KANDINSKY: RUSSIAN AND BAUHAUS YEARS

1915-1933

The exhibition is supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

The catalogue is partially underwritten by a grant from the Federal Republic of Germany.

Additional support for the exhibition has been contributed by Lufthansa German Airlines.

The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

KANDINSKY: RUSSIAN AND BAUHAUS YEARS, 1915-1933

Clark V. Poling

Framed and punctuated by tumultuous historic events, the nineteen years of Kandinsky's Russian and Bauhaus periods witnessed the First World War, the Russian and German revolutions, the economic and political upheavals of the Weimar period and the Nazis' assumption of power. Having developed prior to 1914 an expressionist abstraction, Kandinsky continued to create an art of inner content, albeit much changed stylistically, and his response to those great external occurrences is manifested only generally and in a limited number of works. In a politically charged environment, he was an apolitical artist producing essentially abstract work. However, the historical conditions led to the formation of the institutions in which Kandinsky participated actively and where he associated closely with fellow artists and designers. These circumstances, in turn, substantially affected the development of his theory and teaching and influenced his art. While not himself succumbing to the contemporary impulse toward utilitarian design, he devoted a great deal of effort to contributing to the objective theories of the elements of art and design sought by these institutions. The change in his own art to a geometric style was part of that striving for a universal formal language. In the face of recurring criticism of fine art and calls for social and practical functionality, Kandinsky preserved his belief in the relevance of his art and teaching to a school of design and to the culture at large. Though he asserted the importance and utility of theory as a background to artistic creation, he felt that art depended ultimately on individual intuition, which found expression in his own work, in its formal complexity and richness of interrelationships.

Because Kandinsky was involved with the artists and institutions of his time, the evidence of Russian avant-garde art and of the art and design that emanated from the Bauhaus throws much light on his receptivity to elements in his environment and on his contributions to that context. The greatly increased understanding in recent years of the ferment of artistic activity and innovation in Revolutionary Russia and the expanded knowledge of the fruitful interaction among masters and students, artists and designers at the Bauhaus have provided a new framework in which to view Kandinsky's accomplishments. His paintings, watercolors, drawings and prints, mural projects, designs for the stage and designs for porcelain represent a considerable range of artistic output. To this can be added his theoretical work and the products of his teaching, the numerous student color exercises, analytical drawings, free studies and paintings. Nineteen years is a substantial span of an artist's career, and within it can be seen a development marked by a

I would like to thank personally several people who were particularly important to my work on this exhibition: Thomas M. Messer for his continuing support and advice at critical junctures during the planning and Charles W. Haxthausen for suggesting the initial idea for the exhibition and for many fruitful discussions during its conception. Hans M. Wingler, Peter Hahn and Christian Wolsdorff at the Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin, have given me important assistance in my research for this project, as have Christian Derouet and Jessica Boissel at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Finally, Vivian Endicott Barnett and Susan B. Hirschfeld at the Guggenheim Museum not only have born the major responsibility for the logistics of organizing the exhibition but also have been very helpful to me throughout the course of the undertaking.

series of large paintings that serve as milestones, a good many of which are included in this exhibition. The sequence of *In Gray,* 1919, *Multicolored Circle,* 1921, and *Composition 8,* 1923 (cat. nos. 25, 39, 147), shows the clarification of his previous Munich style in Russia and the development of geometric form and structure culminating in the Weimar period. *Yellow-Red-Blue,* 1925 (cat. no. 196), exemplifies the succeeding phase in its richness and density of form, color and space. *Several Circles,* 1926 (cat. no. 188), is more tranquil and focuses on a narrower range of elements, prefiguring aspects of the later Dessau period. *On Points,* 1928 (cat. no. 247), presents a monumental image, which is a depicted motif of abstract structures. Finally, *Development in Brown,* 1933 (cat. no. 314), is a somber and imposing summation of the evocative power of abstract imagery. Kandinsky's art of these years shows considerable range, formal multiplicity and variety of visual effects and references. It elicits our admiration not only for his assurance in composing the complex visual and expressive elements but also for his artistic ambition and assertion of creative independence in the midst of challenging circumstances and frequently difficult times.

I. KANDINSKY IN RUSSIA, 1915-1921

Kandinsky's return to Russia in late 1914 was caused by the outbreak of the war, a disruption he felt keenly in his personal and artistic life. In his last letter from Munich to his dealer Herwarth Walden, he expressed his reaction to the onset of war and his imminent departure as an enemy alien:

> *Now we have it! Isn't it frightful? It's as though I'm thrown out of a dream. I've been living inwardly in this period, assuming the complete impossibility of such events. I've been torn out of this illusion. Mountains of corpses, frightful agonies of the most varied kind, inner culture set back for an indefinite time.*
>
> *. . . For the 16 years* [sic] *that I have lived in Germany I have devoted myself to the German* Kunstleben [*life of art*]. *How should I suddenly feel like a foreigner?*
>
> *. . . For the time being I'm waiting for the mobilization, and then where to go?*[1]

This letter was written on August 2, 1914, the day after war was declared.

1. Letter of Aug. 2, 1914, Item 171, Sturm-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Handschriftenabteilung), Berlin.

The following day Kandinsky left Germany with his mistress Gabriele Münter and traveled to Switzerland, where they remained until late November.

They stayed in a villa at Goldach on Lake Constance, where Kandinsky worked on the theoretical material he later used in his book *Point and Line to Plane*, and from this temporary vantage point he was able to take a more hopeful view of the war's eventual outcome. In a letter to his friend Paul Klee, he conveyed the belief held by many artists and intellectuals early in the war that a new age would be born of the conflagration:

> *What happiness there will be when this horrible time is over. What will come afterwards? A great explosion, I believe, of the purest forces which will also carry us on to brotherhood. And likewise an equally great flowering of art, which must now remain hidden in dark corners.*[2]

The anxiety and optimism revealed in these statements also found occasional expression in the works Kandinsky executed in the first years after he returned to Russia as well as during his sojourn in Stockholm in early 1916. Soon afterwards, in the early years of the Russian Revolution, with the official embrace of avant-garde art and the restructuring of cultural institutions, the new "brotherhood" and the "great flowering of art" must have seemed real possibilities. Kandinsky's energetic involvement in organizational activities attests to his faith in those possibilities. For a few years he was part of that artistic community, exhibiting with his avant-garde colleagues. Further, his art and his pedagogical theories show that he responded, both positively and critically, to their artistic innovations.

Viewed from the perspective of his entire career, the seven years Kandinsky spent in Russia occasioned a transition in his art, from the expressionist abstraction of the immediately preceding Munich years to the geometric style of his Bauhaus period. A parallel shift in his theoretical work began to occur in Russia, as he increasingly emphasized the objective characteristics of formal elements and the principles of their use. This change was to be reflected in his teaching and writing at the Bauhaus from 1922 to 1933. The new qualities in his painting are first seen in works from 1919 to 1921, which show a reduction of expressionist handling of forms and a gradual absorption of the geometric elements and structural principles of Russian avant-garde art. At the same time, Kandinsky sought to maintain what he saw as artistic freedom and expressive content by preserving the complexity and some of the irregular forms and associative imagery of his earlier art.

In the first two years after Kandinsky returned to Russia, until he painted a series of major works in September and October 1917, his art was tentative in character. That he executed no oil paintings in 1915 is indicative of the upheaval Kandinsky experienced in his life at this time. In spite of the abstract nature of the watercolors and drawings from this year, the absence of oils may also manifest a loss of resolve—as the appearance of seemingly retrogressive imagery in the following year and into 1917 suggests. Watercolors from 1915 retain the energetic brushwork and intense color that were stylistic features of the immediately preceding Munich years. In an untitled

2. Letter of Sept. 10, 1914, "Some Letters from Kandinsky to Klee" in *Homage to Wassily Kandinsky*, New York, 1975, p. 131. English edition of "Centenaire de Kandinsky," *XX^e Siècle*, no. xxvii, Dec. 1966.

example (cat. no. 1), the dense, turbulent quality and predominance of black, used with bright, spectral colors, reflects Kandinsky's acutely felt sense of the war. On the other hand, a more lyrical expression is created in a second watercolor (cat. no. 2), with its luminous colors, more open distribution of forms and delicate lines. This broad range of technique characterizes the watercolors of the time and perhaps compensated Kandinsky for his lack of involvement in the more ambitious activity of painting in oils.

Puzzling dichotomies of style are presented in 1916, as seen in the drypoint etchings and watercolors Kandinsky created in Stockholm in the first months of the year. This brief period was an interlude in the war years, when Kandinsky was joined by Gabriele Münter and each were given exhibitions at Gummesons. Four of the six etchings from this time are abstract. *Etching 1916—No. IV* (cat. no. 5), is characteristic in its floating imagery, small scale and delicacy of line. The other two, however, are representational images recalling the Biedermeier subjects—scenes of late nineteenth-century upper middle-class social leisure—Kandinsky occasionally depicted in the early years of the century in Munich. In *Etching 1916—No. III* (cat. no. 4), this kind of imagery is embodied in the crinolined lady with a lorgnette and two top-hatted men on horseback who are set in a fanciful landscape that includes a Russian town with onion-domed towers in the background. The cluster of soldiers with lances in the mid-distance—a medieval element also drawn from Kandinsky's earlier work—introduces a reference to war in the otherwise pastoral setting. Biedermeier motifs were also treated in the eighteen watercolors done in 1915 and 1916 that Kandinsky called bagatelles or trifles, an example of which is *Picnic* of February 1916 (cat. no. 8). Here the subject matter is idyllic but the extremely tipped composition and the elongated, spindly forms create a feeling of instability, which this work shares with *Etching 1916—No. III* and its watercolor study (cat. no. 3). Though, as Will Grohmann suggested, a major reason for the choice of representational imagery must have been its saleability—most of these works were bought by the art dealer Gummeson—Kandinsky probably also intended an underlying message.[3] The tottering world depicted in delicate spring-like colors in *Picnic* or given a more threatening aspect in the etching conveys Kandinsky's sense of the war and his faith in a renewal to come. He declared this belief in his essay, "On the Artist," published as a brochure by Gummeson and dated the same month as *Picnic*. He spoke of a "new spring . . . . The time of awakening, resolution, regeneration . . . a time of sweeping upheaval."[4] Such a vision represents the continuation of the apocalyptic themes of Kandinsky's Munich years, and it is not surprising therefore to encounter once again the image of *Trumpeting Angels* (cat. no. 6), in a drawing also dating from early 1916.

The major picture that survives from this sojourn in Stockholm is *Painting on Light Ground* (cat. no. 9), which in many of its stylistic features develops the landscape-derived abstract imagery of Kandinsky's later Munich years. These elements include the free brushwork and loosely defined boundaries of the forms, which give the work a dynamic improvisatory quality. There is a great range in color: black and white, light gray, brown, pale primary and secondary hues, as well as brighter spectral colors. The space is

3. Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky, Life and Work*, New York, 1958, p. 164.

4. "On the Artist" ("Om Konstnären," Stockholm, 1916) in *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art*, Kenneth C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo, eds., 2 vols., Boston, 1982, vol. 1., p. 409 (hereafter referred to as Lindsay/Vergo I or II).

ambiguous: overlapping modulated planes recede toward the center, but the intense coloration opposes this effect. Furthermore, the loose definition of shapes and the alternation of bands of light and dark interrelate areas and complicate the spatial reading. The result is a rich interweaving of the parts of the composition. Preliminary drawings (cat. nos. 10, 11) that reveal Kandinsky's pictorial thinking have survived for this canvas, as they do for some of the Munich works. The arrows in the more rudimentary sketch—schematic elements seen also in earlier compositional diagrams—indicate the predominant upward thrust and counterbalancing downward movement in the picture. The drawings also show compositional devices he had discussed in analyses written in the later Munich years of some of his own paintings: the use of two or three "centers" to the left and right of the actual midpoint of the picture and the placement of a heavy "weight" at the top.[5] He employed these features to avoid a static, hierarchical composition and create a dynamic, unstable effect. The upward movement of the forms and the color scheme, with its delicately tinted light gray border and placement of bright colors in the upper part of the picture, give *Painting on Light Ground* a positive, assertive mood, appropriate to Kandinsky's vision of a "new spring."

The living, organic character of this painting is embodied in one of its most important features, the light gray border that occasioned its title. Kandinsky first developed this device in *Painting with White Border* of 1913, where it evolved after he pondered for months the pictorial problems of the earlier stages of the work. During his Russian period it became an important compositional motif, as the several paintings with titles including the words "oval" or "border" attest. The drawings for *Painting on Light Ground* suggest a progressive manipulation of the form of the border, and in the painting its contour creates an effect of pressure and partial release in relation to the composition within. Though the border serves as the ground alluded to in the title, it also is an outer enframement, which acts as the first of a series of spatial planes. This work thus epitomizes the complexity of what Kandinsky called pure "compositional painting."[6]

Two smaller works from 1916 warrant mention, as Kandinsky thought they were important enough to have them reproduced, on facing pages, in the Russian edition of "Reminiscences," 1918.[7] The watercolor "*To the Unknown Voice*," dated September 1916 (cat. no. 13), is a somewhat smaller version of one of those reproduced in the book. The personal meaning of the title has been explained by Nina Kandinsky, who related the story of her first encounter with her future husband, through a telephone call, when he became intrigued by the sound of the voice of this adolescent girl, whom he would marry the following February.[8] "*To the Unknown Voice*" is marked by a density of black lines characteristic of some of the watercolors from early in the Russian period, as well as a floating quality that was further developed in subsequent years. Here the sense of floating is created by the tipped axes and use of pale washes surrounding the image. The second watercolor is *Simple* (cat. no. 14), which is so stark in its clear forms and linear armature that it prefigures works from the very end of Kandinsky's Russian period. Discrete shapes and clear, dramatic structure are features that Kandinsky

5. See his analyses following the essay "Reminiscences" ("Rückblicke") in *Kandinsky, 1901-1913*, Berlin, 1913, Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 383 ff.; in the Cologne Lecture, 1914, Lindsay/Vergo, I, esp. p. 397; and in his Letters to Arthur Jerome Eddy, 1914, Lindsay/Vergo, I, esp. p. 403.

6. "Painting as Pure Art" ("Malerei als reine Kunst," *Der Sturm*, 1913), Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 353.

7. "*Stupeni*" in *Tekst khudozhnika ("Steps" in Text of the Artist)*, Moscow, 1918, with the title *To a Certain Voice (Odnomu Golosu)*, dated simply "16"; reproduced in Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, *Paris-Moscou, 1900-1930*, exh. cat., 1979, p. 124, as "Composition J, Les Voix," watercolor, 31 x 20.8 cm., Pushkin Museum, Moscow, and p. 524.

8. Nina Kandinsky, *Kandinsky und ich*, Munich, 1976, pp. 12-16. September 1916 was the date of their first actual meeting, the phone conversation having occurred the previous May.

fig. 1
Vasily Kandinsky
Twilight. September 1917
(HL 213)
Oil on canvas
Collection Russian Museum, Leningrad

was to develop in his full-scale paintings beginning in 1919 to 1920.[9] In the watercolor the ovoid and triangular shapes, while not truly geometric, are nearly flat and thus planar in their presentation. The drawing in black lines, assured and energetic, brings to the level of a finished work the diagrammatic sketches of the Munich years, where diagonal axes connected disparate pictorial "centers."

The year of Russia's revolutions, of February and late October 1917, occasioned a series of major paintings by Kandinsky, all of which have remained in the Soviet Union. They were executed during September and October, and several have a menacing quality conveyed by darkened sky or somber background. This feeling is also communicated in the bizarre mask-like image hovering in the upper part of the work entitled *Twilight* (fig. 1). A somewhat similar image appears in a drawing dated October 24, 1917 (cat. no. 17), the very eve of the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd and the onset of the Bolshevik Revolution. Representational motifs from the Munich period, such as storm-tossed boats with oarsmen, toppling hilltop cities and landscape elements, were reintroduced in these pictures. At an abstract level, the works possess a forceful clarity, with forms coalesced into shapes defined by thick outlines often drawn in black pigment.

The recapitulation of a composition from the Munich period, *Small Pleasures* of 1913 (fig. 2), in the Russian painting *Blue Arch (Ridge)* (fig. 3), is a fuller instance of Kandinsky's return to personal motifs of the earlier time and his reworking of them in the more decisive style of 1917. The importance to him of this image first painted in 1913 is further indicated by the fact that he reinterpreted it once again in Weimar, in *Reminiscence* of

9. See *White Oval (Black Border)*, 1919 (HL 220), Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow (fig. 5).

fig. 2
Vasily Kandinsky
Small Pleasures. June 1913
(HL 174)
Oil on canvas
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

fig. 3
Vasily Kandinsky
Blue Arch (Ridge). September 1917
(HL 210)
Oil on canvas
Collection Russian Museum, Leningrad

1924. The Russian allusions in the architecture atop the hill in *Blue Arch (Ridge)* are expanded in the untitled painting referred to as *Red Square* (fig. 4). As the related drawing (cat. no. 15) also shows, the composition includes the onion-domed towers of Moscow, taller, modern buildings and smokestacks, as well as a picturesque pair of observers on a hilltop in the foreground. This imagery expresses Kandinsky's fondness for the city, of which he had written most nostalgically in 1913 in his "Reminiscences." In the 1918 Russian edition of this essay, he increased the number of Russian references, including those to Moscow, and so his allegiance to his native country was reflected at this time in both pictorial and literary forms.[10] The liveliness of color and formal manipulation in *Red Square* are characteristic of Kandinsky's work in general and are in marked contrast to the rather matter-of-fact late Impressionism of the city views he painted from this studio window around 1919-20 (see cat. no. 29).

From after October 1917 until the middle of 1919 Kandinsky executed no oil paintings, as he was intensely occupied instead with a variety of organizational, pedagogical and editorial activities related to the drastic revamping of cultural institutions and programs under the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment (Narkompros) established by the new Revolutionary government. Surviving watercolors and drawings from 1918 show some of his ongoing artistic concerns, the most important of which are the persistence of landscape imagery and his developing interest in the border. Both features had been seen in the last painting of 1917, *Gray Oval*, which was executed in October. As the watercolor sketch for this work (cat. no. 18) reveals, the triangular projections at the bottom of the central landscape, together with the black background, make the image in the oval seem to float. This heightens the effect of the detachment of the image from the stable rectangular periphery of the picture. Even when the border is not complete, as in two interesting untitled watercolors from January and March 1918 (cat. nos. 20,

10. The changes and additions in the Russian edition are indicated in "Editors' Notes," Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 887-897.

fig. 4
Vasily Kandinsky
Red Square. 1917
Oil on board
Collection Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow

21), this element contributes crucially to freeing the composition from secure pictorial moorings. The feeling of floating is enhanced in these works by the orientation of some landscape features toward what seems to be the bottom of the composition, or toward its side. Thus the picture can be turned upside down or on end and still read correctly, for the most part.[11] The rotational character of the images frees them from the law of natural gravity, a liberation that was an important aspect of the attempt to create a modern sense of space, as seen in El Lissitzky's slightly later work.

Red Border (cat. no. 24), one of the first of the series of paintings from 1919, bears interesting comparison with *Painting on Light Ground* of early 1916, as it is similar in size and vertical format. The border in the later work is broader, more fluid and assured, and the forms are clearer and more solidly colored, with the recurrent triangular shapes indicative of a developing sense of informal geometry. The more active role of the "rim" or "border"—the Russian *obod* of Kandinsky's title can be translated by either word—shows the artist's increased awareness of this pictorial feature, here painted in a sequence of red and green irregular bands. Typically, its ovoid shape rounds off the corners of the picture. But the oval format is not used here to resolve some relative weakness or unimportance of the corners, as it was in Analytic Cubist works. There the focus on a central area devoted to a figural or still-life motif tended to leave the corners unaccented and potentially problematic. Kandinsky had long stressed the corners, in keeping with his desire to avoid a central focus and instead to activate diverse quadrants of the picture.[12] Strong forms frequently occupy one or more of the corners, and diagonals often emerge from or point toward them. In the pictures with ovoid borders, abrupt changes in hue or value, the inclusion of a small distinct shape or the invasion of the corners by forms from the central area prevent the periphery from becoming a neutral frame. Spatially, the borders contribute to the floating quality of the compositions. In conjunction with a

11. A somewhat earlier example of a composition meant to be read from all sides is the watercolor *Untitled ("Ceiling")*, Oct. 1916 (cat. no. 12), that, from the evidence of the inscription on the back, seems to be a design for a ceiling. The inscribed word, in Cyrillic, is "Plafond."

12. See his Munich-period statements concerning his paintings cited in note 5, esp. Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 397, 402.

fig. 5
Vasily Kandinsky
White Oval (Black Border). 1919
(HL 220)
Oil on canvas
Collection Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow

dark background in the central area, they set up a spatial recession in the composition, as in *Gray Oval* and *Red Border.* In *White Oval (Black Border),* 1919 (fig. 5), and *Green Border,* 1920 (see cat. no. 34), on the other hand, the light central background and brightly colored forms create the illusion of hovering in front of the border.

The tendency toward more solid and defined planar forms is developed in *In Gray,* 1919 (cat. no. 25), an extraordinarily complex composition replete with idiosyncratic forms. One of the largest of Kandinsky's Russian works, it brings together an abstract landscape of precipitous hills carried over from the Munich period, fanciful elongated forms derived from the bagatelles, and an incipient geometry.[13] Constellations of these forms float and turn in a complex spatial layering, the ambient provided by the loosely painted gray background. The overall effect is both somber and turbulent. Comparison of the painting with the preliminary drawing and watercolor (cat. nos. 26, 27) shows that Kandinsky started with an array of individual shapes, including motifs such as the boat and oarsmen, that become more hieroglyphic in the final work. Others, such as the biomorphic forms in the center of the watercolor, are more descriptively rendered in the oil. The watercolor study is especially important in the evolution of the composition, as it introduces a series of large abstract shapes that underlie the smaller forms and bring greater order and visual impact to the painting. With its welter of interpenetrating and melding forms and variety of allusions, *In Gray* is Kandinsky's last ambitious effort to perpetuate the rich and mysterious complexity he had first developed in his last Munich years.[14]

13. Regarding a similar derivation from the bagatelles, see Art Gallery of New South Wales, *Vasily Kandinsky (1866-1944): A selection from The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum and The Hilla von Rebay Foundation,* exh. cat., 1982, p. 36.

14. In a letter of July 4, 1936, to Hilla von Rebay, Kandinsky wrote, "*In Gray* is the conclusion of my 'dramatic' period, that is, of the very thick accumulation of so many forms": The Hilla von Rebay Foundation Archive, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

In 1920 and 1921, the two years following the execution of *In Gray,* Kandinsky painted an extraordinary series of pictures, which were an assertion both of his own gradual artistic evolution and of his position vis-à-vis the Russian avant-garde. Since the Revolution and the subsequent founding of the Department of Visual Arts (IZO) of Narkompros, Kandinsky had been deeply involved in organizational and educational activities, working closely with leading members of the avant-garde. His writings from 1919 through 1921 treat both the subjective, expressive function of art and the objective analysis of formal elements and structure. In his autobiographical statement "Self-Characterization," published in June 1919 in Germany but apparently written for a projected Russian Encyclopedia of Fine Arts, Kandinsky reasserted concepts he had developed in Munich: the principle of "inner necessity" as the basis of art and the characterization of the new era in world culture as "the Epoch of the Great Spiritual."[15] In his Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture (Inkhuk), presented in June 1920, he emphasized objective investigations of artistic elements; however, he also stated his opinions about the limitations of scientific inquiry and purely formal construction in art, as well as his belief in the essentially subconscious nature of true discovery in this realm.

Subsequently, in an interview in July 1921, he explicitly criticized the principal members of the Russian avant-garde for ignoring content in art:

> *Instead of creating paintings, works, one makes experiments. One practices experimental art in laboratories. I think these are two different things. People paint black on black, white on white. Color evenly applied, skillfully handled. Those who paint in that way say that they are experimenting and that painting is the art of putting a form on the canvas so that it looks as if it had been glued to the canvas. Yet it is impossible to paste black on yellow without the eye tearing it from the canvas. . . .*[16]

Thus he countered the proponents of the avant-garde with a reference to the perceptual, psychological effect of color, which creates an illusionary space. This is not only a telling indication of Kandinsky's continuing concern with spatial imagery in his own art, but also a statement of his contention that the relativistic character of the visual elements makes artistic composition an inherently intuitive process. This was his consistent belief from the Munich period to the end of his career.

To view Kandinsky's *Red Oval* of 1920 (cat. no. 33) in the light of his writings of these years reveals this painting as a conscious statement of his artistic principles, in response to the art of his Russian contemporaries. The large-scale yellow quadrilateral that dominates the composition is a trapezium—a four-sided figure with no two sides parallel. This form was a Suprematist emblem, used by Kazimir Malevich from 1915 and by his followers. It is seen especially in the paintings and graphics of Liubov Popova, who used it as a cover design for *Supremus* (cat. no. 60), the proposed publication of the *Society of Painters Supremus.* Other members of this group

15. "Self-Characterization" ("Selbstcharakteristik," *Das Kunstblatt,* 1919), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 431-433.

16. Interview with Charles-André Julien ("Une Interview de Kandinsky en 1921," *Revue de l'Art,* 1969), Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 476.

who employed the form include Ivan Kliun (fig. 6) and Nadezhda Udaltsova. In itself, the figure has strong though contradictory spatial implications, as if it were a rectangle or square seen at an angle in space. By placing this Suprematist plane against a richly modulated green background and superimposing on it a variety of idiosyncratic forms, themselves modeled, Kandinsky appropriated it to his own ambiguous atmospheric space. Other shapes, notably the central red oval and the triangular forms, have a geometric clarity, but many are freely invented, and some, such as the tipped boat hull and long, diagonal oar at the left, are allusive, personal signs. The central complex of forms builds out toward the viewer, while around the edge of the quadrilateral certain elements recede into the green background. Furthermore, varied techniques of paint application are used: the yellow plane and red oval, for example, are relatively flat and solidly painted, while other areas are freely brushed or even coarsely stippled.[17] In texture, spatial effect and formal imagery, therefore, the painting is a testament to artistic freedom and complexity.

fig. 6
Ivan Kliun
Untitled. ca. 1917
Oil on paper
Collection George Costakis, Athens

The vocabulary of points or dots, lines and planes in *Red Oval* is a visual elaboration of the formal categories indicated in Kandinsky's "Little Articles on Big Questions: On Point; On Line," of 1919, and in his Program for Inkhuk. These publications and the Inkhuk Questionnaire of 1920 (cat. no. 44), which elicted responses concerning the effects of abstract colors and forms, cited the graphic elements: points and spots, straight and angled lines, geometric curved and freer lines, the basic geometric shapes and free forms. However, Kandinsky clearly announced himself on the side of the free, nonschematic handling of forms in the service of expression. In the Inkhuk Program he warned that even though the focus might for the moment be on "problems of construction," one must avoid the danger of accepting "the engineer's answer as the solution for art."[18] In his earlier article "On Line," he commented more explicitly on geometric forms:

> *The graphic work that speaks by means of these forms belongs to the first sphere of graphic language—a language of harsh, sharp expressions devoid of resilience and complexity . . . [a] sphere of draftsmanship, with . . . limited means of expression. . . .*
>
> *There then follows the line's first-ever liberation from that most primitive of measurement, the ruler.*
>
> *The clatter of the falling ruler speaks loudly of total revolution. It acts as a signal for us to enter the second world, the world of free graphics.*[19]

These remarks represent a response to the geometry that dominated the work of many of Kandinsky's Russian contemporaries. Yet the evidence of *Red Oval* and other pictures from the end of his Russian period indicates that Kandinsky evolved a more complex and ambivalent position. It is clear from his Inkhuk Program and Questionnaire that he embraced geometric elements as prime material for the analytical investigation of artistic principles. In his art, furthermore, geometric form came to play an increasingly important role, as he found ways to use it freely enough to integrate it into his developing artistic language. Thus Kandinsky picked up the dropped ruler and

17. Kandinsky commented on variations in facture in his "Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture" ("Programma Instituta Khudozhestvennoi Kultury," Moscow, 1920), Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 461; and in "The Museum of the Culture of Painting" ("Muzei zhivopisnoi kul'tury," *Khudozhestvennaia Zhizn'*, 1920), Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 441.

18. "Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture," Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 471.

19. "Little Articles on Big Questions: . . . On Line" ("Malen'kie stateiki o bol'shim voprosam: . . . O linii," *Iskusstvo: Vestnik Otdela* IZO NKP, 1919), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 425-426.

the compass as well, though he did not consistently use the precise forms they generated until his years in Weimar.

Geometry did not have a major role in the pictures that immediately followed *Red Oval*, though it does play a small part in works such as *Green Border* (see cat. no. 34) and *Points* (cat. no. 35), both of 1920. It is interesting that the latter is a virtual replica, only very slightly reduced in size, of a work of the preceding year, *Picture with Points* (fig. 7), made soon after the original was sold to the Russian Museum in Petrograd. The oval, circular, triangular and striped forms are somewhat more regular in the second version. Moreover, in the later work the sense of detachment of the central area from the periphery and the resultant floating quality are stronger, an effect enhanced by the lightened background.

fig. 7
Vasily Kandinsky
Picture with Points. 1919
(HL 223)
Oil on canvas
Collection Russian Museum, Leningrad

The strongly accented corners of *Points* and the use of the green border in the immediately preceding picture anticipate compositional concerns Kandinsky explored in two interesting works that followed. In *White Stroke* (cat. no. 36) the corners are diagonally truncated, creating an enframing set of brownish gray triangles. As in the pictures with borders, one can read the central field as a shape in itself—here a truncated diamond. (The alternative use of "border" and "oval" in the titles of the works with borders indicates the ambiguous figure-ground relationship in this series.) The white central area again functions both as a space and as a defined shape in *Red Spot II* (cat. no. 37). Here the trapezium seen first in *Red Oval* seems to have grown so that its corners exceed the limits of the picture's edges. The formal integrity of the central shape is strengthened by its relatively uniform white and the varying color and texture of the four corners. Unstably placed itself, this white field supports a pinwheel-like set of forms that appears to rotate around the center of the canvas.

Even more than *Red Oval, Red Spot II* signals a new kind of imagery in Kandinsky's art. The visual metaphor and structural principles of landscape are here abandoned. The sense of freedom from gravity is complete. The forms are either geometric—circles and triangles—or clearly defined invented ones. Thus this work represents a more complete transition from abstraction based on nature to nonobjectivity. Some degree of association with nature still exists: an allusion to bodies turning and floating in a sky-like or celestial realm. In this regard, it is an imagery resembling that of Malevich's Suprematist paintings. Though landscape allusions reappear in subsequent pictures by Kandinsky, they occur in more abstract form than in previous works. In *White Center,* 1921 (cat. no. 38), for example, such images are schematized and rendered weightless, disposed so that they seem to float against a light background, and the sense of gravity is destroyed by suspending the forms above the lower edge of the canvas.

Multicolored Circle, 1921 (cat. no. 39), stands as the most developed example of the nonobjectivity achieved through clarified and geometricized form in Kandinsky's Russian period, in spite of the recurrence of the personal motif of sailboats at the right side of the picture. The dominant triangle and overlapping circle in the center are pure geometric forms that overcome associations with mountain and sun. Together with the two large, irregular

fig. 8
Vasily Kandinsky
Study for "Circles on Black." 1921
Pencil on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

quadrilaterals and the prominent diagonals, these shapes create a series of overlapping, vertically positioned planes parallel to the picture plane. In the shallow space between the pale blue background and the pair of diagonals at the left, the forms seem to float and rise, moving centrifugally or radiating from the midpoint of the lower edge. The underlying geometry and planarity of this picture testify to Kandinsky's absorption of Suprematism, but the complexities of contour and modulation, detail, space and movement reveal the work as an assertion of his own artistic personality. Like *Red Spot II,* this is a monumental composition, well over twice the size of the largest paintings of his Russian contemporaries such as Malevich and Alexander Rodchenko.[20] Kandinsky's synthetic approach to abstract imagery and the variety of compositional solutions manifested in the paintings of his last year in Russia are not, therefore, evidence of a lack of artistic certainty, but rather, of an active and ambitious development of his own art.

The last three pictures of Kandinsky's Russian period, *White Oval, Circles on Black* and *Black Spot,* are assertions of a free handling of geometry and irregular abstract forms. With its centralized composition of overlapping planes, *White Oval* (cat. no. 40) restates in clarified terms the imagery of *Red Oval.* The trapezium is replaced by several freely contoured planes arranged in an advancing series, a much more clearly established spatial sequence than that in the earlier work. The nature-derived shapes in *Red Oval* are superceded by nonobjective forms that range from precise geometric figures to freer and more organic variations. *Circles on Black* (cat. no. 42) also utilizes a geometric term in its title, but irregularities of contour and idiosyncratic shapes abound. The image is, for the most part, planetary, with the addition of a mask-like form and references to a cluster of buildings in the upper left, as well as insect-like creatures at the right in the lower part of the picture. These allusions, which are more legible in the preparatory drawing at the Musée National d'Art Moderne (fig. 8), reaffirm the expressive potential of fanciful, personally invented elements within an abstract imagery.

Black Spot (cat. no. 41) revives an expressionist looseness of drawing on a large scale. The thinly painted white background, faintly tinted with blue and yellow near the edges, makes the space seem to breathe and allows the constellation of black lines and spots and the colored shapes and halations to hover on or near the picture plane. In its combination of precise and irregular circular forms, *Black Spot* brings to mind Kandinsky's statement in his article "On Line" of 1919:

> *The point is . . . able to increase its size* ad infinitum *and becomes the spot. Its subsequent and ultimate potential is that of changing its configuration, whereby it passes from the purely mathematical form of a bigger or smaller circle to forms of infinite flexibility and diversity, far removed from the diagrammatic.*[21]

For Kandinsky this development meant a liberation from strict geometry and the possibility of expressive freedom.

Thus the major works of 1920 and 1921 constitute a remarkable series of statements about formal qualities and their uses in pictorial composition.

20. A noteworthy exception is Popova's two-sided painting *Dynamic Construction/Painterly Architectonics,* ca. 1917-18 and 1918-19, Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, which measures 159 x 125 cm.; see Angelica Zander Rudenstine, ed., *The George Costakis Collection: Russian Avant-Garde Art,* New York, 1981, figs. 828, 830.

21. Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 425.

22. Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 476.

23. "Correspondence from Munich" ("Korrespondentsiia iz Miunkhena," *Mir Iskusstva,* 1902), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 45-51; "Letters from Munich" ("Pis'mo iz Miunkhena," *Apollon,* 1909-10), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 54-80.

Created on a large scale, the paintings are an affirmation of what Kandinsky saw as his important position in the avant-garde. "I founded abstract painting," he asserted as he discussed current artistic tendencies in the interview of 1921. In the face of ideological conflicts about the nature and usefulness of art, he declared by his own artistic practice his belief in the continuing validity of pure painting that utilized a complex formal vocabularly to expressive ends. Kandinsky was aware of a new attitude in his works of these years. As he said in the 1921 interview:

> . . . [*after the Revolution*] *I painted in a totally different manner. I felt within myself great peace of soul. Instead of the tragic, something peaceful and organized. The color in my work became brighter and more attractive, in place of the previous deep and somber shades.*[22]

Bright colors and clarity of shape and structure, seen as early as 1919 in *White Oval (Black Border)* (fig. 5), predominate in the paintings of 1920 and 1921. These characteristics convey Kandinsky's confidence in himself as an artist, in the midst of heady and tumultuous events, which within the Russian avant-garde involved criticism and rejection of his art and ideas.

Kandinsky's Role in the Russian Avant-Garde

During the nearly two decades of his Munich period, Kandinsky had maintained contact with artistic developments in Russia. He had published numerous articles in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Odessa and traveled frequently to his native country, exhibiting there regularly as well. One of his earliest essays appeared in 1902 in *Mir Iskusstva (World of Art)*, Diaghilev's journal in St. Petersburg, and this contribution is indicative of his sympathetic relationship to the Russian Symbolists with whom the *World of Art* group was closely linked. His ties to Russia were strengthened by his writing a series of five "Letters from Munich" for the St. Petersburg journal *Apollon* from 1909 to 1910.[23] The exhibitions he contributed to during these years were important ones, in which other members of the Russian avant-garde also participated: for instance, those of the *Moscow Association of Artists* from 1900 to 1908 and in 1911; Vladimir Izdebsky's International Salon in Odessa in 1909 and 1910; and the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibitions in Moscow in 1910 and 1912.[24] In Munich, furthermore, Kandinsky's work on the two *Blaue Reiter* exhibitions and the almanac in 1911 and 1912 showed his keen interest in the art of his Russian contemporaries. He included the Burliuk brothers, Mikhail Larionov, Natalia Goncharova and Malevich in the exhibitions, and the almanac contained several Russian contributions among its articles and illustrations.[25]

Kandinsky's most important publication in Russian was the somewhat abbreviated version of *On the Spiritual in Art*, presented first as a lecture by the Futurist Nikolai Kul'bin at the All-Russian Congress of Artists in St. Petersburg in December 1911, the same month the book was published in Munich. This Russian version was printed in the transactions of the Congress, which appeared in October 1914.[26] Thus Kandinsky's major theoret-

24. Concerning Kandinsky's contacts with Russian art during his Munich period and his activities in Russia during the Revolutionary period, see Troels Andersen, "Some Unpublished Letters by Kandinsky," *Artes: Periodical of the Fine Arts*, vol. II, Oct. 1966, pp. 90-110; John E. Bowlt and Rose-Carol Washton Long, eds., *The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art: A Study of "On the Spiritual in Art,"* Newtonville, Massachusetts, 1980; and Jelena Hahl-Koch, "Kandinsky's Role in the Russian Avant-Garde" in Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *The Avant-Garde in Russia, 1910-1930: New Perspectives*, exh. cat., 1980, pp. 84-90; see also John E. Bowlt, "Chronology" in Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection*, pp. 500 ff.

That Kandinsky did not sympathize with the more rebellious activities of the early avant-garde may be deduced from his objections to the tone of the Futurist anthology *A Slap in the Face of Public Taste*, Moscow, 1912, in which four of his poems from *Sounds (Klänge)* were published without his permission; see his "Letter to the Editor," *Russkoe Slovo*, 1913, Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 347.

25. It it noteworthy that watercolors by Goncharova, Larionov and Malevich exhibited in the second *Blaue Reiter* exhibition, 1912, as well as a painting by Goncharova were owned by Kandinsky. They are now part of the Kandinsky Bequest at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

26. "O dukhovnorm v iskusstve" in *Trudy Vserossiiskago sezda khudozhnikov*, Petrograd, 1914; translated by John E. Bowlt in Bowlt and Long, pp. 63-112.

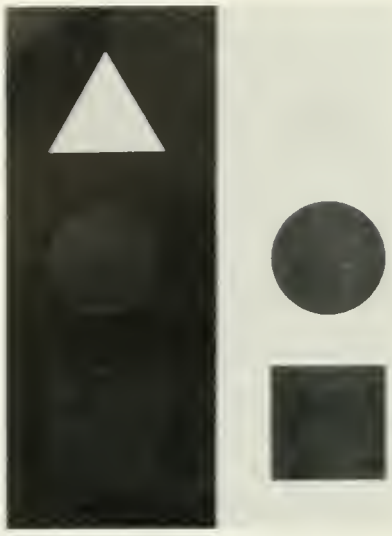


fig. 9
Vasily Kandinsky
Elementary Life of the Primary Color and Its Dependence on the Simplest Locale.
Illustration no. 4 to Russian text of *On the Spiritual in Art*, 1914, see cat. no. 315

ical statement from the Munich years was available to Russian readers. Its basis in Western and Russian Symbolism is revealed in its thesis that art, created by a mysterious process involving inner responses to colors and forms, contributes to the spiritual growth that Kandinsky believed would characterize culture in the modern era. At the same time, his many remarks about the expressive and perceptual effects of visual elements, based on his readings in psychology and his own investigations, laid the foundation for the more objective components of his theories and pedagogy in the Russian and Bauhaus years. Of particular interest in this regard is the color illustration of a chart by Kandinsky, *Elementary Life of the Primary Color and Its Dependence on the Simplest Locale* (fig. 9), included in the Russian publication. This diagram, which had not appeared in the German edition, shows the effects of different backgrounds on colors. It also demonstrates the correspondence of the basic colors and forms, a concept that Kandinsky emphasized in his Program and Questionnaire for Inkhuk and later at the Bauhaus. The stark geometric image, in primary colors and black and white, anticipates the formal vocabulary of the Suprematists, though its strictly didactic function distinguishes it from their usage of such forms in self-sufficient works of art.

With the coming of the Revolution, Kandinsky's social class, age and point of view set him apart from other members of the avant-garde, though these factors did not prevent his full-scale involvement in the new activities taking place in the arts. He was fifty years old in 1917, eleven years older than Malevich and twenty to twenty-five years older than the other leading artists of the period. Son of a wealthy tea merchant, Kandinsky owned an apartment building and other property in Moscow until their expropriation following the Revolution.[27] His background notwithstanding, he had a generally liberal social outlook and, according to his wife Nina, greeted the Revolution of February 1917 and the abdication of the Czar with cautious optimism.[28] Thereafter, when the Bolsheviks instituted their sweeping cultural reorganization, Kandinsky took a very active role. He of course already had extensive experience in organizational, pedagogical, editorial and exhibition activities in Munich, as a leading member of *Phalanx*, the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München (New Artists' Society of Munich)* and the *Blaue Reiter*. His participation in the newly formed organizations meant putting these skills at the service of the new society during the Utopian early years of the Revolution.

The range of his endeavors is very impressive and indeed equal to that of any of his Russian contemporaries. Starting in January 1918, at the invitation of Vladimir Tatlin, he became a member of the Visual Arts Section (IZO) of the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment (Narkompros or NKP), the department that directed programs in education, research, museums and publications in the arts. Subsequently Kandinsky taught at the Svomas (Free State Art Studios) in Moscow, where he was head of a studio, and directed the theater and film section of IZO NKP. The latter activity is indicative of his continuing interest in the relationships among the various arts, and indeed their potential synthesis. These ideas were expressed in his

27. Nina Kandinsky, pp. 80-81.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

article "On Stage Composition" of 1912, which he republished in Russian at this time.[29] Further areas of involvement were the International Bureau of IZO—in connection with which he made contacts with German artists' groups and Bauhaus director Walter Gropius—and the Commission on the Organization of the Museums of Painterly Culture—under whose aegis he helped organize and arrange acquisitions for museums in Moscow and other Russian cities.

These associations brought him into close contact with many of the leading artists of the period, some of whose work bore particular relevance to his subsequent development, most notably Rodchenko, Popova and Udaltsova. The link with Rodchenko, who along with his wife Varvara Stepanova lived for a time in Kandinsky's building and directed an art reproduction studio there as well, was especially strong. He and Kandinsky both worked on the Commission to establish the Museums of Painterly Culture, Rodchenko as chairman of the purchasing committee; and with Stepanova and Nikolai Sinezubov the two were represented in the 1920 *Exhibition of Four* in Moscow.

One of Kandinsky's most ambitious undertakings reflected his continuing, profound interest in artistic theory: the establishment of the Moscow Institute of Artistic Culture (Inkhuk), which opened in May 1920 with him as its head. This was a research institute in which the other leading members of the avant-garde participated, and here Kandinsky soon encountered opposition to his ideal of a pure abstract art with an expressive function. He presented his Program for Inkhuk in June 1920 at the First Pan-Russian Conference of Teachers and Students at the State Free Art and Industrial Art Studios, where it was well received.[30] This plan shows a logical development of ideas Kandinsky had investigated in *On the Spiritual in Art* and also provides evidence of the thoughts concerning formal elements he evolved during the period he spent in Goldach in 1914. The emphasis in the Program is on the objective, analytical approach to the study of art, a tendency that culminated in his later teaching at the Bauhaus and in his Bauhaus Book *Point and Line to Plane* of 1926. He systematically categorized the graphic and chromatic elements and stressed the need to study their psychological effects, with the help of the relevant sciences, occult investigations included. He maintained that the interrelationships between painting, sculpture and architecture should also be researched, with the further goal of progressing to "monumental art or art as a whole," involving all the arts. Accordingly music, literature, theater, dance, circus and variety shows should be analyzed to discover their underlying principles and effects on the psyche. Many of the features of his proposal represent the continuation of those aspects of his earlier thinking that ultimately derive from Symbolism: his concern with expression and intuition, with the integration of the arts and with the findings of occult sciences such as chromotherapy. The positivist and materialist orientation of his Inkhuk colleagues, along with their growing doubts regarding the validity of pure art, caused them to reject his program.

A particularly fascinating aspect of Kandinsky's plan is the importance placed on questionnaires as a means of determining the responses of a broad

29. In *Izobrazitel'noe Iskusstvo*, 1919 (see Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 881, note 14); "On Stage Composition" (Über Bühnenkomposition," *Der Blaue Reiter*, Munich, 1914), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 257-265.

30. Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 455-472.

range of people to the visual elements. Tabulating their results would produce a "directory" of abstract qualities. Such a desire to obtain verifiable findings in order to formulate general laws and ultimately to arrive at a universal language was both a scientific impulse and a democratic one. The Inkhuk Questionnaire drawn up by Kandinsky (cat. no. 44), elaborates aspects of his Program for the Institute.[31] It presents a series of twenty-eight questions, many requiring extensive answers and even sets of studies or exercises as responses. The varying effects of juxtaposing different forms or colors and changing their relative positions, orientation and placement on a page are considered, as are combinations of different colors and shapes. The questions on the psychological effects of forms and colors are especially interesting and represent features that met with opposition within the Institute:

> *. . . Imagine, for example, a triangle—does it seem to move, where to? Does it seem more witty than a square? Is the sensation of a triangle similar to that of a lemon? Which is most similar to the singing of a canary—a triangle or a circle? Which geometric form is similar to philistinism, to talent, to good weather, etc.?*
>
> *. . . Which color is most similar to the singing of a canary, the mooing of a cow, the whistle of the wind, a whip, a man, talent, to a storm, to repulsion, etc.? Can you express through color your feelings about science and of life, etc.?*[32]

With the growing importance of Constructivism within Inkhuk, Kandinsky's program was rejected, and by the end of 1920 he left the Institute. Subsequently, he was involved in the formation of a similar institution, the Russian Academy of Artistic Sciences (RAKhN), which operated, as Inkhuk had, under the auspices of Narkompros. Kandinsky was chairman of the committee to establish the Academy, and in June 1921 he submitted a plan for the Physicopsychological Department, which he was to head. This plan, which summarizes aspects of his Inkhuk Program, was accepted.[33] The Academy opened in October, with Kandinsky as Vice-President, but his program was not instituted, as he departed for Berlin at the end of the year. Nina Kandinsky has reported that Kandinsky was passed over for President of the Academy because he was not a member of the Communist Party, in favor of Petr Kogan, who was.[34] If this were the case, Kandinsky's disappointment may have influenced his decision to leave Russia.

In fact there were numerous reasons for this decision. The rejection of his program for Inkhuk was a clear indication of the ideological rift that had developed between him and the Russian avant-garde. The emphasis of the avant-garde on materials, on objective visual characteristics over subjective qualities, and on the rational, organizing features of construction as opposed to the intuitive process of composition constituted an argument from which Kandinsky dissented. Indeed, he was to continue this argument in his writings for many years. Further developments by the fall of 1921 put Kandinsky at an even greater distance from the leaders of the avant-garde. Shortly after their exhibition *5 x 5 = 25*, held in Moscow in September, Alexandra Exter,

31. Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection*, pp. 110-111. Evidently Popova's response to the Questionnaire has survived: see L. Adaskina, "Liubov Popova. Put' stanovleniia khudozhnika-konstrukstora," *Tehnicneskaia estetika*, Moscow, 1978, no. 11, pp. 17-23; cited in Andrei Nakov, *Abstrait/Concret: art non-objectif Russe et Polonais*, Paris, 1981, p. 174, note 170.

32. I am indebted to Jane Sharp for this translation.

33. John E. Bowlt, ed., *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902-1934*, New York, 1976, pp. 196-198; Lindsay and Vergo doubt that Kandinsky actually wrote this article, II, p. 902.

34. Nina Kandinsky, p. 86.

Popova, Rodchenko, Stepanova and Alexander Vesnin renounced pure art in favor of utilitarian design, or Productivism, and indeed Inkhuk adopted this position. Clearly, this tendency was in opposition to Kandinsky's art and ideals.

It is ironic that Kandinsky himself had a great interest in applied arts, as his Munich-period designs show.[35] In his July 1921 interview he referred to the Productivist viewpoint and declared that he had been the first to make cups, in the previous December and in the first half of 1921, when he also designed embroideries.[36] Examples of the cups have survived, as have numerous drawings for cups (see cat. no. 49) as well as for a teapot and sugar bowl. The designs were for the parts of a tea service to be manufactured by the Petrograd Porcelain Factory.[37] An extant cup and saucer (cat. no. 50) draw motifs from the painting *Circles in Black* of 1921. A cup and saucer (cat. no. 51), which were included in the *Erste russische Kunstausstellung* at the Galerie van Diemen in Berlin in 1922, show more purely abstract forms, similar to elements in *Red Spot II*, 1921. In his porcelain designs, then, Kandinsky utilized characteristic elements from his pictorial imagery. This was a decorative conception of applied art, not a more profoundly utilitarian approach. In this regard, it was not essentially different from that underlying the slightly later porcelain designs of the Suprematists Nikolai Suetin, Malevich and Ilia Chashnik. However, the geometric simplicity of the Suprematists' imagery occasionally accords with the shape of the objects so directly as to function more as a total design than as applied decoration. Of course, Kandinsky's porcelain designs were not Productivist in intention: they did not represent a repudiation of fine art nor an affirmation of the primacy of utilitarian goals.

Certainly, by late 1921 Kandinsky's alienation from the Russian avant-garde must have been complete. Although he had worked energetically in the various programs of Narkompros and had exhibited and published frequently, he was unable to exercise any significant artistic influence. The rare works that reflect his style are by minor artists, Vasily Bobrov (see cat. nos. 47, 48), Kandinsky's student and secretary during 1920 and 1921, and Konstantin Vialov, another of his pupils.[38] Even more telling are the harsh reviews Kandinsky had received from the important avant-garde art critic Nikolai Punin as early as 1917 and 1919. He condemned Kandinsky's work as romantic, literary and illogical.[39] Finally, the severe physical deprivations of the Civil War period constituted an important factor in Kandinsky's decision to leave the Soviet Union, as Nina Kandinsky has made clear in her account of their years in Russia. Once the prospect of going to Germany presented itself, he could hope for a far more comfortable environment, material as well as critical. His commercial successes in the years immediately before the outbreak of the war, as well as his many friends and artistic contacts in Germany, augured well for his return.

The occasion for his departure, as Nina Kandinsky recounts, was provided by an invitation to the Bauhaus, a visit for which official permission was granted.[40] This invitation of fall 1921, the result perhaps of his previous contact with Gropius in connection with the activities of the International

35. See Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich: The Formative Jugendstil Years*, Princeton, 1979, chap. XI, esp. pp. 122-124; and The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, *Kandinsky in Munich: 1896-1914*, exh. cat., 1982, cat. nos. 30-33, 109, 110, 113, 118, 145-149, 154-161.

36. Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 476-477.

37. L. Andreeva, *Sovetskii farfor 1920-1930 gody*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 115-116; other designs are reproduced in Lothar Lang, *Das Bauhaus, 1919-1933: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Berlin, 1965, figs. 34, 35; and Staatlichen Galerie Dessau, Schloss Georgium, *Moderne Formgestaltung: das fortschrittliche Erbe des Bauhauses*, exh. cat., 1967, p. 73.

38. Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection*, pp. 80 and 492.

39. John E. Bowlt, "Vasilii Kandinsky: The Russian Connection," in Bowlt and Long, pp. 28-29, 33.

40. Nina Kandinsky, pp. 89 ff.

Bureau of IZO, was probably merely for a visit to study the new institution in Weimar.[41] A teaching position at the Bauhaus was offered to Kandinsky only in March of 1922, when Gropius visited him in Berlin.

Kandinsky's Russian Contemporaries

The change in Kandinsky's art that began in 1919 can be understood only in reference to the work of his Russian contemporaries. His close association with leaders of the avant-garde and exposure to their art, as in the exhibitions in which he participated, affected his own development. This was a gradual process, however, culminating in 1923, over a year after his departure from Russia.[42] The prevailing attitudes in the programs and organizations in which Kandinsky worked must also have influenced him: particularly the belief in concrete, rational and scientific artistic approaches that allowed the production of art and design that would serve a mass society. Thus Kandinsky's increased emphasis on objective properties of artistic elements in his Inkhuk Program must have been a response to these attitudes toward art and art education. This move toward objectivity in his theoretical work was paralleled in his art.

Earlier, Kandinsky's art and ideas—his pioneering abstraction and his theoretical writings, with their discussions of the pure colors and forms—had exercised influence on artistic developments in Russia. Indeed, his chart of the primary colors and basic geometric shapes published in the Russian version of *On the Spiritual in Art* provided a precedent for Malevich's investigations of pure geometry.[43] With Malevich's Suprematist works of 1915 and later, however, a radically new form of art, a stark geometric nonobjectivity, was born. The pictorial and graphic art of Suprematism and Constructivism appears very different from the work of Kandinsky's Russian period, yet it provided the example of formal qualities and principles he absorbed and gradually utilized in his painting and later theoretical and pedagogical work.

The clear flat colors and well-defined geometric forms on white grounds of Malevich's epochal paintings of 1915 and 1916 contrast sharply with corresponding elements in Kandinsky's work prior to 1923; but their compositional qualities are highly relevant to underlying characteristics of Kandinsky's Russian paintings. Most important in this respect is the sense of flotation and freedom from gravity, of suspension in an open space, wherein forms move past and swing away from each other. A Malevich painting of 1914 is entitled *Suprematist Composition (Airplane Flying)* (Collection The Museum of Modern Art, New York); and, indeed, this is appropriate because the feeling of levitation in his work conveys both a sense of modernity and a vision of spatial infinity that reflects his mystical sensibility. The straight edges and flat coloring of the forms accord with the planar character of the pictures, but overlappings and abrupt changes in the size of neighboring forms create ambiguous effects of spatial layering. In *Suprematist Painting* of 1915 (cat. no. 52), the large, floating quadrilateral with superimposed or attached small shapes is a type of formal constellation to which Kandinsky

41. See Kandinsky's letter of Dec. 27, 1921, to Klee in "Huit lettres de Kandinsky à Klee" in "Centenaire de Kandinsky, *XX^e Siècle*, no. xxvii, Dec. 1966, p. 79; and Feininger's letter of Feb. 11, 1922, to his wife, The Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

42. A drawing believed to be a study for *Small Pleasures* and to date from 1913, the year inscribed on the sheet, was thought to show an early use of geometric form prior to Kandinsky's exposure to the Russian avant-garde (Kenneth C. Lindsay, "The Genesis and Meaning of the Cover Design for the first *Blaue Reiter* Exhibition Catalogue," *Art Bulletin*, vol. xxxv, Mar. 1953, pp. 50-52). More recently, however, scholars have convincingly attributed the drawing to about 1924 and connected it with the painting of that year, *Reminiscence (Rückblick)*, which it resembles closely; Angelica Zander Rudenstine, *The Guggenheim Museum Collection: Paintings 1880-1945*, 2 vols., New York, 1976, vol. I, pp. 270-271; Hans K. Roethel in collaboration with Jean K. Benjamin, *Kandinsky*, New York, 1979, p. 126.

43. As suggested by John E. Bowlt, who cites Malevich's friendship with Nikolai Kul'bin and posits his reading the Russian publication of *On the Spiritual in Art*, in "The Semaphores of Suprematism: Malevich's Journey into the Non-Objective World," *Art News*, vol. lxxii, Dec. 1973, p. 20.

referred in *Red Oval*. However, in this painting of 1920 Kandinsky retained shading and atmospheric space, elements he later reduced in favor of a flatter handling of forms closer to Suprematism.

Diagonality is an important compositional feature Malevich used to achieve a sense of movement, as indicated by the *Suprematist Diagonal Construction 79* of 1917 (cat. no. 53). The drawing bears an inscription explaining the principles it embodies: *A construction in the center of intersections of dynamic movements*. This drawing might be a translation, albeit in more geometric form, of the schematic thinking underlying many of Kandinsky's late Munich and Russian compositions. Thus it parallels Kandinsky's work and anticipates his use of clearly defined diagonals from 1919. Malevich also produces an illusion of movement by shifting the axis of one or more of the elements in a group of forms, so that they begin to pull away from the constellation, creating a sense of imminent dispersal, as in *Suprematist Painting*, 1916 (fig. 10). This sense of movement contributes to the feeling of infinite space that characterizes his Suprematism and also to the dynamic conception of modern space that younger Russians and Kandinsky as well came to share.

fig. 10
Kazimir Malevich
Suprematist Painting. 1916
Oil on canvas
Collection Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam

Finally, a crucial aspect of Malevich's formulation of an absolute nonobjective art was his radical reduction of pictorial form to elementary shapes, often limited to only one or two in a painting. The most famous examples are the starkest: *Black Quadrilateral*, ca. 1913, in the Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, and *Suprematist Composition: White on White*, ca. 1918, at The Museum of Modern Art, New York. In works such as these, the extreme simplicity of form makes factors such as position and alignment especially critical. Thus a central placement or a shift of axis and placement toward the picture's corners produce very different visual effects: stability and flatness versus movement and implied space. Malevich's drawing *Suprematist Element: Circle*, 1915 (cat. no. 55), exemplifies these latter, dynamic qualities. *Suprematist Painting, Black Rectangle, Blue Triangle*, 1915 (cat. no. 54), shows through its combination of the two forms their inherently different formal characters, which are enhanced by differences in size and color. Malevich's consideration of the inherent formal qualities of geometric elements may reflect the influence of Kandinsky's *On the Spiritual in Art*, though the text emphasized the feelings elicited by those characteristics.[44] Kandinsky, in turn, may have been affected by Suprematism in his stress on the basic elements and their positioning and alignment in his Inkhuk Program and Questionnaire. In his Bauhaus teaching he developed these subjects still further.

The Suprematist presence in Moscow was strongly felt in the emerging avant-garde. Malevich and his colleagues Kliun, Popova, Udaltsova and others organized the *Supremus* group in 1916 to 1917, and after the Revolution they were active in IZO Narkompros and at the Svomas in Moscow. Though Malevich left for Vitebsk in 1919, several of the other members of the *Supremus* were active in Inkhuk. Kandinsky assuredly had contact with them and saw their work in exhibitions. Kliun's relevance to Kandinsky lies primarily in his investigations of elementary forms. At the 1917 *Jack of*

44. See Magdalena Dabrowski, "The Plastic Revolution: New Concepts of Form, Content, Space, and Materials in the Russian Avant-Garde" in Los Angeles County Museum, *Avant-Garde in Russia*, p. 31.

Diamonds exhibition in Moscow he evidently showed an extraordinary series of paintings, each bearing one geometric form on a light ground.[45] Among the shapes featured in these works were a circle, elipse, triangle and trapezium along with odder forms—an unusual trapezium with one curved side and an angled fragment of a triangle (for example, fig. 6; cat. no. 57). Each shape is given a particular color, for example, the circle, bright red; the elipse, red brown; the triangle, orange; and the angled form, yellow. While the correspondences do not match Kandinsky's choices, these paintings embody his principle that the inherent characteristics of colors and forms bear special relationships to each other.

The odd geometric shapes in Kliun's series are particularly interesting. They are irregular like Malevich's quadrilaterals, which depart from the normative square or rectangle.[46] Together with subtle variations in surface texture and a sensitive placement of forms in relation to the picture's edge, these personally determined shapes introduce slightly illusionary qualities within the generally flat nonobjective images. Such characteristics of Suprematism anticipate the freedom with which Kandinsky approached geometry in the work of his Bauhaus years. In other works Kliun focuses on the juxtaposition of two or more geometric shapes to convey the contrast between their inherent energies, as Malevich had done in *Suprematist Painting, Black Rectangle, Blue Triangle.* Kliun's drawing of a triangle overlapping a segment of a circle (cat. no. 58) prefigures Kandinsky's use of this combination, which he described much later in his arresting statement: "The contact between the acute angle of a triangle and a circle has no less effect than that of God's finger touching Adam's in Michelangelo."[47] While there is little likelihood that Kandinsky knew Kliun's drawing, the principle it embodies was inherent in the work and writings of the Suprematists, most notably Malevich and Popova.[48] In combining three geometric shapes Kliun created an image of overlapping circle, triangle and quadrilateral (fig. 11) that coincidentally foreshadows studies done for Kandinsky's Bauhaus classes, for example Eugen Batz's *Spatial Effect of Colors and Forms* (cat. no. 220).[49] A watercolor by Udaltsova from ca. 1918-20 (cat. no. 59) shows a similar image and illustrates once more the Suprematist interest in the stark juxtaposition of basic forms.

Popova's contribution to Suprematism was a major one: she abandoned Malevich's mystical allusion to infinite space and placed increased value on the formal properties of surface, shapes and colors. Her "architectonic compositions" from 1916 to 1918 achieve a density and energy through the overlapping of large-scale geometric planes. Within a shallow space flatness is emphasized, and a dynamic quality is created by the intensity of color contrast and by the triangular outlines and diagonal placement of forms. Kandinsky's later use of large geometric planes that often serve as backgrounds for smaller forms and his deployment of diagonal bars to dynamic effect seem at least partially indebted to Popova's Suprematist compositions. A basic device Kandinsky shared with Popova and Malevich as well was that of "shift,"[50] the placement of forms off axis to create a disjunction and sense of movement. This dislocation of forms was a major feature of the Russian

45. Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection,* pp. 146-147, figs. 145-151, and p. 183, fig. 269.

46. Jean-Claude Marcadé, "K. S. Malevich: From *Black Quadrilateral* (1913) to *White on White* (1917); from the Eclipse of Objects to the Liberation of Space" in Los Angeles County Museum, *Avant-Garde in Russia,* p. 21.

47. "Reflections on Abstract Art" ("Réflexions sur l'art abstrait," *Cahiers d'Art,* 1931), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 759.

48. Dabrowski, Los Angeles County Museum, *Avant-Garde in Russia,* p. 31.

49. Apparently, Kliun's painting *Suprematism: 3 Color Composition,* ca. 1917 (fig. 10), was among the works shown in the *Jack of Diamonds* exhibition in Moscow, 1917; Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection,* p. 146, fig. 140.

50. I am indebted to my colleague at Emory University, Dr. Juliette R. Stapanian, for introducing me to the concept of shift *(sdvig)* as it applies to Russian avant-garde poetry and art.

51. See Nakov, p. 155.

52. Gail Harrison Roman, "Art After the Last Picture: Rodchenko," *Art in America,* vol. lxviii, Summer 1980, pp. 120-121.

53. Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum der Stadt Duisburg and Staatliche Kunsthalle Baden-Baden, *Alexander Rodtschenko und Warwara Stepanowa,* exh. cat., 1982, illustrations pp. 120-127.

fig. 11
Ivan Kliun
Suprematism: 3 Color Composition.
ca. 1917
Oil on board
Collection George Costakis, Athens

fig. 12
Alexander Rodchenko
Untitled. 1917
Gouache on paper
Private Collection

avant-garde's antitraditional, antihierarchic approach to composition, formulated to achieve a statement of modernity.

Along with Malevich and Popova, the most important painter of the Russian avant-garde was the Constructivist Rodchenko, whose close association with Kandinsky has already been mentioned.[51] Many elements of Rodchenko's paintings and drawings from the years 1915 to 1920 were of great relevance to Kandinsky's work of the early and mid-twenties. His development of the use of the compass and ruler, first in drawings of 1915 and 1916 and subsequently in paintings, constituted a major contribution to the Russian concept of the "artist/engineer."[52] His gouaches from 1915 to 1917 are colorful and dynamic compositions that employ many kinds of geometric shapes: circles, crescents and segments of circles in addition to triangles and fragments of quadrilaterals (see fig. 12).[53] This wide range of forms is indicative of the extraordinary inventiveness of his work, which was based on a highly experimental approach to artistic elements and materials. The variety and liveliness of Rodchenko's imagery is extremely pertinent to Kandinsky's subsequent use of geometry.

Specific features of Rodchenko's art that probably influenced Kandinsky are his use of circles, points and linear groupings.[54] Overlapping circles were a major motif in the younger artist's pictures that include disks or rings (for example, cat. nos. 68, 69) in simple and complex combinations. In some of these works halo effects result from experimentation with the textural properties of the paint medium. These inventive variations on the theme of the circle are incorporated in Kandinsky's paintings of the early twenties and later. His works of the mid-twenties show not only circular motifs but small round points as well. In particular, *Several Circles,* 1926 (cat. no. 188), with its multicolored elements and dark background, strikingly resembles Rod-

54. *Ibid.*, esp. illustrations pp. 128-131, 151, 160-167; also, two ink drawings entitled *Composition "Points,"* 1920, p. 166, and the painting *Kinetic Composition "Points,"* 1920, p. 169. Two of the relevant paintings in the George Costakis Collection evidently were included in the *Exhibition of Four,* Moscow, 1920, in which Kandinsky also showed: *Composition: Two Circles,* 1918, and *Composition No. 117,* 1919, Angelica Zander Rudenstine, "The Catalogue" in The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, *Art of the Avant-Garde in Russia: Selections from the George Costakis Collection,* exh. cat., 1981, pp. 205, 207.

fig. 13
Alexander Rodchenko
Composition No. 117. 1919
Oil on canvas
Collection George Costakis, Athens

fig. 14
Alexander Rodchenko
Composition "Points." 1920
India ink on paper
Collection Rodchenko Archive, Moscow

chenko's paintings with brightly colored points on black of 1919 and 1920 (see fig. 13). Related to these paintings are Rodchenko's ink drawings from 1920 entitled *Composition "Points"* (see fig. 14), which show variations in the density and placement of small circles and dots, treatments similar to those Kandinsky illustrated in drawings of 1925 for his book *Point and Line to Plane* (cat. nos. 183–185). Line ultimately became the preeminent constructive element for Rodchenko, as he explained in his 1921 Inkhuk lecture, "Line."[55] During the preceding two years he had experimented with straight lines disposing them in parallel, converging and intersecting configurations. The precision and structural clarity of the resulting images are characteristic of this stage of Constructivism. In spite of the overall sense of flatness conveyed in these works, some perspectival indications are provided by the overlapping and converging lines though such spatial clues are contradicted by other devices. Rodchenko's *Non-Objective Painting* of 1919 (cat. no. 70) even includes a grid that recedes slightly into space, a feature that El Lissitzky and Kandinsky were to use in the early twenties.

Certainly Kandinsky knew works by Rodchenko of the sort discussed here, as the two artists associated personally and participated in the same exhibitions, most notably the *Exhibition of Four* in 1920. Not only did Kandinsky adopt the geometric motifs inspired by Rodchenko's works during the first years after his return to Germany, some time after he first encountered them in Russia, but he used them toward different objectives and in the context of a different style. Whereas Rodchenko's deployment of elements is characterized by reductive purity, Kandinsky created a pictorial imagery of great variation and multiplicity of forms. Spatially less flat and structurally less schematic than Rodchenko's, his pictures of the period continue to develop the art of underlying complexity he had formulated earlier.

55. "The Line," *Arts Magazine*, vol. 47, May-June 1973, pp. 50-52; translation and notes by Andrei Nakov.

The art form Lissitzky invented and called *Proun* (an acronym for "Project for the Affirmation of the New") extended the Suprematist style by the addition of a Constructivist sense of calculated structure and a dynamic, contradictory three-dimensionality. Lissitzky also participated in the movement toward utilitarian art, creating an abstract graphic style for typographic design and producing examples of agit-prop (agitation-and-propaganda). His works that are close to the Suprematist idiom contain simple, flat geometric forms—triangles, circles and bars—similar to those Kandinsky was beginning to incorporate in his pictures. The poster *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*, 1919 (cat. no. 73), juxtaposes a white circle and a red triangle—a kind of contrast between colors and forms Kliun had investigated and Kandinsky would later utilize. The formal language of this agit-prop design very effectively communicates its urgent Civil War message. In his children's book *Of Two Squares*, designed in 1920 and published in 1922, Lissitzky used geometry in a narrative way to convey a political theme: "The red square destroyed the black chaos on earth, in order to rebuild a new red unity."[56] The straightforward symbolism of color and shape seen here is very different from the mysterious "inner sound" Kandinsky intuited in forms, yet both are based on the notion that particular elements carry specific meanings, a concept for which Kandinsky had been an influential proponent. In addition, the grouping of rectangular shapes atop the circle in Lissitzky's page design for the book (cat. no. 77), elements that recall Kandinsky's images of the hilltop citadel, constitute an odd link between the two artists.

Lissitzky rotated images in order to deny their traditional orientation to the horizon and thus proclaim a new, liberated sense of space.[57] Kandinsky had experimented with rotating compositions in 1918 and the device is implicit in some of his subsequent works, including those with borders. However, the floating quality and aerial allusions of Malevich's art, rather than the example of Kandinsky, probably inspired Lissitzky to develop his concept of rotation. It is seen most explicitly in his circular lithograph *Proun 6B*, ca. 1919-21 (cat. no. 76), the sketch for which is signed on three sides, suggesting that it can be viewed from all directions.[58] This work also exhibits aspects of Lissitzky's art that Kandinsky resisted: the precise character of technical draughtsmanship and the explicit, although ambiguously used, indications of a draughtsman's spatial projections. Here and in the painting *Proun 3A*, ca. 1920 (cat. no. 75), the design appears to have been created by instruments such as the T-square, triangle and compass. Perhaps it was Lissitzky, therefore, more than any other Russian avant-garde artist, whom Kandinsky had in mind when he later criticized Constructivism for banishing intuition and placing too much faith in a calculated mathematical approach to pictorial composition.[59]

In conclusion, in assessing Kandinsky's debt to his Russian contemporaries, one must consider more than the increasing use of elementary geometric forms and clarified structure apparent in his pictures. He was affected by other essential aspects of their art, though in some instances this influence resulted in an enhancement of features already implicit in his work, rather than in an appropriation of new elements. The devices that affected him

56. Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, *El Lissitzky: Life, Letters, Texts*, New York, 1969, p. 24.

57. Rudenstine, "The Catalogue" in Guggenheim Museum, *Selections from the Costakis Collection*, p. 175.

58. Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection*, p. 247, fig. 463.

59. E.g., "Reflections on Abstract Art," Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 758-759. Lissitzky criticized Kandinsky's recent paintings in a review of exhibitions in Berlin in *Veshch*, no. 3, 1922, quoted in Lissitzky-Küppers, p. 342. He felt that being "swamped with color" they lost clarity. Moholy-Nagy's subsequent presence at the Bauhaus would have provided Kandinsky with further reason for resisting Constructivist "calculation."

were the superimposition of flat planes, shift of axis and placement of forms, diagonality, dispersal and centrifugal composition, and the contradictory use of spatial effects. As a consequence of this influence, the appearance of Kandinsky's art changed dramatically by 1922-23. Nevertheless, his new style remained recognizably his own, because he adapted the forms and principles of the Russians to his own imagery of formal multiplicity and variety, which often retained a sense of atmospheric space, abstracted landscape references and idiosyncratic shapes. A crucial clue to the fundamental difference between his work and that of the Russians is provided by their opposing views of construction and composition.[60] For Kandinsky, construction—the structural organization of the formal elements—was subordinate to composition, which embraced the expressive function of the elements and thus served the content of the work.[61] For his Russian contemporaries, construction—the economical organization of materials or elements according to structural essentials—had primacy, whereas composition was denigrated as merely a harmonious, pictorial arrangement of forms. Their values of economy and clear structure were not in themselves important to Kandinsky, since he considered the expressive result of combining the various elements more significant. His major pictures of the post-Russian years, thus, are hardly reductive. Indeed, they have a complexity and richness of incident comparable to that of his Munich works, achieved, however, with a different formal vocabularly and greater clarity. At the Bauhaus he could consolidate his emerging geometric style in a context that welcomed his artistic and theoretical activities. There he was able to pursue both the systematic study of formal elements in his teaching and the intuitive process of pictorial composition in his art.

II. KANDINSKY AT THE BAUHAUS IN WEIMAR, 1922-1925

Return to Germany

Arriving in Berlin in December 1921, Kandinsky entered an artistic milieu very different from that of the prewar Munich he had left in 1914. The German Revolution of November 1918 and the establishment of the Weimar Republic with the Social Democrats as the leading party had encouraged Utopian hopes for a new society, which the arts sought to advance. The artists' organizations with which Kandinsky had been in contact as a member of the International Bureau of Narkompros propounded the principle of dedicating the arts to the needs of the new, more egalitarian society. The *Novembergruppe,* the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Work Council for Art)* and the Bauhaus, which was established in Weimar in the spring of 1919, championed these goals. Not only Kandinsky's stature in Germany as a pioneering abstract artist and influential theorist, but also his contribution to the innovative Russian developments in education and research in the arts made him an appropriate choice for the faculty of the Bauhaus.

60. Margit Rowell, "New Insights into Soviet Constructivism: Painting, Constructions, Production Art" in Guggenheim Museum, *Selections from the Costakis Collection,* pp. 26-27; Rudenstine, "The Catalogue," *Ibid.,* pp. 226-227.

61. "Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture," Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 469; "The Basic Elements of Form" ("Die Grundelemente der Form" in *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar, 1919-1923,* Weimar and Munich, 1923), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 502; and "Abstract Art" ("Abstrakte Kunst," *Der Cicerone,* 1925), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 516.

Kandinsky quickly became reinvolved in the German art world. Exhibitions of his work took place at the Galerie Goldschmidt-Wallerstein in Berlin in May 1922 and at Thannhauser's Moderne Galerie in Munich in June. He participated in the *Erste internationale Kunstausstellung* in Düsseldorf the same June, contributing a brief foreword to its catalogue, in which he reasserted his belief in "synthesis," interpreted as a uniting both of diverse people and of the separate arts. He was given an exhibition at Carl Gummeson's gallery in Stockholm in October, was included in the important *Erste russische Kunstausstellung* at the Galerie van Diemen and showed his murals at the *Juryfreie Kunstschau* in Berlin that fall. The changes that had occurred in Kandinsky's art during the immediately preceding years were readily apparent. They were noted by Ludwig Hilbersheimer, who, in his review of the Goldschmidt-Wallerstein exhibition, commented that titles of works such as *Circles on Black*, 1921 (cat. no. 42), revealed Kandinsky's "striving toward geometrization, towards the constructive."[62] Constructivism itself was becoming an important artistic force in Germany with the presence there of other Russians, such as Lissitzky, and artists from elsewhere in Eastern Europe, for example Hungarians, including László Moholy-Nagy, who had come to Berlin after the collapse of the Hungarian Revolution. The Constructivist tendency in Kandinsky's work, however much it may have been absorbed into his personal style, is evidence of the movement's international scope. Indeed, the growing importance of Constructivism in Europe may have furthered Kandinsky's own acceptance of geometry as a universal artistic language.

The works Kandinsky executed during the first year after he returned to Germany, which include only five oil paintings, continue to develop the synthetic style of the Russian period in their combination of geometric and free forms. Circles, triangles, bars and checkerboard patterns appear together with irregular invented shapes and areas of stippling or loosely applied paint, which create the predominant effect of free handling. Two paintings of 1922 include important elements of works from the preceding year: *Blue Circle* (cat. no. 80) is a centrifugal, floating, sky-like or planetary image; *White Cross* (cat. no. 81) shows a large trapezium, with its attendant spatial implications, against which is placed a diagonal buildup of forms intersected by opposing diagonals. The loosely modeled forms in *White Cross* include two odd crescent-shapes of a vaguely organic character. These are juxtaposed with clearly defined elements, the strip of checkerboard patterning that contains the white cross, and a long needle-like diagonal. The juxtaposition of the diagonal and crescent reverses the relationship seen in an untitled watercolor of 1922 (cat. no. 82), which features a motif derived from works of Kandinsky's Munich period. It is the lance-bearing horseman, whose cypher, the double curve in the upper right, is a further simplification of the abstracted form of horse and rider associated with St. George in *Painting with White Border* of 1913.[63] *White Cross* lacks the specific reference made by the double curve, as well as the motif in the lower left of the watercolor that may signify the coils of the multicolored dragon. Reversing the direction of the tapering line, its point intersecting the organic curved form, the painting

62. "Berliner Ausstellungen," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, vol. I, July 1922, p. 699; quoted in Rudenstine, *Guggenheim Museum Collection*, I, p. 300.

63. See Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection*, pp. 256 ff., for a review of the scholarly literature on this motif, esp. Rose-Carol Washton, *Vasily Kandinsky, 1909-13: Painting and Theory*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1968, pp. 217-223 and Rose-Carol Washton Long, *Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style*, New York, 1980, pp. 126-127.

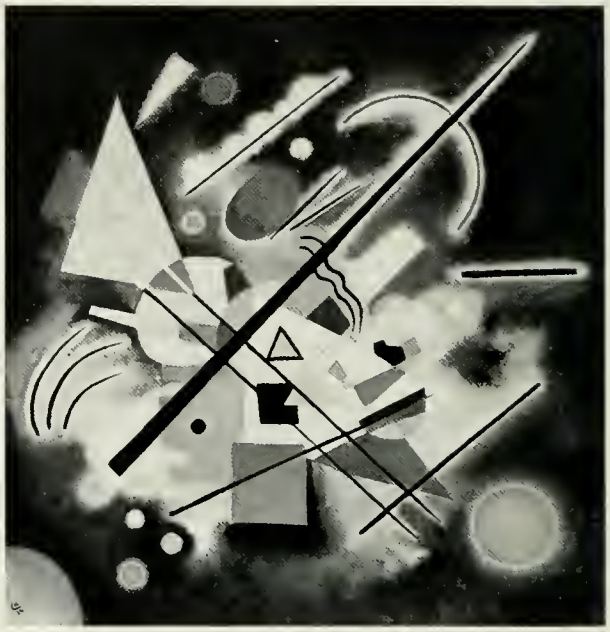


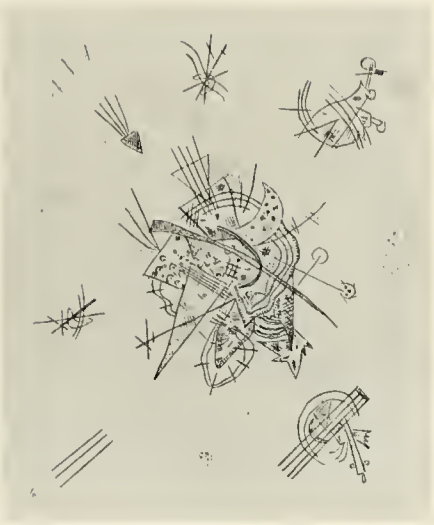
fig. 15
Vasily Kandinsky
Arc and Point. February 1923
Watercolor, India ink and pencil on paper
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

fig. 16
Vasily Kandinsky
Blue Painting. January 1924
(HL 267)
Oil on canvas mounted on board
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, Gift, Fuller Foundation, Inc., 1976

renders the relationship abstract, transmuting it into a juxtaposition of opposite characteristics rather than a confrontation between elements in a symbolic narrative. This abstraction is taken further in subsequent works that use the constellation of diagonal line and arc, the watercolor *Arc and Point,* 1923, and the oil *Blue Painting,* 1924 (figs. 15, 16).

The continuing development of elements from the Russian period and the revival of images from his Munich years also characterize one of Kandinsky's major undertakings of 1922, the *Small Worlds* portfolio of twelve prints.[64] Printed at the Bauhaus in Weimar, the portfolio was published by the Propyläen Verlag in Berlin. A product of Kandinsky's first months at the Bauhaus and of the first year of his renewed residence in Germany, these prints are especially interesting for their range of imagery, which is both retrospective and forward-looking. From his Munich work came the hilltop citadels of *Small Worlds VIII* (cat. no. 90) and the boat with oar of *Small Worlds II* (cat. no. 85), though the addition of the sail transforms the storm-tossed vessel of the Deluge into a calmer, more picturesque motif, whose feeling of tranquility is reinforced by the large, blue ovoid form. Many of the prints show devices from Kandinsky's Russian years, including the landscape motif and oval border of *Small Worlds III* (cat. no. 86) derived from *Red Border,* the dispersed imagery of *Small Worlds X* (fig. 17) and the planetary composition of *Small Worlds VI* (fig. 18), which is close to that of *Circles on Black.* The checkerboards and grids in several of the prints are Constructivist elements that Kandinsky first used in Russia in *On White* of 1920 (fig. 19), whose checkered band and striped diagonals are precedents for *Small Worlds IV* (cat. no. 87). The indications of perspective are contradictory, as elements appear at once to recede and to be flat, and a further spatial tension is provided by the large black ring which counteracts the

64. In a letter of Dec. 13, 1922, to Katherine Dreier, Kandinsky wrote that the portfolio was finally finished: Katherine S. Dreier Papers, The Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.



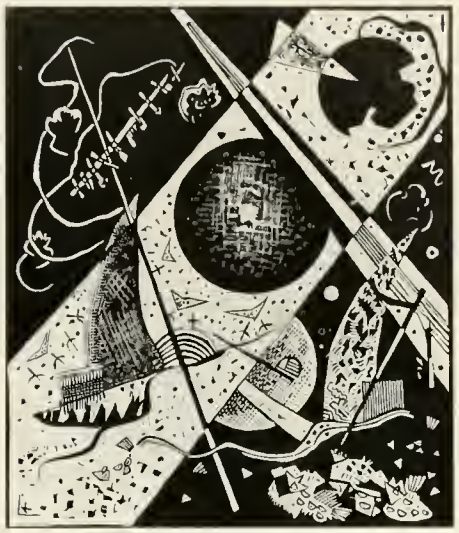


fig. 17
Vasily Kandinsky
Small Worlds X. 1922
Drypoint on paper
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

fig. 18
Vasily Kandinsky
Small Worlds VI. 1922
Woodcut on paper
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

fig. 19
Vasily Kandinsky
On White. February 1920
(HL 224)
Oil on canvas
Collection Russian Museum, Leningrad

illusion of depth. Kandinsky's use of the grid and checkerboard also accords with the great interest in these forms at the Bauhaus, where they were employed as devices for designs and formats for student exercises. Finally, the clearly defined forms and flat colors that dominate a number of these prints, as well as some of the compositional arrangements, anticipate Kandinsky's subsequent work: for example, the cluster of parallel bars and the circular bands intersected by wedge shapes in *Small Worlds VII* (cat. no. 89) and the radiating and crisscrossing diagonals in *Small Worlds I* (cat. no. 84).

The advanced qualities of the *Small Worlds* prints are shared by Kandinsky's most ambitious project of the year, the design of large-scale wall paintings for an octagonal room in the *Juryfreie Kunstschau* in Berlin (see cat. nos. 93-98). These murals were to be installed in the entrance room of an art museum, but the plans were never realized. Their execution involved the participation of Bauhaus students, who, using casein paint and working on the floor of the Bauhaus auditorium, transferred his designs onto large canvases.[65] The murals apparently measured approximately fourteen-feet-high by twenty-three-feet-wide for the longer walls and five-feet-wide for the short walls.[66] The dynamic compositions and vivid colors glowing against the black and brown backgrounds must have created an exciting experience for the viewer surrounded by these wall-size paintings, as can be gauged by the full-scale reconstruction installed in the Musée National d'Art Moderne. This project provided Kandinsky with one of his few opportunities to realize his ideal of "monumental art," here synthesizing painting and architecture. As such, it was a fitting accomplishment of his first months at the Bauhaus, whose goal was the integration of the fine and applied arts and where he had been appointed master of the Wall-Painting Workshop. The origins of Kandinsky's desire to achieve a synthetic work such as the Juryfreie room ultimately can be traced to an early experience on an ethnological research trip to the Vologda region of Russia in 1889. On entering the peasant houses, which were full of brightly colored furniture, folk art and icons, he felt surrounded by painting. As he wrote in his "Reminiscences" of 1913, "In these magical houses I experienced something I have never encountered again since. They taught me to move within the picture, to live in the picture."[67] The intensity and scale of the Juryfreie murals allowed the viewer to become absorbed in the pictorial experience of Kandinsky's abstract imagery.

The mixture of free and geometric forms that characterized the style of the end of the Russian period is found in the murals. However, the scale and prominence of geometric elements is increased in many areas of the compositions, and representational motifs are eliminated in favor of an abstract vocabulary of forms. The largest number of irregular forms occurs in Panel A, the most independent composition, which can be likened to a conventional easel painting enlarged to the size of a wall. It contains an extraordinarily broad array of shapes organized to constitute a dynamic confrontation between two large clusters of forms, and shows great variety in handling of surface and contour. Thus the mural represents a continuation of the inventiveness and formal richness asserted in the works of the last years in Russia. Comparison of the gouache maquette with photographs (cat. nos. 93, 94)

65. Nina Kandinsky, p. 109.

66. The estimates of the measurements, based on door heights typical about 1920, were formulated at the time of this reconstruction, as explained by Jean A. Vidal, "Notes Techniques sur la Réalisation du Salon Kandinsky" in Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, *Le Salon de Réception Conçu en 1922 par Kandinsky,* brochure, n.d., n.p.

67. Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 368.

of the mural shows that the forms, particularly the geometric shapes and above all the circles, were more precisely executed in the final work.[68] This transformation of shapes in the course of the execution of the panels accords with the emergence of the geometric style of Kandinsky's Bauhaus years. Among the abstract motifs encountered in the murals are checkerboard elements tilted in space, crisscrossing lines and clusters of circles, features that recur throughout the early Bauhaus work. On the three walls with doorways and in the corner panels, geometry plays a more important role, serving to create a truly synthetic work by relating the compositions to the architectural context. Parallel bars echo the horizontal boundaries of the walls and diagonals emerge from corners. A particularly dramatic image is achieved by means of these devices at the right side of Panel D, where the tapering diagonal bands seem to pierce the circle, a motif Kandinsky singled out when he used it again in a painting of the following year that he titled *The Arrow Form*.[69] Checkerboard fragments appear in most of the panels, usually near the boundaries, repeating the black and white checkered floor of the original room, a feature that further unifies the paintings with their three-dimensional context.[70]

Within the first half-year of his tenure at the Bauhaus, then, Kandinsky made contributions to the Printing Workshop and the Wall-Painting Workshop that fulfilled the early goals of the school. Both projects involved special techniques or craft and the public function of art: the portfolio, which included lithographs, woodcuts and drypoints, had a relatively wide availability and the murals exemplified the process of large-scale painting and were public in nature. In addition, the Juryfreie designs realized the Bauhaus ideal of integrating the arts of painting and architecture. To be sure, the portfolio and the murals were examples of fine art rather than utilitarian and thus reflected Kandinsky's position regarding the primacy of pure art, which he maintained during his eleven years at this school for applied design. In fact, the issue of the relative importance of fine art versus applied design remained a problematic one throughout the institution's existence.

The Early Bauhaus

Kandinsky arrived at the Bauhaus in June 1922, just as a change was beginning to take place in its theoretical and stylistic orientation: away from Expressionism and toward a more universal, objective and Constructivist point of view, involving increased emphasis on functionalism and technology in the approach to design. Lyonel Feininger's woodcut for the cover of the founding proclamation of April 1919, the *Programm des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar (Program of the State Bauhaus)* (cat. no. 99), suggests the character of the school during its initial period. This image of a cathedral conveys the Utopian mood of the early years of Germany's socialist democracy, which had been established in the preceding November. It embodies as well an Expressionist view of the Middle Ages, conceiving the Gothic cathedral as the center of the culture, uniting people of different social classes within a common spiritual ideology and integrating the visual and

68. I am grateful to Christian Derouet of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, for bringing to my attention the composite of these original photographs, published in Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky*, Paris, 1930, pl. 19, fig. 23.

69. *Die Pfeilform*, 1923 (HL 258).

70. See Katherine Dreier's description in her booklet *Kandinsky*, New York, 1923, p. 3.

performing arts within its physical confines. That Kandinsky shared these ideas and must already by the beginning of 1920 have been aware that the Bauhaus espoused them is demonstrated by his writings of that year. He not only made note of the formation of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst*, the *Novembergruppe* and the Bauhaus but also called for "the building of an international house of art" representing all the arts and named "The Great Utopia."[71] The Expressionist style of Feininger's print embraces a Cubist-derived integration of forms and space, which suggests a unification of the material and the cosmic, as well as angular shapes and direct evidence of the woodcut technique, which draw attention to the handcraft process involved. The print, in fact, summarizes the philosophy of the Bauhaus at its founding, as articulated in the final paragraph of director Walter Gropius's manifesto published in the *Programm:*

> *Let us create a new guild of craftsmen without the class distinctions that raise an arrogant barrier between craftsman and artist! Together let us desire, conceive, and create the new building of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity and which will one day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.*[72]

When Kandinsky joined the Bauhaus he became part of a faculty that consisted primarily of artists, including Feininger, who was master of the Printing Workshop, Johannes Itten, director of the Preliminary Course, Paul Klee, teacher in the Preliminary Course and master of the Stained-Glass Workshop, and Oskar Schlemmer, master of the Sculpture Workshop and subsequently director of the Bauhaus Stage. As already noted, Kandinsky became master of the Wall-Painting Workshop and, in addition, like Klee, taught one of the courses in the Theory of Form as part of the preliminary program, which was required of all students before they entered one of the specialized workshops.[73] Gropius believed that artists could provide the necessary vision for the creation of a new kind of design that would serve modern society, and he also came to feel that courses in theory were needed to help students develop an understanding of the principles and elements of form. Kandinsky firmly maintained that "free art" should be the basis for the practical arts, a view he continued to espouse long after the school had begun to emphasize utilitarian design.[74] Kandinsky's and Klee's courses within the preliminary program supplemented the workshop classes of Itten, which were later taken over by Josef Albers and Moholy-Nagy. Together, these classes constituted a program that stressed the direct handling of materials, experimentation with design elements and discussions of theory in which both students and faculty participated.

The original formulation of the Bauhaus Preliminary Course is to be credited to Itten, who brought a background in early progressive education to the teaching of artistic principles and encouraged in his students a sensitivity to materials and an awareness of their own psychic responses. The Expressionist side of Itten's artistic personality can be seen in the typography he designed for his essay, "Analysis of Old Masters," 1921 (see cat. nos.

71. "The Great Utopia" ("O velikoi utopii," *Khudozhestvennaia Zhizn'*, 1920), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 444-448; "Steps Taken by the Department of Fine Arts in the Realm of International Art Politics" ("Shagi otdela izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv v mezhdunarodnoi khudozhestvennoi politike," *Ibid.)*, Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 448-454; "Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture," Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 463.

72. "Programm des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar," April 1919; translated in Hans M. Wingler, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969, p. 31. I have substituted the word "building" for "structure" as the translation of "*Bau.*"

73. A much fuller account of Kandinsky's activities at the school is provided in my book, *Kandinsky—Unterricht am Bauhaus: Farbenseminar und analytisches Zeichnen, dargestellt am Beispiel der Sammlung des Bauhaus-Archivs, Berlin,* Weingarten, 1982. For discussions of the early years of the Bauhaus see Marcel Franciscono, *Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: the Ideals and Artistic Theories of its Founding Years,* Urbana, Illinois, 1971.

74. See Kandinsky's essay "On Reform of Art Schools" ("K reforme khudozhestvennoi shkoly," *Iskusstvo*, 1923), in Lindsay/Vergo, II, esp. p. 495.

104, 105), which features an exuberant mixture of typefaces and colors, and in his analytical sketches of old-master paintings.[75] These sketches reflect an immediacy of emotional response to compositional elements in the paintings. Itten asked his students to follow a similar approach in both analytical drawings and rhythmic studies. These exercises sometimes resulted in highly simplified summations of movements or formal relationships, as exemplified in the diagram at the lower right of Itten's sheet of sketches analyzing Meister Franke's *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. 106). He also submitted the paintings to an elaborate geometric analysis (cat. no. 107). Both the geometric and reductive schematization of Itten's analyses seem to have influenced Kandinsky's teaching of analytical drawing, particularly in its more elaborate form at the Dessau Bauhaus.

Itten made another contribution to the program of objective study of materials and visual elements that gained ascendancy at the school: his systematic categorization of textures and colors according to sets of contrasts such as smooth-rough, dull-shiny, light-dark and the complementary oppositions for colors. His *Color Sphere,* 1921 (cat. no. 108), presented as a twelve-pointed star with seven gradations from white to black for each of the twelve hues, is an early example of the charts used at the Bauhaus as aids to understanding color relationships and nuances. Itten's diagram is heir to a tradition that began with Goethe and the painter-theorist Philipp Otto Runge at the beginning of the nineteenth century and is particularly indebted to his own teacher in Stuttgart, Adolf Hölzel.[76] Kandinsky used color charts in his teaching, but relied on simpler ones such as the six-part color circle. A particular instance of Kandinsky's borrowing from Itten's teaching is provided by the student exercises he assigned concerning chromatic contrast using the square-in-square format. Vincent Weber's study done for Itten's course (cat. no. 112) demonstrates the principle by placing a primary color, red, against different colored backgrounds to show varying kinds and degrees of contrast. Geometric formats, most notably those based on the grid, were used by Itten in his own work, from around 1916 (see cat. nos. 101, 102), and in exercises he assigned students. Such designs were valued as a means of simplifying the composition to allow for the study of the complex interrelationships of contrast and gradation. Thus they are frequently found at the Bauhaus, especially from 1921 when the influence of the Dutch *De Stijl* movement was strong. Chart-like presentations of color relationships were developed in particular by the student Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack, who conducted a workshop on color in connection with Itten's Preliminary Course from 1922 to 1923. Hirschfeld-Mack's studies demonstrated contrasts, gradations and spatial illusions of colors in a variety of didactically effective formats (see cat. nos. 113-115).

75. "Analysen alter Meister" in *Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit,* Weimar, 1921, pp. 28-78. The typographic design was a collaborative project involving the student Friedl Dicker in addition to Itten.

76. For a survey of color charts and theories used at the Bauhaus, see my catalogue, The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, *Bauhaus Color,* 1976; a more detailed treatment is found in my Ph.D. dissertation, *Color Theories of the Bauhaus Artists,* Columbia University, New York, 1973.

Kandinsky's Teaching and His Theory of Correspondences

Concerning Kandinsky's teaching during the Weimar years of the Bauhaus little specific is known: the bulk of detailed evidence—his own course notes and publications as well as the surviving student exercises—is from the Des-

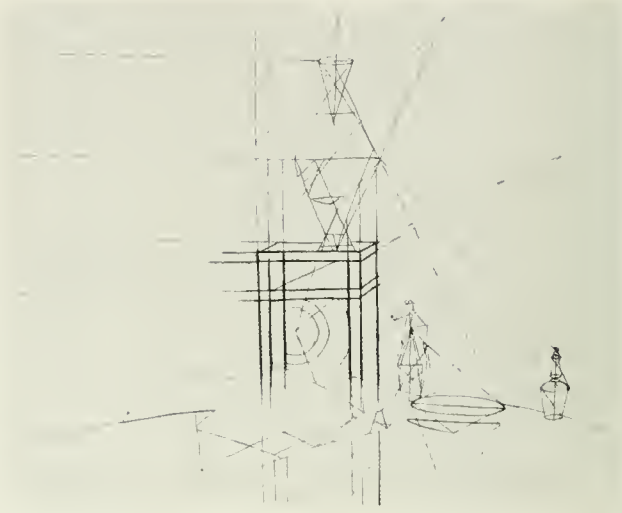


fig. 20
Gerhard Schunke
Analytical Nature Drawing: Character of the Objects
Ink on paper
Collection Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin

fig. 21
Maria Rasch
Analytical Nature Drawing: Constructive Analysis
Ink on paper
Collection Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin

fig. 22
Maria Rasch
Analytical Nature Drawing: Geometric Connections
Ink on paper
Collection Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin

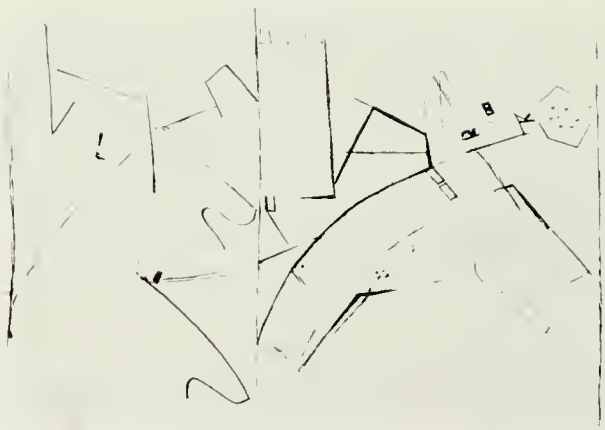


fig. 23
Ida Kerkovius
Analytical Nature Drawing: Linear Analysis
Ink on paper
Collection Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin

sau period. In general terms Kandinsky discussed his approach to teaching form and color in his contributions to the book published on the occasion of the large *Bauhaus Ausstellung* of August and September 1923.[77] In these texts he stressed a systematic study of the elements, both in isolation and in their interrelationships. Regarding color he stated, "its characteristics, power, and effects" should be studied, and he believed that the same properties of form must be investigated.[78] Here Kandinsky meant the physiological and psychological properties, the perceptual and expressive effects of color and form: clearly an extension of the pedagogical formulations of his Russian period. Moreover, student notes taken in 1924 indicate that in discussing color phenomena, he relied heavily on his treatment of the subject in *On the Spiritual in Art*.[79] A specialized subject Kandinsky taught at the Bauhaus was analytical drawing, for which the students set up still lifes of ordinary domestic or studio objects and analyzed their shapes and interrelationships. Four of the student drawings were reproduced in the book published in conjunction with the *Bauhaus Ausstellung* (figs. 20-23). These show a simplification of outline and analysis of the structural networks inherent in the still-life arrangements, the more advanced examples revealing the freest abstraction.[80] Subsequently, in Dessau, Kandinsky developed the study of analytical drawing more systematically. The linearism and graphic clarity of his own paintings, beginning as early as 1923, must have derived in part from the constructive geometry of the analytical drawings.

A feature of Kandinsky's teaching that played a particularly visible role at the Weimar Bauhaus was his theory of the correspondence between the basic colors and forms. He involved the entire Bauhaus community in the subject through seminar discussions and the circulation of a questionnaire from the Wall-Painting Workshop (cat. no. 116). This survey, which, like the Inkhuk Questionnaire, attempted to scientifically verify artistic theory, utilized a form that presented the three basic shapes in outline. Participants were asked to fill in the shapes with the appropriate primary color and explain their choices. With the notable exceptions of Schlemmer and Klee, the respondents confirmed Kandinsky's theory of the essential affinity of yellow and the triangle, red and the square and blue and the circle. The concept of correspondence was based on the phenomena of synaesthesia, whereby experiences of one sense faculty affect another, which Kandinsky discussed in *On the Spiritual in Art*. Here he cited examples of synaesthesia, noting for instance, that bright yellow may be perceived as sour or can hurt the eye, "as a high note on the trumpet hurts the ear."[81] Accordingly, shapes and colors may share inherent characteristics, which are heightened when appropriately combined. For example, "Sharp colors have a stronger sound in sharp forms (e.g., yellow in a triangle). The effect of deeper colors is emphasized by rounded forms (e.g., blue in a circle)."[82] In the illustration for the Russian publication of *On the Spiritual in Art* and in his Inkhuk Program and Questionnaire, Kandinsky elaborated his concept. A reproduction in the book that accompanied the 1923 *Bauhaus Ausstellung* (cat. no. 319, see p. 174) shows the canonical relationships and their extension to the three-dimensional shapes, pyramid, cube and sphere.

77. "The Basic Elements of Form" and "Color Course and Seminar" ("Die Grundelemente der Form," "Farbkurs und Seminar" in *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar, 1919-1923)*, Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 498-504.

78. "Color Course and Seminar," Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 501.

79. Notes by Irmgard Sörensen-Popitz, Bauhaus-Archiv Inv. Nr. 3958/1-9.

80. An account of Kandinsky's early teaching of analytical drawing is found in Wolfgang Venzmer, "Hölzel and Kandinsky as Teachers: An Interview with Vincent Weber," *Art Journal*, vol. 43, Spring 1983, pp. 27-30. I am indebted to Peg Weiss, editor of this special issue on Kandinsky, for showing me the manuscript of this interview before publication.

81. *On the Spiritual in Art (Über das Geistige in der Kunst,* Munich, 1912), Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 157-158.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

These correspondences as well as contrary combinations of the shapes and colors appear in several designs created for the exhibition. Among the postcard announcements, Rudolf Baschant's bears red squares and a blue circle (cat. no. 121e), while one of Herbert Bayer's has a blue triangle, a black circle and a red square (cat. no. 121f). Deviant combinations were as interesting as the standard ones, according to Kandinsky, because of the expressive effects of their inherent contrasts.[83] Bayer treated related ideas on a monumental scale in his designs for the staircase of the Bauhaus building, which were part of the wall-painting program for the exhibition. These were three large murals, one for each floor: the first a blue composition with circles; the second with images dominated by red and the square; the third yellow with triangles (cat. no. 119). In chromatic value and formal character alike, this ascending sequence represented the synaesthetic effect of progressive lightening.

The theory of correspondence exemplifies Kandinsky's scientific attitudes toward art, for throughout his career he sought to formulate a science of art *(Kunstwissenschaft)*. While he attempted to create a scientific basis for this theory through his systematic approach and use of questionnaires, it was an essentially subjective notion. The correspondences he posited could serve expressive ends in artistic usage, though the variables of context and possible combinations were so great that the results were unpredictable. Moreover, the "correct" combinations had no real usefulness in the design of practical objects beyond a simple graphic or decorative level. Nevertheless, Kandinsky taught the theory throughout his Bauhaus career and occasionally applied it in his own work. He valued the expressive effects that could be created through the application of the theory and believed that students should learn systematic approaches to formal elements before they became involved in the more intuitive process of creative design.

Early Bauhaus Design

In its emphasis on the basic shapes and colors, Kandinsky's theory of correspondence accorded well with the elementarist tendency in design that prevailed at the Weimar Bauhaus, especially in the period about 1923 and 1924. Indeed, the basic shapes appear in many of the objects and works of art executed there. The ashtrays and teapot by Marianne Brandt, 1924 (cat. nos. 127–129), products of the Metal Workshop, are good examples of this formal predilection, with their use of the triangle, cylinder, circle and semisphere. The wooden pieces of Josef Hartwig's chess set (cat. no. 126), which include cubes and pyramids, and the glass and chrome components of K.J. Jucker's and Wilhelm Wagenfeld's table lamp (cat. no. 124) indicate the variety of materials submitted to this normative geometry. The basic shapes and colors also were stressed in typography and graphic design, where the letter forms were made up of circular, square and triangular units (see cat. no. 122). In this context mention should be made of Schlemmer's costume designs for his *Triadic Ballet,* ca. 1922 (cat. nos. 134, 241), which transform the dancer's body into a series of abstract geometric shapes.

83. "Analysis of the Primary Elements in Painting" ("Analyse des éléments premiers de la peinture," *Cahiers de Belgique,* 1928), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 854.

84. Important factors in the influence of *De Stijl* on the Bauhaus were the presence and activities of Theo van Doesburg, spokesman for the Dutch group, in Weimar from 1921-23.

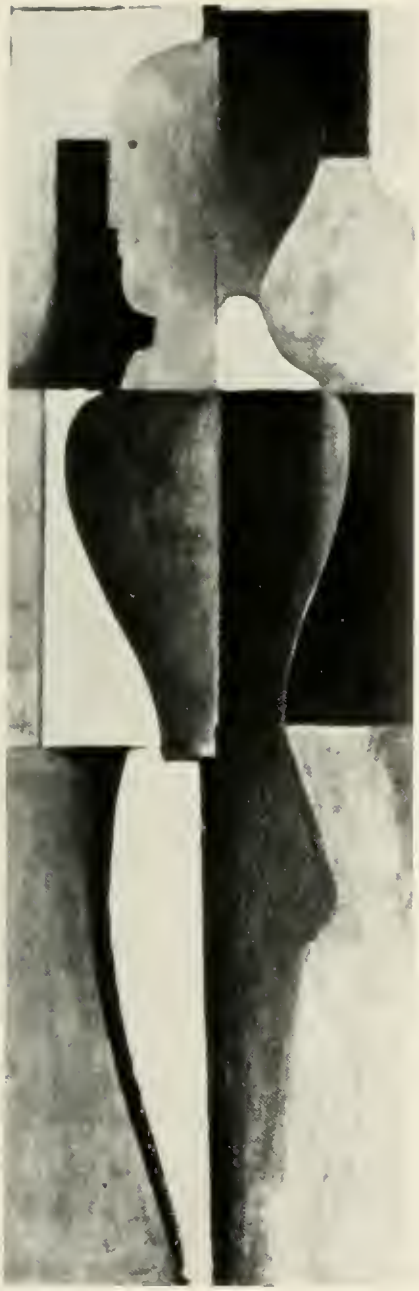


fig. 24
Oskar Schlemmer
Figure of a Youth in Components. 1921
Pencil and enamel on canvas
Private Collection

The Bauhaus emphasis on elementary geometry represents a continuation of the use of simple abstract forms by the Jugendstil artists at the beginning of the century for the purpose of reforming the elaborate design traditions of the nineteenth century. In its social idealism and belief that a standardized vocabulary of forms would create a unified visual environment, the Bauhaus also reflected the point of view of the *Werkbund,* the association of German designers and manufacturers that was dedicated to improving design and simplifying the forms of utilitarian objects so they could be mass produced. Bauhaus designs were meant to express modernity because, with their strict geometry, they were free of traditional ornament and embodied a new rationalism. The assumption was that these pure forms were more functional and better suited to mass production than traditional ones. Rather than simply resulting from a logical assessment of the function of an object or the process of fabrication, however, Bauhaus products and similar modernist designs in fact reflect a style, a preconceived attitude toward certain forms. This style expressed convictions about the nature of the modern world and a new rational democratic society.

Bauhaus Masters

The Bauhaus concern with geometry and the constructive principles it offered provided the background for Kandinsky's artistic development during his years at the school. This concern is visible not only in the utilitarian products but also in the representational and abstract art executed there. Feininger's views of German towns and his coastal and marine scenes contain large, simplified planes derived from the shapes in the landscape or cityscape subjects (cat. no. 133). These representational elements are much transformed, however, for they are rendered as flat, straight-edged shapes, frequently rectangles or triangles, and aligned so as to suggest an underlying grid. In many of his schematized images of the human form, Schlemmer uses the grid in a more explicit way than Feininger, subdividing the figure and locking it into a field of rectangular planes (fig. 24). Even when they are modeled slightly, the planes are nearly flat and are disposed parallel to the picture surface. Moreover, the figural components are shown frontally or in profile, thus according with the overall flatness. In his graphic works Schlemmer often created a linear armature of interlocking shapes (cat. no. 135), a schematic integration of multiple forms paralleling that in the analytic drawings done in Kandinsky's classes.

The grid was introduced at the Bauhaus by Itten as the basis for exercises in his course, but its implicit presence in Cubism and dominant role in the art and design of the *De Stijl* group assured its currency in the art created at the school.[84] The ways in which individual artists utilized the grid reveal how they conceived the role of geometry in the pictorial process. It could provide a simple armature for a graphic design or pictorial composition, or a basis for a complex interplay of structure and other visual elements. Klee probably used the grid more subtly and inventively than any other artist. Beginning as early as 1914, and especially during his Bauhaus years, he em-

ployed this geometric device in his paintings.[85] In a number of examples from 1923, the proportions of the squares and rectangles vary considerably, and diagonal deflections or additional shapes such as triangles or half-circles are introduced, changing the rhythm and producing illusions of shallow depth. However, the alterations of the basic structure of the grid seem determined primarily by the application of the different colors, and, indeed, the pictures can be seen as vehicles for color relationships and effects, subjects to which Klee devoted attention in his teaching.[86] *Architecture,* 1923 (cat. no. 131), with its contrasts of yellow and violet and gradations of value and hue, owes the dynamism of its composition to the variety of its visual groupings, degrees of contrast, and to its spatial effects. The inherent architectural associations of the grid are elicited by the vertical emphasis and the addition of the two triangles at the top, an example of the discovery of representational implications in an abstract structure. This process reverses that of Feininger, who abstracts from the given visual world, and differs from Kandinsky's technique of including simplified representational motifs within an otherwise abstract imagery.

A freer use of geometry by Klee is seen in works such as *Red Balloon* of 1922 (cat. no. 130). In this painting the addition of the drawn elements of the tree and balloon rigging make the representational references of the geometric shapes explicit. The red circle here and the triangles in *Architecture* nevertheless remain, pure forms nudged into representational service by context or accompanying elements. The tension in the visual reading provides much of the fascination of these paintings and of the lithograph *Tightrope Walker* of 1923 (cat. no. 132), where the schematic image of a human face is submerged in the apparatus that supports the performer. This work is particularly interesting in its use of a disembodied and contradictory perspective derived from Constructivism. To be sure, Klee's sets of converging lines floating in space have a representational function, however ambiguous they may be, whereas the Constructivists' linear structures are entirely nonobjective.[87] Klee's playful and inventive manipulation of geometry and associative elements reveals his belief in the dual nature of artistic creativity, which, he maintained, involves both systematic knowledge of the formal elements and intuition in utilizing them for expressive effect. This belief was held also by Kandinsky and the other Bauhaus artists who shared a background in Expressionism.

Moholy-Nagy, on the other hand, gave primacy to rationality in the artistic process and objectivity in the study of visual phenomena. He had been deeply influenced by Suprematism and Constructivism, particularly through Ivan Puni and Lissitzky, both of whom he knew when he lived in Berlin from 1921 to 1923. His appointment to the Bauhaus in the spring of 1923 to replace Itten signaled the shift away from Expressionism in the school's program that Gropius desired. Moholy-Nagy's interests in photography, typography and industrial design accorded with the growing emphasis on technical and utilitarian aspects of design at the Bauhaus. In addition to his activities in these fields, he continued to create works of fine art that reflected the influence of the Russian avant-garde. The precision

85. See Eva-Maria Triska, "Die Quadratbilder Paul Klees—ein Beispiel für das Verhältnis seiner Theorie zu seinem Werk" in Kunsthalle Köln, *Paul Klee: Das Werk der Jahre 1919-1933,* exh. cat., 1979, pp. 43-78.

86. See *The Thinking Eye,* vol. 1 of *Paul Klee Notebooks,* Jürg Spiller, ed., London and New York, 1961, pp. 421-429, 433-511; and Paul Klee, *Beiträge zur bildnerischen Formlehre,* Jürgen Glaesemer, ed., 2 vols., Basel and Stuttgart, 1979, facsimile vol., pp. 136-142, 153-190; transcription vol., pp. 73-75, 81-104.

87. Jim M. Jordan, "The Structure of Paul Klee's Art in the Twenties: From Cubism to Constructivism," *Arts Magazine,* vol. 52, Sept. 1977, esp. p. 155.

fig. 25
László Moholy-Nagy
D IV. 1922
Oil on canvas
Collection Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, George B. and Jenny R. Mathews Fund, 1973

of line and clarity of the simple geometric shapes in his works show that he espoused the technical aesthetic offered by compass and ruler, as it had been introduced by Rodchenko and developed by Lissitzky. His groupings of circles and half-circles, lines and bars float against white or, occasionally, black backgrounds, which simultaneously appear to be flat surfaces and infinite space (cat. nos. 137, 138; fig. 25). The formal exactitude of his art and the ways it differs from Kandinsky's despite certain shared vocabulary, are illuminated by Moholy's concept of construction, which was influenced by the Russians. According to Moholy, a thorough knowledge of the physical and perceptual properties involved in the work is required of the artist and a construction is ideally "predetermined at every point of its technical and intellectual relations."[88] Kandinsky's opposing view that construction is subordinate to composition allowed intuition a more important role in the creation of art, and he was subsequently to criticize the Constructivists for relying too much on reason and calculation in the use of geometry.[89]

Kandinsky's Art, 1923-1925

Thus, the Bauhaus provided a context in which a range of artistic points of view were allowed to flourish, within the parameters of a commitment to geometric forms and structural principles. Here, as elsewhere in Europe where abstract art was developing in the teens and twenties, it was believed that geometry provided a universal language. The goal of the Bauhaus was to formulate a theory of the visual elements that would constitute the common basis for practice in both art and design and permit collaborative work and the creation of an integrated design environment. The artists at the school contributed toward this end through their pedagogical and creative work. In this context Kandinsky was able not only to develop his theoretical ideas, but also his art. He accomplished this in 1923, in the months during which the preparations for the *Bauhaus Ausstellung* were taking place and when the influence of *De Stijl* and Constructivism began to be felt strongly at the school. At this time Kandinsky created a more consistently geometric abstract style, which clearly showed the elements he had absorbed from the Russian avant-garde while it maintained his personal commitment to richly complex pictorial composition. In a series of major works executed from February through July 1923, he consolidated the geometric tendencies that had been developing in his art from 1919 and brought to the fore the schematic construction and other theoretical principles he emphasized in his teaching at the school.

The major picture painted just prior to this sequence, *In the Black Circle* of January 1923 (cat. no. 143), shows irregular and mottled forms familiar in earlier works, but introduces the circle as a prominent motif: this shape was to play an important role in many of Kandinsky's works of the Bauhaus period. Here it appears as a geometric version of the irregular oval that bore the central imagery in the bordered pictures of the Russian years. The atmospheric depth provided by the black background and the modulated areas is in marked contrast to the two dimensionality of the key works

88. *Von Material zu Architektur,* Bauhausbücher 14, Munich, 1929; English translation, *The New Vision: From Material to Architecture,* New York, 1930, p. 59.

89. "Reflections on Abstract Art," Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 759.

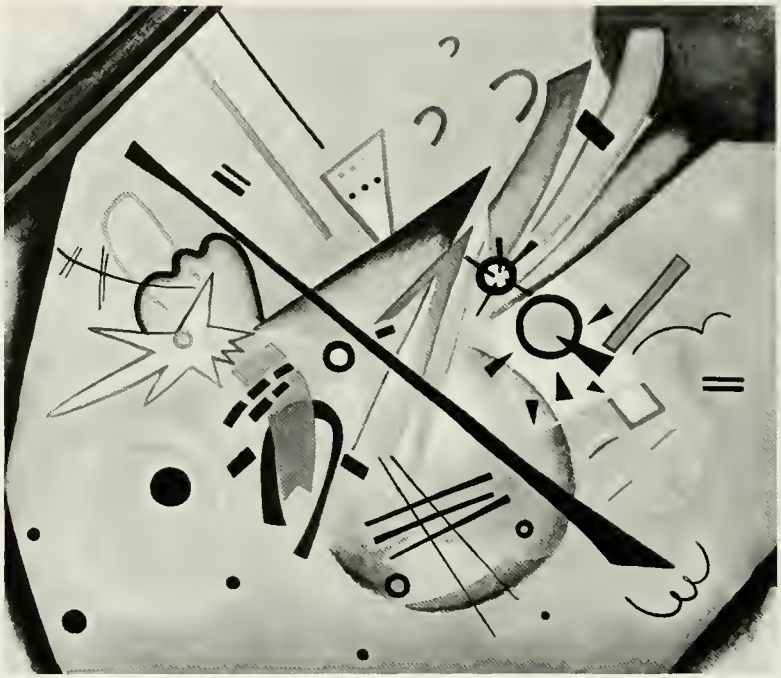


fig. 26
Vasily Kandinsky
On Gray. 1923
(HL 252)
Oil on canvas
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

that followed. A transition to these was provided by *On Gray* (fig. 26), a painting that recapitulated and developed the important picture of 1919, *White Oval (Black Border)* (fig. 5), in which Kandinsky had introduced clearer forms and structure. In *On Gray* he further regularized the forms and simplified the composition of the earlier painting and added numerous pure geometric elements. Kandinsky said his "cool period"—the more geometric style that culminated in 1923— began in 1919; therefore he must have consciously chosen to revise a work from that year and then paint his next picture, *On White* (cat. no. 144), in a mode closer to Suprematism than any other of his career. *On White*—with its crisply defined flat planes, overlapping triangular and trapezium shapes, its floating suspension on a white background, axial shifts and peripheral forms that seem to disperse—is clearly indebted to the work of Malevich and Popova. However, the multiplication of forms and inclusion of idiosyncratic shapes, as well as the building up of planes in many layers indicate that he appropriated the Russians' style to his personal idiom.

Complexity and diversity are taken to an extreme in the painting that followed, *Traversing Line,* 1923 (cat. no. 145), which contains a sequence of large shapes that underly the composition: the tan trapezium suggesting a square tilted and warped in space, the pale yellow triangle and the circle. These elementary forms, of course, were of central importance in Kandinsky's activities at the Bauhaus during this year and indicated his commitment to geometry, though his use of the trapezium for the square suggests that he was making a point about pictorial art and its spatial illusionism. This group of shapes had been used also by Russians such as Kliun. Other forms with which Kandinsky was concerned during the Bauhaus years appear

90. *Punkt und Linie zu Fläche,* Bauhausbücher 9, Munich, 1926, Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 603-608.

91. Peg Weiss has proposed in "Encounters and Transformations" in Guggenheim Museum, *Kandinsky in Munich,* pp. 30, 82, that the forms in this painting derive ultimately from those—such as the circle and diagonal lance—associated with the horseman St. George in works from the Munich period. This thesis is, in my opinion, unconvincing, especially in view of the absence of the dragon motif and the application of a different color to the circle—yellow rather than blue. (That blue is the suitable color for the circle in a transformation of the St. George motif is shown by the clearest early example, the blue ovoid form behind the horse and rider in *Painting with White Border.)* The crucial problem here is that the evidence

fig. 27
Vasily Kandinsky
Study for "Painting with White Border." 1913
Pencil on paper
Collection Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich

here: the grid rendered in perspective and the whiplash curve. These represent, respectively, movement into depth and movement on the surface of a more tensile and varied character, as the diagrams of complex curves in *Point and Line to Plane* indicate.[90] These two elements reflect Kandinsky's debts to both Constructivism and Jugendstil. The crisscrossing sets of converging lines in the lower right are also borrowed from Constructivism, from Rodchenko in particular, and the contradictory spatial readings they suggest play an important role in the succeeding paintings. Another major feature here is the use of long diagonal lines to link separate parts of the composition or create divergent axes. In these lines are realized on a grand scale the compositional diagrams of Kandinsky's late Munich period (for example, fig. 27) and the schematic constructions of the analytical drawings executed at the Bauhaus. *Traversing Line* is, indeed, a pivotal work, for it brings up to date elements from Kandinsky's artistic past and embodies aspects of his teaching. Its surfeit of forms, which includes the trapezium and circle bearing pictures within the picture, makes this a disconcerting and yet impressive work, one that was crucial to Kandinsky's development during his Weimar period.

In June and July 1923, shortly after *Traversing Line* was completed, Kandinsky painted *In the Black Square, Composition 8* and *Circles in a Circle* (cat. nos. 146, 147, 150). These three works are clearer in composition and somewhat simpler in their array of forms than *Traversing Line* and represent the culmination of the geometric tendency of the period. Basic shapes and straight and curved lines predominate in these paintings, and their black lines against white or light backgrounds maintain a schematic and rigorous quality. The large size and transparency of many of the forms and their open distribution across the picture plane give these compositions a monumentality and an expansiveness despite their relative flatness. Whereas certain abstract features of the series derive from Russian precedents, their vertically positioned triangles and planetary circles refer to landscape. In addition, in *Composition 8* the delicate modulation of the background from white to pale blue at the bottom and yellow at the top suggests atmospheric space. Nevertheless, the transparency of forms, their rigorous definition and floating quality maintain the abstract character of the works.

Clusters of lines and overlapping circles in the three canvases are strongly reminiscent of elements in Rodchenko's works, but these features have been integrated into the variety of other forms. Moreover, the trapezoidal white field of *In the Black Square* is Kandinsky's ultimate synthesis of that Suprematist shape and his own formulation of the pictures with borders. Here the narrowness of the border heightens the tension between the black square and trapezoid, rendering ambiguous the spatial reading; it is uncertain whether the white field lies in front or behind the black border. Finally, with its sharp oppositions of black and white and bright colors, *In the Black Square* shows the most dramatic contrasts of the series.[91]

Composition 8 was regarded by Kandinsky "as the high point of his postwar achievement," according to Will Grohmann, his principal contemporary biographer and critic.[92] Large in size and carefully planned, as

must be especially good to prove that the symbolic St. George motif occurs in the Bauhaus work, given Kandinsky's repeated advocacy of abstract art as well as the preponderance of abstract imagery in his pictures of the Weimar period in particular. Similarly dubious, it seems to me, is Weiss's interpretation of *Yellow-Red-Blue*, 1925, as combining a reference to a guardian figure—the two rectangles in the yellow portion of the work presumably recalling the guardian's sword and its hilt—and St. George and the dragon—the latter pair no longer opponents, but unaccountably nestled together as blue circle and complex curve, *Ibid.* Kandinsky's sequences and contrasts of abstract qualities and their psychological reverberations are thus read rather literally as symbols ultimately derived from narrative art.

92. Grohmann, p. 188.

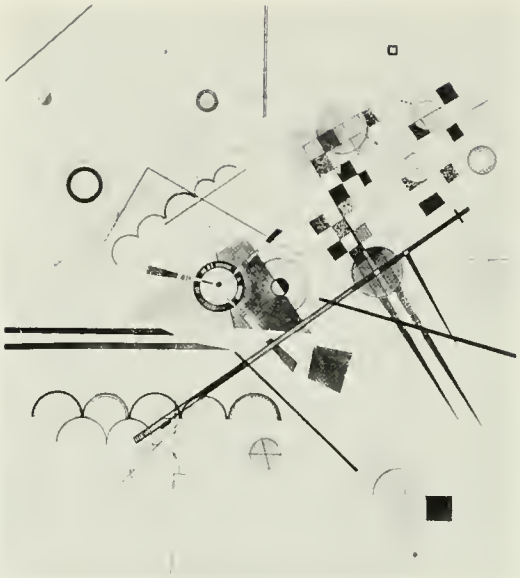


fig. 28
Vasily Kandinsky
Study for "Composition 8." 1923
Watercolor on paper
Collection Galleria Galatea, Turin

evidenced by the existence of a small squared drawing for the entire picture (cat. no.148) and a watercolor that closely anticipates the right side (fig. 28), the painting fulfills the criteria he had formulated during his Munich period for designating a work as a "Composition": "The expressions of feelings that have been forming within me . . . (. . . over a very long period of time), which, after the first preliminary sketches, I have slowly and almost pedantically examined and worked out."[93] *Composition 8* transforms the mountain and sky imagery of Kandinsky's earlier work into the abstract style of the years immediately following the Russian period.

The importance of *Composition 8* lies also in its embodiment of Kandinsky's theories. Its forms are predominantly angular and circular, representing what he considered "the two primary, most strongly contrasting plane figures," the triangle and circle.[94] Corresponding to the colors yellow and blue, these shapes possessed for him the polar qualities of sharpness, warmth and advancing and eccentric movement, versus coldness and retreating and concentric movement.[95] In addition, the triangle, when pointing upward as here, was characterized by stability and ascension, and the circle, by eccentric as well as concentric movement, both stability and instability, as well as freedom from gravity. As always for Kandinsky, these properties of forms were influenced by colors, warm colors advancing, expanding and rising, cool colors receding, contracting and descending. *Composition 8* offers a variety of combinations of colors and basic shapes, especially for the many circles. Thus one can witness these effects here, particularly the spatial ones, which are also influenced by the placement of the shapes in higher or lower positions within the composition. Furthermore, interactions of particular colors with surrounding or neighboring colors affect chromatic characteristics such as warmth and intensity, phenomena demonstrated by the rings or halos around many of the circles. These interrelationships among colors and

93. *On the Spiritual in Art,* Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 218. *Composition 8* is the only picture from the Russian and Bauhaus periods designated a "Composition," although Kandinsky originally gave this title to a painting of 1920; however he later changed its name to *Spitzes Schweben (Pointed Hovering,* HL 228). The fact that the new title was given in German indicates that the decision was made while he was at the Bauhaus, possibly when he was giving the title *Composition 8* to the new work.

94. *Point and Line to Plane,* Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 600.

95. Cf. Kandinsky's notes on the qualities of the basic shapes in his class notes, "Cours du Bauhaus" in Philippe Sers, ed., *Wassily Kandinsky: Ecrits complets,* Paris 1975, vol. 3, pp. 254-255 (class of Sept. 11, 1925).

forms were valued by Kandinsky for creating rich "contrapuntal" effects.[96]

Comparison of this series with pure nonobjective Constructivist works by artists such as Rodchenko and Moholy-Nagy shows great differences. Even at an abstract level, Kandinsky's space often conveys the feeling of landscape by means of overlapping planes and the placement of small forms near the top of the composition that suggests distance. The formal economy of the Constructivists' works maintains their character as direct presentations of pure geometry and, incidentally, prompted Kandinsky to designate them as "experiments" in the 1921 interview. Thus they are more straightforward and literal than Kandinsky's complex paintings, which incorporate not only illusionism but a hierarchy of forms and multiple relationships, including sets and series of forms and chromatic interactions. Even the works that are closest in style to Constructivism, such as *Circles in a Circle* from July 1923, illustrate these distinguishing characteristics. In *Circles in a Circle* there are an abundance of elements, a hierarchy of circles of different sizes and an illusion of aerial space, which is enhanced by the perspectival effect created by the intersecting colored bands.

Kandinsky's theoretical statements about composition elucidate the nature of his works from 1923. In *On the Spiritual in Art* he had discussed a kind of "complex composition," which he called "symphonic" and identified with his own recent paintings.[97] Concerning the basic structure of a composition and the interrelationship of the elements, he wrote, "One finds primitive geometric forms or a structure of simple lines serving the general movement. This general movement is repeated in the individual parts, and sometimes varied by means of individual lines or forms." Such an analysis is clearly applicable to paintings such as *Traversing Line* (cat. no. 145) and *Composition 8*. In writings from the Bauhaus period he linked content and composition, which he characterized as the "elements and construction . . . subordinated to a mysterious law of pulsation."[98] This expressive energy comes ultimately from the inherent forces or tensions of the elements, their psychological and perceptual effects. Accordingly, in *Point and Line to Plane* he stated: "The content of a work finds expression in composition, i.e., in the inwardly organized tensions necessary in this [particular] work."[99] It was to attain rich expressive effect, therefore, that Kandinsky utilized the complexity and variety of "symphonic" composition.

In *Composition 8* the expression is determined by elements such as the ascendant acute pink angle, the calmer obtuse blue angle and the "cosmic" cluster of circles glowing and pulsating in the upper left. Dramatic accents are supplied by the vibrant smaller circles, the one freely curving line and the skewed checkerboard fragments. A special note is provided by the combination of small but vivid shapes, near the top of the painting: a yellow triangle and the ring of a blue circle that touch. For Kandinsky the combination of triangle and circle creates the strongest and most evocative contrast, exemplifying the power of abstract forms and their interactions. In this instance, the choice of colors is dictated by his theory of correspondence, and thus enhances the polarity of the shapes. Though the generic landscape reference in *Composition 8* serves as a kind of framework for the painting, the essential

96. *On the Spiritual in Art*, Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 171, 178-179.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-218.

98. "Abstract Art," Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 516.

99. Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 548.

content is abstract. That Kandinsky meant to convey abstract ideas or feelings in his painting is indicated by his teaching and writings of the Bauhaus period. For example, he assigned his students a set of exercises in which combinations of the basic shapes create an expression of aggression when the triangle is dominant, of calm with the square dominant, and of interiorization or deepening with the circle dominant.[100] Similarly, in a statement of 1929 Kandinsky listed general affective qualities as "the basic character of the picture," maintaining that the artist "tries to achieve the clearest possible expression of this basic idea (e.g., dark, warm, very controlled, radiant, introverted, restrained, aggressive, 'disharmonious,' concealed, overpowering, etc.). This is what is called 'mood' . . . ."[101]

The importance of circles in the works of 1923 anticipates the dominant role they play in many pictures through the twenties, in a number of which, most notably *Several Circles* of 1926 (cat. no. 188), they constitute the sole motif.[102] By 1930 he was able to formulate verbally the range of meanings this shape could convey, a content of an abstract psychological or symbolic character, subject to the influence of the chromatic or formal treatment and context provided in the work. In a letter to Will Grohmann he wrote concerning the circle:

> *It is a link with the cosmic. But I use it above all formally . . . .*
> *Why does the circle fascinate me? It is:*
> *1. the most modest form, but asserts itself unconditionally,*
> *2. precise, but inexhaustibly variable,*
> *3. simultaneously stable and unstable,*
> *4. simultaneously loud and soft,*
> *5. a simple tension that carries countless tensions within it.*
> *The circle is the synthesis of the greatest oppositions. It combines the concentric and the eccentric in a single form, and in equilibrium. Of the three primary forms, it points most clearly to the fourth dimension.*[103]

Though painted seven years before these ideas were articulated, *Composition 8* and *Circles in a Circle* exemplify the use of the circle as a cosmic image and attest to the range of its possible variations. In the first the form appears within an abstract landscape context and in the second in a mandala-like format characterized by central focus, symmetry and an encompassing ring.

Kandinsky's works from the remainder of the Weimar period, which concluded in June 1925, basically continued the abstract style of 1923, though certain changes appear. These changes prompted the artist to remark in a letter to Grohmann of January 31, 1924, that he now departed often from his "cool period," which he here stated had begun in 1921. The chromatic richness of *Blue Painting* (fig. 16), embodied in the varying shades of blue in its background, represents a development away from the starker pictures with light grounds that preceded it and anticipates *In Blue* of the following year (cat. no. 156). In spite of its light background and schematic linear elements, *Yellow Accompaniment*, 1924 (cat. no. 152), carries this development further, in its dominant color relationship of the blue and violet cross-shape against

100. Sers, pp. 247, 250 (class of Jan. 26, 1926).

101. Kandinsky's answer to the questionnaire in Paul Plaut, *Die Psychologie der produktiven Persönlichkeit*, 1929, Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 739.

102. Rudenstine, *Guggenheim Museum Collection*, I, pp. 309-311, 323-325, reviews Kandinsky's use of the circle as a dominant motif, his statements concerning this shape and the related art-historical literature.

103. Kandinsky had prepared this statement so it could be used in Grohmann's 1930 monograph on him; *"Lieber Freund . . ." Künstler schreiben an Will Grohmann*, Karl Gutbrod, ed., Cologne, 1968, p. 56 (Oct. 12, 1930); English translation in Grohmann, 1958, pp. 187-188. As the rest of the statement makes clear, Kandinsky's assertion that he used the circle "above all formally" was not meant in a narrow sense, for he valued the "inner force" of this abstract form, as he said in his answer to Plaut's questionnaire. There he continued, "I love circles today in the same way that previously I loved, e.g., horses—perhaps even more, since I find in circles more inner possibilities, which is the reason why the circle has replaced the horse": Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 740. By this he did not mean that the circle retained from the Munich-period works the specific significance of the horse, that is, especially, its associations with St. George, who symbolized the conquest of the spiritual over the dragon of materialism. Kandinsky's statements on the circle should be read as proclaiming the eclipse not only of naturalism but also of iconography in any traditional sense by virtue of the capacity of geometric form to convey abstract, largely ineffable meanings. For the argument that the circle essentially represents a continuation of the horse motif rather than truly "replacing" such elements, see Weiss, 1979, pp. 128-132. Lindsay interpreted the symbolism of Kandinsky's use of such geometric forms more generally: "Les Thèmes de l'inconscient" in "Centenaire de Kandinsky," 1966, pp. 48 ff.

fig. 29
Vasily Kandinsky
Black Relationship. 1924
Watercolor on paper
Collection The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest

the yellow of the ground. Moreover, the density of overlaid planes, shapes and lines in *Yellow Accompaniment* is in marked contrast to the clarity of the more openly distributed forms in works such as *Composition 8*. This compacting of forms appears also in *One Center*, 1924 (cat. no. 154), whose concentric motif and curving lines and shapes shown against a dark background constitute a response to the radial arrangement and straight and angular elements in *Yellow Accompaniment*. Formal and chromatic polarities become the main themes of certain subsequent works. Unlike the oils of 1924, the watercolors *Black Relationship* (fig. 29) and *Elementary Effect* (cat. no. 155) have an almost didactic clarity and they embody simple oppositions: the single black circle versus a cluster of angular colored forms in the first, the ringed greenish yellow circle contrasted to the horizontal black bar in the second. Somewhat more complex formally and coloristically is the painting *Pointed and Round* of 1925 (cat. no. 157).

Pointed and Round and *Above and Left* (cat. no. 158), the picture that immediately followed it, as well as a number of other works from the first half of 1925, are particularly close to Kandinsky's theoretical formulations in *Point and Line to Plane*. In fact, this was the period just preceding the drafting of the manuscript, which he was to undertake in the summer and fall of the year, right after he moved to Dessau.[104] In 1923 Kandinsky had begun to rework the notes made in Goldach in 1914 and thus was involved with this project concurrent with his teaching and painting. He seems to have conceived the works from the last part of the Weimar period in terms of his theories, and the didactic character of some of them, therefore, can be attributed to this preoccupation. *Pointed and Round*, for instance, presents the elemental contrast between triangular and circular forms, elaborated by tapering lines and a complex free curving line. *Above and Left* reflects Kandinsky's complicated theories about the characteristics of different parts of the picture plane. He considered the lower right quadrant the heaviest, densest and most resistant at the picture's boundaries, while the upper left quadrant was the lightest and most diffuse.[105] Therefore, a strong contrast existed between them, as differentiated from the milder contrast between the lower left and upper right quadrants. A diagonal linking the two powerfully opposing corners, thus, was "unharmonic" and dramatic, whereas a diagonal connecting the other corners was "harmonic" and lyrical. In its composition *Above and Left* embodies this theory by including the dramatic diagonal from lower right to upper left as well as counter diagonals. Moreover, the two equilateral triangles represent the directions referred to in the title, the green one acting as an arrow indicating ascent, the yellow pointing left, "toward the far-away." Both directions connote freedom, according to *Point and Line to Plane*. Another work related to the book is *Black Triangle* (cat. no. 159); in fact, a very faithful diagram of the painting entitled "Inner Relationship between complex of straight lines and curve" is used as an illustration for the treatise.[106] In both the drawing and the painting, the interconnected lines are like the students' analytical drawings, and the image, in which the geometric forms comprise a standing figure, anticipates the abstract signs and figures of the later twenties.

104. Kandinsky dated the foreword to the book "Weimar 1923, Dessau 1926," the latter being the year the book was published, Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 530. In letters to Grohmann he reported his progress with the writing of the manuscript: by July 16, 1925, he had begun, and by Nov. 3 the work was completed. These letters are in the Grohmann-Archiv, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, and copies are in the library of The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

105. *Point and Line to Plane*, Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 639-655.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 696, pl. 23.

By virtue of its size and complexity, the culminating picture of 1925 is *Yellow-Red-Blue* (cat. no. 196). Its richly varied color and dense accumulation of large-scale forms are very different from the more severe organization and color and the open linear network of *Composition 8*. The programmatic title refers to the color sequence Kandinsky presented in *Point and Line to Plane* and embodied in the painting as well as in numerous student exercises for his courses.[107] While circles play a major role here, along with square and rectangular forms, there are also prominent irregular shapes, such as the monumental undulating black line at the right. The variety of forms and the range of modulated color, which in the background creates atmospheric spatial effects, give this imposing work the richness characteristic of the later Weimar period.

III. KANDINSKY AT THE BAUHAUS IN DESSAU AND BERLIN, 1925-1933

Forced to leave Weimar in mid-1925 by the actions of the right-wing majority in the Thuringian state parliament, the Bauhaus moved to the industrial city of Dessau. Here the school reached its apogee, its modernist approach to design symbolized by its famous building (cat. no. 163), designed by Gropius and completed in 1926. A paradigmatic Bauhaus design product was executed here, Marcel Breuer's tubular metal armchair (cat. no. 176): its modern material, potential for mass production, lightness, cubic shape and openness epitomize the school's aesthetic and functionalist ideals. Kandinsky was the first person to purchase an example of the chair; hence the naming of the model the "Wassily" chair when it was again produced commercially decades later.[108]

During the Dessau period Kandinsky wrote *Point and Line to Plane*, which appeared in the Bauhaus Book series, as well as a number of articles, three of which were published in the journal *Bauhaus*. He systematized his teaching, and from this time have survived well over two hundred student exercises, in addition to his own pedagogical notes.[109] This was also a very productive period for Kandinsky's art. After he applied in his painting the abstract principles articulated in *Point and Line to Plane* and in his teaching, he developed a diverse set of pictorial images and modes. Some of these represent particular responses to the Bauhaus context and to his colleagues, most notably Klee.

Kandinsky stayed at the Bauhaus through its closing in Dessau on October 1, 1932, which was decreed by the National Socialist majority on the city legislature. He then moved with the school to Berlin, where it reopened as a private institution in mid-October, remaining there until July 1933, when it was closed for good by the Nazis following their assumption of power. Kandinsky's tenure, therefore, lasted through the directorships of Gropius, of architect Hannes Meyer, who succeeded him from 1928 to 1930, and of Mies van der Rohe for the remainder of the school's existence. After the move to Dessau the Bauhaus was oriented primarily toward practical and

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 578-579.

108. Nina Kandinsky, p. 119.

109. For detailed discussion of Kandinsky's several courses and of the student exercises see my book *Kandinsky—Unterricht*, which also contains a catalogue of the exercises in the collection of the Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin. Kandinsky's notes are published, in the sequence in which they were found in his files rather than arranged more strictly by course or by chronology, in Sers, pp. 157-391.

fig. 30
Marcel Breuer
Chair for Kandinsky's Dessau Dining Room. 1926
Wood, metal and black fabric
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest
(cat. no. 175)

technical goals. Yet shortly after Meyer came to the school in the spring of 1927 to institute an architecture department, Kandinsky began to teach his Free Painting seminar.[110] In the context of an institution devoted to applied art and design, courses of this kind seemed anomalous, but for Kandinsky and his like-minded colleagues, they provided a balance to technical concerns. As he expressed this position, "The student should receive, more than professional training, a broadened synthesizing education. Ideally he should be endowed not only as a specialist but as a new person."[111] In addition to Kandinsky's course, Klee taught a painting class and Joost Schmidt a sculpture class, all of which were optional. That interest in the fine arts was strong at the Bauhaus is indicated by the exhibitions held at the school and elsewhere which included paintings by students and faculty alike. Kandinsky even remarked, somewhat hyperbolically, "Everyone paints at the Bauhaus."[112]

Kandinsky's Apartment, Bauhaus Masters' House

In addition to the Bauhaus building itself, Gropius designed a house for the director and three double houses for Bauhaus masters. In mid-June 1926 Kandinsky and his wife moved into one of these houses, which they shared with Klee and his family. The other houses were occupied by Moholy-Nagy and Feininger, Georg Muche and Schlemmer and their families. In the furnishing and color treatment of his half of the three-story building, Kandinsky adhered to a certain extent to the aesthetic of the Bauhaus, and also asserted his own point of view. He and his wife utilized their antiques and traditional furniture, except in the dining room, where furniture designed by Breuer was used (cat. nos. 167-169, 175). The table, with its cantilevered circular top, square base and tubular metal legs and stand, was a typical Breuer design, an example of which was also used in Moholy's dining room. The chairs (see fig. 39), on the other hand, were unique and were designed following Kandinsky's instructions.[113] Though awkward as chair designs, they are interesting for their compositions comprised of the five circles of the round white-rimmed black seats and the white disks atop the tubular legs. The black of the end wall and the cabinet continues the black-white color scheme. The wall color was probably chosen as a setting for one of his own paintings: *On White* and *Three Sounds* can be seen in surviving photographs of the room (for example, cat. nos. 167, 168); and black in fact was the background against which Kandinsky felt colors seem particularly vivid. Moreover, as he said to his class, the black-white combination provided an effect of clarity and conciseness, which he believed expressed the modern spirit.[114]

His use of different colors for different planes in the apartment interiors reflected the Bauhaus approach to the use of color in architecture, a point of view to which he contributed while master of the Wall-Painting Workshop in Weimar.[115] Alfred Arndt's *Color Design for the Exterior of The Masters' Houses, Dessau,* 1926 (cat. no. 178), exemplifies the principle of distinguishing the planes and elements of architectural exteriors in order to create a three-dimensional composition. Under the influence of *De Stijl* and of the German architect Bruno Taut, this concept was put into practice by the

110. Meyer's appointment began Apr. 1, 1927. Kandinsky's course began May 16 of that year: Sers, pp. 370 ff.

111. "And, Some Remarks on Synthetic Art" ("Und, Einiges über synthetische Kunst," *110,* 1927), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 715, note. I have given a more literal translation here, however.

112. Regarding the students' work see Peter Hahn, "Zur Einführung" and catalogue in Galleria del Levante, Munich, *Junge Maler am Bauhaus,* exh. cat., 1979, n.p. Kandinsky's remark was quoted by Grohmann in "Art into Architecture: The Bauhaus Ethos," *Apollo,* vol. lxxvi, Mar. 1962, p. 37.

113. Nina Kandinsky, p. 119.

114. Sers, p. 327 (class of May 18, 1928).

115. I have discussed the Bauhaus approach to color in architecture in *Color Theories,* chap. 4, and in High Museum, *Bauhaus Color,* pp. 38-39.

Bauhaus Wall-Painting Workshop, but in the new buildings in Dessau it was applied only in interiors. Gropius, like many of his contemporaries among International Style architects, preferred the plastic unity created by all-white exteriors. A design by the student Vladas Svipas and Kandinsky for the latter's studio in the Masters' House, apparently never executed, is a good example of Bauhaus wall-painting: the walls and other features of the interior are differentiated and yet interrelated by two shades of blue, several tones of gray, and black and white (cat. no. 177). Kandinsky's living room was painted according to his design. The walls were light pink, except for the short wall behind the divan, which was ivory white, the doors were black, the ceiling, gray, and a niche was covered with goldleaf. The softness and immateriality of the pink contrasted with the coldness of the black and white of the adjacent dining room. The gray contributed a lightness and the gold a sense of weight.[116] Through these elements he wished to achieve a complex interrelationship of qualities similar to those in his paintings and ultimately deriving from the synaesthetic effects of the colors.

Thus Kandinsky's primary goal in the color design of interiors was not the formal articulation of the architecture nor the creation of spatial effects. He wanted this design to produce an expressive and dematerializing effect and to create thereby a synthetic work of art, the realization of which remained one of his fundamental ideals. His concept of wall-painting was characteristic of his response to the prevailing attitude at the Bauhaus. Rather than embracing utilitarian or functionalist goals, he insisted on the validity not only of teaching artistic principles but also of applying them to the practical realm so as to transform it into a vehicle for aesthetic and expressive aims. He also expressed this point of view in the way he analyzed utilitarian objects in class. For instance, he compared Breuer's tubular armchair, Mies's Weissenhof armchair (cat. no. 305) and a traditional club armchair, explaining that the older chair expressed the downward pull of gravity, while the modern ones counteracted this feeling and achieved a sense of an upward movement. The Mies chair especially had embodied this vertical character for Kandinsky, transforming the "material" nature of the seated position into an "abstract" quality. In this way he asserted his opposition to the primacy of material, technical and social concerns during the period of Meyer's directorship, when discussions of this sort were frequently introduced by Kandinsky in his classes.[117]

Point and Line to Plane

Kandinsky's Bauhaus Book was his principal contribution to the realization of a "science of art," a goal he had long projected in his writings and which Gropius and others at the school sought as well. "Scientific" in the sense of the German word *Wissenschaft,* which does not necessarily entail the strict verification required in the natural sciences and can be applied to humanistic studies, this text is systematic in the logical, progressive development of its material.[118] Kandinsky's concepts were based on his own careful observations and his readings in perceptual psychology and artistic theory from the nine-

116. Sers, p. 327, and Nina Kandinsky, pp. 118-119.

117. *Ibid.,* p. 332 (class of May 18, 1928). Kandinsky's opposition to Meyer eventually went beyond his advocating the precedence of artistic values over socially relevant practical ends. He apparently played a part in the decision of the Dessau City Council to dismiss Meyer as director on the grounds that he encouraged left-wing politics at the school: see Poling, *Kandinsky—Unterricht,* p. 148, note 87.

118. Cf. Marcel Franciscono, "Paul Klee in the Bauhaus: The Artist as Lawgiver," *Arts Magazine,* vol. lii, Sept. 1977, pp. 122-127.

teenth and early twentieth centuries. As he did in his teaching, he included in the book examples from the natural sciences and technology. The use of scientific sources, of course, was intended to help insure the validity of the principles for universal application. Further, Kandinsky wished to integrate the various intellectual and artistic disciplines as called for in his concept of synthesis.[119] In carefully categorizing the formal elements and drawing on a broad range of examples from the arts and sciences, as well as in its logical sequence and tone of certainty, the book presents its material as basic laws leading to a theory of composition. Kandinsky's role as the "artist as lawgiver" is the subject of Schlemmer's satire in the collage he made as part of a spoof on his Bauhaus colleagues (cat. no. 179).[120]

The basic progression from point to line to plane, which Klee also presented in his Bauhaus Book *Pedagogical Sketchbook (Pädagogisches Skizzenbuch)*, 1925, Kandinsky had outlined already in writings of 1919 and 1920.[121] It is rooted in the study of geometry and could, for example, be found in one of the much-read *Popular Scientific Lectures* by the famous late nineteenth-century physiologist Hermann von Helmholtz, originally published in 1876.[122] In discussing the axioms of geometry, Helmholtz had cited the propositions, "that a point in moving describes a line, and that a line in moving describes a surface."[123] The suggestion of animation in such statements must have appealed to Kandinsky and Klee. Indeed, energy, movement and rhythm were qualities that Kandinsky believed enlivened the pictorial elements and thus determined the nature of artistic composition. A central feature of *Point and Line to Plane*, accordingly, is the discussion of these forces. Kandinsky's sources for this conception of visual phenomena lay in perceptual psychology, particularly the Munich psychologist Theodor Lipps's concept of kinetic empathy and his eye-movement theory of perception. Of further relevance was August Endell's application of Lipps's ideas to artistic questions and his formulation of ideas of tension and tempo, which characterized lines and linear complexes.[124]

Designed by Herbert Bayer, the book is illustrated with many diagrams and drawings by Kandinsky and a number of photographs in addition to illustrations taken from scientific publications. Even a small selection of the illustrations indicates the richness of his investigation of the basic elements and their ramifications. For example, he noted that the point can have different shapes and sizes and can be multiplied and he illustrated the latter phenomenon by examples from nature—a telescopic view of the "Nebula in Hercules" and a microscopic enlargement of the "Formation of nitrite."[125] Utilizing his notion of the expressive resonance, or "inner sound," of visual elements, he wrote concerning groups of points:

> *Since a point is also in itself a complex unity (its size + its shape), it may easily be imagined what a gale of sound develops as a result of still-further accumulation of points on the plane—even when such points are identical—and how this gale intensifies if, in the course of development, points of differing, ever increasing dissimilarity in size and shape are strewn upon the surface.*[126]

119. See Kandinsky's chart in "And, Some Remarks on Synthetic Art," Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 709.

120. Schlemmer's collage was part of his humorous presentation 9 *Jahre Bauhaus*, at the party given on the occasion of Gropius's departure from the Bauhaus: Karin von Maur in Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, *Klee und Kandinsky, Erinnerung an eine Künstlerfreundschaft*, exh. cat., 1979, pp. 88-90.

121. "Little Articles on Big Questions: ... On Line," Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 424-425; and "Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture," Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 459.

122. Marianne L. Teuber, "New Aspects of Paul Klee's Bauhaus Style" in Des Moines Arts Center, *Paul Klee: Paintings and Watercolors from the Bauhaus Years, 1921-1931*, exh. cat., 1973, p. 9.

123. "Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der geometrischen Axiome," *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge*, Braunschweig, 1876, vol. III, pp. 21 ff; reissue of original English translation of 1881, "On the Origin and Significance of Geometrical Axioms," *Popular Scientific Lectures*, New York, 1962, p. 227, see also p. 225.

124. Regarding the influence of Lipps and Endell, see Marianne L. Teuber, "*Blue Night* by Paul Klee" in *Vision and Artifact*, Mary Henle, ed., New York, 1976, p. 143; and Weiss, 1979, pp. 34 ff, esp. pp. 36-37, 120, note 73.

125. *Point and Line to Plane*, Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 555-556, figs. 5, 6.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 554.

fig. 31
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing for Point and Line to Plane, "Curve—freely undulating." 1925
Ink on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

fig. 32
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing for Point and Line to Plane, "Curve—freely undulating." 1925
Ink on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

A number of the illustrations drawn by Kandinsky exemplify these ideas, including the figure "Centralized complex of free points" (cat. no. 181). This image in particular shows the phenomenon of texture, which Kandinsky maintained depended on three factors: the character of the surface, the nature of the implement, and "the manner of application, which may be loose, compact, stippled, spray-like, etc. . . ."[127]

As his own art indicates, Kandinsky was interested in the variety of types of lines, and he considered straight, angled, zigzag, curved and wavy lines in his text, as well as their combinations and relationship to the picture plane. In some of the illustrations he included small arrows to indicate the multiple forces or tensions inherent in lines.[128] Regarding complex, "free" curves, which had an important role in his paintings, Kandinsky wrote about the uneven alternating forces that generated their forms. In his examples of freely undulating curves, variations are created by thickening the line, producing the effect of emphasis or stress (figs. 31-33).

Kandinsky treated the "Picture Plane" in the third section of the book, briefly discussing illusions of three-dimensionality and devoting much of his attention to the varying nature of the different parts of the picture plane or surface. As mentioned above, he believed that the four quadrants of the picture were different in their inherent weight and that the four sides possessed varying degrees of resistance (fig. 34).[129] The diagonal axes of the picture, therefore, have distinct characteristics. The plates illustrating groups of points are good examples of these qualities. All three emphasize the "unharmonic" or "dramatic" diagonal, from lower right to upper left, but also indicate the opposing "harmonic" or "lyrical" diagonal (cat. nos. 183-185). He also considered qualities of weight and space: the sense of gravity and nearness of the lower part and the right side, versus the lightness and distance of the upper and left parts of the picture plane. Kandinsky's feeling that the placement of a "heavy weight" in the light area increases its tension is illustrated by the plate "Point: 9 Ascending points" *(Drawing No. I),* where the largest dot is in the upper left (cat. no. 185). These drawings, of course, illu-

127. *Ibid.,* pp. 566-568, and fig. 12.
128. *Ibid.,* pp. 597-598, figs. 34, 35, and pp. 602-604, figs. 39-42.
129. *Ibid.,* p. 646, fig. 77, and pp. 651-652, figs. 82-84.

fig. 33
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing for Point and Line to Plane, "Spontaneous emphasis within a free curve." 1925
Ink on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

fig. 34
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing for Point and Line to Plane, "Varying resistance of the four sides of a square." 1925
Ink on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

minate Kandinsky's paintings with points and circles, as well as recall the influential works of Rodchenko. The range of expression made possible by the different groupings, placements and densities of the points is indicated by the titles of the plates, which are in addition to "Point: 9 Ascending points," "Cool tension toward center" and "Progressive dissolution."

Kandinsky's Art, 1926-1927

Many of the works from the period following the completion of *Point and Line to Plane* take as their theme the expressive contrast or consonance of the elements discussed in the book. Examples include *Tension in Red* and *Calm* of 1926 and *Line-Spot* and *Hard but Soft*, both 1927 (cat. nos. 192, 295, 194, 195). The relationship of angular and curved forms, both simple and complex in shape, dominates these images, even where one aspect of the polarity prevails. Among the most important pictures of the first years in Dessau are those in which the circle is the principal or the sole motif.[130] The largest and probably the finest of these is *Several Circles* (cat. no. 188); this and its smaller preliminary version were the first paintings of 1926 and thus of the Dessau period.[131] This planetary image synthesizes elements of the preceding works concerned with this motif: the large circle drawing together smaller ones in *Circles in a Circle* (cat. no. 150); the diagonal movement and placement of a large circle toward the upper left in both *Drawing No. 1*, 1923 (cat. no. 151), and *Drawing No. 1*, 1925; the "cool" horizontal sequence of circles in "Cool tension toward center"; and the counter-diagonal moving toward the upper right in several of the drawings. These groupings and diagonals create effects not only of ascent but also of both coalescence and

130. Grohmann, 1958, pp. 204 ff; Rudenstine, *Costakis Collection*, pp. 323 ff.

131. *Sketch for Several Circles (Entwurf zu Einige Kreise*, HL 322), Collection New Orleans Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Edgar B. Stern.

dispersal. Placing the forms against a modulated background of dark grays and black provides an atmospheric quality and the association of a night sky. In this context the colors glow and assume varying positions in an illusionary space, depending on their brightness, chromatic temperature, size and position. Kandinsky described these phenomena in *Point and Line to Plane* as the "annihilation" of the picture plane, whereby "the elements 'hover' in space, although it has no precise limits (especially as regards depth)":

> *the way the formal elements advance and recede extends the picture plane forward (toward the spectator) and backward into depth (away from the spectator) so that the picture plane is pulled in both directions like an accordion. Color elements possess this power in extreme measure.*[132]

Accent in Pink, 1926 (cat. no. 190), was the next picture but one executed after *Several Circles* and, though smaller, is in many ways an interesting companion to it. It belongs to the group of works in which the circle predominates but other forms appear, and this painting includes squares and a warped diamond-shape that functions in a manner similar to that of the quadrilateral fields first used in the Russian pictures. Quite different effects must have been intended in these two paintings from early 1926. For Kandinsky in *Several Circles* the dominant blue circle, reinforced by the use of a large amount of black and the square format, would have signified coolness and repose; whereas in *Accent in Pink* the pink circle, dark yellow diamond-shape and vertical format would have connoted warmth and activity, though these effects were mitigated by cooler, somber elements. The axes of the two paintings are also different: in *Several Circles* the dominant movement is toward the top left. In *Accent in Pink*, however, though the larger number of circles gravitates toward the upper left, the major compositional direction is determined by the pink circle moving toward the upper right; this movement creates a "harmonic" or "lyric" diagonal, which, according to Kandinsky produces a feeling of nearness in contrast to the sense of distance in the larger work.[133]

Finally, *Accent in Pink* exhibits key features of Kandinsky's color theory. For example, he demonstrates his proposition that violet and blue are the two major color oppositions for yellow by contrasting the yellow diamond with the dark violet corners which contain a good deal of blue. The compositional use of color polarities contributes to the complex equilibrium created here: near the center are focal contrasts of black and white, while complementary oppositions of green and red or pink balance the lower and upper parts of the picture. The resonant color and cosmic reference provided by the image of the circle in *Several Circles* and *Accent in Pink* as well as the variety of abstract imagery in subsequent paintings—as exemplified by the angular forms and vivid hues of *Tension in Red* (cat. no. 192) or the lively complexity of *Sharp Hardness* (cat. no. 193)—show that the broad range and richness Kandinsky had developed in his works of 1924 and 1925 continued to characterize the paintings of the early Dessau years.

132. Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 648.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 642.

Color Theory

The student exercises done for Kandinsky's courses are the largest group of such material that survives from the Bauhaus. Well over two hundred of these works have been collected by the Bauhaus-Archiv in West Berlin. Almost all are color studies or analytical drawings, but there are a number of free studies and paintings as well; virtually all are from the Dessau period. The color exercises especially indicate the systematic nature of Kandinsky's teaching. Kandinsky assigned an elaborate set of exercises so that his students would become directly involved with color phenomena and principles, rather than merely attending a series of theoretical lectures. Participatory education of this sort was central to the Bauhaus program. Students benefited not only from executing the studies but also from the discussion of their works in class. The exercises were regularly shown in exhibitions of the Preliminary Course, and moreover, a group of them were included in at least one public exhibition, *10 Jahre Bauhaus, 1920 bis 1930,* which opened in Dessau at the beginning of 1930 and traveled to Essen and other cities.[134] This probably accounts for the careful construction and execution and explicit labeling of many of the examples from 1929-30 by students such as Eugen Batz, Friedly Kessinger-Petitpierre, Karl Klode, Hans Thiemann and Bella Ullmann-Broner. In general the surviving exercises are well executed and effective demonstrations of the visual phenomena and artistic principles involved. Their qualities of clarity and logical presentation are ultimately derived from the charts and diagrams used in scientific and theoretical sources. However, the forcefulness and scale of many of the works, the inventiveness and subtlety of others, and certain of the formats, such as those based on the grid, clearly show that they are products of a school of modern design.

The majority of the color studies concerns four major subjects: color systems and sequences, the correspondence of color and form, color interrelationships and color and space. Kandinsky frequently used the principles involved in these categories in his works from the Bauhaus years. A programmatic statement of this sort is the major painting from the months preceding the move to Dessau, *Yellow-Red-Blue,* 1925 (cat. no. 196). This work embodies the systematic ordering of colors by the color circles and gradation sequences Kandinsky taught in his classes. More than his fellow Bauhaus masters Itten and Klee, who also taught color theory, Kandinsky placed great emphasis on the three primary colors and black and white. Though this emphasis arose largely because of his interest in the basic elements and their role in his correspondence theory, it also reflects Kandinsky's adherence to Goethe's color theory, to which he referred often in his teaching notes. The sequence in *Yellow-Red-Blue,* in the charts Kandinsky used in *Point and Line to Plane* and in class assignments places yellow and blue at opposite poles. Yellow and blue for Goethe formed the elemental opposition, which he called the plus-minus polarity, and this concept was adopted by Kandinsky in his synaesthetic view of these hues. He quoted Goethe on this polarity: yellow "is the color nearest the light. It . . . always carries with it

134. Clippings of reviews of this exhibition are in the Albers Scrapbook at the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, P/A1/7.

the nature of brightness . . ."; while blue "always brings something of darkness with it . . ." and provides "a feeling of cold, . . . shade."[135] The areas of white near the yellow rectangle at the left of the painting and the prominent black forms on the right near the blue circle represent these affinities, which are shown clearly in the color gradation charts.

For Goethe red was the bridge between the poles and originates from them by the principle of "increase," which he called the "primal phenomenon." He based this concept on his observations of the effects of turbid media, such as the atmosphere. When light is seen through such a semitransparent medium, it appears yellow or orange or even red as the medium becomes denser, a phenomenon exemplified by sunsets. The blue or lavender appearance of distant mountains demonstrates the opposite effect, when darkness is seen through the turbid medium, which itself is illuminated. From both poles, therefore, there is a tendency toward red, through yellow and orange on the one hand, and through blue and violet on the other. Thus red was conceived as the union of the opposites.[136] In *Yellow-Red-Blue,* orange forms near the yellow, red in the center and violet overlapping the red and blue forms create this sequence, which is also found in student exercises (see cat. no. 199). The progression is not merely a basic way of ordering colors but an abstract embodiment of elemental opposition and mediation.

In the assignments done by the students and the diagrams in *Point and Line to Plane,* the color sequences show gradations of lightness value and chromatic temperature, from light and warm to dark and cool. They also, therefore, represent the spatial progression, as indicated by the stepped color-scale and its designation as "a slow, natural slide from top to bottom"[137] (see cat. no. 198). Ascent and descent, advancing and receding movements are correlated in the color scales, which thus incorporate a number of the major principles of Kandinsky's color theory. Other sequences include the secondary colors orange and violet and two hues of red, warm and cool, to show its wide range (see cat. no. 199). In addition, some studies show the placement of green parallel to red in its position in the value and temperature gradation (see cat. no. 200). Many of Kandinsky's paintings utilize these sequences, either in complete or partial form, and sometimes in broken or transposed versions. Examples are seen in *Into the Dark,* 1928, and *Cool Condensation,* 1930 (cat. nos. 217, 201).

Color circles also demonstrate the fundamental order of the hues. Kandinsky used two types in his teaching, the traditional six-part circle and the more unusual four-part diagram (fig. 35). The first of these presents the familiar placement of the secondary colors between the primaries so that the complementary pairs lie on the diameters, showing their opposition: yellow-violet, orange-blue and red-green (cat. no. 197). The four-part circle was derived from the concepts of the psychologist Ewald Hering and shows the oppositions yellow-blue and red-green.[138] Based on his theory that these four hues are the primary chromatic sensations, this pairing corroborated Goethe's concept of the yellow-blue polarity and thus must have appealed to Kandinsky. In *Yellow-Red-Blue* he seems to have intended a reconciliation of the two complementaries of yellow, for while blue and yellow are paired

135. Sers, p. 198; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Zur Farbenlehre,* "Didaktischer Teil," originally published 1810; Kandinsky quoted phrases from paragraphs 765-766, 778, 781-782. (The division of Goethe's treatise into numbered paragraphs makes it possible to consult any available edition using the designated numbers.)

136. Goethe, paragraph 794; quoted by Kandinsky, Sers, p. 119, see also p. 219; Goethe discussed "increase" *(Steigerung),* paragraphs 517 ff.

137. Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 579-580.

138. Ewald Hering, *Grundzüge der Lehre vom Lichtsinne,* Berlin, 1920; "Die Reihe der Farbtöne, pp. 40 ff; English translation, *Outlines of a Theory of the Light Sense,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, "The Series of Color Hues," pp. 41 ff.

here, violet borders the left side and part of the bottom of the picture, the domain of yellow.

Kandinsky expanded the theory of correspondences to include intermediary hues and shapes as he had suggested in his Inkhuk Program.[139] He asked his students to choose geometric forms, sometimes composite ones, that could accord with the secondary colors (cat. no. 203). In *Point and Line to Plane* Kandinsky elaborated this theory by correlating the color scale to a sequence from obtuse to acute angles, so that blue and violet correspond to obtuse angles, red to the right angle, and orange and yellow to acute angles (see cat. no. 204).[140] Student exercises apply this general scheme to the varying bends of a complex curve (cat. nos. 206, 207). In his own paintings Kandinsky only occasionally employed the prescribed combinations of colors and forms in a systematic way. *Composition 8* (cat. no. 147) provides some examples of these combinations in the large angles, which are colored blue and warm pink, and in some of the circles and triangles. In fact, he readily accepted deviant combinations, for he believed that "the incompatibility of a form and a color" can offer "new possibilities and thus also harmony."[141] Nevertheless, a few paintings from the beginning of the Dessau period embody the correspondence theory quite directly. *Three Sounds,* 1926 (cat. no. 202), presents parallel sequences of color and shapes in its triad of triangles: the acute triangle is yellow, the equilateral one, red, and the more open one with a curved side is blue. *Tension in Red* and *Calm,* both 1926 (cat. nos. 192, 295), follow the general outlines of the theory to achieve their overall expressive effects and contrast in their relationships of color and forms as indicated by the titles. The active intensity of the first is created by the angular forms and warm red pentagonal ground plane, with contrast provided by the predominantly blue and greenish blue circular forms. The repose conveyed by *Calm* derives from the dominant blue circles and use of blue in the generally gray background and also from other curving forms and dark, cool colors.

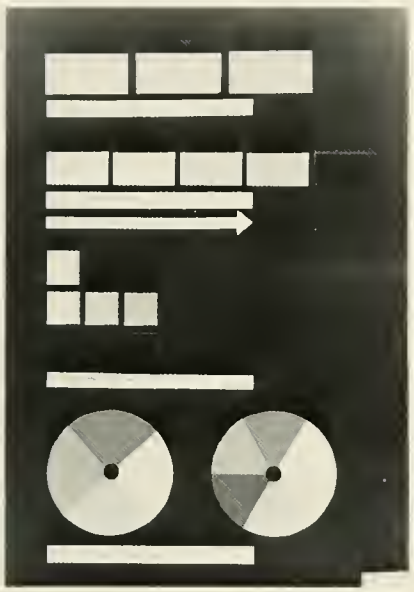


fig. 35
Hans Thiemann
Color Scales and Color Circles. ca. 1930
Tempera, collage and typewritten texts on board
Collection Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin

Color interrelationships were central to Kandinsky's concept of pictorial art and of the compositional process. In order to study their effects, he used a variety of geometric formats, including the square-in-square and grid arrangements first introduced at the Bauhaus in Itten's Preliminary Course. Occasionally Kandinsky's own works resemble color studies, specifically those in which he places simple shapes of different hues against uniform backgrounds in order to focus on the character of the individual colors and the subtle phenomena of chromatic interactions (cat. nos. 208, 209). The more complex geometric works of the late Dessau and Berlin years, epitomized by *Balance Pink* of 1933 (cat. no. 311), show interrelationships by repeating shapes of the same hue in different groupings, sizes and proportions on various backgrounds. Alterations in the appearance of colors are caused by simultaneous contrast, a phenomenon whereby a color shifts toward the opposite or complementary of its neighbor in terms of both value and hue. For example, red may appear lighter and warmer when juxtaposed to blue, that is, closer to blue's complementary, orange. The color contrast studies in the square-in-square format demonstrate these effects by switching the super-

139. Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 461.
140. *Ibid.,* II, pp. 588 ff.
141. *On the Spiritual in Art,* Lindsay/Vergo, I, p. 163. I have translated the phrases more literally.

imposed and background colors (cat. no. 211). Student exercises on this theme must have strongly influenced Albers in his approach to the teaching of color, which he developed later, after he emigrated to the United States. In fact, the notion of the "relativity" of color and form that was central to Albers's art and pedagogy had been clearly articulated by Kandinsky at various stages of his career. Kandinsky returned to this aspect of the nature of artistic elements in 1939, stating, " 'Absolute' means do not exist in painting; its means are relative only. . . . It is from relativity that the unlimited means and inexhaustible richness of painting arise."[142] This attitude led him to conceive the organizing of a pictorial composition as a complex process of adjusting the multiple interrelationships of the visual elements, which he called "living things."[143]

One of Kandinsky's class assignments specifically concerned principles for the compositional use of color. This exercise utilized a format based on a nine-square grid that was further subdivided into additional rectangles or squares.[144] The caption and diagram incorporated into the example by Thiemann indicate the concepts the students were asked to examine: *Accenting the Center; Balance, Above and Below* (cat. no. 213). The black-white contrast in the center creates a focal emphasis, while the opposing or complementary colors in the upper and lower parts of the design relate to each other visually across the surface and create equilibrium by completing each other. As already mentioned, *Accent in Pink* embodies principles of the pictorial usage of contrasts, as does *Yellow-Red-Blue* in its left-right disposition of the yellow-blue polarity and its juxtaposition of opposites as accents. The investigation of the phenomena of contrast in a number of the assignments indicates their importance to Kandinsky. He valued these phenomena for both their visual liveliness and expressive effect and, indeed, he considered them to be crucial for modern painting and to supercede traditional harmony in significance.

As preceding discussions of individual paintings indicate, the creation of spatial effects was another kind of chromatic interrelationship that interested Kandinsky. Two watercolors exemplify the principles involved: the contrast of warm and cool colors in *Unstable*, 1924 (cat. no. 216), shown in its yellow and blue circles and use of orange and violet; and the sequence of hues from warm to cool in *Into the Dark*, 1928 (cat. no. 217). This sequence is demonstrated in the latter work in the progression from yellow and rose in the lower area through violet in the middle to the cooler green and dark blue toward the top. The movement into depth resulting from this progression is counteracted by the repetition of a set of triangular shapes that does not decrease in size. Thus spatial ambiguity is created by the contradiction of chromatic perspective by the relative flatness of the graphic element. Lightness value as well as temperature participates in the production of chromatic effects, as seen in the color scales Kandinsky assigned as exercises. This is shown in the studies using concentric circles, where a tunnel-like illusion involves recession from the white outer band through yellow, red and blue to the central black circle (see cat. no. 219). Other exercises investigate the yellow-blue contrast as the chief polarity in both temperature and value and

142. "The Value of a Concrete Work" (*XX^e Siècle*, 1939; English edition *XXth Century*, 1939), Lindsay/Vergo II, p. 823. I have used the more literal equivalent of *relativité*, the word that appears in the French version, which Kandinsky himself wrote.

143. "Reflections on Abstract Art," Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 758.

144. Sers, pp. 182, 271 (class of Feb. 1, 1926), 282 (class of July 13, 1927).

thus the most active spatially. The caption for Thiemann's study (cat. no. 218) explains the effects:

> *Yellow forms on a blue ground and blue forms on a yellow ground . . . . The yellow forms step forward, appear larger (eccentric), whereas the blue seems to lie behind the actual ground plane. In the second instance, the yellow seems to lie in front of the actual ground; the blue forms step back and appear smaller.*

Changes in size as well as spatial position occur due to the phenomenon known as irradiation, whereby a bright object seems to expand beyond its boundaries into the surrounding field. From sources such as Goethe and von Helmholtz, this was well known as a perceptual effect.[145] The eccentric movement of colors Kandinsky discussed can be explained by irradiation, and other writers he knew—the psychologist Lipps and the proponent of chromotherapy A. Osborne Eaves—had elaborated on the concentric as well as eccentric movement in colors.[146] This aspect of Kandinsky's color theory, therefore, shows the range of materials he had absorbed and adapted, a range that extended from Goethe and perceptual psychology to occult science.

Kandinsky was well aware that the interrelationships of shape, size, placement, and the exact hue and shade of the colors often prevent the normative spatial effects from occurring in paintings. His interest in such complexities is reflected in his assignments concerning the reversal of the "natural" spatial effects of colors, in which, for instance, yellow may be placed behind blue (see cat. no. 221). [147] In certain exercises, the shapes, colored according to the correspondence theory, overlap each other causing ambiguous spatial readings: it is unclear which plane lies in front of which, and some appear to be fused on the same level (see cat. no. 220). That Kandinsky stressed the multiple and contradictory spatial effects created by colors and forms is attested to by the recollection of a painting student, who commented on his class:

> *He has brought along a great variety of rectangles, squares, disks, and triangles in various colors, which he holds in front of us to test and to build our visual perception. In one combination, for instance, yellow is in front of blue in back. If I add this black, what happens then? Etc. etc. For the painter this is a never-tiring game, magic, and even torture, when one, for instance, "cannot get something to the front."*[148]

These formal and chromatic interactions are among the "contrapuntal" effects Kandinsky valued in painting.[149]

Analytical Drawing and Free Studies

While Kandinsky's teaching of color theory as well as his analysis of form in *Point and Line to Plane* primarily concerned the elements and the visual effects produced through their juxtaposition and grouping, in analytical drawing he emphasized structural principles that could be applied to pictorial composition. More complex and systematic in approach than the

145. Goethe, paragraphs 16, 88, 90, 91 and pl. IIa; Helmholtz, "Optisches über Malerei," *Populäre wissenschaftliche Vorträge*, pp. 85-87; English translation "On the Relation of Optics to Painting," *Popular Scientific Lectures*, pp. 275-277; see Poling, *Kandinsky—Unterricht*, p. 53 and notes 39, 40.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 54 and notes 41, 42, citing Teuber, "*Blue Night* by Paul Klee," p. 143, and Sixten Ringbom, *The Sounding Cosmos*, Abo, Finland, 1970, pp. 86-87 and fig. 23.

147. Sers, p. 232 (end of 1929-30 semester). In formal design some of the exercises strongly resemble Kliun's *Suprematism: 3 Color Composition*, ca. 1917 (fig. 11), and Udaltsova's *Untitled*, ca. 1918-20 (cat. no. 59)

148. Ursula Diederich Schuh, "In Kandinsky's Classroom" in Eckhard Neumann, ed., *Bauhaus and Bauhaus People*, New York, 1970, pp. 161-162. Painted paper shapes used by Kandinsky in his teaching have survived in the collection of Philippe Sers and in the Kandinsky Bequest at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

149. *On the Spiritual in Art*, Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 171, 195.

examples from the Weimar period (see figs. 20-23), the analytical drawings from 1926 and after involve a three-stage process of simplification, analysis and transformation of the formal characteristics and construction of the still-life arrangements set up by the class. The general purposes of the enterprise were explained by Kandinsky:

> *The teaching of drawing at the Bauhaus is an education in looking, precise observation, and the precise representation not of the external appearance of an object, but of constructive elements, the laws that govern the forces (=tensions) that can be discovered in given objects, and of their logical construction.*[150]

In the first stage of the process the essential forms of the individual parts of the subject were perceived and subordinated to a precisely depicted "simple over-all form." The drawings of this stage, accordingly, are highly simplified renderings of the still-life setup in which the objects are usually identifiable (cat. nos. 222, 223). Executed with line alone, the representations emphasize geometric shapes and convey little or no sense of depth, so as to maintain their clarity. Many of the studies include a small cypher-like diagram that interprets "the whole construction by means of the most concise possible schema," as Kandinsky instructed.[151] Often this graphic abbreviation stresses the horizontal, vertical and diagonal orientation of the forms and how these axes interrelate. Such summarizing devices are like more geometric versions of the diagrammatic sketches Kandinsky made for the basic compositional relationships of paintings from the late Munich years and also resemble some of the simplified diagrams Itten used in his analyses of old-master paintings. This reduction to essentials prepared the way for the second stage. Here, in a procedure that was central to the analysis, a structural network was perceived in the arrangement of the forms.[152] Through lines of varying color or thickness and sometimes dotted lines, the principal and secondary tensions were indicated and the major contours and the axes of the forms were emphasized. Charlotte Voepel-Neujahr's drawing based on a circular grindstone in its stand exemplifies this phase of the analysis (cat. no. 226). By winter 1929-30 the students began to employ tracing-paper overlays to show the different stages. An example of the use of overlays is provided by Thiemann's drawing, where different colored inks clarify the distinctions (cat. no. 224). On the base sheet is a first-stage representation in blue ink of an arrangement that includes a three-legged stool, which is circumscribed by a triangle drawn in green, indicating the "principal tension" identified in the caption. This, a second-stage element, is elaborated on the overlay by the complex network of red ink-lines projected from and interconnecting the parts of the still life. These represent the "secondary tensions" generated in part from what Kandinsky called the "focal points" of the construction.[153]

Freer and more abstract translations of the tensions and structural relations found in the still lifes were presented in the third stage of the analysis. Here, the objects were "completely transformed into tensions between forces," rendered by complexes of lines, and sometimes, as in the second stage, the intrinsic "larger structure is made visible by . . . dotted lines."[154]

150. "Analytical Drawing" ("Analytisches Zeichnen," *Bauhaus*, 1928), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 729.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 728.

152. Itten also used geometric networks in his analyses of old masters, and Kandinsky used diagrams of earlier paintings in his classes. Itten's teacher Hölzel influenced these practices; see Poling, *Kandinsky—Unterricht*, pp. 128-129 and notes 44, 45. Regarding Hölzel's early relevance to Kandinsky, see Weiss, 1979, pp. 40 ff.

153. "Analytical Drawing," Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 729.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 727.

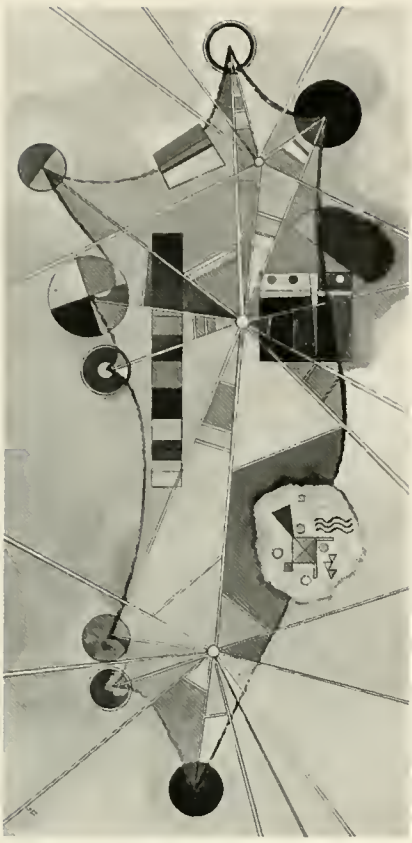


fig. 36
Vasily Kandinsky
Fixed Points. 1929
Oil on board
Present whereabouts unknown

In the developed exercises of about 1930, the top or third overlay often shows a highly simplified diagram that is like an enlarged version of a schema but emphasizes dramatic movement. The dynamic red S-curve with diagonal spiked ends in Bella Ullmann-Broner's drawing based on a bicycle (cat. no. 225) shows the degree to which these studies convey a sense of their subject's overall form and inherent energy. The expressive character of such drawings may be traced to Itten's rhythm studies and aspects of his old-master analyses, as well as to the impulsive quality of Kandinsky's early compositional diagrams. They also reveal the influence of the theories of energy in visual forms articulated by Lipps and Endell. In the mid-twenties Kandinsky produced simplified drawings comparable to the third-stage schemata: these were analyses, based on photographs, of the movements of the modern dancer Gret Palucca that translated the key contours and axes of the body into dramatic lines (cat. no. 320, see p. 266).

Because they are highly abstract, the third-stage analytical drawings could readily serve as the basis of pictorial compositions. Their clear structure, sense of overall form and division into primary and secondary axes and areas could be pictorialized by the addition of color (see cat. no. 229). Indeed, Kandinsky encouraged the use of the principles of analytical drawing in his painting classes.[155] This derivation is apparent in paintings of quite different styles executed for the class, such as Hermann Röseler's geometricized still lifes (see cat. no. 232), and Karl Klode's canvas (featuring an abstract image that resembles a schemata and floats in front of a shallow, shelf-like space [cat. no. 233]). Kandinsky's ultimate goal in teaching analytical drawing was to impart basic structural laws that could be applied in pictorial composition: principles of equilibrium, parallel construction and the use of major contrasts. In applying these principles, the graphic features of the analytical drawings could be utilized: the large, overall form, the horizontal, vertical and diagonal axes and the geometric networks with their nodal or focal points.[156] In Kandinsky's own art the character of the analytical drawings is discernible not only in the schematic quality of many of the early Bauhaus works, but more explicitly in paintings such as *Black Triangle* of 1925 (cat. no. 159) and *Fixed Points* of 1929 (fig. 36). Images of geometric structures and abstract figures, discussed below, often reflect the networks and schemata of the drawings. Thus, as his color theory was reflected in his painting, so there was a reciprocal relationship between Kandinsky's teaching of analytical drawing and his painting.

"Pictures at an Exhibition" and the Bauhaus Theater

Theater was for Kandinsky the ultimate synthetic art, ideally uniting the visual arts, music, dance and literature. Since his Munich years he had held this view, which was derived from the Romantics and Richard Wagner, and in that early period he had written several works for the stage, including *The Yellow Sound*, as well as the essay "On Stage Composition" for the *Blaue Reiter* almanac.[157] However, he had no direct involvement with the Bauhaus Stage, which was directed by Schlemmer. In the publications of the school,

155. Sers, p. 374 (winter semester 1927-28).
156. *Ibid.*, pp. 162 (Sept. 27, 1926), 271 (Feb. 1, 1926).
157. "Über Bühnenkomposition" and *Der Gelbe Klang, Der Blaue Reiter,* Munich, 1912, Lindsay/Vergo, I, pp. 257-265, 267-283.

on the other hand, Kandinsky presented his ideas concerning theater. His article "Abstract Synthesis on the Stage" appeared in the book published for the 1923 *Bauhaus Ausstellung* and a portion of his stage play *Violet* was included in the Bauhaus journal in 1927.[158] This work, originally written in 1914, was announced as a forthcoming publication in the series of Bauhaus Books, though it never appeared. [159] Then, in 1928 the manager of the Friedrich-Theater in Dessau, Georg von Hartmann, invited Kandinsky to design a staged production of Modest Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition.* This was the only time in his career that he was able to realize his dream of creating a synthetic stage work.

The development of a modern, non-narrative performance art by the Bauhaus Stage offered much that Kandinsky must have appreciated and much that influenced him. In 1922 and 1923 Schlemmer introduced elements that contributed to the abstract, antinaturalistic character of the new theater: costumes made up of geometric components that often obscured parts of the body, mechanical props and the use of colored settings to create expressive effects.[160] (Colored settings had been envisioned much earlier by Kandinsky for *The Yellow Sound.*[161]) Schlemmer's *Triadic Ballet* (see cat. no. 241), as he described it in *The Theater of the Bauhaus,* consisted of:

> *. . . three parts which form a structure of stylized dance scenes, developing from the humorous to the serious. The first is a gay burlesque with lemon-yellow drop curtains. The second, ceremonious and solemn, is on a rose-colored stage. And the third is a mystical fantasy on a black stage.*[162]

The abstract and mechanical props and devices as well as the staging techniques used in the Bauhaus theater undoubtedly gave Kandinsky ideas for his production. Students made significant contributions to the development of experimental theatrical practices. An example is the *Mechanical Ballet* devised by students and performed in 1923 in which abstract figures assembled from geometric cutouts were carried across the stage by concealed dancers.[163] Working independently, beginning in 1922, Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack developed abstract light-play compositions that featured moving colored lights projected through templates onto a screen accompanied by music. On one occasion, in early 1925, a performance by Hirschfeld-Mack directly followed a lecture by Kandinsky on "The Synthetic Idea of the Bauhaus," as though to illustrate it.[164] Andrew Weininger's abstract mechanical stage pieces from about 1926 and 1927 (cat. nos. 243-245) are especially relevant to Kandinsky. Most noteworthy are Weininger's colored stage wings and suspended colored strips that moved vertically, horizontally, forward and back, or rotated. These elements created a stage environment like a constantly changing three-dimensional abstract painting.

Kandinsky's design for the production of *Pictures at an Exhibition* was an ambitious one that made the visual performance equal to the music and at the same time responded to the changes in musical tempo and mood. He divided the score into sixteen scenes, including the introductory and intermediary *Promenade* sections as well as the ten *Pictures.* For these he designed

158. "Über die abstrakte Bühnensynthese," *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar, 1919-1933,* Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 504-507; "Aus 'Violett,' romantisches Bühnenstück von Kandinsky," *Bauhaus,* 1927, Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 719-721.

159. Prospectus for the Bauhaus Books, 1927, in Wingler, p. 130.

160. Schlemmer reported that Kandinsky not only supported his work with the Bauhaus Stage but felt that Schlemmer had realized many of his own ideas for theater: letter of Sept. 8, 1929, to Otto Meyer in *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer,* Tut Schlemmer, ed., Middletown, Connecticut, 1972, p. 248.

161. Weiss, 1979, chap. IX, has shown the early influence of the *Münchner Künstlertheater (Munich Artists' Theater),* with its innovative use of colored light, on Kandinsky's ideas concerning abstract theater and in particular his conception of *The Yellow Sound.*

162. Oskar Schlemmer, ed., *Die Bühne im Bauhaus,* Bauhausbücher 4, Munich, 1925. Essays by Farkas Molnár, László Moholy-Nagy and Schlemmer; English translation, Walter Gropius, ed., *The Theater of the Bauhaus,* Middletown, Connecticut, 1961, p. 34. Such expressive use of color would have accounted in part for Kandinsky's belief that his own ideas were realized in Schlemmer's work.

163. This was staged during *Bauhauswoche* as part of the activities in the opening days of the large *Bauhaus Ausstellung* of 1923 and was created by Kurt Schmidt with other students: Wingler, pp. 366-367.

164. Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack, *Farbenlichtspiele, Wesen, Ziele, Kritiken,* Weimar, 1925, pp. 12-22; see also Wingler, pp. 370-371.

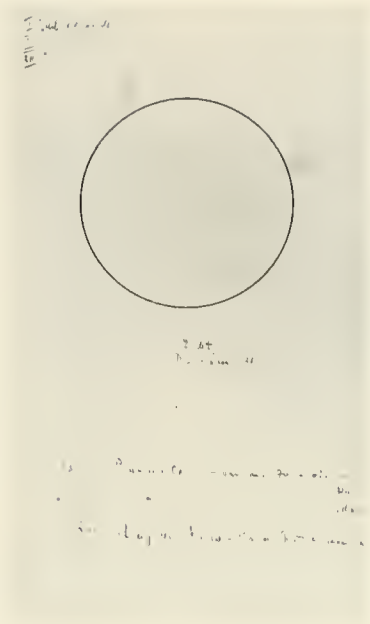


fig. 37
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing for Scenes I, III and XVI of Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition." 1928
Ink and pencil on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

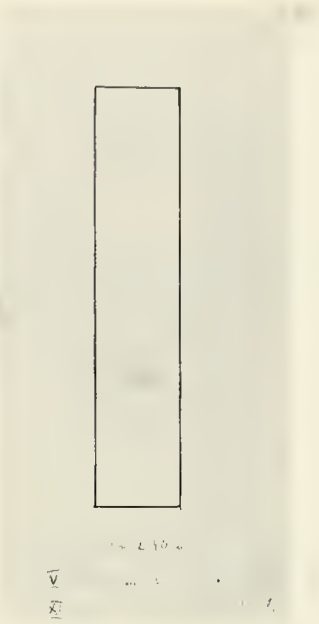


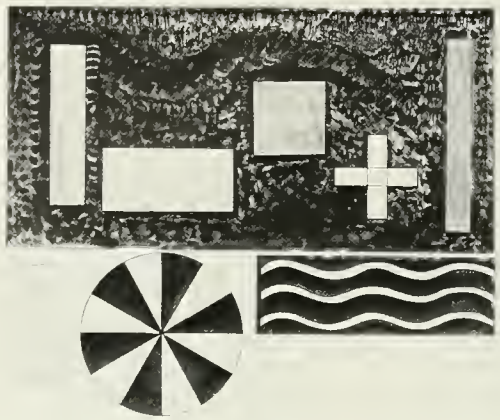
fig. 38
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing for Scenes V and XI of Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition." 1928
Ink and pencil on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

backdrops, props that were suspended or moved across the stage, costumes for one of the scenes and lighting. Abstract shapes predominated in the images but representational elements also played an important role, for example, in *The Marketplace in Limoges* and *The Great Gate of Kiev* (cat. nos. 235, 239). In other scenes abstract elements produced architectural associations, as in Kandinsky's paintings of this period. Kandinsky asserted, however, that except for the two scenes in which dancers appeared, "the entire setting was 'abstract.' " His use of quotation marks suggests a reference to "the abstract stage," indicating the kind of production in which the stage elements themselves create the non-narrative performance, as in a number of Bauhaus theatrical works. In addition, he explained, the scenes he created were not strictly "programmatic"; they were like his characterization of the music, which did not "depict" the original pictures but rendered Mussorgsky's impressions in "purely musical form." Kandinsky declared that he "used forms that swam before [his] eyes on listening to the music," rather than attempting to illustrate the music in an exact way.[165]

As production assistant for the theater, Paul Klee's son Felix helped Kandinsky and made an annotated copy of the musical score. This fascinating document records the cues for the lighting and the movement of the backdrops and props and thus reveals that the static images in the watercolor designs were actually made up of separate elements that moved during the performance.[166] The simplest scenes were four of the *Promenade* sections, in two of which a disk measuring two meters in diameter (fig. 37) was lowered slowly in front of the black plush curtain and illuminated in red or blue. In the other two scenes a two-meter-high white rectangle (fig. 38) simply traversed the stage. *Scene VII, Bydlo* (fig. 39) featured a more complex use of basic geometric shapes. Here eight elements, most of which were

165. "Pictures at an Exhibition" ("Modest Mussorgsky: 'Bilder einer Ausstellung,' " *Das Kunstblatt,* 1930), Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 750. Another source concerning the performance is Ludwig Grote, "Bühnenkomposition von Kandinsky," *110: Internationale Revue,* vol. II, no. 13, 1928, pp. 4-5, which includes a reproduction of a photograph showing the two dancers flanking the backdrop in *The Marketplace in Limoges* scene.

166. This score is in the Kandinsky Bequest at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.



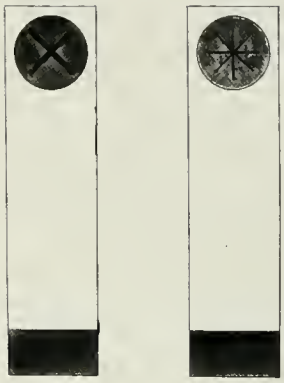


fig. 39
Vasily Kandinsky
Scene VII, Bydlo. 1928
Stage set for Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*
Gouache on paper
Collection Theatermuseum der Universität Köln

fig. 40
Vasily Kandinsky
Scene X, Samuel Goldenberg and Schmuyle. 1928
Stage set for Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*
Ink and pencil on paper
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

rectangular, made from reflective colored and silver paper appeared; as they crossed the stage, each colored shape was illuminated by a light of a dissimilar hue. The circle with black and white pie-shaped sections was rolled across the stage, suggesting the great wheel of the Polish cart that gives this scene its title. The two dancers in the production served quite different functions in the scenes in which they participated. In *Scene XII, The Marketplace in Limoges* (cat. no. 235), they were costumed naturalistically and stood on or near the small pedestals at the sides of the backdrop bearing a map image, presumably gesticulating to indicate the haggling described in the program. In *Scene X, Samuel Goldenberg and Schmuyle* (fig. 40), on the other hand, each stood behind a vertical rectangle of transparent material on which their silhouettes were projected by backlighting. Circles in these props at times were lit from the front while they rotated at different speeds, evoking the conversation of the two protagonists.

Kandinsky conceived other imaginative uses of lighting, for example, in *Scenes VIII* and *IX, Promenade* and *Ballet of Unhatched Chickens,* in which flashlights were directed along wavy lines on the two-meter-square backdrop. In *Scene XV, The Hut of Baba Yaga* (cat. no. 238) the central portion of the set was at first concealed by a black cover, while hand-held spotlights positioned behind the scenery illuminated the various patterns of dots and lines cut into its left and right sides. When the central image, the hut of the witch of Russian folklore, was revealed, the clockface glowed with a yellow backlight while the single hand rotated. Among the most dramatic scenes must have been those in which the images were built up gradually by assembling the component elements before the audience's eyes, as, for example, in *Scene XIII, The Catacombs* and *The Great Gate of Kiev,* the final scene (*XVI*) (cat. nos. 237, 239, 240). The latter began with the side elements and twelve props representing abstract figures, to which were added successively the arch, the towered Russian city and the backdrop, each lowered slowly from above. At the end these were raised, the lighting became a strong red and then was completely extinguished and the transparent disk used at the beginning of

the performance was lowered. Quickly this was illuminated at full strength from behind and the lights finally were extinguished once more. By turn dramatic, comical and mysterious, Kandinsky's production encompassed a wide range of expressive and visual effects. The flat forms and black background in conjunction with the lighting created an irreal space, similar to that in his paintings, according to the contemporary account of Ludwig Grote.[167] Kandinsky united pictorial, theatrical and musical elements in this production and thus achieved his goal of creating a synthetic work, which extended his painting into a magical realm of spatial and temporal dimensions.

Pictorial Themes, Late 1920s and Early 1930s

In the latter years of the Bauhaus period chronological development does not play a major role in Kandinsky's artistic output; instead there is a diversification of imagery in the recurrent use of several pictorial modes and motifs: architectonic structures, regular geometric shapes and arrangements, illusions of space, abstract figures and signs, and organic forms. The paintings are mostly small or of medium size compared to the major works of the preceding periods, which reinforces the sense that Kandinsky was working out a variety of pictorial ideas concurrently.[168] This diversity in part represents a response to his Bauhaus colleagues, the environment at the school and his association with the *Blaue Vier (Blue Four)* group in which he participated with Klee, Feininger and Alexej Jawlensky. He was especially close to Klee during the Dessau years—their relationship was strengthened because they shared a Masters' House—and Klee's art influenced him in a number of ways.[169] Albers's work bears comparison with Kandinsky's with regard to a few specific motifs. However, only a more general relationship exists between the work of Kandinsky and the partial abstraction of Feininger and Jawlensky. Their work shows the continuing importance of geometry in an art rooted in Expressionism; morever, they shared with Kandinsky and Klee a belief in the expressive and intuitive aspects of art. This common philosophy allowed the four to join together in a group despite their many stylistic dissimilarities. Though it was formed in the spring of 1924 by Galka Scheyer for the purposes of exhibitions and commercial representation in the United States, the *Blaue Vier* was given one important exhibition in Germany, in October 1929 at the Galerie Ferdinand Möller in Berlin. Scheyer's return to Germany in the spring of 1928 for a stay of several months, her renewed contacts with the artists and the arrangements for the Berlin exhibition coincided with the emergence of certain parallels in the work of the members.[170]

Kandinsky's imagery of structures, geometric shapes and arrangements, and space reflected tendencies at the Bauhaus and the Constructivist movement in Germany. The architectural and technological orientation of the later Bauhaus, particularly in evidence after the architecture department was instituted under Meyer in the spring of 1927, prompted him to create images of structures made up of simple geometric elements. Whether the reference was to technical constructions or to the human form, his statement, like

167. "Bühnenkomposition," p. 5.

168. In a letter of Sept. 26, 1932, Kandinsky mentioned to Katherine Dreier that for the most part he had been painting small pictures but had painted a few larger ones during 1932.

169. The changing relationship between the two artists is the subject of Beeke Sell Tower's *Klee and Kandinsky in Munich and at the Bauhaus*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1981.

170. Jan Stedman, "Galka Scheyer" in Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena, *The Blue Four Galka Scheyer Collection*, n. d., p. 13.

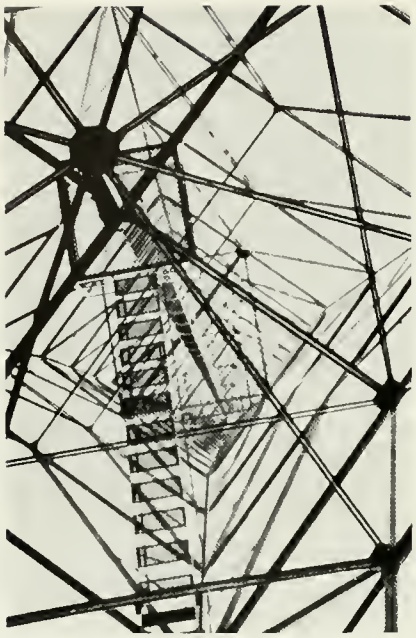


fig. 41
László Moholy-Nagy
Berlin Radio Tower, seen from below
Photograph
Figure 68 in *Point and Line to Plane*, 1926, see cat. no. 321

Klee's in comparable works of the same period, was one of artistic independence from utilitarian ends.[171] During the years of Meyer's directorship, in fact, Kandinsky frequently discussed the relationship of functionalism and art in a course on "Artistic Creation" he taught for fourth-semester students.[172] Using an approach similar to that involved in his analysis of the visual and expressive qualities of modern chairs, mentioned above, he discussed examples of architecture. He cited a Mies van der Rohe skyscraper project for the "spiritual" effect of its verticality and dematerialization of the material.[173] He also compared the Gothic cathedral and a modern factory building, stating that these exemplify a contrast between vertical and horizontal "tensions" and varying qualities of light and axial arrangement; these characteristics produced different aesthetic and psychological effects.[174] Ultimately, Kandinsky's view was that artistic criteria were pertinent to functional designs and indeed were confirmed by successful examples of such projects. His abstract analysis of utilitarian structures predated these pedagogical discussions. In *Point and Line to Plane* he had described the Eiffel Tower as an "early attempt to create a particularly tall building out of lines" and included a photograph by Moholy-Nagy of the Berlin Radio Tower (fig. 41) as well as another picture of electric power-line pylons. He wrote, "The joints and screws are points in these linear constructions. These are line-point constructions . . . in space."[175] Kandinsky's perception of such structures as networks of lines and points of intersection relates both to the analytical drawing exercises and to the paintings under consideration.

In fact, in a watercolor (cat. no. 252) Kandinsky quite literally depicts the image of a pylon, abstracting its strutwork in the adjacent form. However, allusions are freer in other works, where precarious vertical masts or ladders are suggested by the lines and geometric shapes. In some examples the constructions are completely abstract, but the vertical orientation and linkage of the lines provide the generic reference to structures. Finally, a teetering balance of diagonals is sometimes used to evoke the tension and dynamism inherent in the building up of elements, thus making the analogy between architectonic and pictorial composition. The major painting conveying this idea, *On Points* of 1928 (cat. no. 247), offers a parallel to architectural examples emphasizing upward movement that Kandinsky discussed in class. In this class he referred to pylons that touch the ground on only one point, as well as to Ivan Leonidov's project of 1927 for the Lenin Institute, which included a spherical structure resting on a point.[176] Kandinsky's hovering and dematerialized structural images contrast with Feininger's more earth-bound depictions of medieval churches. Feininger's abstraction from actual buildings differs essentially from Kandinsky's synthesis of basic geometric elements. Klee's insubstantial, floating and delicately balanced imaginary structures are much more relevant to Kandinsky's imagery of engineering structures. For Kandinsky this pictorial theme combined personal artistic invention with a reference to modernity, expressed through the spatial openness and apparent weightlessness of the constructions.

At Dessau the Bauhaus artists continued to explore geometry and its ordering principles. In the late twenties and early thirties Kandinsky often

171. This point was made by O. K. Werckmeister in "Paul Klee's Pictorial Architecture at the Bauhaus," lecture given at Emory University, Atlanta, Oct. 9, 1980.

172. The course was taught from spring 1928 to early 1930: Sers, pp. 274-278, 321-370; see Poling, *Kandinsky—Unterricht*, pp. 35-36.

173. Sers, p. 369 (class of Sept. 21, 1928).

174. *Ibid.*, pp. 353 (class of Mar. 1, 1929), 369.

175. Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 621, 623-625.

176. Sers, pp. 349-351 ("Au sujet du 8e cours," probably June 22, 1928).

fig. 42
Vasily Kandinsky
Lightly Touching. 1931
(HL 561)
Oil on cardboard
The Sidney and Harriet Janis Collection, Gift to The Museum of Modern Art, New York

based his pictures on additive assemblages of squares or triangles arranged in groups, stacks or overlapping series. He produced a few compositions of stark pictorial logic in which a single dominant triangle was placed in the center of the canvas and oriented to the main axis of the picture (see cat. no. 266). Kandinsky assigned color studies using grid formats to explore contrast relationships, and in some of his own watercolors he employed this structure to display subtler ranges of color. In these, as in Klee's works that use the grid as a vehicle to convey rich chromatic effects, geometry is manipulated to enhance the sense of expansion and spatial play, thus contributing to the feeling of immeasurability that is characteristic of color. *Thirteen Rectangles* of 1930 (cat. no. 257), one of Kandinsky's most impressive pictures based on rectangles, shows an overlapping sequence that creates an illusion of semi-transparent planes. The spatial positions of these planes are made ambiguous by contradictions of superimposition and color temperature. The "dramatic" diagonal, extending from lower right to upper left, helps structure the composition.

Another picture from 1930 that explores rectangular forms is *White on Black* (cat. no. 264), one of three paintings Kandinsky executed with the palette restricted to black and white. The work's visual energy depends in part on this stark contrast, an energy that prompted Kandinsky to speak of the inherent color in this relationship.[177] The optical effects here resemble those explored by Albers in his flashed glass paintings (see cat. no. 263), which Kandinsky admired.[178] However, the variations in size and visual rhythm and the slightly diagonal contours in *White on Black* differ markedly from the stricter geometry in Albers's grid-based works. Kandinsky's conception of the movement in his composition is revealed by the schematic drawing for the painting (cat. no. 265), which is similar to his students' analytical drawings. Particularly surprising are the curves that course through the structure of horizontal and vertical lines—evidence of his feeling for the "living" energy in formal relationships, as opposed to the static quality of overly rigid applications of geometry.

Kandinsky demonstrated compositional arrangements in class with sets of geometric shapes cut out of paper.[179] This aspect of his teaching is reflected in the stacked arrangements of triangles that appear in a number of his paintings. The precarious balancing of such elements is seen in *Lightly Touching* of 1931 (fig. 42). A larger-scale image that presents a more dynamic sense of balance is *Gray* (cat. no. 268), from the beginning of the same year. The reference to a fulcrum or seesaw and the equilibrium between simple geometric shapes in this picture recalls Klee's *Daringly Poised* of 1930 (cat. no. 267). These works indicate that incipient movement and visual tension remain key features of Kandinsky's use of regular geometric elements. The logical arrangements of rectangular and triangular forms continued to characterize and indeed dominated the major works of his last years in Germany.

Spatial illusions and their contradiction continued to fascinate Kandinsky during his later Bauhaus period, and he utilized a wide range of devices to create these effects. Examples include the superimposition of shapes and chromatic tensions of *Thirteen Rectangles,* and the suggestion of a three-

177. Extract from a letter published in the catalogue of the exhibition *Erich Mendelsohn—Wassily Kandinsky—Arno Breker,* Staatliches Museum, Saarbrücken, 1931, Lindsay/Vergo, II, p. 858.

178. Kandinsky praised these works by Albers in a letter of May 29, 1932, to Grohmann.

179. Small uncolored shapes of this sort have survived in Sers's collection and in the Kandinsky Bequest at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. The envelope containing the examples in Sers's possession is marked *"II. Semester,"* designating the course in which he focused on the subject of composition.

fig. 43
Vasily Kandinsky
Sky Blue. 1940
(HL 673)
Oil on canvas
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, Kandinsky Bequest

dimensional solid by the pyramid and the upward-floating movement of the composition in *Pink Sweet* of 1929 (cat. no. 272). Horizontal stripes allude to landscape space in *Quiet Assertion,* 1929 (cat. no. 271), where an additional perspective element is seen on the right; and the broad expanse of *Brownish,* 1931 (cat. no. 273), recalls the horizon-crossed seascapes of Feininger (see cat. no. 274). An illusion of aerial flotation is created by the dispersal of small shapes across the surface of *Fixed Flight* and *Drawing No. 17* of 1932 (cat. nos. 275, 276), anticipating the formal distribution and effect of certain works of the Paris period, such as *Sky Blue,* 1940 (fig. 43).

Of particular interest is Kandinsky's occasional use in the early thirties of optical illusions. Albers also began to employ such effects at about the same time and Klee had done so for a number of years. The specific impetus for this development was provided by lectures given at the Bauhaus by Gestalt psychologists, a series that reflected Meyer's efforts to put the study of visual phenomena on a more scientific basis. The reversible figures of perceptual psychology were of great interest to Klee, Kandinsky and Albers because they were striking examples of spatial ambiguity (see fig. 44). These two-dimensional line drawings, representing open books, cubes or steps, for example, produce a spatial illusion that flips when the viewer changes focus or shifts attention.[180] Such visual devices emphasize the immeasurable and dynamic character of pictorial space, which, the artists felt, expressed modernity. They also encourage an awareness of the viewer's own perceptual process, providing a participatory rather than passive experience of the work. The ambiguous spatial positioning of shapes in Kandinsky's watercolor *Glimmering,* 1931 (cat. no. 277), exemplifies his use of the reversible figures, as do the folded planes in *Now Upwards!,* 1931, and *Second Etching for*

180. Teuber, pp. 142-144. The lectures occurred between 1929 and 1931. Other essays by Teuber also treat the influence of perceptual theories and diagrams demonstrating optical illusions on Klee and others at the Bauhaus: "New Aspects of Paul Klee's Bauhaus Style," *Ibid.,* pp. 6-17, and "Zwei frühe Quellen zu Paul Klees Theorie der Form: Eine Dokumentation" in Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, *Paul Klee: Das Frühwerk, 1883-1922,* exh. cat., 1979, pp. 261-296.

181. The two paintings were in the exhibition at the Galerie Möller, as were a number of other works by the *Blaue Vier:* see *Blätter der Galerie Ferdinand Möller,* no. 5, Oct. 1929, pp. 10-11. This publication, which served as the catalogue of the exhibition, included a short introductory essay by Ernst Kállai entitled "Das Geistige in der Kunst," pp. 1-6. The other works in the present exhibition were Feininger's *Gaberndorf No. II,* 1924, Kandinsky's *Above and Left,* 1925, and *On Points,* 1928, and Klee's *Threatening Snowstorm,* 1927 (cat. nos. 133, 158, 247, 249); *Ibid.* pp. 7, 11, 12.

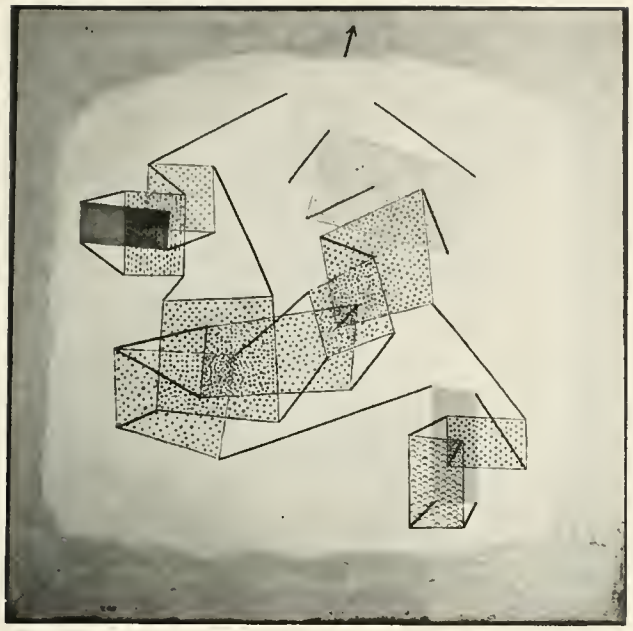
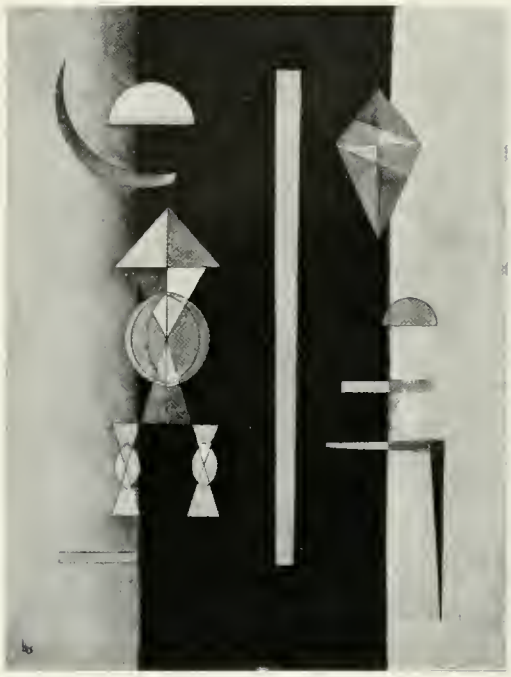


fig. 44
Paul Klee
Hovering (Before the Ascent). 1930
Oil on canvas
Paul Klee-Stiftung, Kunstmuseum Bern

fig. 45
Paul Klee
Senecio (Baldgreis). 1922
Oil on canvas
Collection Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

"Cahiers d'Art," 1932 (cat. nos. 281, 282).

Kandinsky's pictorial themes discussed so far reflect, often with wry criticism or playfulness to be sure, the Bauhaus predilection for regularity, rationality and technology. However, his depictions of figures and signs depart in an essential way from the prevailing attitudes at the school, in order to create an independent and evocative imagery. Though they usually hover on the edge of complete abstraction, the pictures use geometric components or, as will be seen, organic shapes to create formal constellations that have associations with the natural or man-made world. The images of schematic structures are also relevant here because they do not result from a process of abstraction from real objects. The physiognomic potential of abstract geometry had long interested Klee. *Senecio (Baldgreis)* of 1922 (fig. 45) is a paradigmatic instance of his manipulation of a priori geometry by slight alterations and additions to produce a human visage. At times Klee seems to have discovered the natural image in an arrangement of abstract shapes at some point during the creative process. This procedure of starting with geometric forms and working towards representational imagery is the opposite of that developed by Jawlensky in his Abstract Heads series, beginning about 1918. Here Jawlensky, who initially used models, perceived regular geometric shapes and structure in the human form. *Dawn,* 1928, and *Frost,* 1929 (cat. nos. 284, 285), exemplify the abstract heads of the late twenties.[181] In this manner he evolved a construction of elements that signifies the set of features: eye, nose, mouth, eyebrow, hair and pendant curl. While often not quite complete, the grouping of elements amply suggests the whole. Kandinsky's physiognomic image *Upward* of 1929 (cat. no. 286) is closer to Klee's pictures than to Jawlensky's in that the components are complete geometric shapes



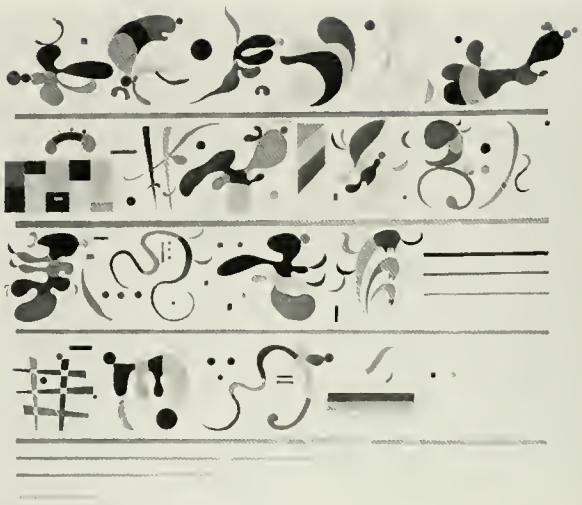


fig. 46
Vasily Kandinsky
Two Sides Red. December 1928
(HL 437)
Oil on canvas
Collection The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

fig. 47
Vasily Kandinsky
Succession. 1935
(HL 617)
Oil on canvas
The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

that obviously provided the starting point for the composition.[182]

In other works Kandinsky assembled geometric elements to create figures suggestive of the whole human body, though sometimes these were extremely reduced, for example, the image at the right in *Jocular Sounds,* 1929 (cat. no. 287). This element is very similar to the "figures" for *The Great Gate of Kiev* scene (cat. no. 240) in *Pictures at an Exhibition.* Klee sometimes used fully anthropomorphic figures assembled from geometric elements, such as that in *Jumper,* 1930 (cat. no. 289). This complete and explicit figure differs from Kandinsky's more cryptic and abstract forms, seen in *Two Sides Red,* 1928 (fig. 46), and other pictures. Klee's *Six Kinds* of 1930 (cat. no. 290) shows how abstract geometric forms can create an image of a figure. These forms do not function primarily as elements within a larger composition, but are basically discrete, a characteristic that, together with the appended bars that resemble stems or handles, suggests a general analogy to real objects. As in certain of Kandinsky's works, the isolation of separate elements in space, their clarity of definition and idiosyncratic composite character create the sense of an abstract being. Kandinsky's *Levels* of 1929 (cat. no. 292) exhibits such forms assembled in rows, as in an information table. Here and in *Lines of Marks* of 1931 (cat. no. 294) the figures are like abstract hieroglyphs or signs set up in series. The boat elements in the latter painting and the worm-like forms in *Drawing No. 25,* 1933 (cat. no. 299), are more direct in their references and therefore are closer to pictographs. Like the crosses in *For Nina (for Christmas 1926)* (cat. no. 291), the arrow in *Green,* 1931 (cat. no. 297), is a conventional symbol, as distinguished from the invented elements in the majority of Kandinsky's works of this genre. Most of the signs Kandinsky created in these pictures are abstract, such as the monumental cypher in

182. It is interesting that this painting dates from October, the month of the *Blaue Vier* exhibition at the Galerie Möller, where Kandinsky would have seen sixteen of Jawlensky's Abstract Heads, though, to be sure, he already knew works of the series. A later painting by Kandinsky with a physiognomic image comparable to that in *Upward* is *Unsteady Balance (Unfester Ausgleich),* 1930 (HL 499).

183. Weiss in "Encounters and Transformations" in Guggenheim Museum, *Kandinsky in Munich,* shows as an example of the Paris period the painting *Thirty,* 1937, and discusses the issue of "abstract hieroglyphs" in the Munich period, p. 55, fig. 25.

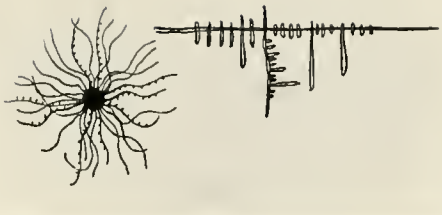


fig. 48
Vasily Kandinsky
Black Tension. 1925
Gouache on paper
Present whereabouts unknown

fig. 49
"Trichites" (Hair-like crystals)
Figure 71 in *Point and Line to Plane,* 1926, see cat. no. 321

fig. 50
Swimming movements of plants created by flagellation
Figure 73 in *Point and Line to Plane,* 1926, see cat. no. 321

fig. 51
Blossom of the clematis
Figure 75 in *Point and Line to Plane,* 1926, see cat. no. 321

Light of 1930 (cat. no. 293). This figure is full of energy and buoyancy and is like the cryptic schematic notations in the analytical drawings, enlarged and pictorialized in treatment and context. Its quality of movement prefigures the more organic signs of the Paris years, which, in addition, were sometimes arranged in ordered presentations like some of the works of the late twenties and early thirties (see fig. 47).[183]

Already in Kandinsky's art from the Bauhaus, figures with freely contoured shapes appear. They are especially interesting because they parallel the biomorphism of Surrealism as well as anticipate a prominent feature of his style of the Paris period. Organic forms occasionally are seen in his works of the mid-twenties, such as *Black Tension* of 1925 (fig. 48) and *Calm* of 1926 (cat. no. 295). In *Point and Line to Plane* illustrations of natural forms are included to demonstrate complexes of free lines or loose structures: hair-like crystals, minute mobile plants with "tails" or flagella and wispy clematis blossoms (figs. 49-51).[184] In the early thirties organic elements appear more frequently: the leaf shape in *Green* (cat. no. 297) and the extraordinary creature of the imagination that dominates *Pointed Black* (cat. no. 296) are examples in two pictures of 1931. The latter form is an inventive, highly irregular complex of shapes, which is animated in its contours and diagonal placement. In at least one instance, in *Drawing No. 26,* 1933 (fig. 52), Kandinsky created a more literal and amusing fantasy image of amoeboid beings. *Gloomy Situation* (cat. no. 298), on the other hand, expresses the threatening mood of Kandinsky's last year in Germany through its confrontation of two abstract personages.[185]

Despite their varied imagery, Kandinsky's characteristic paintings of the late twenties and early thirties share certain stylistic features that distinguish

184. Lindsay/Vergo, II, pp. 625-628, figs. 71, 73, 74.

185. Other works by Kandinsky with abstract amoeboid shapes are the drypoint *Fifth Annual Presentation to the Kandinsky Society,* 1931, and the painting *Floating Pressure (Schwebender Druck),* 1931 (HL 563).

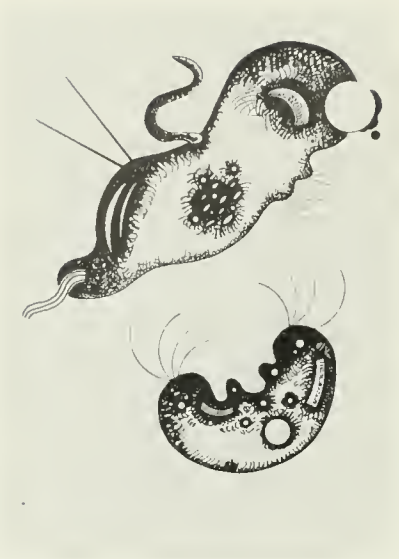


fig. 52
Vasily Kandinsky
Drawing No. 26. 1933
India ink on paper
Present whereabouts unknown

them from the major works of the Weimar and early Dessau years. These characteristics pertain to the compositional structure, which is less complex than before. The works of the Weimar period contain a diversity of forms and are elaborately structured compositions that relate to the corners and boundaries of the canvas. Pictorial complexity was maintained at the beginning of the Dessau period, even where the formal variety was reduced, in pictures such as *Several Circles* (cat. no. 188). This limitation to a single kind of geometric form, however, initiates the later development. Although there are earlier individual precedents, about 1928 a general tendency toward two compositional types emerged. One involves the use of a large form or a combination or series of simply structured forms placed against a uniform field of color with only a relatively neutral or very obvious relationship to the boundaries of the picture, as in *White Sharpness* and *Thirteen Rectangles* (cat. nos. 266, 257). The rather straightforward figure-ground relationship that results is sometimes modified to a certain extent by modulations of the background color, which create a spatial environment, for example, *On Points* and *Pointed Black* (cat. nos. 247, 296). The simplicity and clarity of the compositions set off the structures, figures, signs and self-contained spatial images that are presented. Significantly, in these works Kandinsky depicts figures and forms, rather than integrating them into an overall pictorial structure. The second major compositional type evolved at this time, exemplified by *Brownish* and *White on Black* (cat. nos. 273, 264), appears less frequently. Here the entire picture is united by actual or implied grid structures or by bands or large background shapes that connect the boundaries. These geometric devices are simpler than those used in the earlier Bauhaus years, which were themselves schematizations of compositional structures developed in the previous periods. Despite their relative simplicity they provide varied structures for resonant color compositions and thus play a major role in several of Kandinsky's most impressive works from his last years in Germany.

Music Room, Deutsche Bauausstellung, 1931

During the period of Mies's directorship of the Bauhaus, Kandinsky was given a final opportunity to create a large-scale work uniting painting with its architectural context. The project involved the design of ceramic murals for three walls of a music room and was part of the *Deutsche Bauausstellung (German Building Exhibition)* held in Berlin in late spring and summer 1931. It was included in the section of the exhibition supervised by Mies, which was entitled *Die Wohnung unserer Zeit (The Modern Dwelling)*. In addition to a massive grand piano, the room contained a set of tubular metal furniture originally designed by Mies for the Weissenhofsiedlung, the model housing development in Stuttgart that was built for the Werkbund exhibition of 1927 (cat. nos. 304-306). The geometric shapes, elegance and spatial openness of this International Style furniture complemented the monumental yet simple shapes of the murals. Indeed, as already mentioned, Kandinsky particularly admired the armchair for its dematerialized and abstract quality.

The chrome-plated steel tubing also accorded with the shiny surface of the ceramic tile. The tile must have been chosen for its architectural qualities: its hardness and relative permanence, as well as the measured, visually stable and unifying effect of its grid of rectangular elements. The character of the environment created by the murals can be judged not only from the gouache maquettes (cat. nos. 301-303) and photographs of the original completed work (cat. no. 300), but also from the careful reconstruction executed in 1975 and installed at Artcurial in Paris.

Kandinsky's imagery in the murals combines the geometric shapes and abstract structures, figures and signs that preoccupied him during the late twenties and early thirties. Each wall bears a composite of two or more major images. The right wall is the most unified because its two structural motifs are symmetrical. The long central wall is the most complex, as it includes diverse motifs and sections, among them an area with three rows of small sign-like elements. This motif is one of several semi-independent pictures within the larger compositions. The underlying grid provides scale as well as an armature for the compositions and varies from wall to wall because of the changes in the proportions and size of the tiles. The left wall, which depicts large, solid shapes, is comprised of small, rectangular tiles; the longer central one has the largest tiles, also rectangular over most of its area; and the right wall is made up of square tiles that provide particularly stable support for its open and elongated forms. Also varied are the background colors: the dark ground of the left wall is an especially effective foil for the rich hues placed against it. The generally vivid colors are enhanced by the sheen of the material, and the clarity of the forms and compositions, as well as the large scale of the work, contributes to the engaging effect of the whole.

In the brochure published for the *Deutsche Bauausstellung*, Kandinsky stated that he offered his project as an alternative to the "blank wall" characteristic of modern architecture, but not as a merely decorative adjunct to the room. A space intended to bring people together "for a special inner purpose . . . must have a special energy." Since painting can serve as "a kind of tuning-fork," it can thus affect or "tune" people to that special purpose.[186] This was the goal he wished to accomplish in this space intended for the playing and experiencing of music.

Final Years in Germany, 1932-1933

At the conclusion of his Bauhaus period, Kandinsky painted a number of major pictures that brought together elements of his work of the previous several years and exploited the range of visual effects and evocative values of abstract geometry and color. In December 1928 he had written that following his "cool" period, which had culminated in the Weimar years, his work was characterized by "great calm with strong inner tension."[187] This phrase aptly describes a painting such as *Several Circles* of 1926, which maintains a sense of quiet energy by means of its vivid color and organization along two diagonals. The compositional simplicity and clarity of structure of Kandinsky's work of the late Dessau period enhance this quality of calm

186. *Amtlicher Katalog und Führer: Deutsche Bauausstellung, Berlin, 1931, 9. Mai- 2. August*, pp. 170-171.

187. Letter of Dec. 10, 1928, to Will Grohmann.

and also allow a richness of effect. In his last two years in Germany Kandinsky developed and intensified these characteristics through a somewhat denser use of the elements. A vivid resonance of color within a grid-derived composition is created in *Layers* of early 1932 (cat. no. 309), whose multiple planes occupy various positions in the shallow space. Order is maintained among the varied forms by the strict arrangement of the picture here and in *Decisive Rose,* also of 1932 (cat. no. 310), where many small elements of different shapes are evenly distributed and, for the most part, aligned vertically.

The culminating work that displays this kind of clearly structured complexity is *Balance Pink,* of early 1933 (cat. no. 311). Kandinsky presents color harmonies and chords in grid patterns and stripes, as Klee does in his strata and checkerboard images (see cat. nos. 259, 131), but uses a greater variety of geometric motifs. The internal framing device, the consistency of scale of the larger grid and the continuation of some of the vertical and horizontal lines across the picture provide structure in *Balance Pink.* One of the spatial devices here is the use of a primitive architectural allusion, shapes that resemble abstract doorways or gateways; a similar element appeared at the left and, in altered form, at the right of the stage set for *The Great Gate of Kiev.* However, the suggestions of depth in the painting are subtle and ambiguous, so that a shallow space is maintained. The unification of the picture, to which the compositional devices contribute, is accomplished above all by the use of color. The dominant ochres (repeated in Kandinsky's painted frame), browns and tans provide a muted chromatic context for the pink square just above the center and the pale, cooler colors. To the general balance of warm versus cool colors is added the complementary relationship of the pink and the pale green. Ultimately *Balance Pink* presents a strong image of ordered and subdued formal and chromatic multiplicity.

The creation of an imagery of restraint and calm was a meaningful response to the conditions in Germany during 1932 and 1933. Already in mid-December 1931 Kandinsky expressed his uncertainty about political developments in a letter to Galka Scheyer, in which he stated that if either the Nazis or the Communists came to power he would be jobless.[188] The next month the right-wing majority in the Dessau city legislature, led by the Nazis, moved to dissolve the Bauhaus. In July the Nazi representatives toured the school, confirming their hostility to its building and program, and in August the legislature voted for dissolution. After it moved to Berlin and began to operate as a private institute, the Bauhaus again encountered opposition, and in April 1933 the Nazis, now in power at the national level, searched and closed the building. Finally on July 20, after the failure of attempts at negotiation, the faculty voted to close the institute permanently. Ironically, the next day the Nazis' terms for allowing the Bauhaus to continue to exist were delivered: they included the termination of Kandinsky as well as Ludwig Hilbersheimer and their replacement by "individuals who guarantee to support the principles of the National Socialist ideology."[189] Kandinsky felt acutely the difficulties of his situation, as he explained to Scheyer in letters of July and October.[190] It was impossible for him to exhibit or teach, and there were three reasons for special concern: he was Russian (hence both a for-

188. Letter of Dec. 14, 1931.

189. Letter to Mies van der Rohe from the State Secret Police (Gestapo), Wingler, p. 189.

190. Letters of July 15 and Oct. 7, 1933.

eigner and a suspected Communist), an abstract artist and a teacher at the Bauhaus. Thus, early in the fall Kandinsky made arrangements to move to Paris, and in December he left Germany for the final time.[191]

In the context of these events the major works of the period convey a feeling of grandeur expressive of Kandinsky's confidence in the validity of his art. The somber mood of the time is felt particularly in several works from July and August 1933. Such is the case in *Gloomy Situation* (cat. no. 298), where black abstract figures confront one another, and *Similibei* (cat. no. 313), in which an ascending series of black and gray squares surmounted by a dense black circle hovers against a nearly monochromatic sprayed background of dull red. *Development in Brown* of 1933 (cat. no. 314), the last picture Kandinsky executed in Germany and one of the very few large canvases he had painted in about five years, represents a summation of this kind of expression. It is very subdued and shows a rich range of colors dominated by dark browns and other dark and muted hues placed against a medium brown background. The large vertical and slightly slanting planes form elements that flank a contrasting central area whose white background supports smaller triangles in a variety of brighter colors. It is as though the portal image were rendered more abstract and monumentalized and opened on a view into a somewhat distant, lighter space. Hope or threat—the image invites both interpretations.

The two paintings of 1933 included in the present exhibition not only register the historical moment in which they were executed but also reflect important concerns of Kandinsky during his Bauhaus years. *Balance Pink* subsumes the chromatic interrelationships and regular formats that were the subjects of his teaching in a synthesis of structure and rich effect, to create an image of imposing and serious character. *Development in Brown* is a testament to Kandinsky's conviction that geometric form and resonant color express ineffable abstract meanings. Such had been his consistent belief since at least about 1920, when he began to develop a geometric art in Russia. This culminating work embodies the impressive effect and meditative qualities his abstract imagery ultimately achieved.

191. Nina Kandinsky, pp. 150 ff.