsky, *Glasbild mit Sonne*, 1910, no. 370, SW

Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR
 Kandinsky, *Allerheiligen I*, 1911, no. 412, SW
 Kandinsky, *Apokalyptische Reiter I*, 1911, no. 423, SW
 Kandinsky, *Sintflut (zu Komposition VI)*, 1911, no. 425, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

Société des Artistes Indépendants: 28^e exposition (exh. 22)

20 Mar–16 May 1912, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Pont de L'Alma
 Kupka, *Plans par couleurs, Grand Nu*, 1909, no. 090, SP
 Kupka, *Plans par couleurs*, 1910, no. 114, SW
 Picabia, *Printemps (?)*, 1911, no. 415, SW
 Picabia, *Grimaldi après la pluie*, 1911, no. 433, SW
 Picabia, *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, 1911, no. 434, U
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, 1912, no. 427, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 25 (Garten der Liebe I)*, 1912, no. 428, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 26 (Rudern)*, 1912, no. 429, NR
 Mondrian, *Dans le Jardin / In den Tuin*, 1912, no. U2, NVE
 Mondrian, *Dans la Forêt*, 1912, no. U3, NVE
 Mondrian, *La Fruitière*, 1912, no. U4, NVE

Exhibition of Pictures of Contemporary Russian Painters

26 Mar–15 Apr 1912, Kaluga, Kaluga Art Circle
 Malevich, *Travail dans les serres, jardiniers*, 1910, no. F-212, SP

Der Blaue Reiter. Die Erste Ausstellung der Redaktion

Apr 1912, Bremen (exact location unknown)
 Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR

Der Sturm. Zweite Ausstellung. Die Futuristen

12 Apr–15 May 1912, Berlin, Gilka-Villa
 Boccioni, *La retata*, 1910, no. 660, U
 Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, SW
 Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, SW
 Boccioni, *Idolo Moderno*, 1911, no. 709, SP
 Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW
 Boccioni, *Visioni simultanee*, 1911, no. 744, SW
 Boccioni, *La strada entra nella casa*, 1911, no. 745, SW
 Boccioni, *Le forze di una strada*, 1911, no. 747, SW
 Kandinsky, *Glasbild mit Sonne*, 1910, no. 370, SW
 Kandinsky, *Allerheiligen I*, 1911, no. 412, SW
 Kandinsky, *Apokalyptische Reiter I*, 1911, no. 423, SW
 Kandinsky, *Sintflut (zu Komposition VI)*, 1911, no. 425, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, SW

Dritte Ausstellung. Graphik (exh. 23)

May 1912, Berlin, Der Sturm
 Kandinsky, *Glasbild mit Sonne*, 1910, no. 370, SW
 Kandinsky, *Allerheiligen I*, 1911, no. 412, SW
 Kandinsky, *Apokalyptische Reiter I*, 1911, no. 423, SW
 Kandinsky, *Sintflut (zu Komposition VI)*, 1911, no. 425, SW

Les Peintres Futuristes Italiens / Exposition

20 May–?? Jun 1912, Brussels, Galerie Georges Giroux
 Boccioni, *La retata*, 1910, no. 660, U
 Boccioni, *La città sale*, 1910, no. 675, SW
 Boccioni, *La risata*, 1911, no. 701, SW
 Boccioni, *Idolo Moderno*, 1911, no. 709, SP
 Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW
 Boccioni, *Visioni simultanee*, 1911, no. 744, SW
 Boccioni, *La strada entra nella casa*, 1911, no. 745, SW
 Boccioni, *Le forze di una strada*, 1911, no. 747, SW

Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Köln

25 May–30 Sep 1912, Cologne, Städtische Ausstellungshalle am Aachener Tor
 Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21A*, 1911, no. 399, SW

Der Sturm. Vierte Ausstellung: Zurückgestellte Bilder des Sonderbundes Köln

Jun–Jul 1912, Berlin, Der Sturm
 Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*, 1911, no. 388, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 23 (Troika I)*, 1911, no. 402, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

Société Normande de Peinture Moderne (exh. 24)

15 Jun–15 Jul 1912, Rouen, Société Normande de Peinture Moderne
 Picabia, *Untitled*, 1912, no. 436, NR
 Picabia, *Tarentelle*, 1912, no. 438, SW
 Picabia, *Port de Naples*, 1912, no. 439, NR
 Picabia, *Dessin pour un tableau (Danses à la source I)*, 1912, no. 444, U

Der Blaue Reiter. Die Erste Ausstellung der Redaktion

Jul 1912, Hagen, Museum Folkwang
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR

Keuzetentoonstelling van werken van levende Hollandsche meesters

1 Jul–2 Sep 1912, Nijmegen, Nijverheid- en Sporttentoonstelling
 Mondrian, *Dans le Jardin / In den Tuin*, 1912, no. U2, NVE

Moderne Kunst: Plastik, Malerei, Graphik

2 Jul 1912–??, Hagen, Museum Folkwang
 Kandinsky, *Impression II (Moskau)*, 1911, no. 373, SW

Moderner Bund. II. Ausstellung (exh. 25)

7–31 Jul 1912, Zurich, Kunsthaus Zürich
 Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1910, EB no. 260, SW
 Kandinsky, *Fragment zu Komposition II*, 1910, no. 325, SW
 Kandinsky, *Studie für Landschaft mit Regen*, 1910, no. 341, SW
 Kandinsky, *Boot*, 1911, EB no. 295, NR
 Kandinsky, *Lyrisches*, 1911, no. 377, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Troika*, 1911, no. 378, SW
 Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, SW
 Kandinsky, *Herbstlandschaft*, 1911, no. 381, SW
 Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, NR

Kandinsky, *Studie für Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, 1912, no. 426, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, SW

Kandinsky, *Schwarzer Fleck I*, 1912, no. 435, NR

Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen

28 Jul-19 Aug 1912, Domburg, Tentoonstellingszaal

Mondrian, *Aäronskelken*, 1909, no. A621, SW

Mondrian, *Duinen bij Domburg*, c. 1910, no. A709, SP

Mondrian, *Duinen bij Domburg*, 1910, no. A710, SP

Mondrian, *Voorjaar*, 1912, no. UA40, NVE

Mondrian, *Kerk*, 1912, no. UA41, NVE

Mondrian, *Teekening*, 1912, no. UA42, NVE

Mondrian, *Bloemen*, 1912, no. UA43, NVE

Der Blaue Reiter. Die Erste Ausstellung der Redaktion

Sep 1912, Frankfurt am Main, Salon Goldschmidt

Kandinsky, *Bild mit Troika*, 1911, no. 378, SW

Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U

Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR

Neue Kunst. Erste Gesamt-Ausstellung (exh. 26)

Oct 1912, Munich, Hans Goltz

Kandinsky, *Frühling – Umgebung von Augsburg*, 1902, no. 45, SP

Kandinsky, *Alte Zeiten*, 1902, EB no. 67, NVE

Kandinsky, *Der reitende Ritter*, 1903, EB no. 74, SP

Kandinsky, *Im Königsgarten*, 1904, EB no. 124, NVE

Kandinsky, *Die letzten Strahlen*, 1904, no. 543, NVE

Kandinsky, *Arabische Reiterei*, 1905, EB no. 183, SP

Kandinsky, *Studie für 'Reitendes Paar'*, 1906, EB no. 215, SP

Kandinsky, *Die Nacht*, 1907, EB no. 225, SP

Kandinsky, *Mittag*, 1907, EB no. 226, NVE

Kandinsky, *Kirche in Froschhausen*, 1908, no. 224, SP

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Studie für Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1908, no. 234, SP

Kandinsky, *Die Hügel*, 1909, no. 573, NVE

Kandinsky, *Berge*, 1909, no. 578, NVE

Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 3 (Liebesgarten)*, 1911, EB no. 299, SW

Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 6*, 1911, EB no. 302, NR

Kandinsky, *Aquarell No. 12 'Mit Bogen'*, 1911, EB no. 305, U

Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit zwei Pappeln*, 1912, no. 437, SW

Kandinsky, *Herbst II*, 1912, no. 438, SW

Salon d'Automne. 10e Exposition (exh. 27)

1 Oct-8 Nov 1912, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Elysées

Kupka, *Le Miroir Oval*, 1910, no. 093, SW

Kupka, *Portrait du musician Follot*, 1910, no. 112, SW

Kupka, *Étude pour Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs et pour Amorpha, chromatique chaude*, 1911, no. 099, NR

Kupka, *Amorpha, chromatique chaude*, 1911, no. 103, NR

Kupka, *Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs*, 1912, no. 102, NR

Picabia, *Danses à la source (II)*, 1912, no. 445, NR

Picabia, *La source*, 1912, no. 447, NR

Der Sturm. Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung. 1902-1912. Siebente Ausstellung (exh. 28)

2-28 Oct 1912, Berlin, Der Sturm

Kandinsky, *Binz auf Rügen (Dühne)*, 1901, no. 27, U

Kandinsky, *Helle Luft*, 1901, no. 36, N

Kandinsky, *Alte Stadt I*, 1901, no. 37, N

Kandinsky, *Mädchen am Ufer*, 1902, no. 43, SP

Kandinsky, *Schleuse*, 1902, no. 44, N

Kandinsky, *Kochel – Weg nach Schlehdorf*, 1902, no. 527, NVE

Kandinsky, *Zweikampf*, 1902, EB no. 54, SP

Kandinsky, *Spaziergang (Skizze)*, 1903, no. 107, SP

Kandinsky, *Der Schatten**, 1903, EB no. 71, SW

Kandinsky, *Reitendes Paar*, 1903, EB no. 77, U

Kandinsky, *Der Blaue Reiter*, 1903, no. 82, N

Kandinsky, *Grüner Vogel*, 1903, EB no. 86, SP

Kandinsky, *Weisse Wolke*, 1903, EB no. 88, SP

Kandinsky, *Das Junge Paar*, 1904, EB no. 103, SP

Kandinsky, *Karneval*, 1904, EB no. 113, SP

Kandinsky, *Spazierende Gesellschaft I*, 1904, no. 115, SP

Kandinsky, *Sonntag (Altrussisch)*, 1904, no. 118, N

Kandinsky, *Die Schiffe (Holland)*, 1904, EB no. 140, SP

Kandinsky, *Rapallo – Boote*, 1905, no. 145, N

Kandinsky, *Gegen Abend*, 1905, EB no. 188, SP

Kandinsky, *Die Rosen*, 1905, EB no. 190, SP

Kandinsky, *Troikas*, 1906, no. 174, U

Kandinsky, *Provinz*, 1906, EB no. 212, SP

Kandinsky, *Begräbnis*, 1907, EB no. 216, SP

Kandinsky, *Der Bär*, 1907, EB no. 217, SP

Kandinsky, *Szene*, 1907, EB no. 218, SP

Kandinsky, *Das Bunte Leben*, 1907, EB no. 219, SP

Kandinsky, *Morgenstunde*, 1907, EB no. 221, SP

Kandinsky, *Panik*, 1907, EB no. 223, SP

Kandinsky, *Sturmglöcke*, 1907, EB no. 224, SP

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Turm*, 1908, no. 220, SP

Kandinsky, *Schloss am Staffelsee**, 1908, no. 240, U

Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP

Kandinsky, *Reifröcke*, 1909, no. 263, SW

Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Baumstamm*, 1909, no. 265, SP

Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW

Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, SW

Kandinsky, *Bild mit Häusern*, 1909, no. 269, SW

Kandinsky, *Bild mit Bogenschützen*, 1909, no. 270, SW

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Grünem Haus*, 1909, no. 277, SW

Kandinsky, *Skizze (Reiter)*, 1909, no. 280, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, NR

Kandinsky, *Araber I (Friedhof)*, 1909, no. 283, SW

Kandinsky, *Murnau – Landschaft mit Kirche II*, 1909, no. 284, SP

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 6*, 1909, no. 287, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 8*, 1909, no. 289, SW

Kandinsky, *Treppe zum Schloss**, 1909, no. 323, SW

Kandinsky, *Komposition I*, 1910, no. 327, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 – Variation II*, 1910, no. 331, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, NR

Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 10*, 1910, no. 337, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 11*, 1910, no. 338, SW

Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit Bewegten Bergen*, 1910, no. 342, SP

Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit Fabrikschornstein*, 1910, no. 343, SW

Kandinsky, *Herbstlandschaft mit Baum*, 1910, no. 350, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, NR

Kandinsky, *Komposition III*, 1910, no. 359, U

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 16*, 1910, no. 360, U

Kandinsky, *Lyrisches*, 1911, no. 377, SW

Kandinsky, *Winter II*, 1911, no. 380, SW

Kandinsky, *Herbstlandschaft*, 1911, no. 381, SW
 Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, NR
 Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*, 1911, no. 388, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 20*, 1911, no. 394, SW
 Kandinsky, *Impression V (Park)*, 1911, no. 397, SW
 Kandinsky, *Studie für Landschaft mit zwei Pappeln*, 1911, no. 403, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 24 (Troika II)*, 1912, no. 427, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 25 (Garten der Liebe I)*, 1912, no. 428, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 26 (Rudern)*, 1912, no. 429, NR
 Kandinsky, *Schwarzer Fleck I*, 1912, no. 435, NR
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit schwarzem Bogen*, 1912, no. 436, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation mit rot-blauem Ring*, 1913, no. 477, NR

**Moderne Kunstkring (Cercle de L'art moderne).
 Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Dessin, Gravure
 (exh. 29)**

6 Oct–7 Nov 1912, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum
 Mondrian, *Paysage*, 1912, no. B16, SW
 Mondrian, *The Sea*, 1912, no. B17, NR
 Mondrian, *Still Life with Gingerpot*, 1912, no. B18, SW
 Mondrian, *Bloeiende Appelboom*, 1912, no. B19, NR
 Mondrian, *Bloeiende Bomen*, 1912, no. B20, NR
 Mondrian, *The Trees*, 1912, no. B21, NR
 Mondrian, *Marine (esquisse)*, 1912, no. U5, NVE
 Mondrian, *Sur les dunes (esquisse)*, 1912, no. U6, NVE
 Mondrian, *Arbres (esquisse)*, 1912, no. U7, NVE
 Mondrian, *Arbres*, 1912, no. U8, NVE

1913

Der Blaue Reiter. Gemälde-Ausstellung

1913, Berlin, Der Sturm
 Kandinsky, *Pastorale*, 1911, no. 387, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

Neue Secession Berlin

Jan–Feb 1913, Düsseldorf, Kunst-Salon, II. Etage
 Kandinsky, *Romantische Landschaft*, 1911, no. 374, SW
 Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1911, no. 389, SW

**International Exhibition of Modern Art (Armory Show)
 (exh. 31)**

17 Feb–15 Mar 1913, New York, Armory of the 69th Infantry
 Picabia, *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, 1911, no. 434, U
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, SW
 Picabia, *Paris*, 1912, no. 437, NR
 Picabia, *La procession, Séville*, 1912, no. 442, NR
 Picabia, *Danses à la source (I)*, 1912, no. 443, SW

Prima Esposizione Pittura Futurista (exh. 32)

21 Feb–21 Mar 1913, Rome, Ridotto del Teatro Costanzi
 Balla, *Lampada ad arco*, 1909, no. 208, SP
 Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW

Salon de la 'Section d'Or' (exh. 30)

10–30 Oct 1912, Paris, Galerie La Boétie
 Kupka, *Compliment*, 1912, no. 202, NR
 Kupka, *Composition*, 1912, no. 206, NR
 Picabia, *Untitled*, 1912, no. 436, NR
 Picabia, *Paris*, 1912, no. 437, NR
 Picabia, *Figure triste*, 1912, no. 440, SW
 Picabia, *La procession, Séville*, 1912, no. 442, NR
 Picabia, *Danses à la source (I)*, 1912, no. 443, SW
 Picabia, *Musique de procession*, 1912, no. 446, NR

Union of Youth (6)

Dec 1912–Jan 1913, Moscow (exact location unknown)
 Malevich, *Faucheur I*, 1911, no. F-264, SW
 Malevich, *Enterrement paysan*, 1911, no. F-278, SW
 Malevich, *Moissonneuse II*, 1912, no. F-250, SW
 Malevich, *Vers les champs II*, 1912, no. F-291, SW
 Malevich, *Orthodoxe II / Portrait de Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, 1912, no. F-302, SW
 Malevich, *Charpentier I au repos*, 1912, no. F-311, SW
 Malevich, *Bûcheron I assis*, 1912, no. F-314, SW
 Malevich, *Bûcheron II*, 1912, no. F-316, SW

**Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Graphics, Industry
 'Contemporary Art'**

26 Dec 1912–30 Jan 1913, Moscow, Levinsky House
 Malevich, *Moissonneuse I*, 1912, no. F-247, SW
 Malevich, *Moissonneuse II*, 1912, no. F-250, SW
 Malevich, *Orthodoxe I*, 1912, no. F-296, SW
 Malevich, *Paysanne avec sceaue II*, autumn 1912, no. F-332, SW

Balla, *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 1912, no. 241, SP
 Balla, *La mano del violonista*, 1912, no. 253, SW
 Balla, *Bambina che corre sul balcone*, 1912, no. 290, SW
 Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, SW
 Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752, SW
 Boccioni, *Antigravioso*, 1912, no. 787, SW
 Boccioni, *Dimensioni astratte*, 1912, no. 794, SW
 Boccioni, *Scomposizione di figure a tavola*, 1912, no. 796, SW
 Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, SW
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, NR
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 878, U

**Exhibition of Studies Made in New York, by Francois
 Picabia, of Paris (exh. 33)**

17 Mar–5 Apr 1913, New York, Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 452, NR
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 453, NR
 Picabia, *New York (study for)*, 1913, no. 454, NR
 Picabia, *Study for a Study of New York (?)*, 1913, no. 455, NR
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 456, NR
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 457, NR
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 458, NR
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 459, NR
 Picabia, *La ville de New York aperçue à travers le corps*, 1913, no. 460, NR
 Picabia, *Chanson nègre (II)*, 1913, no. 462, NR
 Picabia, *Chanson nègre (I)*, 1913, no. 463, NR
 Picabia, *Danseuse étoile et son école de danse*, 1913, no. 464, SW

Picabia, *Danseuse étoile sur un transatlantique*, 1913, no. 465, NR
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 466, NR
 Picabia, *Révérances*, 1913, no. 473, NR

Société des Artistes Indépendants / 29e Exposition (exh. 34)

19 Mar-18 May 1913, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, Pont de L'Alma
 Kupka, *Plans verticaux I*, 1911, no. 125, NR
 Kupka, *Plans verticaux II*, 1912, no. 126, NR
 Kupka, *Plans verticaux III*, 1912, no. 127, NR
 Kupka, *Le Solo d'un trait brun*, 1912, no. 224, NR
 Picabia, *Procession*, 1912, no. 450, SW
 Mondrian, *The Tree A*, 1913, no. B30, NR
 Mondrian, *Composition No. XI*, 1913, no. B31, NR
 Mondrian, *Arbre*, 1913, no. U9, NVE
 Mondrian, *Arbre en fleurs*, 1913, no. U10, NVE
 Mondrian, *Femme*, 1913, no. U11, NVE

International Exhibition of Modern Art (Armory Show)

24 Mar-16 Apr 1913, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, SW
 Picabia, *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, 1911, no. 434, U
 Picabia, *Paris*, 1912, no. 437, NR
 Picabia, *La procession, Séville*, 1912, no. 442, NR
 Picabia, *Danses à la source (I)*, 1912, no. 443, SW

Exhibition of Paintings by 'Target' Art Association (exh. 35)

24 Mar-7 Apr 1913, Moscow, Khudozhestvennyj's Salon, Boshaja Dmitrovka 11
 Malevich, *Orthodoxe II / Portrait de Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, 1912, no. F-302, SW
 Malevich, *Rue de village*, 1912, no. F-322, SW
 Malevich, *Paysanne avec sceaux II*, autumn 1912, no. F-332, SW
 Malevich, *Matin au village après la tempête de neige*, winter 1912-1913, no. F-320, SW
 Malevich, *Rémouleur*, winter 1912-1913, no. F-354, SW

International Exhibition of Modern Art (Armory Show)

28 Apr-19 May 1913, Boston, Copley Hall
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 27 (Garten der Liebe II)*, 1912, no. 430, SW
 Picabia, *Souvenirs d'Italie à Grimaldi*, 1911, no. 434, U
 Picabia, *Paris*, 1912, no. 437, NR
 Picabia, *La procession, Séville*, 1912, no. 442, NR

Nemzetközi impresszionista kiállítás a M. vészházban

4 May-25 Jun 1913, Budapest, M. vészházban
 Kandinsky, *Romantische Landschaft*, 1911, no. 374, SW
 Kandinsky, *Pastorale*, 1911, no. 387, SW
 Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1911, no. 389, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

Les Peintres et les Sculpteurs Futuristes Italiens

18 May-15 Jun 1913, Rotterdam, Rotterdamsche Kunstkring
 Balla, *Lampada ad arco*, 1909, no. 208, SP
 Boccioni, *Gli addii - Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno - Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che restano - Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW

Balla, *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 1912, no. 241, SP
 Balla, *La mano del violonista*, 1912, no. 253, SW
 Balla, *Bambina che corre sul balcone*, 1912, no. 290, SW
 Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, SW
 Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752, SW
 Boccioni, *Antigratzioso*, 1912, no. 787, SW
 Boccioni, *Dimensioni astratte*, 1912, no. 794, SW
 Boccioni, *Scomposizione di figure a tavola*, 1912, no. 796, SW
 Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, SW

1^{re} Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du Peintre et Sculpteur Futuriste Boccioni (exh. 36)

20 Jun-16 Jul 1913, Paris, Galerie La Boétie
 Boccioni, *Testa + casa + luce*, 1912, no. 757, SW
 Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, SW
 Boccioni, *Antigratzioso*, 1912, no. 774, SW
 Boccioni, *Vuoti e pieni astratti di una testa*, 1912, no. 775, SW
 Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, U
 Boccioni, *Forme-forze di una bottiglia*, 1913, no. 853, NR
 Boccioni, *Espansione spiraleica di muscoli in movimento*, 1913, no. 854, SW
 Boccioni, *Sintesi del dinamismo umano*, 1913, no. 855, SW
 Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, SW
 Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, SW
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, NR
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 878, U

The London Salon of the Allied Artists' Association, Ltd. Sixth Year

Jul 1913, London, Royal Albert Hall
 Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit zwei Pappeln*, 1912, no. 437, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 29*, 1912, no. 441, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 30 (Kanonen)*, 1913, no. 452, SW

Toorop, Schelfhout und die Niederländer. Gemälde, Aquarelle, Radierungen

16-31 Jul 1913, Munich, Hans Goltz
 Mondrian, *Paysage*, 1912, no. B16, SW
 Mondrian, *The Trees*, 1912, no. B21, NR

Neue Kunst. II. Gesamtausstellung

Aug-Sep 1913, Munich, Hans Goltz
 Kandinsky, *Regenlandschaft*, 1911, EB no. 291, SW

Der Sturm. Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon (exh. 37)

20 Sep-1 Dec 1913, Berlin, Lepke-Räume
 Balla, *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 1912, no. 241, SP
 Balla, *La mano del violonista*, 1912, no. 253, SW
 Picabia, *Procession*, 1912, no. 450, SW
 Boccioni, *Scomposizione di figure a tavola*, 1912, no. 796, SW
 Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, SW
 Kandinsky, *Farbstudien mit Angaben zur Maltechnik*, 1913, EB no. 344, U
 Kandinsky, *Entwurf II zu Bild mit weissem Rand (Moskau)*, 1913, no. 454, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 31 (Seeschlacht)*, 1913, no. 455, SW
 Picabia, *New York*, 1913, no. 458, NR
 Kandinsky, *Landschaft mit roten Flecken II*, 1913, no. 460, SW
 Kandinsky, *Komposition VI*, 1913, no. 464, NR
 Kandinsky, *Skizze zu Komposition VI*, 1913, no. 583, NVE
 Boccioni, *Costruzione spiraleica*, 1913, no. 899, NR

Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie* 5, 1913, no. B36, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913, no. B38, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie* 4, 1913, no. B39, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XII*, 1913, no. B40, AI

Esposizione di Pittura Futurista di 'Lacerba' (exh. 38)

Nov 1913–Jan 1914, Florence, Galleria Gonnelli

Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che vanno – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 724, SW
 Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW
 Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, SW
 Boccioni, *Testa + luce + ambiente*, 1912, no. 793, SW
 Boccioni, *Dimensioni astratte*, 1912, no. 794, SW
 Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, NR
 Balla, *Plasticità di luci + velocità*, 1913, no. 329, NR
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, NR
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, NR

Moderne Kunstkring (Cercle de L'Art Moderne) (exh. 39)

7 Nov–8 Dec 1913, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, SW
 Kandinsky, *Die Kuh*, 1910, no. 365, SW
 Kandinsky, *Entwurf zu 'Improvisation 23 (Troika I)'*, 1911, EB no. 292, NR
 Kandinsky, *Romantische Landschaft*, 1911, no. 374, SW
 Kandinsky, *Komposition IV*, 1911, no. 383, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 18 (mit Grabsteinen)*, 1911, no. 384, SW
 Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*, 1911, no. 388, SW
 Kandinsky, *Akt*, 1911, no. 389, SW
 Kandinsky, *Entwurf I zu Bild mit weissem Rand (Moskau)*, 1913, no. 453, NR
 Kandinsky, *Entwurf zu Bild mit weisser Form*, 1913, no. 456, SW
 Kandinsky, *Landschaft (Dünaberg bei Murnau)*, 1913, no. 467, SW
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie* 3, 1913, no. B27, NR

1914

Kandinsky Kollektiv-Ausstellung, 1902-1912

Jan 1914, Munich, Moderne Galerie (Heinrich Thannhauser)

Kandinsky, *Lyrisches*, 1911, no. 377, SW
 Kandinsky, *Komposition VII*, 1913, no. 476, NR
 Kandinsky, *Schwarze Striche I*, 1913, no. 480, NR

Expressionistische Ausstellung / Die neue Malerei

Jan 1914, Dresden, Galerie Ernst Arnold

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 2 (Trauermarsch)*, 1909, no. 274, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 9*, 1910, no. 335, SW
 Kandinsky, *Impression I (Fontäne)*, 1911, no. 376, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition IV*, 1911, no. 383, SW
 Kandinsky, *Herbst II*, 1912, no. 438, SW
 Kandinsky, *Komposition VI*, 1913, no. 464, NR
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit grüner Mitte*, 1913, no. 468, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 34 (Orient II)*, 1913, no. 469, NR
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit weissen Linien*, 1913, no. 470, NR
 Kandinsky, *Träumerische Improvisation*, 1913, no. 478, NR

Exhibition of Paintings by the 'Jack of Diamonds' Association (exh. 43)

Jan–Feb 1914, Moscow, Levinsky House

Mondrian, *Tableau No. 3: Composition in Oval*, 1913, no. B33, AI
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 1*, 1913, no. B37, AI

Salon d'Automne. 11e exposition (exh. 40)

15 Nov 1913–5 Jan 1914, Paris, Grand Palais des Champs Elysées

Kupka, *Localisation de mobiles graphiques I*, 1912, no. 177, NR
 Kupka, *Localisation de mobiles graphiques II*, 1913, no. 178, NR
 Picabia, *Udnie*, 1913, no. 467, NR
 Picabia, *Edtaonisl*, 1913, no. 470, NR

Union of Youth (7) (exh. 41)

23 Nov 1913–23 Jan 1914, Saint Petersburg, Nevsky 73

Malevich, *Visage de jeune fille paysanne*, spring/summer 1913, no. F-342, NR
 Malevich, *Composition cubofuturiste*, 1913, no. F-363, U
 Malevich, *Samovar II*, summer 1913, no. F-377, NR
 Malevich, *Pendule*, summer 1913, no. F-383, U
 Malevich, *Portrait perfectionné d'Ivan Vassilievitch Klioukov*, spring 1913, no. F-393, NR
 Malevich, *Lampe / Instruments de musique*, 1913, no. F-417, SW

Esposizione di scultura futurista del pittore e scultore futurista Boccioni (exh. 42)

Dec 1913, Rome, Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri

Boccioni, *Testa + casa + luce*, 1912, no. 757, SW
 Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, SW
 Boccioni, *Antigrazioso*, 1912, no. 774, SW
 Boccioni, *Vuoti e pieni astratti di una testa*, 1912, no. 775, SW
 Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, U
 Boccioni, *Forme-forze di una bottiglia*, 1913, no. 853, NR
 Boccioni, *Espansione spiraleica di muscoli in movimento*, 1913, no. 854, SW
 Boccioni, *Sintesi del dinamismo umano*, 1913, no. 855, SW
 Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, SW
 Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, SW

Malevich, *Portrait de M. V. Matiushin*, late 1913, no. F-401, NR
 Malevich, *Dame dans un tramway*, 1913, no. F-424, NR
 Malevich, *Officier de la garde*, 1913, no. F-436, NR

The Second Exhibition of 'Modern Paintings'

8 Jan–13 Feb 1914, Moscow, Levinsky House

Malevich, *Lampe / Instruments de musique*, late 1913, no. F-417, SW

Kreis für Kunst Köln im Deutschen Theater, Erste Veranstaltung: Kandinsky-Ausstellung im Foyer

30 Jan–15 Feb 1914, Cologne, Im Deutschen Theater / Im Foyer

Kandinsky, *Spaziergang (Skizze)*, 1903, no. 107, SP
 Kandinsky, *Spazierende Gesellschaft I*, 1904, no. 115, SP
 Kandinsky, *Das Bunte Leben*, 1907, EB no. 219, SP
 Kandinsky, *Winterlandschaft I*, 1909, no. 262, SP
 Kandinsky, *Reiffröcke*, 1909, no. 263, SW
 Kandinsky, *Kuppeln*, 1909, no. 264, SW
 Kandinsky, *Gelber Felsen*, 1909, no. 267, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kahn*, 1909, no. 268, SW
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Bogenschützen*, 1909, no. 270, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 4*, 1909, no. 282, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 5 – Variation II*, 1910, no. 331, U
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 333, NR
 Kandinsky, *Komposition II*, 1910, no. 334, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 13*, 1910, no. 355, NR
 Kandinsky, *Lyrishes*, 1911, no. 377, SW
 Kandinsky, *St Georg II*, 1911, no. 382, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 25 (Garten der Liebe I)*, 1912, no. 428, NR
 Kandinsky, *Schwarzer Fleck I*, 1912, no. 435, NR
 Kandinsky, *Komposition VII*, 1913, no. 476, NR
 Kandinsky, *Schwarze Striche I*, 1913, no. 480, NR

45. Exhibition of the Mánes Union of Fine Arts in Prague. Modern Art

Feb–Mar 1914, Prague, Pavilion in Kinsky garden
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913, no. B38, NR

Der Blaue Reiter / Gemälde-Ausstellung

Feb–Mar 1914, Helsingfors (exact location unknown)
 Kandinsky, *Pastorale*, 1911, no. 387, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

Werke moderner Pariser Künstler (exh. 44)

Feb–Mar 1914, Zurich, Kunstsalon Wolfsberg
 Mondrian, *The Tree A*, 1913, no. B30, NR

LXXXIII Esposizione Internazionale di Belle Arti (exh. 45)

Feb–Jun 1914, Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni
 Balla, *Luci di marzo*, 1897, no. 8, N
 Balla, *Il Pertichino*, 1900, no. 19, N
 Balla, *La Fiera di Parigi – Luna-park*, 1900, no. 22, N
 Balla, *Il mendicante*, 1902, no. 125, N
 Balla, *Fallimento*, 1903, no. 80, N
 Balla, *Ritratto all'aperto*, 1903, no. 82, N
 Balla, *I malati*, 1903, no. 123, N
 Balla, *Il contadino*, 1903, no. 124, N
 Balla, *La giornata dell'operaio*, 1904, no. 89, N
 Balla, *Il falegname*, 1904, no. 99, N
 Balla, *La pazza*, 1905, no. 122, N
 Balla, *Ritratto della Signora Pardo con la figlia*, 1905, no. 139, N
 Balla, *Lampada ad arco*, 1909, no. 208, SP
 Balla, *Villa Borghese – Parco dei daini*, 1910, no. 188, N
 Balla, *Affetti*, 1910, no. 196, N

Esposizione di Pittura Futurista / Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Sofici (exh. 46)

Feb–Mar 1914, Rome, Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri
 Balla, *Velocità astratta*, 1913, no. 293, NR
 Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, NR
 Balla, *Linee andamentali + successioni dinamiche – Volo di rondini*, 1913, no. 357, NR
 Boccioni, *Costruzione orizzontale*, 1912, no. 751, SW
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, NR
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un Foot-baller*, 1913, no. 895, NR
 Boccioni, *Cavallo + Cavaliere + Caseggiato*, 1913, no. 908, NR

Esposizione di Pittura Futurista. Boccioni – Carrà – Russolo – Balla – Severini – Sofici (exh. 47)

Feb–Mar 1914, Florence, Galleria Gonnelli
 Boccioni, *Testa + casa + luce*, 1912, no. 757, SW
 Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, SW
 Boccioni, *Antigrazioso*, 1912, no. 774, SW
 Boccioni, *Vuoti e pieni astratti di una testa*, 1912, no. 775, SW
 Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, U
 Boccioni, *Forme-forze di una bottiglia*, 1913, no. 853, NR
 Boccioni, *Espansione spiraleica di muscoli in movimento*, 1913, no. 854, SW
 Boccioni, *Sintesi del dinamismo umano*, 1913, no. 855, SW
 Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, SW
 Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, SW
 Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, NR

I. Esposizione della Probitas

21 Feb–?? 1914, Rome, Palazzo delle Belle Arti
 Balla, *Ritratto della Contessa Castelnovo De Luca Cinque*, 1902, no. 62, N

Spring Exhibition of Paintings

Mar 1914, Odessa, Museum of the Society of Fine Arts
 Kandinsky, *Landschaft (Dünaberg bei Murnau)*, 1913, no. 467, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 34 (Orient II)*, 1913, no. 469, NR
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit weissen Linien*, 1913, no. 470, NR
 Kandinsky, *Komposition VII*, 1913, no. 476, NR

Société des Artistes Indépendants: 30^e exposition (exh. 48)

1 Mar–30 Apr 1914, Paris, Champs de Mars (Avenue la Bourdonnais près de L'École Militaire)
 Malevich, *Matin au village après la tempête de neige*, winter 1912–1913, no. F-320, SW
 Malevich, *Samovar II*, summer 1913, no. F-377, NR
 Malevich, *Portrait perfectionné d'Ivan Vassilievitch Kliounikov*, spring 1913, no. F-393, NR
 Picabia, *Chanson nègre (II)*, 1913, no. 462, NR
 Picabia, *Culture physique*, 1913, no. 471, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, AI
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. V*, 1914, no. B45, AI

Der Blaue Reiter / Gemälde-Ausstellung

Apr–May 1914, Trondheim (exact location unknown)
 Kandinsky, *Pastorale*, 1911, no. 387, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U
 Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

Exhibition of Works of the Italian Futurist Painters and Sculptors (exh. 49)

Apr–May 1914, London, Doré Galleries
 Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752, SW
 Boccioni, *Fusione di una testa e di una finestra*, 1912, no. 765, SW
 Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, U
 Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, SW
 Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, NR
 Balla, *Plasticità di luci + velocità*, 1913, no. 329, NR

Balla, *Linee andamentali + successioni dinamiche – Volo di rondini*, 1913, no. 357, NR

Boccioni, *Forme uniche della continuità nello spazio*, 1913, no. 856, SW

Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, SW

Boccioni, *Dinamismo muscolare*, 1913, no. 869, NR

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 878, U

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, NR

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un Foot-baller*, 1913, no. 895, NR

Esposizione Libera Futurista Internazionale / Pittori e Scultori / Italiani – Russi – Inglesi – Belgi – Nordamericani

13 Apr–25 May 1914, Rome, Galleria Futurista di Giuseppe Sprovieri

Balla, *Plasticità di luci + velocità*, 1913, no. 329, NR

De 3^{de} Internationale Jury-Vrije Tentoonstelling. Vereeniging van Beeldende Kunstnaars

May–Jun 1914, Amsterdam, Vereeniging van Beeldene Kunstenaars 'De Onafhankelijken',

Tentoonstellingsgebou

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 26 (Rudern)*, 1912, no. 429, NR

Kandinsky, *Bild mit schwarzem Bogen*, 1912, no. 436, NR

Kandinsky, *Träumerische Improvisation*, 1913, no. 478, NR

Picabia, *Force comique*, 1914, no. 480, NR

Picabia, *Une horrible douleur*, 1914, no. 483, NR

Kandinsky, *Bild mit rotem Fleck*, 1914, no. 486, NR

Kandinsky, *Bild mit runden Formen*, 1914, no. 488, NR

Prima Esposizione di Pittura Futurista

14 May–10 Jun 1914, Naples, Galleria Permanente Futurista

Balla, *Dinamismo di un cane al guinzaglio*, 1912, no. 241, SP

Balla, *Bambina che corre sul balcone*, 1912, no. 290, SW

Balla, *Velocità astratta*, 1913, no. 293, NR

Boccioni, *Gli addii – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 723, SW

Boccioni, *Quelli che restano – Stati d'animo II*, 1911, no. 725, SW

Boccioni, *Testa + luce + ambiente*, 1912, no. 793, SW

Boccioni, *Dimensioni astratte*, 1912, no. 794, SW

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 859, NR

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un corpo umano*, 1913, no. 883, NR

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, NR

Boccioni, *Forme plastiche di un cavallo*, 1913, no. 898, NR

Boccioni, *Costruzione spiralea*, 1913, no. 899, NR

Baltiska Utställningen / Konstavdelningen [Baltic Exhibition] (exh. 50)

15 May–4 Oct 1914, Malmö, Baltiska parken

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 2 (Trauermarsch)*, 1909, no. 274, SW

Kandinsky, *Kahnfahrt*, 1910, no. 352, SW

Kandinsky, *Araber III (Mit Krug)*, 1911, no. 388, SW

Kandinsky, *Komposition VI*, 1913, no. 464, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation mit kalten Formen*, 1914, no. 485, NR

Exposition d'Œuvres de Sculpture et de Peinture du Salon des Artistes Indépendants de Paris

16 May–7 Jun 1914, Brussels, Galerie Georges Giroux

Picabia, *Chanson nègre (II)*, 1913, no. 462, NR

Picabia, *Culture physique*, 1913, no. 471, NR

Der Blaue Reiter / Gemälde-Ausstellung

Jun–Jul 1914, Gothenburg (exact location unknown)

Kandinsky, *Pastorale*, 1911, no. 387, SW

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 21*, 1911, no. 395, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 22*, 1911, no. 396, U

Kandinsky, *Komposition V*, 1911, no. 400, NR

Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28 (Erste Fassung)*, 1912, no. 431, U

The London Salon of the Allied Artists' Association, Ltd. Seventh Year

12 Jun–2 Jul 1914, London, Holland Park Hall

Kandinsky, *Studie für Improvisation 7*, 1910, no. 332, NR

Kandinsky, *Kleines Bild mit Gelb*, 1914, no. 484, NR

16 Composities van P. Mondrian, Parijs (exh. 51)

15 Jun–31 Jul 1914, The Hague, Kunsthandell W. Walrecht

Mondrian, *Composition No. X*, 1912, no. B25, NR

Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, NR

Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, NR

Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie 2*, 1913, no. B28, NR

Mondrian, *Composition No. XI*, 1913, no. B31, NR

Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, NR

Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, NR

Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913,

no. B38, NR

Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, NR

Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XII*, 1913, no. B40, AI

Mondrian, *Composition No. II*, 1913, no. B42, NR

Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*,

1914, no. B44, AI

Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. V*, 1914, no. B45, AI

Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie 6*, 1914, no. B46, AI

Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie 8*, 1914, no. B47, AI

Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie 9*, 1914, no. B50, NR

Mondrian, *Composition with Colour Planes: Façade*, 1914,

no. B51, NR

War and Press

20 Nov–8 Dec 1914, Saint Petersburg (exact location unknown)

Malevich, *Chez nos alliés français...*, 1914, no. F-485-a, SP

Malevich, *Un Autrichien avançait vers Radzivil...*, 1914,

no. F-485-b, SP

Malevich, *Il y avait du fracas...*, 1914, no. F-485-c, SP

Malevich, *Le charcutier s'est approché de Lodz*, 1914,

no. F-485-d, SP

Malevich, *Le carrousel wilhelmien*, 1914, no. F-485-e, SP

Malevich, *Regarde, observe bien...*, 1914, no. F-485-f, SP

Malevich, *Un cosaque avacait...*, 1914, no. F-485-g, SP

Malevich, *Regarde, observe bien...*, 1914, no. F-487-a, SP

Malevich, *Galic...*, 1914, no. F-487-b, SP

Malevich, *Un Autrichien vançait vers Radzivil...*, 1914,

no. F-487-c, SP

Malevich, *Autrichien, n'avance pas avec des ruses...*, 1914,

no. F-487-d, SP

Malevich, *Lyk*, 1914, no. F-487-g, SP

Malevich, *Cracovie*, 1914, no. F-487-h, SP

Malevich, *Kovno*, 1914, no. F-487-i, SP

The Painters with Soldier Friends

30 Nov 1914–11 Jan 1915, Moscow, Rooms of the Delovoj dvor

Malevich, *Dame au piano*, spring 1914, no. F-437, NR

Women Painters for Victims of War

26 Dec 1914–26 Jan 1915, Moscow, apartments at Leontievskii Lane no. 12

1915**An Exhibition of Recent Paintings – Never before Exhibited Any Where – by Francis Picabia, of Paris (exh. 52)**

12–26 Jan 1915, New York, Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession
 Picabia, *Chose admirable à voir*, 1913, no. 484, NR
 Picabia, *Je revoie en souvenir ma chère Udnie*, 1914, no. 489, NR
 Picabia, *Mariage comique*, 1914, no. 490, NR
 Picabia, *C'est de moi qu'il s'agit*, 1914, no. 491, NR

Tentoonstelling Alma, Le Fauconnier en Mondrian (exh. 53)

31 Jan–28 Feb 1915, Rotterdam, Rotterdamsche Kunstkring
 Mondrian, *Zomernacht*, 1907, no. A523, N
 Mondrian, *Dredge II*, 1907, no. A532, N
 Mondrian, *Sheepfold with Tree at Right*, c. 1907, no. A550, SP
 Mondrian, *Bosch (Woods); Woods near Oele*, 1908, no. A593, SP
 Mondrian, *Bloem (Flower): Dying Chrysanthemum*, 1908, no. A601, SP
 Mondrian, *Aäronskelk*, 1909, no. A623, SP
 Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Brown*, 1909, no. A683, SP
 Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Pink*, 1909, no. A684, SP
 Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Orange, Pink, Purple and Blue*, c. 1910, no. A687, SP
 Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, SP
 Mondrian, *Duinen bij Domburg*, c. 1910, no. A709, SP
 Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Kerktoren*, 1911, no. A691, SP
 Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, NR
 Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie 2*, 1913, no. B28, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 3: Composition in Oval*, 1913, no. B33, AI
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. VII*, 1913, no. B35, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XIV*, 1913, no. B38, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, AI
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 2 / Composition No. V*, 1914, no. B45, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie 6*, 1914, no. B46, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie 8*, 1914, no. B47, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie 9*, 1914, no. B50, NR
 Mondrian, *Composition with Colour Planes: Façade*, 1914, no. B51, NR
 Mondrian, *Maanavond*, 1915, no. UA44, NVE

First Futurist Exhibition: Tramway V (exh. 54)

Mar 1915, Saint Petersburg, Small Hall of the Imperial Society of the Promotion of the Arts

Malevich, *Machine à coudre*, 1913, no. F-365, NR
 Malevich, *Vache et violon*, 1913, no. F-418, SW

Malevich, *Laquais avec samovar*, early 1914, no. F-385, NR
 Malevich, *Aviateur*, autumns 1914 no. F-444, SW

Malevich, *Laquais avec samovar*, early 1914, no. F-385, NR
 Malevich, *Dame auprès d'une colonne d'affichage*, summer/autumn 1914, no. F-455, NR
 Malevich, *Un Anglais à Moscou*, autumn 1914, no. F-440, SW
 Malevich, *Aviateur*, autumn 1914, no. F-444, SW

Werken van P. Alma, Le Fauconnier en P. Mondriaan

12–25 Mar 1915, Groningen, Schilderkunstig Genootschap Pictura
 Mondrian, *Sheepfold with Tree at Right*, c. 1907, no. A550, SP
 Mondrian, *Dredge II*, 1907, no. A532, N
 Mondrian, *Bosch (Woods); Woods near Oele*, 1908, no. A593, SP
 Mondrian, *Bloem (Flower): Dying Chrysanthemum*, 1908, no. A601, SP
 Mondrian, *Aäronskelk*, 1909, no. A623, SP
 Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Brown*, 1909, no. A683, SP
 Mondrian, *Lighthouse at Westkapelle in Orange, Pink, Purple and Blue*, c. 1910, no. A687, SP
 Mondrian, *Duinen bij Domburg*, c. 1910, no. A709, SP
 Mondrian, *Zomer, Duin in Zeeland*, 1910, no. A708, SP
 Mondrian, *Zeeuws(ch)e Kerktoren*, 1911, no. A691, SP
 Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie 3*, 1913, no. B27, NR
 Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie 2*, 1913, no. B28, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie 5*, 1913, no. B36, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. I / Composition No. XV / Compositie 4*, 1913, no. B39, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie 7*, 1914, no. B44, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie 6*, 1914, no. B46, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie 8*, 1914, no. B47, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie 9*, 1914, no. B50, NR
 Mondrian, *Maanavond*, 1915, no. UA44, NVE

Exhibition of Paintings 1915

5 Apr 1915–??, Moscow, Khudozhestvenny'j's Salon, Boshaja Dmitrovka 11
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit Kreis*, 1911, no. 405, NR
 Kandinsky, *Landschaft (Dünaberg bei Murnau)*, 1913, no. 467, SW
 Kandinsky, *Improvisation 34 (Orient II)*, 1913, no. 469, NR
 Kandinsky, *Bild mit weissen Linien*, 1913, no. 470, NR
 Kandinsky, *Komposition VII*, 1913, no. 476, NR
 Malevich, *Éclipse partielle*, 1914, no. F-453, NR
 Malevich, *Réserviste de première classe*, autumn/winter 1914, no. F-463, NR
 Malevich, *Assemblage alogique avec portrait de Chliapine*, early 1915, no. F-464, NVE

Tentoonstelling der Werken van Lodewijk Schelfhout, Piet Mondriaan, Jan Sluyters, Leo Gestel, Le Fauconnier, J. C. van Epen, Architect (exh. 55)

3–25 Oct 1915, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

Mondrian, *Composition No. XVI / Compositie I*, 1912, no. B26, NR

Mondrian, *Tableau No. 4 / Composition No. VIII / Compositie* 3, 1913, no. B27, NR
 Mondrian, *Composition No. XIII / Compositie* 2, 1913, no. B28, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. IX / Compositie* 5, 1913, no. B36, NR
 Mondrian, *Gemälde No. II / Composition No. XV / Compositie* 4, 1913, no. B39, NR
 Mondrian, *Tableau No. I / Composition No. I / Compositie* 7, 1914, no. B44, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. IV / Compositie* 6, 1914, no. B46, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. III / Compositie* 8, 1914, no. B47, AI
 Mondrian, *Composition No. VI / Compositie* 9, 1914, no. B50, NR
 Mondrian, *Compositie* 10 in *Zwart Wit*, 1915, no. B79, AI
 Mondrian, *Compositie XI (Teekening)* in *Zwart Wit*, 1915, no. U12, NVE

Paintings by Picabia, Braque, Picasso; Photographs by Alfred Stieglitz

7 Oct-13 Nov 1915, New York, Modern Gallery

Picabia, *Ici, c'est ici Stieglitz, foi et amour (maquette)*, 1915, vol. 2 no. 497, SP

Picabia, *Voilà elle*, 1915, vol. 2 no. 512, U

First Exhibition of Contemporary Decorative Art (exh.56)

6 Nov-8 Dec 1915, Moscow, Galerie Lemerclé

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-77, AI

The Department of Fine Arts / Panama-Pacif c International Exposition (exh.57)

Dec 1915, San Francisco, Palace of Fine Arts

Boccioni, *Materia*, 1912, no. 752, SW

Boccioni, *Sviluppo di una bottiglia nello spazio*, 1912, no. 782, U

Boccioni, *Elasticità*, 1912, no. 799, SW

Balla, *Velocità d'automobile*, 1913, no. 321, NR

Boccioni, *Muscoli in velocità*, 1913, no. 857, SW

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista*, 1913, no. 884, NR

Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un Foot-baller*, 1913, no. 895, NR

Esposizione Fu Balla e Balla Futurista (exh.58)

Dec 1915, Rome, Sala d'Arte A. Angelelli

Balla, *La giornata dell'operaio*, 1904, no. 89, N

Balla, *Canto patriottico in piazza di Siena*, 1915, no. 432, NR

Memorabilia from the Russian Theatre

2-16 Dec 1915, Saint Petersburg, Dobychina's Art Bureau

Malevich, *1er acte, 1er tableau*, summer/autumn 1913, no. F-403-a, NR

Malevich, *1er acte, 2e tableau*, summer/autumn 1913, no. F-403-b, NR

Malevich, *1er acte, 3e tableau*, summer/autumn 1913, no. F-403-c, NR

Malevich, *Carré, 2e acte, 1er tableau*, summer/autumn 1913, no. F-403-d, AI

Malevich, *Maison, 2e acte, 6e tableau*, summer/autumn 1913, no. F-403-f, U

Malevich, *Plusieurs et un seul*, 1913, no. F-407-a, SW

Malevich, *Lecteur*, 1913, no. F-407-b, SW

Malevich, *Néron*, 1913, no. F-407-d, SW

Malevich, *Malintentionné*, 1913, no. F-407-e, SW

Malevich, *Grassouillet*, 1913, no. F-407-f, SW

Malevich, *Ancien*, 1913, no. F-407-h, SW

Malevich, *Trouillard*, 1913, no. F-407-i, SW

Malevich, *Sportif*, 1913, no. F-407-j, SW

Malevich, *Ouvrier attentif*, 1913, no. F-407-k, SW

Malevich, *Choriste*, 1913, no. F-407-l, SW

Malevich, *Nouveau*, 1913, no. F-407-m, SW

Malevich, *Lutteur avenirien*, 1913, no. F-407-n, SW

Malevich, *Voyageur*, 1913, no. F-407-o, SW

Malevich, *Ennemi*, 1913, no. F-407-g, SW

The Last Futurist Exhibition of Painting 0.10 ('Zero-Ten') (exh.59)

2 Jan-1 Feb 1916, Saint Petersburg, Dobychina's Art Bureau

Malevich, *Réalisme pictural d'un footballeur*, 1915, no. S-14, NR

Malevich, *Autoportrait en deux dimensions*, 1915, no. S-21, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-25, AI

Malevich, *Composition* 2 c, 1915, no. S-26, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-31, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-33, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-34, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-40, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-42, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-45, AI

Malevich, *Avion en vol*, 1915, no. S-48, AI

Malevich, *Automobile et dame*, 1915, no. S-52, AI

Malevich, *Suprématisme dix-huitième construction*, 1915, no. S-56, AI

Malevich, *Dame*, 1915, no. S-58, NR

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-60, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-77, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-82, AI

Malevich, *Promenade en barque*, 1915, no. S-104, AI

Malevich, *Quadrilatère*, 1915, no. S-116, AI

Malevich, *Réalisme pictural d'une paysanne en deux dimensions*, 1915, no. S-126, AI

Malevich, *Masses picturales en deux dimensions en état de quiétude*, 1915, no. S-131, AI

Malevich, *Troisième état du carré*, 1915, no. S-135, AI

Malevich, *Réalisme pictural d'un garçon avec sac à dos*, 1915, no. S-139, AI

Malevich, *Quadrilatère en projection dynamique*, 1915, no. S-146, AI

Malevich, *Plan non objectif en projection dynamique*, 1915, no. S-153, AI

Malevich, *Plan non objectif en projection*, 1915, no. S-156, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste avec plan en projection*, 1915, no. S-159, AI

Malevich, *Division quadripartite du plan*, 1915, no. S-172, AI

Malevich, *Plan en extension*, 1915, no. S-184, AI

Malevich, *Plan en rotation*, 1915, no. S-195, AI

Malevich, *Deux plans suprématistes en rapport orthogonal*, 1915, no. S-206, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste*, 1915, no. S-216, AI

Malevich, *Composition suprématiste avec volume non objectif*, 1915, no. S-661, AI

For the first time, this book uncovers the notable yet overlooked role of exhibitions in shaping the early development of abstract art. While Balla, Boccioni, Kandinsky, Kupka, Malevich, Mondrian, and Picabia are celebrated as the ‘fathers of abstraction’, their exhibition activity during the momentous time of the so-called ‘invention of abstraction’ remained unexplored – until now. The systematic quantitative and qualitative analysis of data collected from around 650 artworks displayed in 160 exhibitions in 14 countries and 47 cities between 1908 and 1915, reveals how the artists strategically presented their works and how these public displays influenced their artistic trajectories. Focusing on which exact artworks they chose to exhibit, fluctuations in how ‘abstract’ those works were become visible. Crucially, the book shines a light on consequential yet previously unrecognized exhibitions, thus significantly contributing to the modernist history of art.

