INVERSIONAL IDEA





INVENTING ABSTRACTION 1910 - 1925**A RADICAL IDEA**

LEAH DICKERMAN

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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CONTENTS

7

FOREWORD Glenn D. Lowry

9

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



INVENTING ABSTRACTION



PABLO PICASSO: THE CADAQUÉS EXPERIMENT YVE-ALAIN BOIS



CONTRASTS OF COLORS, CONTRASTS OF WORDS MATTHEW AFFRON



PAROLE IN LIBERTÀ JODI HAUPTMAN



EARLY RUSSIAN ABSTRACTION, AS SUCH masha chlenova



SENSE AND NON-SENSE Hal foster



WHITE SHADOWS: PHOTOGRAMS AROUND 1922 SUSAN LAXTON



COLORS AND GAMES: MUSIC AND ABSTRACTION, 1909 TO 1912 David lang



LÉOPOLD SURVAGE'S PAPER CINEMA JODI HAUPTMAN



MUSIC, NOISE, AND ABSTRACTION Christoph Cox



0.10 masha chlenova



DANCED ABSTRACTION: RUDOLF VON LABAN MARK FRANKO



RHYTHMUS 21 AND THE GENESIS OF FILMIC ABSTRACTION PHILIPPE-ALAIN MICHAUD



VASILY KANDINSKY, WITHOUT WORDS LEAH DICKERMAN



WITH COLOR Rachael z. delue



VORTICISM: PLANETARY ABSTRACTION Matthew gale



PIET MONDRIAN: TOWARD THE ABOLITION OF FORM YVE-ALAIN BOIS



DANCED ABSTRACTION: MARY WIGMAN Mark Franko



THE ABSOLUTE FILM ANTON KAES



MR. KUPKA AMONG VERTICALS Lanka tattersall



FRANCIS PICABIA: ABSTRACTION AND SINCERITY MICHAEL R. TAYLOR



PAINTING STRIPPED BARE



3 DE STIJL MODELS yve-alain bois



THE COLOR GRID Lanka tattersall



CONCRETE ABSTRACTION



PIET / TOWA



ON THE MOVE HUBERT DAMISCH



FERNAND LÉGER: METALLIC SENSATIONS MATTHEW AFFRON



DECORATION AND ABSTRACTION IN BLOOMSBURY MATTHEW AFFRON



THE SPATIAL OBJECT MARIA GOUGH



THE ABSTRACT ENVIRONMENT MARIA GOUGH



ABSTRACTION IN 1936 BARR'S DIAGRAMS glenn d. lowry



ABSTRACTION CHEZ DELAUNAY GORDON HUGHES



GIACOMO BALLA: THE MOST LUMINOUS ABSTRACTION ESTER COEN



AGAINST THE CIRCLE RACHAEL Z. DELUE



THE LANGUAGE OF REVOLUTION MARIA GOUGH



EARLY ABSTRACTION IN POLAND JAROSLAW SUCHAN



ABSTRACTION IN 1936 CUBISM AND ABSTRACT ART AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART LEAH DICKERMAN



INDEX

373

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION



TRUSTEES OF The Museum of Modern Art

FOREWORD

(HANJIN SHIPPING

HANJIN SHIPPING is delighted to sponsor Inventing Abstraction, 1910-1925 and to be part of sharing this important exhibition with the global audience of The Museum of Modern Art. Hanjin has been a dedicated supporter of the Museum, sponsoring a variety of exhibitions and programs including Monet's Water Lilies in 2009, Picasso: Guitars 1912-1914 in 2011, and Ecstatic Alphabets/Heaps of Language in 2012.

Hanjin Shipping is Korea's largest shipping company, and ranks among the top ten major shipping carriers in the world. A proud supporter of the arts, it makes a priority of partnering with museums worldwide. Our Chairwoman, Eunyoung Choi, is passionate about this goal and believes strongly that as the scope of our business extends to every corner of the world, art helps us to communicate with the global community. We are delighted to work with MoMA once again as a sponsor of this extraordinary exhibition about abstraction, its birth and growth, and its international role in modern art.

ABSTRACTION may be modernism's greatest innovation. It is now so central to our conception of artistic practice that the time before the idea of an abstract artwork made sense has become hard to imagine, yet when those works first appeared-quite suddenly, around 100 years ago—they took many observers by surprise. Beginning in late 1911 and across the course of the next year, a series of artists including Vasily Kandinsky, Fernard Léger, Robert Delaunay, František Kupka, and Francis Picabia exhibited works that marked the beginning of something radically new: they dispensed with recognizable subject matter. The implications of these opening moves were registered with astonishing rapidity. Within five years, abstraction's practitioners included Hans Arp, Vanessa Bell, Sonia Delaunay-Terk, Arthur Dove, Natalia Goncharova, Marsden Hartley, Paul Klee, Mikhail Larionov, Kazimir Malevich, Franz Marc, Piet Mondrian, Hans Richter, Wyndham Lewis, and more.

Inventing Abstraction explores abstraction as both a historical The coming of these first abstract pictures was matched by Abstraction is a vital subject in The Museum of Modern Art's

idea and an emergent artistic practice. The story of its sudden flourishing may have something to tell us about the nature of innovation itself: abstraction was not the inspiration of a solitary genius but the product of network thinking—of ideas moving through a nexus of artists and intellectuals working in different media and in far-flung places. Its pioneers were more closely linked than is generally understood. From the start, abstraction was an international phenomenon, as artists and images moved quickly across borders, sharing in a new exhibition and media culture. Inventing Abstraction accordingly takes a transnational perspective: surveying key episodes in abstraction's early history, it includes work made across Eastern and Western Europe and the United States. extraordinary developments in other spheres. Sound poetry, nonnarrative dance, and atonal music developed in parallel with pictures that no longer pictured; each jettisoned the weight of convention. These new forms of practice suggest how abstraction at its inception may be seen as a cross-media imperative. Inventing Abstraction explores the productive relationships among artists and composers, dancers and poets, in establishing a new modern language for the arts. It brings together a wide range of art forms-paintings, drawings, printed matter, books, sculpture, film, photography, sound recordings, music and dance footage-to draw a rich portrait of this watershed moment in which art was wholly reinvented. own history. An important touchstone for this project has been Cubism and Abstract Art, a landmark exhibition organized by the Museum's founding director, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., in 1936. The show surveyed the early history of abstraction at a moment when modernist artists were under real threat from totalitarianism in Europe. It had a lasting impact on MoMA's collection: many works were acquired directly from it, and others within the historical framework it shaped. As the Museum's first major exhibition on the early

development of abstraction in seventy-five years, Inventing Abstraction offers a chance to reflect on the legacy of MoMA's own practice.

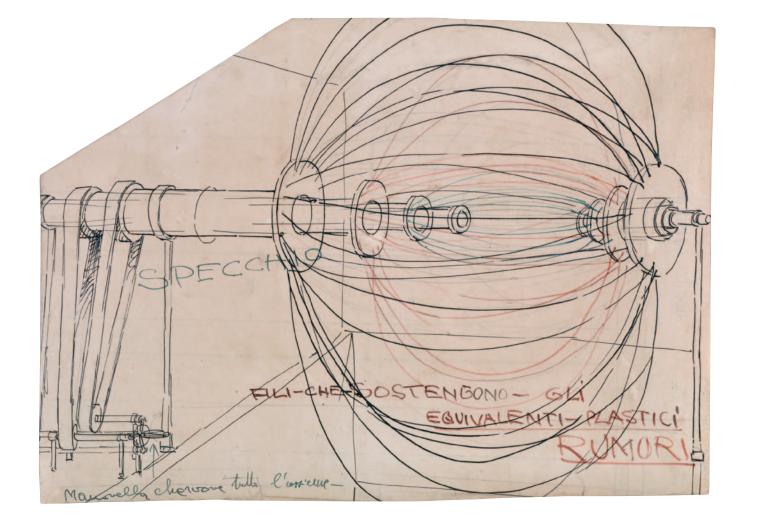
We are grateful to Leah Dickerman, Curator in the Department of Painting and Sculpture, for the conception and organization of this exhibition and book. Masha Chlenova, Curatorial Assistant in the Department of Painting and Sculpture, was her essential partner.

We are especially grateful to the generous supporters of this project and of the Museum's programming in general. *Inventing* Abstraction is made possible by Hanjin Shipping. Major support is provided by the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation, the Mimi and Peter Haas Fund, the Blavatnik Family Foundation, Marie-Josée and Henry Kravis, and Sue and Edgar Wachenheim III, and the exhibition is also supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. The seminars bringing together scholars in a variety of disciplines in the exhibition's planning stages were made possible by MoMA's Wallis Annenberg Fund for Innovation in Contemporary Art through the Annenberg Foundation.

On behalf of the Trustees and staff of the Museum, I wish to acknowledge the lenders - private individuals and museum colleagues—who have entrusted us with the care of their works. Their generosity has in many cases allowed us to exhibit works that have not yet been seen in this country, and in others to provide a new perspective on familiar ones. They have our profound gratitude.

> - GLENN D. LOWRY Director, The Museum of Modern Art

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



FORTUNATO DEPERO. Complesso di fili giranti (Complex of turning wires). 1915. Ink on paper, 8¹/₄ × 11¹/₂" (21 × 29.2 cm). Mart — Museo di arte moderna e contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto INVENTING ABSTRACTION traces the sweep of a radical new idea as it moved among artists and intellectuals, sweeping across nations and across media. The development of abstract art is a prime example of the power of network thinking. This catalogue and the exhibition it accompanies were also made possible by the efforts of a far-flung network of individuals, and in working on them both. I was moved by and very grateful for the extraordinary gestures of generosity that make such a collaborative undertaking possible. The makers of those gestures include the many dedicated teams of people at The Museum of Modern Art who use their great skills to realize ambitious exhibition projects such as this one. There were also the eighty-four lenders who parted with their great treasures to allow us to show them in our galleries; the twenty-three authors who contributed their ideas and expertise to this volume; and scores of others who helped make this project happen in other ways: generously giving us their advice and support in shaping the checklist, securing loans, figuring out the right recordings, providing financial support. All of us at The Museum of Modern Art are profoundly grateful.

We are deeply thankful for our many generous lenders, listed on p. 375. Many of them have acted as true collaborators on this project, facilitating loans, enlightening us about the works in their care, and making suggestions about other works and collections to be considered. We warmly thank our colleagues in lending institutions: Madeline Schuppli and Brigitta Vogler-Zimmerli, private collection courtesy of the Aargauer Kunsthaus Aarau; Ann Goldstein, Nicole Delissen, and Geurt Imanse, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; Bernhard Mendes Bürgi, Christian Müller, and Charlotte Gutzwiller, Kunstmuseum Basel; Catherine Amé, Renate Rätz, and Stephan Dörschel, Akademie der Künste, Berlin; Udo Kittelman and Dieter Scholz, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Nicholas Fox Weber and Oliver Barker, The Josef and Anni Albers Foundation, Bethany, Conn.; Stephan Berg and Volker Adolphs, Kunstmuseum Bonn; Heide-Marie Härtel, Deutsches Tanzfilminstitut Bremen; Louis Grachos, Douglas Dreishpoon, and Laura Fleischmann, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo; Douglas Druick and Stephanie D'Alessandro, The Art Institute of Chicago; Anthony G. Hirschel and Richard Born, Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago; David Franklin and William Robinson, The Cleveland Museum of Art; Philipp Kaiser, Kasper König, and Stephan Diederich, Museum Ludwig, Cologne; Nannette V. Maciejunes and Melissa Wolfe, Curator of American Art, Columbus Museum of Art; Charles Esche and Marcia Vissers, Van Abbemuseum Eindhoven; Hartwig Fischer, Ute Eskildsen, and Sandra Gianfreda, Museum Folkwang, Essen; Andrew J. Walker and Rebecca Lawton, Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Tex.; Carl-Heinz Heuer and Nicolai von Cube, Collection Viktor and Marianne Langen; Claudia Dillmann and Beate Dannhorn, Sammlung Hans Richter/Deutsches Filminstitut-DIF, Frankfurt am Main; Jean Bonna, Jean Bonna Library, Geneva; Jean-Yves Marin and Christian

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We are also extremely grateful to private lenders: Rachel Adler, Barney A. Ebsworth, Maria Graciela and Luis Alfonso Oberto, Jeffrey Sherwin, and eleven anonymous donors.

Many individuals have provided essential information and assistance with loans. We warmly thank: Emily Braun, Charlotte Douglas, Bernd Eichhorn, Ginevra Elkann, Jason Herrick, Ursula Graeff-Hirsch, Juan Hamilton, Diana Howard, Elizabeth Kujawski, Barbara Lesak, Sylvia Liska, Francis Naumann, Maria Carlota Perez, Kerry Rose, Thomas Rosemann, Pablo Schugurensky, Aleksandra Shatskikh, Alexander Shedrinsky, Chris Stephens, Natalie Strasser, and Allison Whiting. We also acknowledge our museum colleagues for their support of this project: Annemarie Jaeggi and Klaus Weber, Bauhaus-Archiv Museum für Gestaltung, Berlin; Irina Lebedeva and Tatiana Gubonova, The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; Spencer Tsai and Osvaldo Da Silva, Barry Friedman Ltd., New York; Natalie Seroussi and Anne-Sarah Bénichou, Galerie Natalie Seroussi, Paris; Mikhail Piotrovsky and Maria Haltunen, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Evgeniia Petrova and Marina Panteleymon, The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg; Thomas Trabitsch and Ursula Klein, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna; Natalia Metelitsa and Evgenia Suzdaleva, St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music; Patrick Werkner and Sylvia Herkt, Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Vienna; and Wolfgang Kos and Ursula Storch, Wien Museum, Vienna.

With the support of MoMA's Wallis Annenberg Fund for Innovation in Contemporary Art through the Annenberg Foundation, we were able to host a series of seminars on abstraction as a historical idea and an emergent artistic practice, and on its relation to contemporary shifts in music, poetry, dance, philosophy, and science. Participants in these three sessions included Charles Bernstein, Yve-Alain Bois, Christophe Cherix, Masha Chlenova,

Christoph Cox, Hal Foster, Mark Franko, Peter Galison, Jodi Hauptman, David Joselit, Anton Kaes, Seth Kim-Cohen, Philippe-Alain Michaud, RH Quaytman, Josh Siegel, Lanka Tattersall, and Michael R. Taylor. These conversational events helped to motivate and refine the conceptual premises of the exhibition. Yve-Alain Bois, Christoph Cox, Mark Franko, Anton Kaes, and David Lang made specific suggestions that found their way onto our checklist. John Elderfield provided key advice on specific loans. The gerundive title "Inventing Abstraction" is the product of a long and lovely conversation with Hubert Damisch. Teaching alongside Hal Foster in the Department of Art History at Princeton University in the spring of 2010 provided another important forum for working out ideas, as did teaching with Pamela Lee at Stanford University many years ago. Our curatorial and design team worked with Paul Ingram and Mitali Banerjee at the Columbia Business School in creating the diagram on this book's front endpapers tracing the connections among artists represented in the exhibition.

The project has drawn on virtually every department at the Museum. Our foremost thanks go to Glenn D. Lowry, Director, who has offered enthusiasm, strategic insight, and a contribution to the catalogue. The project benefited from the leadership and counsel of Peter Reed, Senior Deputy Director for Curatorial Affairs, and Ramona Bannayan, Senior Deputy Director for Exhibitions and Collections. Kathy Halbreich, Associate Director, served as a sounding board for ideas at several key points, and helped us to craft innovative solutions to bring a variety of voices from different fields into the discussion of this project. Our in-house diplomat Jay Levenson, Director of the Museum's International Program, deftly facilitated key international relationships.

The multimedia nature of the exhibition has made us more dependent than usual on the expertise of our fellow curators in other curatorial departments, and on their generosity with interdepartmental loans. We particularly wish to acknowledge the generous help, both practical and conceptual, of Christophe Cherix, Katherine Alcauskas, and Kim Conaty in the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books; Connie Butler, Jodi Hauptman, Samantha Friedman, Kathy Curry, and David Moreno in the Department of Drawings; Roxana Marcoci, Sarah Hermanson Meister, and Mitra Abbaspour in the Department of Photography; Sabine Breitweiser, Ana Janevski, and Leora Morinis in the Department of Media and Performance; and Josh Siegel, Anne Morra, Katie Trainor, and Kitty Cleary in the Department of Film. In the Department of Conservation, Jim Coddington, Michael Duffy, Scott Gerson, Lee Ann Daffner, and Lynda Zycherman all put their great expertise at the service of this project.

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We extend warm thanks to our colleagues in the Department of Development for enabling us to realize this project—to Todd Bishop, our new Senior Deputy Director of External Affairs, and to Lauren Stakias and Heidi Speckthart. Our colleagues in Marketing and Communications have helped us get the word out: Kim Mitchell, Margaret Doyle, Brien McDaniel. Nancy Adelson, Dina Sorokina, and Henry Lanman in the Office of the General Counsel office have provided invaluable advice, both legal and strategic. In the Department of Exhibitions, Maria DeMarco Beardsley and Randolph Black have adroitly facilitated the exhibition's logistics. Our colleagues in the Department of Collection Management and Exhibition Registration managed the complexities of moving so many works of art with graciousness and efficiency: Susan Palamara, Sacha Eaton, Jeri Moxley, Kat Ryan, and Ian Eckert. The in-house transportation and installation of artworks was smoothly coordinated by Rob Jung, Steve West, Sarah Wood, and their team. The assistance of our colleagues in Special Events, Facilities, Security, and Visitor Services has been, as always, crucial.

It was a great pleasure and privilege to collaborate again with Jerry Neuner, Director of the Department of Exhibition Design and Production, on the exhibition's design; its elegance and intelligence reflect his great skills. Peter Perez, Julia Hoffman, Ingrid Chou, Sabine Dowek, and Claire Corey all played a key role in realizing this design. The Edward John Noble Foundation Deputy Director for Education Wendy Woon and Pablo Helguera, Sara Bodinson, Stephanie Pau, Sheetal Prajapati, and Desiree Gonzalez in the Department of Education, as well as Allegra Burnette and Maggie Lederer D'Errico in the Department of Digital Media, have worked as true collaborators in creating rich interpretative materials and programs that enhance the exhibition's content.

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Colleagues in the Department of Publications, led by Christopher Hudson, have been our valued partners in the realization of this book. David Frankel, Editorial Director and this book's editor, has improved this catalogue in countless ways; his broadreaching erudition, keen eye, and fine-tuned sense of good prose is reflected on every page. Mark Nelson of McCall Associates has produced an elegant and intelligent design that admirably suits the subject; our many conversations during this process have honed its content. Associate Publisher Chul Kim sagely guided the book to its finished form, and Matthew Pimm oversaw its complex production. Hannah Kim, Genevieve Allison, Makiko Wholey, Maria Marchenkova, Frances Vigna, and Lauren Robbins all provided critical support. Our great thanks go to the many esteemed writers who contributed to this volume, and who are listed in the Contents. Sara Dickerman, Henry Finder, Hal Foster, and Cara Manes, my sister and trusted friends, were the first to read my texts and offered comments and suggestions that have improved them in both form and content.

In our own Department of Painting of Sculpture, Ann Temkin, The Marie-Josée and Henry Kravis Chief Curator, has been an effective advocate of and sage advisor to this project, and I am very grateful for her counsel in key moments. Anne Umland, Laura Hoptman, and Doryun Chong provided camaraderie and generous aid of many kinds. Cora Rosevear and Lily Goldberg worked attentively to the arrangement of loan issues. Although this project lay outside their many responsibilities, Cara Manes, Jodi Roberts, David Sadighian, Iris Schmeisser, and Lanka Tattersall have all contributed in key ways, giving special meaning to the idea of teamwork. Departmental interns Nicole Benson, Emily Delheim, Kathryn Holihan, Jasmine Helm, Alexandra Lawrence, Nina Léger, Caroline Luce, Isabel Palandjoglou, and Victoria Sung have lent their talents and enthusiasm to realizing the project.

I am most indebted and most grateful to those who were most intimately involved in this exhibition. They deserve praise for both their skills and their tremendous dedication. Catherine Wheeler has handled the organization of both things and people, myself among them, and I am very grateful for her warm and adroit corralling. Masha Chlenova has been a true partner. She has handled complex administrative and diplomatic responsibilities, along with those of the highest scholarship. Neither exhibition nor catalogue would be possible without her vital support.

> — LEAH DICKERMAN Curator, Department of Painting and Sculpture



HE MUDOBUARHUE - HE MUDOREA

ПРОУН ОМ МЫ НАЗВАЛИ СТАНЦИЮ ПО ПУТИ СООРУЖИЛИИ НОВОЙ ФОРМЫ ЧТО РАСТЕТ ИЗ ЗЕМЛИ ОМ Мы назвали станцию по пти сооружения новой формы что растет из земаи мабереной трупами картины и ва харажника. Картина ржита вместе с церковые и вогом кому она была прокламцией висте с кароцем и корокем кому она была троило висте с улотным дивамом и меданином кому она была иконой икакие искажения производитыте нар ясным миром вецей сограняшним "воспроизводительным" искусства с то тотным ниваном и меданином кому она была иконой икакие искажения производитыте нар ясным миром вецей сограняшним "воспроизводительным" искусства с улотным ник хартины и хухожника — это занятие ночо-ристов. и уистая энчиволись" не сплеет картины своеб беспремятельство но зассь хухожник начинает сам перевоплощаться. Художник из воспроизводителя перевоплощается в соорудителя нового мирафер ристов. и уистая энчиволись" не сплеет картины своеб беспремятельство но зассь художник начинает структором — биле не пересклась ониния искусства с конниря нахи. ПУБ проуна — творческое сооружение формы (леровательно овладение метностви но не бе живныя по станциям творческих кон-кортностей но не бе живныя востанция творческих кон-кортностей но не бе живныя востанциям творческих кон-кортностей но не бе живныя жизни не полукризация вя. Мть проума не отракаючы сужены и картины жизни не полукризация вя.

ПЛЕ ЛРОУНА НЕ ОТДЕЛЬНЫХ С'УЖЕНЫХ НАУЧНЫХ ДИСЦИПЛИН - ХДОЖНИК СООРУДИТЕЛЬ ВМЕЩАЕТ ИНТУИТИВНО ИХ ВСЕ В СВОЕМ СПЫТВ. ЭТО НЕ ПУТЬ ЗАГРОМОЖАЕННЫЙ ТЕОРИЯМИ СИСТЕМ. ЭТО ЧИСТЫЙ ПУТЬ ОПЫТНОГО ДЕЙСТВИЯ — ДЕЙСТВИТЕЛЬНОСТЬ.

Мы ислеровали первые станции нашего сооружения в раумер. Перетранствовали перевые станции нашего сооружения в авумее. ной поверяности — и увидели что пространство даключенное в ней так же плотно и упорно как земля и строится в нем как на земле. и здесь нам необходимо разрешить тяржесть основя всево строющегося в мире. составные раводействующе тажести начали складываться в проч-на обрый порядок. Мы увидели что ловеряность проута перестала быть кактиной, она стала сос-ной возый порядок, мы увидели что ловеряность проута перестала быть кактиной, она стала, сос-ной возый порядок, мы увидели что ловеряность проута перестала быть кактиной, она стала сос-ной досилствение икак аком его мужно обрати крупом посмотреть свелу и исладовать сицу. Оказалась инителес, а сил пор простанство прозицировалось на посмотреть свелу и исладовать сицу. Оказалась инителес, нок возый порядок, мы увидели что ловеряность стана перестала быть кантиной, она стала и со-ной досилствения как везукловность противопрораность стано вращение мы стали менения и сили програнство призировалось и такантино, возмостью планов. через проуч мы авинения и сили програнство призировалось и таканти изменителе и сили програнство призированость и става в пространстве на этих леках мы дол-определенноство призерой когда мы установы в нем меты определенного пространство и стали мета-мостношения. Строй и маштае отметочного множество дает пространство и стана и со-и вала. Материам и на из встетики. Этот материам в проути пространство и стала и везавлению и поределенноствы, мантерии в энертии проу мы велате пространство и стала и везавлению и таканованого и акак замама и не из встетики. Этот материам в проути вервал станицие изет, образованного и зами. Ат накволе интри с объективных сидев. Спретиватия в своем завершении систа себя от инам. Ат накволе интри собы и сой жатериам в выше к черноми вервал станции-цвет. Он заят каки и сонактири и собъективных самате. Спретикатия в своем завершении проистаниета и себя от инам. Воле и чисты ви актира и собъективна и рану и воломи, здесь мы удибал и ис НОЙ ПОВЕРХНОСТИ - И УВИДЕЛИ ЧТО ПРОСТРАНСТВО ЗАКЛЮЧЕННОЕ В НЕЙ ТАК ЖЕ ПЛОТНО И УПОРН

ФУНАЛМЕНТА ПОР НАСТО МИРОВОГО ГОРОДА ЖИЗНИ ЛЮДЕК КОММУНЫ ЗЕМНОГО ШАРА.

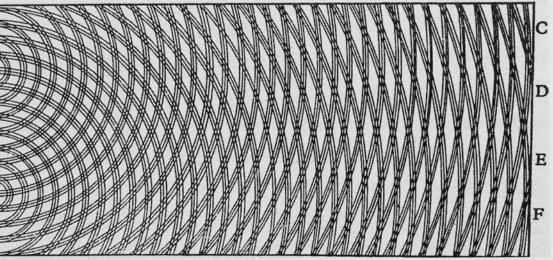
Картину и художника содной стороны и машину и инусенера с другой выходит к со-зданию нового пространства и членя его улементами перзого второго и третьего измере. ния сооружает новый многогранных но ваиноликий образ нашей природы.

ЭЛ ЛИСИЦКИЙ

Opposite:

EL LISSITZKY. Handwritten explanatory text to accompany a copy of the Proun Portfolio. 1920. Gouache and ink on paper, sheet: $17\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ " (45 × 35 cm). Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne

1. THOMAS YOUNG. Diagram of the pattern of wave interaction obtained by throwing two stones of equal size into a pond at the same instant. From A Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy and the Mechanical Arts (London: J. Johnson, 1807)



Must we not then renounce the object altogether, throw it to the winds and instead lay bare the purely abstract? —Vasily Kandinsky, 1911

ROUGHLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, a series of precipitous shifts took place in the cultural sphere that in the end amounted to as great a rewriting of the rules of artistic production as had been seen since the Renaissance. That transformation would fundamentally shape artistic practice in the century that followed. Beginning in late 1911 and across the course of 1912, in several European and American cities, a handful of artists—Vasily Kandinsky, František Kupka, Francis Picabia, Robert Delaunay, Arthur Dove-presented paintings that differed from almost all of those that had preceded them in the long history of the medium in the Western tradition: shunning the depiction of objects in the world, they displayed works with no discernible subject matter. Indeed they abandoned the premise of making a picture of something. "Young painters of the extreme schools," the poet and critic Guillaume Apollinaire wrote in February 1912, "want to make pure painting, an entirely new art form. It is only at its beginning, and not yet as abstract as it wants to be."¹

In the period immediately following, abstraction was proposed many times over, by different artists working in different places and with different philosophical foundations. Its pioneers included Hans Arp, Vanessa Bell, Sonia Delaunay-Terk, Natalia Goncharova, Marsden Hartley, Paul Klee, Mikhail Larionov, Fernand Léger, Kazimir Malevich, Franz Marc, Piet Mondrian, Hans Richter, and Wyndham Lewis. By the eve of World War I, artists producing abstract works could be counted in the dozens. This shift in the frontier of possibility moved so suddenly as to shake the foundations of art as it had been practiced. Observers spoke of the exhilaration and terror of leaping into unknown territory, where comparison with the past was impossible. This evacuation of the object world was, to be sure, hardly a silent disappearance, but rather was accompanied by a shower of celebratory manifestos, lectures, and criticism, a flood of words flung forth perhaps in compensation for their makers' worry about how the meaning of these pictures might be established.

Scores of earlier images from other Western disciplines-chromatic studies, theosophical and mediumistic images, cosmogonic images, scientific images (fig. 1) - may resemble abstract art. But these are not art at all, for despite any formal similarity they



were intended to produce meaning in other discursive frameworks. Within the sphere of modern art, J. M. W. Turner's seascapes (fig. 2), James McNeill Whistler's Nocturnes (fig. 3), Edgar Degas's landscape monoprints, Gustave Moreau's ink drawings and watercolor sketches, and Hermann Obrist's theater sets, among other images, have been held up as important forms of proto-abstraction. But these works do not declare a break with subject matter, even though, in so rigorously defining it in terms of atmospheric and experiential qualities that it is all but obscured, they provide an important foundation for the emergence of abstraction in the twentieth century. (Landscape above all, wrote the art historian Henri Zerner, was "a laboratory for abstract art.")² This exhibition and book, however, do not, as several previous studies of abstraction have done, attempt to inventory such precedents for abstraction avant la lettre, though of course they have bearing on the story being told.³

Before December 1911, when Kandinsky exhibited Komposition V (Composition V; plate 18) in Munich, in the first exhibition of the Blaue Reiter, the artists' group he had co-founded, it seems to have been impossible for artists to step away from a long-held tenet of artistic practice: that paintings describe things in a real or imaginary world. In the years preceding, there was some sense of building consternation around this issue, of possibilities tested and rejected and of ideas yet unrealized, but it was only in the annus mirabilis that followed Kandinsky's showing of Komposition V that abstract pictures began to be exhibited publicly as art, and their philosophical justification developed in treatises and criticism. It was only then, one could say, that the idea of an abstract artwork began to make sense. And for some artists and intellectuals, abstraction not only began to seem plausible but took on the character of an imperative.

IWO STORIES from the years immediately preceding 1912 convey some sense of how difficult it was to arrive at the novel idea of an abstract picture.

In 1910, while Pablo Picasso was summering at Cadaqués, Spain, he made a small group of strange pictures that looked unlike any that had preceded them. Leaving behind the hillsides of reversible cubes that he had made the previous year in Horta, he now worked

2. J. M.W. TURNER. Sun Setting over a Lake. c. 1840. Oil on canvas, 35 ^{7/8} × 48 ^{1/4"} (91.1 × 122.6 cm). Tate. Turner Bequest

3. J. A. M. WHISTLER. Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket. 1875. Oil on panel, $23^{34} \times 18^{38''}$ (60.2 × 46.7 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts. Gift of Dexter M. Ferry, Jr.

in an idiom that seemed closer to a diagram (plates 3, 4). His new paintings featured angled planes defined by linear scaffolding that shifted across the work's surface. Only the faintest traces of the structure of the female figure or still life named in the pictures' titles were discernible within. "The Cadaqués images are so difficult to decipher," wrote Picasso's biographer John Richardson, "that even the artist sometimes forgot what a particular image represented."⁴ These works seem abstract in all but name.

Picasso's dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler could not reconcile himself, it seems, to the terrifying novelty of these new works: he declared them "unfinished."⁵ The Picasso scholar Pierre Daix has noted that while Kahnweiler had the right of first refusal of Picasso's paintings, these particular works went to a rival dealer, Ambroise Vollard-suggesting that Kahnweiler had rejected them.⁶ And it seems that Picasso himself—the most nimbleminded, radically innovative artist of the first decade of the twentieth century—also struggled with the implications of these works. In a later conversation reported by his wife Françoise Gilot, Picasso asserted that these "pure" pictures required supplements to function as painting. Referring to the fragmented forms of bodies, musical instruments, and words that began to appear in the Cubist pictures he made immediately after his sojourn in Cadaqués (plates 1, 5), he explained, "I painted them in afterwards. I call them 'attributes.' At that period I was doing painting for its own sake. It was really pure painting, and the composition was done as composition. It was only towards the end...that I brought in the attributes."⁷ In the works that followed those almost abstract images made in Cadaqués, Picasso incorporated the shattered forms of representation as if to tether his paintings securely to the world of things. Failure to do so, it seems, threatened painting itself. He would later declare that abstraction was impossible: "There is no abstract art. You always have to begin with something. Afterwards you can remove all appearances of reality, but there is no danger then, anyway, because the idea of the object will have left an indelible mark."8

Writing to Marc in October 1911, Kandinsky described Picasso's pictures, which he had seen in photographs sent to him by Kahnweiler, as "split[ting] the subject up and scatter[ring] bits of it all over the picture," an effect that was "frankly false" but nonetheless an auspicious "sign of the enormous struggle toward the immaterial."⁹ While Picasso in 1910 could paint a picture approaching abstraction but could not embrace it philosophically, Kandinsky conversely could develop a theoretical rationale for abstraction but could not make the final break. The sheer difficulty of thinking such a radically new idea-thinking within a new paradigm—is evident in the publication history of Kandinsky's hugely influential tract On the Spiritual in Art (plate 10).¹⁰ The manuscript existed in draft form as early as 1909. In the first two published editions, which appeared in December 1911 and May 1912 respectively, Kandinsky sets abstraction as a goal, clearly and effectively advocating a practice that would advance "deeper...into this territory."¹ He nonetheless balks in embracing in the present day an art that breaks "the tie that binds us to nature."¹² "Today," he writes, "the artist cannot manage exclusively with purely abstract forms."¹³ Indeed, in his paintings of that date, referential form is almost but not quite effaced. But his opinion changed in the next two years (as did his painting), and by 1914, in a manuscript for a planned fourth edition of On the Spiritual in Art that was forestalled by World War I, he edited this paragraph to allow for the possibility of a fully abstract art. "Today," the new phrasing read, "only a few artists can manage with purely abstract forms."¹⁴ In a lecture written (but never delivered) some years later, the artist commented on the difficulty of this intellectual passage: "As yet, objects did not want to—and were not to—disappear altogether from my pictures. First, it is impossible to conjure up maturity artificially at any particular time.... I myself was not yet sufficiently mature to be able to experience purely abstract form without bridging the gap by means of objects."¹⁵

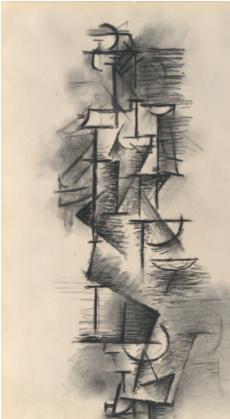
4. PABLO PICASSO. Femme nue debout (Standing female nude). 1910. Charcoal on paper, $19 \times 12^{3/8''}$ (48.3 × 31.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Alfred Stieglitz Collection

IN 1911. HOWEVER. THE ASSAULT WAS LAUNCHED

That December in Munich, Kandinsky exhibited Komposition V, a monumental manifesto for abstraction that maintained only the most inscrutable traces of figural references. That same month, he published On the Spiritual in Art, his loguacious paean to the ineffable. Three Kandinsky works-none quite so ambitious or so determined in their evacuation of referential content as Komposition V-were shown a few months later in Paris, at the Salon des Indépendants, in March-May of 1912.¹⁶ Delaunay, who had been corresponding with Kandinsky since late 1911,¹⁷ and had studied French translations of *On the Spiritual* of Art made by Sonia Delaunay-Terk and Elisabeth Epstein,¹⁸ understood these works to herald the birth of abstraction.¹⁹ "This inquiry into pure painting is the current problem," wrote Delaunay to Kandinsky. "I do not know any painters in Paris who are truly seeking this ideal world."²⁰ Soon afterward the French artist made his own near-abstract works. his Fenêtres (Windows) series (plates 31-33), and showed them in July 1912 in the Ausstellung des Modernen Bundes, in the Kunsthaus Zurich, at the invitation of Bund co-founder Arp (who had in turn obtained his address from Kandinsky).²¹ These works similarly announced a new form of picture-making to key viewers in German-speaking realms. The Swiss artist Klee, who saw the Zurich show, proclaimed in a review that Delaunay "has created the type of autonomous picture, which leads, without motifs from nature, to a completely abstract life form. A structure of plastic life, nota bene, almost as far removed as a Bach fugue is from a carpet."²²

And then in October of that year, at the Salon d'Automne in Paris, a traditional forum for scandalous artistic gestures, the Czech painter Kupka dispensed with all lingering hesitations, displaying two paintings, Amorpha, chromatique chaude (Amorpha, warm chromatic) and a second, more monumental one called Amorpha, fugue à deux couleurs (Amorpha, fugue in two colors; plate 24), that declared independence from traditional subject matter. The paintings were filmed for Gaumont newsreels and shown across Europe and the United States.²³ For some critics these works only offered proof of the dangers of such a departure: Gustave Kahn called them "games which are not within everyone's reach," and Louis Arnould Grémilly asked, "With their clear musical titles, don't they demonstrate the difficulty with titles and the worry of escaping from painting for painting?"²⁴

In considering Kupka's role as the one who took this particularly public step in breaching convention, it may be relevant that he was something of an outsider in the sphere in which he worked: he was trained in Prague and Vienna in a heady Symbolist milieu. Yet in Paris, far from being the isolated émigré figure he is frequently portrayed as in the literature, he was a member of artistic circles in which some of the most experimental ideas about avant-garde practice were discussed (giving him an insider/outsider status that seems particularly fertile for paradigm-shifting thought): he lived next door to Raymond Duchamp-Villon, and during 1911 and 1912 was a sometime guest in the Sunday salons held at Jacques Villon's house in Puteaux, frequented by a changing cast of characters including Marcel Duchamp (Duchamp-Villon's and Villon's brother), the Delaunays, Picabia, Léger, Apollinaire, Gino Severini, Albert Gleizes, Emile Le Fauconnier, and Jean Metzinger.² Although those who gathered there have often been labeled the "Puteaux group," and identified with the rigid second-generation Cubism of Gleizes and Metzinger, something else was clearly also in the conversational mix: a core group of participants in these Sunday salons were to play important roles in abstraction's early history.²⁶





5. PABLO PICASSO. Self-portrait of the artist in his studio on the Boulevard de Clichy, Paris, with the drawing Femme nue debout mounted on the wall behind him. December 1910. Gelatin silver print, 5 $^{13}\!\!^{16}$ × 4 $^{9}\!\!^{16''}$ (14.7 × 11.6 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris

Then, should there have been any doubt that something was happening, Paris newcomer Picabia thrust his own stake in the ground of this terrain at the same Salon d'Automne in which Kupka's Amorpha works appeared. He, too, showed a gargantuan tableau, La Source (The spring, 1912; plate 86), which invoked a figurative reference through its title but was nonetheless an audacious declaration of abstraction. He simultaneously placed a closely related canvas of the same scale — Danses à la source II (Dances at the spring II, 1912; plate 87) at the Salon de la Section d'Or, which also opened that October.²⁷ Picabia had made both works the summer before, which he had spent almost continuously in the company of Apollinaire. At the time, the poet was working on his booklet Les Peintres cubistes, on Cubism and its aftermath;²⁸ the impact of the 1912 exhibitions led him to make major late-stage changes in the proof of the book.²⁹ Divided between venues, Picabia's irreverent pair of pictures invoked Picasso's work through their faceted planes and rose-period palette, then seemed to travesty its refinement in their billboard scale, crude paint handling, and pulsing eroticism, as well as through their defiant breach of the figurative tradition, which Picasso had maintained. One critic wrote that Picabia had "set the year's record for fantasy" with "ugly" works that "evoke incrusted linoleum."³⁰ At the same Salon d'Automne, Léger showed his Femme en bleu (Woman in blue, 1912; plate 89), a work that, rather than describing a woman dressed in blue, seems to efface the figure with large arcing planes of that color, so that the only remaining trace of human reference is the painting's vertical orientation. The work's indecipherability was played out in the press, the subject of jest, but savored nonetheless: the work was reproduced on the front page of the newspaper *Éclair*, the public was invited to decipher it, responses were published through October, until the mystery was "solved" in a letter from Léger himself on November 3.31

On a different shore, in February 1912, Dove, who had been living and working in Westport, Connecticut, showed works so distilled from natural motifs as to approach abstraction in a one-man show in the gallery at 291 Broadway, New York, established by the photographer and aesthetic impresario Alfred Stieglitz (plate 81).³² Dove was no stranger to European modernism: he had spent fifteen months in France in 1908-9, and on his return had been struck by the first American exhibition of work by Picasso, which Stieglitz had hung at 291 in 1911. The show included a drawing Picasso had made the winter before (fig. 4), which appears like a talisman of things to come in a number of photographs showing him or his friends seated proudly below it (fig. 5). The photographer Edward Steichen, who had participated in the selection of the works for this show, described it as "certainly 'abstract' nothing but angles and lines that has got [to be] the wildest thing you ever saw laid out for fair."33

And then the flow of events thickened: toward the end of 1912, Léger began his defiantly abstract Contrastes de formes series (Contrasts of forms; plates 92-95). La Femme en bleu was probably one of two works he sent to the Armory Show, which opened in New York in February 1913.³⁴ The Americans Morgan Russell and Stanton MacDonald-Wright showed abstract works at the Munich Neue Kunstsalon in June 1913 and at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery, Paris, in October of that year, preludes to Russell's grand contribution to the Salon des Indépendants the following spring, a canvas bounded by a border of painted stripes more than eleven feet high (plate 77); and in March 1913, Apollinaire described a series of pictures, distilled from images of trees (plate 252), by a Dutch artist working in Paris, Mondrian, as "a very abstract Cubism."³⁵ Each of these early efforts stood as a manifesto, a proclamation of the viability of abstraction.

6. VASILY KANDINSKY. Cover of *Der Blaue Reiter* (The blue rider). 1914. Illustrated book, ed. Kandinsky and Franz Marc. Line block reproduction after woodcut, 11⁷16 × 8³4 × ¹³′16" (29 × 22.2 × 2 cm). Second ed. (Munich: R. Piper). The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York

THE INVENTION OF ABSTRACTION is usually told through stories about individual actors, stories contained in discrete narrative silos, each with some claim to priority. One example is Kandinsky's famous reminiscence, often repeated in the literature: he tells of seeing one of his own paintings leaning on its side, at dusk, sometime after his arrival in Munich in 1896. Incapable of discerning its content, he was nonetheless captivated by the forms and colors of this mysterious work—an event prompting the realization "that objects harmed my pictures."³⁶ Yet despite the epiphanic quality of this story, it took Kandinsky years more to produce an abstract picture himself. And it is perhaps more significant that he recounted the tale in 1913, just as abstraction had become a public fact.

It was this drive to speak of individual priority in invention that led the makers of so many of the early works in this exhibition and catalogue to backdate them, sometimes to several years earlier than they were actually made (plates 22, 30, 35, 129, 135, 136, 310).³⁷ Indeed, there is something else misleading about speaking of the invention of abstraction through stories of solitary protagonists: what we have already heard here suggests that abstraction was incubated, with a momentum that builds up and accelerates, through a relay of ideas and acts among a nexus of players, those who make these artistic gestures and those who recognize and proclaim their significance to a broader audience. It was an invention with multiple first steps, multiple creators, multiple heralds, and multiple rationales.

In its emergence within a rich social network, abstraction resembles many other intellectual developments studied by sociologists. In his book *The Sociology of Philosophies*, Randall Collins looks at the social dimension of innovation, countering the Romantic ideal of the genius as an inspired loner. Instead, he argues, innovation is found in groups: it arises out of social interaction—conversation, sharing ideas, validation and competition. Moreover, the right sort of group, Collins suggests, can radicalize intellectual innovation, prompting individuals to take positions far more extreme, far more convention defying, than they would alone.³⁶ This sort of productive sociability may also lead to multiple, almost simultaneous inventions of the same or related things: many investigators converging on the same finding is a common pattern of scientific discovery, as the sociologist of science Robert K. Merton has suggested.³⁹ Abstraction, with almost simultaneous "first" pictures appearing in a scattering of places, would seem to follow this model. The answer to the question "How do you think a truly radical thought?" seems to be: you think it through a network.

Abstraction's pioneers, despite being far flung, are far more interconnected than is generally acknowledged. Certain recognized points of contact suggest this: the revelatory exhibition of Italian Futurism organized by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery, Paris, in 1912, whose visitors included Duchamp, Picabia, the Russian artist Aleksandra Ekster, and the American artist Joseph Stella, even before the show traveled to London and then around Europe; the huge *International Exhibition of Modern Art* held at the New York Armory on Lexington Avenue in 1913, which mixed European and American artists and pulled in the crowds; Vladimir Tatlin's visit to Picasso's Paris studio in March 1914, where he saw the Spanish artist's constructed sculptures and then returned home to display "assemblages of materials" of his own in his studio in May, more than a year before exhibition his famous *Uglovye kontr-reliefy* (Corner counter-reliefs; fig. 16, plate 219) at the *o.10* exhibition in Petrograd in December 1915; the arrival of Marinetti in Russia in 1914, to simultarneous acclaim and disparagement so divisive as to precipitate the dissolution of Russian Cubo-Futurism and the formation of its radically innovative successor movements;⁴⁰ and later,

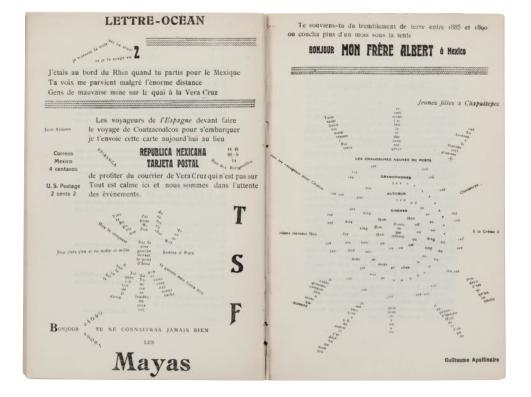


in 1922, the *Erste Russische Kunstausstellung* (First Russian art exhibition) at the Van Diemen gallery in Berlin, organized by David Shterenberg and El Lissitzky, which introduced a Western audience to the Soviet avant-garde after the borders had been closed to the cultural products of the new Bolshevik state in the years since the Russian Revolution of 1917.

There are also many less-well-rehearsed examples of the dissemination of ideas in the history of early abstraction. The Russian literary scholar Aleksandr Smirnov, for example, an old friend and distant cousin of Delaunay-Terk's from her native St. Petersburg, visited the Delaunays in France during the summers of 1912 and 1913, spending time at their country house in Louveciennes. Returning to St. Petersburg, Smirnov spread the word of the new art he had seen in France, lecturing in July 1913 at the Brodiachaia Sobaka (Stray dog), an avant-garde gathering place in the years before the Revolution, on Robert and Sonia Delaunay's work and the theory of simultaneous contrasts. "Poster-poems" by Delaunay-Terk, which combined bright arcs of color with an array of verbal fragments, hung on the walls,⁴¹ and Smirnov showed a copy of La Prose du Transsibérien et de la petite Jehanne de France (Prose of the Trans-Siberian and of little Joan of France, 1913; plate 41) that he had brought with him.⁴² Some nonmeetings had a charged significance too: Mondrian, it seems, was so eager to avoid Picasso's charismatic influence-and insistence that painting represent things—that he would recall taking pains to avoid meeting the Spanish artist in the years 1912-14, when he lived in Paris. "Let them call it too abstract," he wrote of his work in a letter to Theo van Doesburg, his defiance belying the strength of his feelings on the subject.⁴³ It is a distinctly modern interconnectedness that emerges here—one that is decidedly international, facilitating intellectual dialogue between established cultural capitals like Paris, host to an international community of intellectuals, and centers in Central and Eastern Europe and the United States.

Abstraction's network was fostered in the years immediately before World War I by a new modern culture of connectivity. In trains, automobiles, and steamships, people were travelling internationally in numbers far greater than ever before. National boundaries became porous as people crossed them with new ease—and until the outbreak of World War I, most European countries had minimal passport requirements.⁴⁴ Telegraphs, telephones, and radio relayed news of events quickly across the globe. The sinking of the Titanic in 1912, thanks to wireless telegraphy, was not only followed achingly by those on ships just out of reach of the ocean liner but was also one of the first news stories to be reported virtually simultaneously with the event. These same communication technologies allowed for the synchronization of times and clocks across distance, which facilitated the establishment of coordinated international markets and set the stage for the vertiginous growth of a modern speculative economy and commodity culture.45 In Paris in 1912, Henri Poincaré hosted an international conference that established a method for transmitting accurate radio time signals around the world, and on July 1, 1913, the first time signal to be broadcast globally was sent from the Eiffel Tower, a key step in adopting a universal standard time.⁴⁶ All of this fed a more international, global sense of one's world. The network of sociability built by transit pathways, the proliferation of print media, and new forms of communication allowed for the movement of ideas and images across a broad terrain, a development crucial in abstraction's incubation.

Within the art world specifically, the idea of a transnational avant-garde was fostered by the rampant proliferation of journals. Art historian David Cottington estimates that there were approximately 200 "little reviews" of art and culture in Paris alone in the decade preceding World War I.⁴⁷ Certain forums were particularly significant, one such being the *Blaue Reiter* almanac (fig. 6), founded by Kandinsky and Marc and first published in Munich in May 1912, then again in a widely distributed second edition in 1914. Marc wrote in the prospectus for the publication that it would "show the latest movements in French, German and Russian painting. Subtle connections are revealed between modern and Gothic and



8. MARIUS DE ZAYAS. "Femme! (Elle)." Poem and typographic layout with illustration "Voilà Elle" by Francis Picabia. Repr. in 291 no. 9 (November 1915). The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York

primitive art, connections with Africa and the vast Orient, with the highly expressive, spontaneous folk and children's art, and especially with the most recent musical developments in Europe and the new ideas for theater of our time."⁴⁶ In its very conception, then, the almanac aimed at a dissolution of boundaries - between national schools, temporal realms, and media. Kandinsky declared it his goal to "show that something was happening everywhere."49 An emergent modern exhibition culture — for this was the dawn of international loan shows—played a parallel function: pictures moved across borders to new audiences; images were distributed through print media; people took off in trains and cars. Kandinsky and Marc conceived the Blaue Reiter this way, with almanac and exhibiting society as complements to each other. By September 1911, Kandinsky was corresponding with artists in cities throughout Europe, soliciting both pictures for exhibitions and essays and images for publication.

In bringing people into contact, some figures play a disproportionate role. The author Malcolm Gladwell uses the term "connectors" to describe charismatic, socially adept people with contacts dispersed among many different social pools, and he stresses their importance in understanding how certain ideas may become suddenly, precipitously popular.⁵⁰ Connectors do the social work of many, facilitating relays of ideas among their broad acquaintance. One key actor in the development of abstraction was Kandinsky himself; another was certainly Apollinaire. The poet began to publish art criticism in 1910, following a long line of French writers who had done so, including Stendhal, Honoré de Balzac, Stéphane Mallarmé, and the brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt. Apollinaire quickly established himself as a formidable master of the new print-media world. In the period from 1910 to 1914, he wrote a column that appeared most days in L'Intransigeant, a paper with a daily print run of about 50,000 copies; and another for Paris-Journal, with a daily run of 40,000 copies.⁵¹ In 1912, with friends, he launched a review of his own, Les Soirées de Paris,⁵² which published poetry and cultural commentary of all sorts—reviews, feuilletons, and Apollinaire's polemical pieces on the direction of painting.

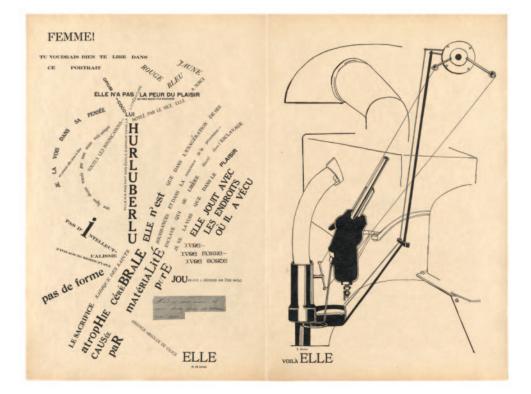
With these combined forums, Apollinaire played a key role in publicizing the incremental developments in the new modes of artistic abstraction. And in some respects he may have precipitated them: in the Francophone context, even before Kupka's and Picabia's audacious showings in the fall of 1912, it was Apollinaire who threw down the gauntlet, declaring in the first, February 1912 issue of Les Soirées de Paris that "the new painters paint

7. GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE. "Lettre-Océan"

(June 15, 1914). The Museum of Modern Art

Library, New York

(Ship-to-ship letter). Les Soirées de Paris no. 25



pictures which no longer have any real subject matter" (*sujet véritable*).⁵³ On the subject of Apollinaire, Delaunay wrote covly to Kandinsky in a letter of April 3, 1912, "I will speak to you sometime about the subject in painting, about an exciting conversation at the home of Apollinaire, who has begun to believe in us."54

For all Apollinaire's media savvy, his personal social reach was perhaps more remarkable. Picabia's wife, Gabrielle Buffet, considered Apollinaire "the most social, the most well-known, the most far-reaching man of his time."⁵⁵ He was a close friend of Picasso's, the one who introduced him to Georges Braque in 1907.⁵⁶ He recommended that Kupka read the color theory of Paul Signac.⁵⁷ He often accompanied Picabia on road trips in one of the latter's magnificent fleet of cars, and Buffet recalls the pair's endless discussions of abstraction.⁵⁵ He lived for a while with the Delaunays in late 1912, a key moment for our topic, and it was he, too, who introduced Sonia Delaunay-Terk to the poet Blaise Cendrars, an encounter that would result in their collaboration on La Prose du Transsibérien (plate 41).⁵⁹ In January 1913, he traveled with Robert Delaunay to Germany for the painter's show there at the Sturm gallery in Berlin, where he held court with the German Expressionists and gave an influential lecture on modern painting;⁶⁰ for the occasion, the duo published a catalogue of Delaunay's paintings, prefaced with a dedication (reproduced in the present volume on the half title page) and a poem, "Les Fenêtres" (The windows), by Apollinaire. When a delegation of Italian Futurists made an extended visit to Paris, he put up the poet-painter Carlo Carrà in his offices at Les Soirées de Paris, and the two saw each other almost daily,⁶¹ then produced graphically innovative free verse in quick succession-Apollinaire the first calligramme (fig. 7), Carrà parole in libertà (plate 112).⁶² (He even managed to broker a gallery contract between the Italian and Kahnweiler.)⁶³ Through Picabia, Apollinaire met the Mexican artist Marius de Zayas, who was scouting for Stieglitz in Paris in 1914, and whose rapturous report of the meeting prompted Stieglitz to begin an exchange of journals with Apollinaire through the mail. Not surprisingly, Stieglitz's journal 291 (fig. 8), appearing in 1915, was modeled in part on Les Soirées de Paris (fig. 7).64

The network through which the idea of abstraction spread is suggested in this book in a diagram (front endpapers), made with a tip of the hat to the famous chart that graced the cover of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.'s catalogue for his Cubism and Abstract Art exhibition, at The Museum of Modern Art in 1936 (plate 452). Vectors link individuals who knew each other, suggesting the unexpected density of contacts among abstraction's pioneers. Key

connectors can be discerned: they appear at the center of a burst of rays and include Kandinsky, Apollinaire, Stieglitz, Marinetti, and Tristan Tzara. Perhaps not surprisingly, at least on reflection, what many of these individuals have in common is the fact that they served, among their other roles, as editors of little reviews, building a network in their cross-border correspondence, commissioning manuscripts, requesting reproductions, and soliciting support.

IV

APOLLINAIRE WAS PERHAPS THE FIRST to give a name to this new phenomenon, distinguishing it from a generalized Cubism just weeks after Kupka displayed his Amorpha paintings at the Salon d'Automne, though he did not mention Kupka by name. The term he bestowed — Orphism-was both awkward and decidedly anachronistic: it paid homage to the mythical Greek poet/musician Orpheus, who had appeared in one of Apollinaire's poems of 1911 as an avatar of "pure poetry."⁵⁵ Evoking too the Orphic cults and the Alexandrians, the writers of the classical period who fascinated Apollinaire, it suggested a fusing of ancient mystery and modern image.⁶⁶ A spate of appellations for this new form of picture-making soon followed: pure painting (Apollinaire, Delaunay, Kandinsky, and the critic Maurice Raynal), new pictorial realism and variations thereof (Delaunay, Léger, Malevich, and Mondrian), objectless painting (Klee and Malevich in German and Russian respectively)-each indicative of subtle shifts in philosophical orientation.⁶⁷ The artists pursuing nonrepresentational painting splintered into an array of grouplets with neologistic self-nominations like "Ravism," "Synchromism," "Suprematism," "Unism," and so forth. Even so, as abstract pictures began to appear, the difficulty that observers and participants apparently had in finding a suitable name for them suggests how they continued to defy easy categorization.

The word that we have come to use as shorthand for painting that jettisons the depiction of things, the one that I use here—abstraction—had been in existence long before this moment. Georges Roque and Jean-Claude Lebensztejn have recently traced its evolution from early senses as a verbal act meaning "to remove," "to isolate."⁶⁸ By the sixteenth century, the word had the sense of "considering in isolation," of "separating accident from substance" (Lebensztejn), so that one might, for example, begin to define the "abstract sciences" as those removed from practical application or empirical study-that is, from real-world concerns. Here abstraction functions as an operation, the act of abstracting one thing from another, and this understanding is still present in early abstract works in which traces of descriptive subject matter abound. At times the figure seems to be aggressively effaced, layered under paint applied in a different mode (Kupka's Mme Kupka dans les verticales [Mme. Kupka among verticals, 1910-11; plate 25] or Léger's Femme en bleu); at others, shattered fragments of recognizable elements emerge as if to maintain ties between the artwork and things in the world (Delaunay's Fenêtres or Kandinsky's Komposition V), or vestiges of a natural or figurative motif seem to provide an armature for a new type of painting (Picabia's Source, Morton Schamberg's Figure (Geometric Patterns) [1913; plate 80], Mondrian's "The Trees" [1912; plate 252]). These elements are common enough to suggest that evacuating all ties to the natural world was not key to the models of abstraction first proposed around 1912.

When the term "abstraction" does appear in the sphere of art, in the nineteenth century, it was often deployed pejoratively to mean overly intellectual or theoretical. Charles Clément, for example, writing in 1868, described the work of the followers of Jacques-Louis David as characterized by "a tense style, an overspecialized search for shape which can only lead

to a kind of abstraction—to a coldness inevitable in conceptions which are determined by completely false and rigid pictorial ideas."⁶⁹ Yet in an essay of the same year, Charles Baudelaire broached a new sense of abstraction as a language separate from nature, humanly created and therefore essentially artificial: "In nature there is neither line nor color. Line and color have been created by man. They are abstractions.... The pleasures we derive in them are of a different sort, yet they are perfectly equal to and absolutely independent of the subject of the picture."⁷⁰ Wilhelm Worringer's book *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Abstraction and empathy), of 1908—actually written in 1906, as a doctoral thesis reintroduced the term at a moment in which it resonated with conversations within the international avant-garde. Although Worringer did not speak of contemporary art, he described a "will to abstraction" in both primitive and modern societies, a common expression of anxiety and vulnerability in relation to an external world not confidently mastered. The "aim of abstraction"-here Worringer picked up on the meaning of the word as an isolating operation—was "to wrest the object of the external world out of its natural context, out of the unending flux of being, to purify it of all its dependence upon life, i.e. of everything about it that was arbitrary, to render it necessary and irrefragable, to approximate it to its absolute value."⁷⁷ The text had great impact, especially in German avant-garde circles around Berlin's Sturm gallery; its importance for Kandinsky is signaled in his declaration of "our sympathy, our understanding, our inner feeling for the primitives" on the opening page of On the Spiritual in Art,⁷² and his use of the term "abstraction" in that essay probably also shows its influence. Some of the connotations Worringer found in the "will to abstraction"-separation from the world, purity, arbitrariness, ideas of the absolute-have likewise lingered.

V

THE PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST ABSTRACT PAINTINGS was matched by equally momentous developments in other spheres. New types of music celebrated sound, independent of compositional or harmonic development; Futurist *parole in libertà* (words in liberty), Russian *zaum* (transrational poetry), and Dadaist sound poetry privileged the graphic and aural quality of language over communicative comprehensibility; and dance abandoned its traditional grounding in costumed narrative to stress the kinesthetic movement of the body. Scholars have long noted the historical coincidence of these phenomena but not often the fact that they were deeply linked, not only through their similar challenges to the conventions of their respective genres but also through important relationships among key figures in these different disciplines, relationships that facilitated the movement of ideas across media.

Marc tells a famous story about Kandinsky's embrace of abstraction.⁷³ He first met the Russian artist in Munich, at a New Year's Eve party celebrating the incoming year of 1911. That night they began an intense and productive friendship that would include the cofounding of the *Blaue Reiter* group and the publication of the *Blaue Reiter* almanac. Two days later, on January 2, 1911, these new friends, along with Aleksei Jawlensky, Marianne Werefkin, and Kandinsky's companion, Gabriele Münter, attended a concert of music by the Viennese composer Arnold Schoenberg. The crowd was dumbfounded but the artists were dazzled; over drinks after the concert, they excitedly discussed the congruence they recognized between Schoenberg's music, his theories (his writing had been published in the program), and Kandinsky's painting. On January 14, in a letter to the artist August Macke, Marc wrote of the evening, "Can you imagine a music in which tonality (that is, the adherence

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374

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- 139, 142, 149, 156, 165, 168, 170, 190, 248, 264, 284, 291, 298, 300 199, 149, 149, 150, 169, 169, 190, 140, 240, 241, 241, 243, 245, 305, 307, 379, 386, 400–403, 440, 442, 443, 466 David Allison pl. 280. Peter Butler: pls. 220, 221, 225–39, 292, 361. Robert Gerhardt: pls. 10, 15–17, 21, 341, 342. Thomas Griesel: pls. 167, 183, 274, 290, 343, 380, 449, 450. Kate Keller: pls. 5, 157, 192, 193, 217, 249, 446-48 Paige Knight: pls. 269, 405. Jonathan Muzikar: p. 21, fig. 8; pls. 14, 25, 86, 87, 95, 145, 159, 160, 255, 285, 385. Mali Olatunji: pls. 31, 32.
- John Wronn: pls. 35, 56–73, 107, 135, 136, 158, 161, 162, 164, 173, 176, 214, 224, 247, 251, 276–79, 281–83, 287, 312–22, 330, 346, 347, 384, 387, 388, 399. Courtesy Muzeum Plakatu w Wilanowie, Warsaw: pl. 390
- Courtesy Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi PJ, 836, 390. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.: pl. 143. Courtesy Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam: pls. 288, 289. Courtesy New York Academy of Medicine: pls. 4244, 445, 451. © 2012 Fundación Petroruti: 107. Courtesy Maria Graciela and Luis

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fig. 12; pls. 194–199, 201, 203, 204. Courtesy St. Petersburg State Archive of Cinema, Photo and Sound

Documents: p. 33, fig. 16; pl. 205. Courtesy Staatsgalerie Stuttgart: pl. 363. Courtesy State Museum of Contemporary Art-Costakis Collection,

Thessaloníki: pls. 127, 240–46, 295. Courtesy State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg: p. 27, fig. 17; pls. 200,

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Endpapers: the diagram on the front endpapers maps the nexus of relationships among the artists represented in the exhibition and book Inventing Abstraction 1910-1925. Vectors connect artists whose acquaintance with one another during these years could be documented; the names in red are those with the most connections within this group. The chart was a collaboration among the exhibition's curatorial and design team and Paul Ingram, Kravis Professor of Business, and Mitali Banerjee, doctoral candidate, Columbia Business School. Contributors at MoMA were: Allegra Burnette, Masha Chlenova, Ingrid Chou, Leah Dickerman, Sabine Dowek, Jasmine Helm, Nina Léger, Jodi Roberts, and Catherine Wheeler. The back endpapers list the artists, and their birthplaces, birth and death dates, and the countries where they worked during the period covered by the exhibition.

Halftitle: Guillaume Apollinaire. Dedication preceding Apollinaire's poem Les Fenêtres (Windows) in R. Delaunay, the catalogue for a Delaunay exhibition at Der Sturm gallery, Berlin, January-February 1913. 13³/₈ x 10⁻⁵/₈" (34 x 27 cm). Paris: André Marty, 1913. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. The text reads in translation, "I Love the Art of today because I Love/Light above all and all people/Love Light above all/they invented Fire/G A"

Title: Anton Giulio Bragaglia. Cambio di posizione (Change of position). 1911. Gelatin silver print, 5¹/₁₆ x 7¹/₁₆" (12.8 x 17.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gilman Collection, Purchase, The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation Gift, through Joyce and Robert Menschel

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