EXPRESSIONISM, CONSTRUCTIVISM AND THE TRANSNATIONALITY OF THE HISTORICAL AVANT-GARDE

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The historiography of the historical avant-garde in the first decades of the twentieth century is marked by a curious paradox. On the one hand, it is labelled time after time as 'international' and 'European'. On the other hand, its history is almost always written in a national framework. There are, meanwhile, many panoramas of the early avant-garde which cover some wider region or Europe as a whole (or even include manifestations of the avant-garde on other continents). However, even these more general comprehensive descriptions are usually also parcelled and partitioned in terms of national entities or descriptions of avant-garde movements and manifestations in separately described national contexts.[1] Thus, in common avant-garde historiography, the apparent internationality of the avant-garde turns out to be a historiographic addition. In other words, the history of the European avant-garde is – on closer investigation and according to the existing historiography – not the history of an international or transnational European phenomenon at all, but rather a collection of national stories, which are sometimes completely confined to the presence of the avant-garde within one nation. While they might sometimes be connected to other avant-garde movements in other countries, these histories generally stand on their own.

Characteristic of this nationally segmented description of the historical avant-garde is the common practice of attributing national predicates to its individual movements and currents. Expressionism is thus regarded as 'German', cubism as 'French', futurism as 'Italian' or 'Russian', and surrealism once more as 'French' – just to name a few. Although, for example, alongside German expressionism, Dutch, Flemish, Danish, Swedish, Polish and Hungarian versions or continuations of expressionism are distinguished,[2] the 'main' form of expressionism is still regarded as essentially

[1] See Benson, *Central European Avant-Gardes*; Van den Berg and Fähnders, *Metzler Lexikon Avantgarde*; Bury, *Breaking the Rules*; Stanislawski and Brockhaus, *Europa, Europa*; Waetzoldt, *Tendenzen der Zwanziger Jahre*; Weisgerber, *Les Avant-gardes littéraires au XXe siècle*.

[2] See Brinkmann, *Expressionismus*; Weisstein, *Expressionism*.

'German'.[3] Generally, this policy of attributing individual avant-garde isms to individual nations has only one major exception: Dada. As a rule, Dada is described right from the start as a decisively international movement. True or not, Dada is often seen as the radical odd-man-out of the historical avant-garde, not only in its apparently exclusively destructive, nihilist programmatic, but also due to the assumption that Dada, as it emerged in Zurich in 1916, was basically an artistic response to the First World War.[4]

However, in addition to the 'exception' of Dada, there is at least one other historical avant-garde movement which has had its inter-, trans- and supranationality firmly established in the past decade: constructivism.[5] It had also been described and still is described in avant-garde history as a nationally segmented movement, whose inception was and still is usually located in one particular country, in other words – at least regarding its origin – as another nationally based contribution to the international movement.[6] At the same time, however, for many years constructivism has been recognised as an inter- or even supranational movement with parallel centres in many different countries – between the North Sea and the Urals, between the Netherlands and the Soviet Union, with the latter two often being regarded, amongst possible others, as the essential cradles of constructivism.

If we assume that in addition to the indisputable transnationality of the seemingly exceptional Dada movement, constructivism was also marked by a likewise indisputable transnationality, which nevertheless has been described in conventional avant-garde historiography in national segments, the following question arises: To what extent was international constructivism yet another exception, or does the case of constructivism (and Dada) point rather to a more general feature of the historical avant-garde?

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[3] See Betthausen, *Expressionisten*; Dube, *The Expressionists*; Elger, *Expressionismus*; Furness, *Expressionism*; Hamann and Hermand, *Expressionismus*; Rötzer, *Begriffsbestimmung des literarischen Expressionismus*; Vogt, *Expressionismus*.

[4] See Meyer et al., *Dada global*.

[5] See Van den Berg, 'Übernationalität'; Van den Berg, 'Die inter-/übernationale Vernetzung'; Van den Berg, 'A world-wide network'; Benson, *Central European Avant-Gardes*; Elderfield, 'On the Dada-Constructivist Axis'; Finkeldey et al., *K.I. Konstruktivistische Internationale schöpferische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*; Fabre and Wintgens Hötte, *Van Doesburg and the International Avant-Garde*; Honisch and Prinz, 'Vom Konstruktivismus zur konkreten Kunst'; Orchard, *Merzgebiete*; Tuijn, *Mon cher ami... Lieber Does*.

[6] For constructivism as a Polish contribution to the avant-garde see Olschowsky, *Der Mensch in den Dingen*; on constructivism as a Dutch contribution see Fontijn, 'Het constructivisme'.

As this article intends to show, transnational constructivism and its nationally parcelled historiography can indeed be regarded as *pars pro toto* for the historical avant-garde as a whole. This is not just the case for the period after the First World War, as a response to it, but already before the war, when the national character of the main 'isms' of the avant-garde – futurism, cubism and expressionism – seems almost indisputable, at least as far as their origin is concerned. Without excluding the possibility of the formation of some avant-garde movements in one single country only, with one single language and one national framework, the second part of this article will show that the same transnationality that marked constructivism can also be found in a movement commonly described as a product of a specific national tradition, that is, expressionism, which seems – following conventional historiography – to be inextricably bound up with the *Sonderweg*, the assumedly unique road taken by Germany and German culture. However, as this article intends to show, expressionism was no less transnational than constructivism, which was likewise treated as a nationally based movement in many historiographical accounts, sometimes as essentially Russian, sometimes as essentially Dutch or e.g. Polish[7] in a way kindred to the reduction of expressionism to a basically German phenomenon.

Constructivism – transnationality, universalism and the Great War

Constructivism was marked – in contrast to the (re-)emergence of nationalisms in the 1920s and 1930s – by a decisive trans- or even supranational character. It could be found in many different countries, mainly in Northwestern and Central and Eastern Europe, from Copenhagen to Belgrade, and from London to Moscow, but also in France. Although Paris might be regarded in an avant-garde context primarily as the capital of surrealism in the interwar period, it also harboured constructivist groups such as the Cercle et Carré and later Abstraction, Création, Art nonfiguratif.[8] Constructivism – alongside surrealism the main European avant-garde 'ism' between the two World Wars, had its origins in many different countries, its transnationality explained in part by these many origins. One root was to be found in Russia, where the term 'constructivism' was actually coined in the Moscow Institute for Artistic Culture (INChUK) in 1921.[9] Another root was situated in the Netherlands, where Theo van Doesburg, Piet Mondrian and others started the review *De Stijl* in 1917.[10] In addition, in Switzerland, sec-

[7] Van den Berg, 'Übernationalität', pp. 255-257.
[8] See Seuphor, *De Stijl – Cercle et carré*.
[9] See Beeren, *The Great Utopia*.
[10] See Blotkamp, *De Stijl*.

tions of the Zurich Dada group were intertwined with the Neues Leben and Radikale Künstler groups which developed in a constructivist direction in 1918-1919.[11] Finally, cubism – in France and other countries – constituted another root; it was not incidental that constructivism was also termed 'neo-cubism' by contemporaries, including several of the artists involved.

In addition to the transnational composition of the movement – which in itself is not just characteristic of constructivism (or Dada) but, as suggested above, also for most other avant-garde isms, even if they are described in national terms, as was expressionism – and despite its specific, be it in itself quite heterogeneous, diverse aesthetic, the explicit stress on its inter- and transnationality can be seen as one of the major features of the actual programmatic of constructivism. In this respect, it can be regarded as an early twentieth-century version of a vision of a transnational culture without borders.

From a long-term historical perspective, the transnational dimension of constructivism might be regarded as neither spectacular nor typical. Apart from the fact that nationalism or perhaps rather the nation and the national are essentially cultural constructions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[12] and not in any way – as it were – natural fault lines of the human race, it is also apparent that from prehistoric times cultural and aesthetic, literary and artistic practices have been exchanged and shared between different cultural communities. These communities can be found in different locations, may be part of different states or other political structures, speak different languages and have different religions or other cultural frameworks. Despite all these borders and barriers and notwithstanding the fact that genuine differences can be discerned between communities that are localised at various levels (at a 'national' or regional level or merely confined to one city or even a single neighbourhood), at the same time one can observe that – if we confine ourselves to art and literature – certain related or even identical elements of style, of aesthetics and poetics, can be found in these different communities. Late nineteenth-century realism and naturalism may have had specific features depending on the town, the country or the language, but there was still an unmistakably international transfer of concepts and practices which could relate, for example, Leo Tolstoy, Emile Zola, Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg and Gerhart Hauptmann to each other.

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[11] See Elderfield, 'On the Dada-Constructivist Axis'; Heller and Windhöfel, 'Das Neue Leben'; Von Hofacker, *Hans Richter*; Seiwert, *Marcel Janco*.

[12] See Gellner, *Nationalismus und Moderne*; Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*; Schultze, 'Gibt es überhaupt eine deutsche Geschichte?'; Schultze, *Phoenix Europa*.

The fact that a number of artists and writers from different countries and/or different linguistic backgrounds were working in the avant-garde, by and large in the same direction, sharing somehow similar aesthetic and poetic principles and involved in compatible practices, as well as using similar denominations, in our case under the umbrella of 'constructivism', is a fact that in itself is anything but new or unusual.

However, the international, or rather supranational, character of the constructivist sections of the historical avant-garde in the late 1910s, 1920s and 1930s exhibits two distinctive features. Firstly, this inter- or transnational character is very much stressed – again and again – in programmatic writings of a constructivist provenance. Internationality was apparently regarded as a virtue to be mentioned explicitly, as a common aim to be pursued – and not as something self-evident. Secondly, this inter- or transnational character not only remained a good intention. At least to some extent it was combined with sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful attempts to develop some form of international organisation or at least collaboration, to create a constructivist network crossing state and language borders. As far as the explicit, ostentatious reference to an acclaimed inter- or supranational programmatic is concerned, a brief look at the titles of many constructivist journals and book publications, exhibitions and meetings suffices. The titles stressed again and again their ambition to transcend national boundaries; for example, the Dutch *internationale revue i10*, *Transition. An International Workshop for Orphic Creation*, the Polish *Revue internationale d'avangarde Blok*, the Serbian *Internacionalna revija Zenit*, the Romanian *Revista de Arta Constructivista Internationala Punct*, the Czech magazines *Pásmo. Revue internationale moderne* and *Fronta, internationaler Almanach der Aktivität der Gegenwart*, and the Parisian *Documents internationaux de l'Esprit Nouveau*.

A clear-cut antinationalist stance played a substantial role in the programmatic internationality of constructivism, as nationalism was regarded as one of the main causes of the Armageddon of the Great War. An example are some programmatic reflections by Kurt Schwitters in the mid1920s. In the second issue of *Merz* in April 1923, he wrote 'that our lack of culture can continue to exist also without war (...) we are still in the middle of the deepest peace, a war can still be avoided'.[13] A year later Schwitters related the possibility of war to nationalist sentiments, which he regarded as both ridiculous and dangerous. His objection to a 'particular sense of nationality' ('partikulares Nationalitätsgefühl'), which implied that 'it is a virtue for a

[13] Schwitters, *Das literarische Werk*, vol. 5, p. 142: '... daß auch ohne Krieg unsere Kulturlosigkeit bestehen bleiben kann (...), noch sind wir mitten im tiefsten Frieden, noch läßt sich ein Krieg vermeiden'.

German to have a German sense of nationality and a sin to sympathise with the French nation', is notable.[14] Against this, Schwitters proposed a 'general humanitarian sense' ('allgemeines Menschlichkeitsgefühl'), which he also termed a 'general sense of nationality' ('allgemeines Nationalitätsgefühl') [15] and 'sense of global nationality' ('Weltnationalitätsgefühl'),[16] which was marked by 'supranationality' ('Übernationalität'), rather than 'internationality':

> Anyone, who is supranational, has no understanding of the hate among nations. (…) there is no logical reason that forces me as a human being into one community. I come from Hannover. I can say: 'My national sentiment is restricted to the city of Hannover, excluding the neighbouring town of Lingen. Or [it is restricted] to the Waldhausenstraße, to be precise: to left side. On the other side live my enemies. I position my machine gun in front of my house and I simply gun down all passers-by.' As you see, despite all sacredness through common use and exercise, the usual concepts of a particular national sentiment and a particular patriotism are a bit comic, not to be confused with cosmic.[17]

Schwitters's remarks not only indicate a profound dislike of nationalism but also point to another important intertext of the constructivist demise of nationalism: the basic assumption that constructivist 'new art' had to follow universal principles and laws. In his essay in *Der Sturm*, Schwitters drew a parallel between the proposed general sentiment of supranationality and 'constructive-abstract art' as a 'consequence of the artistic endeavours of all times'.[18] In an essay entitled 'Nationale Kunst' in the Flemish journal *Het Overzicht*, Schwitters returned to his rejection of national art:

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[14] *Ibidem*, pp. 196-197: '[f]ür einen Deutschen es eine Tugend (...), deutsches Nationalitätsgefühl zu haben und (…) es eine Sünde, für die französische Nation zu fühlen'.
[15] *Ibidem*.
[16] Cited in Van den Berg, 'De ware dadaïsten zijn anti-dadaïsten', p. 169.
[17] Schwitters, *Das literarische Werk*, vol. 5, pp. 197-198: 'Wer übernational ist, hat kein Verständnis für Haß von Nationen untereinander. (...) es [gibt] keinen logischen Grund (...), der mich als Menschen in eine Gemeinschaft zwingt. Ich stamme aus Hannover. Ich kann sagen: "Mein Nationalitätsgefühl beschränkt sich auf Hannover-Stadt mit Ausschluß der Nachbarstadt Lingen. Oder auf die Waldhausenstraße, und zwar linke Seite, auf der ich wohne. Gegenüber wohnen meine Feinde. Ich stelle mein Maschinengewehr vor mein Haus und schieße jeden Passanten einfach tot." Sie sehen, bei aller Heiligkeit aus Gewohnheit und Übung sind doch die üblichen Begriffe des partikularen Nationalitätsgefühles und der partikularen Vaterlandsliebe ein wenig komisch, nicht zu verwechseln mit kosmisch'.
[18] *Ibidem*, p. 196.

> Art is directed at humanity, irrespective of whether one is German, French, Russian, from Luxemburg, a democrat, All-German, bourgeois or bolshevist. It is the most distinguished responsibility of art to improve and educate humanity, as it is the expression of the sense of humanity of the noblest among human beings, at least occasionally. At least this should be the responsibility of art. I do not want to polemicise against wars, hate among nations, discord, brutal violence and battles of different kinds. I only want to protect art against servitude of any kind. Art cannot and may not serve. (...) How can art originate from love for a nation? Only a sense of nationality can result from that. From love for art, however, only a work of art results.[19]

Schwitters was not the only one who presented internationality or, in his case, supranationality, as a new universal attitude that transcended and overcame 'particular nationalism' and 'particular patriotism'. This line of reasoning is in fact typical of the constructivist claim to represent and advance a new fundamental universality, which can also be observed in some remarks by the Polish avant-garde artist Henryk Berlewi about an international avant-garde meeting and exhibition in Düsseldorf in 1922, which would lead to the foundation of a 'Constructivist International':[20]

> The notion of progress in art has until now been entirely relative and usually subject to local conditions. This kind of particularism in art could have no rationale. Recently, in some countries, artists have shown the will to break down barriers (…) to have a universal exchange of values. (…) The internationalisation of art – art belonging to the whole of humanity – has turned out to be an unavoidable necessity. (…) A world-wide network of periodicals has appeared, propagating and arguing for new ideas and new forms (…) [T]he generally international character of the whole movement (…) substantiate[s] the claim that

[19] *Ibidem*, pp. 199-200: 'Die Kunst wendet sich nur an den Menschen, ganz gleich, ob er Deutscher, Franzose, Russe, Luxemburger, Demokrat, Alldeutscher, Bourgeois oder Bolschewist ist. Es ist die vornehmste Aufgabe der Kunst, den Menschen zu bilden, zu erziehen, denn sie ist Ausdruck des Menschlichkeitsgefühls der edelsten unter den Menschen, manchmal wenigstens. Das sollte wenigstens die Aufgabe der Kunst sein. Es soll hier nicht polemisiert werden gegen Kriege, Nationenhaß, Hader, rohe Gewalt und Kämpfe aller Art. Hier soll nur die Kunst geschützt werden, daß sie in den Dienst von irgend etwas gestellt wird. Kunst kann und Kunst darf nicht dienen. (...) Wie kann aus Liebe zur Nation Kunst entstehen? Daraus kann nur Nationalitätsgefühl erwachsen. Aus Liebe zur Kunst aber entsteht nur ein Kunstwerk'.

[20] See Finkeldey et al., *K.I. Konstruktivistische Internationale schöpferische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*.

> we are going through a period of transformation of traditional notions about art.[21]

In this context, a manifesto published in the review *Merz*, signed by and sometimes attributed to Schwitters, yet written by Theo van Doesburg – the 'Manifest Proletkunst' from February 1923[22] – gestures to another point of reference for constructivist inter- or supranationalism. This manifesto addressed a discussion among constructivists concerning how their aesthetic avant-gardism should be related to that other political avant-garde – the communist party as the vanguard of the proletariat. Whereas others regarded this political vanguard – in simple terms – as the ultimate, supreme avant-garde, Van Doesburg and Schwitters rejected any subordination to the other, political vanguard. It is noteworthy that in the opening article of a general panorama of the aesthetic avant-garde in the Dutch review *Het Getij*, published in 1921-1922, Van Doesburg still regarded both the political and the aesthetic avant-garde as two branches of the same phenomenon.[23] In this respect, it may not be accidental that Van Doesburg and others who regarded the aesthetic avant-garde as supreme, also incorporated internationalism, which had been – as it were – a trade mark of the socialist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, into the programmatic of their aesthetic avant-gardism.

Nationalism and internationality

In relation to the extent to which constructivist internationality was a specific trait of this avant-garde movement or rather characteristic for the avant-garde as a whole – or at least for wider sections of the avant-garde – the following question arises: Was the constructivist opposition of universalism versus particularism or Schwitters's opposition of supranationality versus particular nationality indeed specifically constructivist, or can they be regarded as general features of the historical avant-garde?

An obvious counter-example seems to be the case of Italian futurism. On first sight, Italian futurism was marked by an obsessive adoration of *Italianità*, by chauvinist rhetoric and the endless recycling of nationalist clichés, by an aggressive, militarist nationalism and an unmistakable proximity to fascism. Italian futurism was at first sight – to say the least – anything but 'supranational'. In a scheme such as 'Sintesi Futurista della guerra' and

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[21] Cited in Benson, *Central European Avant-Gardes*, p. 64.
[22] See Van Doesburg, 'Anti-tendenzkunst'.
[23] See Van Doesburg, 'Revue der Avant-garde'.

a pamphlet such as *Parole in libertà*,[24] both from 1915, the futurist leader Filippo Tommaso Marinetti presents – to use Schwitters's terms – 'the hate among nations' as something good.

However, Marinetti and most other Italian futurists simultaneously operated in an unmistakably international way. The first futurist manifesto was published in French in Paris in *Le Figaro* in 1909. The first major futurist exhibition was held in the Parisian gallery Bernheim-Jeune, followed by an international tour through Europe, in part orchestrated by the Berlin gallery Der Sturm. Remarkable is also a manifesto by Marinetti from 1924, in a year when Marinetti was already heavily involved in fascism. The manifesto is entitled 'Le Futurisme mondial'.[25] It claims that futurism must be seen as a global phenomenon and contains a long list of futurists from across Europe and the world. Many of the names are normally associated with other currents – cubism, expressionism, Dada or constructivism – and their inclusion definitely indicates Marinetti's pretension to be the *capo di tutti capi* of the contemporary avant-garde. It also indicates that along with more general terms such as 'new art', 'young art' and 'modern art', terms such as 'futurism', 'cubism' and 'expressionism' also served as denominations with a much wider scope and a much wider purport in the 1910s and 1920s, compared with the more limited way they are used in historiography today. However, what is important here, in regard to the question of to what extent the case of constructivist internationality can be regarded as *pars pro toto* for the avant-garde as a whole, we can see that Italian futurism is, on the one hand, marked by a radical belligerent nationalism yet, on the other hand, also presents itself as an international, global movement.

Marinetti's 'Le Futurisme mondial' is not the only proof. Another example is the Italian futurist journal *Noi*, which participated in the international network of the constructivist avant-garde. *Noi* was originally named *Raccolta internazionale d'arte d'avanguardia* (International harvest of avant-garde art), in 1917, but after the fascist takeover of Italy in 1922 became the *Rivista internazionale dei Futuristi* (International review of the futurists), subordinating itself to the futurist leadership of Marinetti and conforming politically to the new fascist-nationalist order of Mussolini. Nonetheless, it still presented in advertisement-like form its allegiance with a large number of foreign avant-garde reviews, which could also be found in other the constructivist magazines abroad emphasising the international dimension of constructivism through an overview of their international rela-

[24] See Lista, *Marinetti et le futurisme*; Berghaus, *International Futurism*.
[25] Marinetti, 'Le Futurisme mondial', also reproduced in Lista, *Marinetti et le futurisme*, n.p.

tions.[26] The case of *Noi* shows that Marinetti's 'Le Futurisme mondial' was not a slip of the pen or some bad joke. It demonstrates again that nationalism on the one hand and internationality on the other were, at least in the Italian avant-garde, not conflicting concepts.

Something similar can be observed in the case of the Berlin expressionist review *Der Sturm*, and the gallery of the same name, which printed and exhibited artists and writers from across Europe (and beyond), and not in only Berlin but throughout – in particular – Northwestern and Central Europe and also in Japan and America.[27] It was Der Sturm that in the early 1910s brought the futurists and Der Blaue Reiter, amongst others, to Brussels, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Christiania/Oslo, Trondheim and Helsinki.[28] When Kandinsky was attacked by a mediocre critic from Hamburg who preferred nationalist *Heimatkunst*, the editor of *Der Sturm*, Herwarth Walden, answered with a campaign 'Für Kandinsky' (For Kandinsky) as the ultimate representative of a new international art.

The first issue of *Der Sturm* that was devoted to this campaign, published in March 1913, gathers together most of the protagonists of the early pre-war historical avant-garde, among them Kandinsky, Marinetti and Apollinaire.[29] It is a truly international panorama of the early avant-garde in eight pages, one might say. This issue of *Der Sturm* is certainly an indication of its profound internationality and of the rest of the early European avant-garde. However, this internationality should not be mistaken for internationalism, as indicated by the exploits of Walden, his Swedish wife Nell Roslund and other artists and writers belonging to the circle around *Der Sturm* journal and its gallery during the Great War that soon followed. Walden continued with Der Sturm as an artistic enterprise, but started simultaneously a private intelligence agency on the premises,[30] working for and heavily financially supported by the German General Command, the German navy and Foreign Office. Walden's agency collected, translated and analysed information mainly from the press in the neutral Scandinavian

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[26] These tableaus can be found, for example, on the back covers of *Ma. Internacionális aktivista müvészeti folyóirat* 8: 1 (1922), 9: 1 (1923); *Manomètre* 6 (1924); *Noi. Rivista internazionale dei Futuristi* 6-9 (1924), no. 6-9; *Het Overzicht. Halfmaandeliks tijdschrift. Kunst, letteren, mensheid* 22-24 (1925).

[27] See Alms and Steinmetz, *Der Sturm im Berlin der zehner Jahre*; Brühl, *Herwarth Walden*; Reidemeister, *Der Sturm*.

[28] Westheider, 'Die Tournee'.

[29] As in the special *Der Sturm* issue devoted to this campaign, *Der Sturm. Wochenschrift für Kultur und Kunst* 3: 150-151 (1913).

[30] See Van den Berg, '… wir müssen mit und durch Deutschland'; Van den Berg, 'Berlin ist die Hauptstadt der Vereinigten Staaten von Europa'; Van den Berg, 'Der Sturm als Kunsthandlung und Nachrichtenbüro'; Winskell, 'The Art of Propaganda'.

countries and the Netherlands, and simultaneously supplied the press in these countries with German propaganda. Here he even produced a Danish pro-German journal called *Nutiden* (the lay-out of which shows a striking similarity with *Der Sturm*). At the same time, however, Walden still organised (and in fact used his privileged position as a secret agent to do so) an exhibition in 1918 in Georg Kleis's Copenhagen gallery devoted to 'International Kunst. Ekspressionister og Kubister' with works by German, Swedish, Dutch, French, Russian, Czech and Spanish artists, in other words, artists from the Central powers, from the Entente and from neutral countries.[31]

Internationality and nationalism in the constructivist movement

It might be asked how it is possible to be unmistakably international on the one hand and no less unmistakably nationalist on the other. It might seem paradoxical, but the international and national can go hand in hand, or at least coexist. If we focus on constructivism, some forms of internationality, for example the supranationality advocated by Schwitters, might indeed oppose or exclude any nationalism. The label 'internationality' covers, as pointed out in the introduction to this volume, at least three related but not identical phenomena which can be found throughout the avant-garde and as such also in constructivism.

In addition to a practical internationality resulting from a first wave of globalisation in the late nineteenth century, through new means of transport and communication which allowed the rapid circulation of people and ideas, there were at least two different ideological-programmatic modes of internationality. Firstly, internationalisation and globalisation were already seen as basic features of modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and as such idolised as signs of new, modern times. Secondly, being modern and being more than modern implied being international or even more: being supranational, or cosmopolitan, based on the awareness that modern life increasingly assumed an international, a global character. Alongside this ostentatious internationality or, one might call it, cosmopolitanism, which allowed nationality and nationalism to exist as the focus of a local identity within an international, European or even global context, a third form of internationality can be distinguished, which might be labelled internationalism. This notion of internationalism, found in the socialist worker's movement, opposed nationalism and rejected the nation as a viable concept, as it was considered that it created new or revived old barriers which obscured both a more universal understanding of humanity and more 'real' lines of conflict such as class. In a way, a term used in the Esperanto

[31] See Walden, *Der Sturm. International Kunst*.

movement – 'anationalism' – could be seen here as more precise. Moreover, the case of the Esperanto movement also indicates that this anational or antinational internationalism was not only a matter that concerned the socialist movement.

In relation to constructivism, there can be no doubt that all three forms of internationalism can be found. Firstly, the constructivist movement was unmistakably an international network on a practical level. Secondly, when, time after time, constructivist journals stress their internationality, this is most certainly also meant to emphasise their progressive, modern character. Finally, when Schwitters propagates *Übernationalität*, this is clearly a statement of internationalism kindred with the internationalism of the socialist and Esperanto movement.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that this triple sense of internationality was characteristic of the constructivist movement as a whole. One finds in the international network of constructivism, comparable with the Italian futurists and with the case of *Der Sturm*, for example, Yugoslavian, or to more precise, Zagreb-based Serbian review *Zenit*, edited by Ljubomir Micić. While the complete title of *Zenit* reads, *Internacionalna revija Zenit* (International review Zenit), and it included articles and images of works of art of writers and artists from all parts of Europe, among them the French-German writer Ivan Goll as a regular contributor, *Zenit* was also the central organ of zenitism, Micić's special brand of constructivism which had clear-cut Serbian nationalist overtones. According to his 'Manifesto of Zenitism' from 1921, 'the barbarian genius of the South-East'[32] (Serbia and Yugoslavia) had to rise up against Western, Northern and Central Europe and destroy the perverted culture coming from 'the suburbs of the fast and infectious metropolises of Western Europe'.[33] In a later manifesto, entitled 'Manifesto to the Barbarians of the Mind and Thought on all Continents' (note the global touch here), he even calls for a 'Balkanisation of Europe'.[34]

As for the original question, whether the case of constructivism can be regarded as *pars pro toto* for the historical avant-garde, the answer is can be positive. In general, the avant-garde was marked by both a practical internationality and by an ostentatious internationality or cosmopolitanism serving as an affirmative indication of modernity. As the case of constructivism shows, these different strands of internationalities coincide with seemingly opposite tendencies in the same movement. Decisive internationalism can be found next to and in part even intermingled with nationalist tendencies.

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[32] Cited in Siegel, *In unseren Seelen*, p. 116.
[33] *Ibidem*, p. 114.
[34] *Ibidem*, p. 133.

However, one might argue that in constructivism, internationality eclipses nationalisms, whereas nationality eclipses internationalism in other avant-garde movements.

The internationality of expressionism

We can now ask whether other movements, which in conventional avant-garde historiography are attributed a specific national provenance, were actually inclined to such a nationalist pole. Were the three main isms of the historical avant-garde before the First World War – cubism, expressionism and futurism – indeed primarily movements with a particular national background? Was cubism basically French, expressionism German and futurism Italian, and was it indeed the Great War that turned Dada into the first truly international and internationalist avant-garde movement and constructivism into a similar international and internationalist current in the early 1920s, as conventional avant-garde historiography seems to claim? A closer look at 'German' expressionism suggests that the conventional way of denominating and – as it were – nationalising the early avant-garde leads to a rather distorted, inadequate picture of the historical situation before the First World War, distracting us from the fact that expressionism might have comprised nationalist factions, but was simultaneously – comparable with constructivism – also a profoundly international movement, based on an international network, marked by an outspoken modernist cosmopolitanism and to some extent also by a decisive internationalism.

The case of 'German' expressionism is not only interesting as a kind of prehistory of constructivism (most Central European constructivists started as expressionists), but also as another example of the distorting, misleading effect of the inadequate, yet still all too common, conventional parcellation of European cultural history into national segments, albeit, in comparison with the case of constructivism, in a slightly different way. Whereas in the case of constructivism, national parcellation leads to historiographic fragmentation and, as it were, the posthumous disintegration of a transnational phenomenon into national bits and pieces, in the case of expressionism this parcellation had an almost opposite effect, pushing the expressionist movement, which in every respect was international and to a considerable extent internationalist, into the straitjacket of one single nationality. In other words, nationally parcelled historiography turned international expressionism into a German national phenomenon.

Certainly, in the historiography of the avant-garde one not only finds expressionism in Germany. One also finds, for example, Flemish, Dutch, Danish and Swedish expressionism, but these 'other' expressionisms are found to derive from the first and main branch of expressionism which is

generally situated in Germany, and in many cases it could indeed be argued that they chronologically followed the German example. However, was the 'original' as German as current historiography still wants us to believe? Moreover, was this origin not just simply German, but exceedingly German, a typical product of German national cultural history, a product of what in German is called *der deutsche Sonderweg*, the special road taken by Germany with all its pitfalls and catastrophes?[35] If this would be true indeed, expressionism is a phenomenon which should be studied primarily as part, or as a product and specific manifestation, of German cultural history, which should be seen against the background of the social, political, economic and cultural climate in the Wilhelmine, Second German Empire.[36] A reference to this *Sonderweg*, this special road, can be found in many publications on expressionism, not only in the context of German literary studies but also in the wider setting of avant-garde studies. For example, the German-Swedish catalogue *Svenkt avantgarde och Der Sturm I Berlin/Schwedische Avantgarde und Der Sturm in Berlin*, which accompanied an exhibition in the Kulturen museum in Lund and the art museum in Osnabrück, contains an article on Walden and *Der Sturm* subtitled 'En tysk särling inom Modernismen/Ein deutscher Sonderweg der Moderne'.[37]

Thus, how German was expressionism? Should expressionism in the context of the avant-garde primarily be regarded as a specifically *German* contribution to the avant-garde? Leaving all essentialist interpretations and national myths aside, as well as the assumption that Germanness is somehow a natural phenomenon, a few criteria remain to mark the parameters.

Firstly, language. If we assume that German expressionism was German, marked by Germanness and belonged to an assumed German national cultural tradition because it was written in the German language, this would be pure fallacy, in particular in relation to the situation a hundred years ago. Before the First World War, German was not only the lingua franca of the German empire but also of the Austro-Hungarian. Even beyond the borders of these empires German served as an international language. It is certainly not accidental that the Swedish-Finnish poetess Edith Södergran received her education in St Petersburg at a German school.[38]

Secondly, if we assume that German expressionism was German because it manifested itself on German soil or German territory, one should be

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[35] See Grebing, *Der 'deutsche Sonderweg'*.
[36] See Bushart, 'Der Expressionismus, ein deutscher Nationalstil?'; Schlenstedt, 'Problem Avantgarde. Ein Diskussionsvorschlag. Bezugsfeld deutscher Expressionismus'.
[37] See Mühlhaupt, 'Vad är der Sturm?'.
[38] See Tammen, 'Mein Garten liegt voller Scherben'.

aware of the fact that not only Berlin and Munich but also Vienna and Prague were important centres of expressionism, and one of the first expressionist magazines, *Zdrój*, was Polish, published in the capital of the Prussian-ruled region of Poland, Poznań.[39]

Thirdly, if we assume that German expressionism was German because the writers and artists involved were German nationals, the situation is no less problematic. A brief look at the contributors to the two main expressionist journals, both based in Berlin – *Der Sturm* and *Die Aktion* – shows that each journal had collaborators from approximately twenty nations. In the case of *Die Aktion*, the total number of native Germans was about 40 percent in the years before the First World War.[40] A similar percentage can be found in *Der Sturm.* In the case of the artists exhibited in Galerie Der Sturm from its opening in 1912 until the start of the First World War, the number of German artists was in fact below 30 percent.[41]

The same result can be found in the case of Der Blaue Reiter which although as a rule was regarded as a main centre of pictorial *German* expressionism, and with indeed some Germans were involved (notably Franz Marc, August Macke and Gabriele Münter), they were again in the minority, outnumbered in particular by Russian colleagues . The *Blaue Reiter* almanac had more Russian than German contributors, something which might not be surprising as one of its editors was Russian – Wassily Kandinsky. What should be surprising, though, is the general assumption that Der Blaue Reiter was German.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that while the almanac is today regarded as a milestone in German expressionism, the German co-editor of the volume, Franz Marc, used another term in German: 'die Wilden'[42] (the wild), or in French, 'les Fauves'. This might be seen as an indication of the fact that the term 'expressionism' had only just started to become fashionable and Franz Marc still resorted to an already established foreign term. However, in relation to the original scope of terms such as expressionism and cubism in the 1910s, it is quite revealing that in his war letters from the years 1914-1916 Marc defines himself as a cubist. In these letters, the new art to come was not expressionism but cubism, including not only his own

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[39] Głuchowska, *Avantgarde und Liebe*, pp. 35-44 and pp. 102-120; Daněk, *Vzplanutí*; Hałasa and Salamon, *Bunt*.

[40] Based on the biographical data of the contributors to *Die Aktion* in the years 1911-1914 in the 1961 reprint; see Raabe, 'Einführung und Kommentar'.

[41] See biographical inventory in Brühl, *Herwarth Walden*; and Pirsich, 'Ausstellungen der Galerie DER STURM 1912-1919'.

[42] See Marc, 'Die "Wilden" Deutschlands'.

work but also that of several other German artists now considered to be expressionists.[43]

Fourth and finally, it should be noted that expressionism as a term and trend was regarded generally as an international phenomenon – at least in the early 1910s, before the First World War, not least in Germany. The term 'expressionism' was actually introduced in Germany at an exhibition of the Berlin Secession in April 1911 as an umbrella term for recent developments in 'French' art, which we now tend to call cubism and fauvism, with artists such as Braque, Derain, Van Dongen, Picasso and De Vlaminck invoked (being, in turn, French, Dutch and Spanish nationals…).[44]

Shortly after this first exhibition, 'expressionism' also became a fashionable term to refer to German avant-garde art and literature, which we still tend to call expressionist. Whereas in the following years and decades some started to use the term for supposedly German artistic and literary developments, others kept to the international scope of the term. In *Der Sturm*, for example, even in the 1920s, expressionism was anything but an exclusively German phenomenon. Noteworthy is *Geschichte der Kunst* by the German art historian Richard Hamann, published in 1933, comparable in size and scope to Gombrich's *Story of Art*, which discusses the entire avant-garde of the 1910s under the umbrella term 'expressionism'. This is not a curious idiosyncrasy but rather a wider understanding, a broader application of the term, which gradually faded away in the course of time. In this broader understanding, *Expressionismus* is the German term for what in French was called *cubisme*, and in Italian *futurismo*, all denoting a complex of styles which the contemporary English art critic Roger Fry referred to as 'post-impressionism'[45] and what we now tend to call 'the avant-garde'.[46] Relevant here is also the fact that the rise of expressionism in Germany coincided with several controversies in the artistic field in the early 1910s, in which German nationalist artists and critics protested against 'the great invasion of French art' (Carl Vinnen),[47] which to a considerable extent meant the arrival of expressionism, of avant-garde art.

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[43] See Marc, *Briefe*.
[44] See Paret, *The Berlin Secession*. The same can also be observed in Scandinavia, where 'expressionism' was related primarily to French art; Aagesen, *Avantgarde*; Jelsbak, *Ekspressionisme*, pp. 9-17; Moselius, 'Impressionism och Expressionism'; Werenskiold, *The Concept of Expressionism*.
[45] See Werenskiold, *The Concept of Expressionism*.
[46] See Wood, *The Challenge of the Avant-Garde*.
[47] See Jeddeloh-Sayk, *Studien zu Leben und Werk von Carl Vinnen*; Manheim, 'Im Kampf um die Kunst'; Vinnen, *Protest*.

Expressionism was, in short, regarded by friend and foe as something international. It should be added that the self-definition 'expressionist' not only implied an ostentatious internationality (as in the case of the early *Der Sturm*) but also coincided, notably in the case of the competing journal *Die Aktion*, with an outspoken rejection of nationalism, patriotism and chauvinism, in other words, with a profound internationalism. Whereas the editor Franz Pfemfert even founded an Anationale Sozialistische Partei (Anational Socialist Party) in 1918 – in fact more an action group than a party and which only existed for a few months – he had already left no doubt before the First World War about his radically anti- and anational internationalism.[48] In an article opposing 'national social-democracy', including what might be described as the moderate nationalism of the German social-democratic party, the SPD, Pfemfert argued in 1913: 'Anyone, who speaks out against chauvinism and approves of nationalism, is up to mischief!'[49] *Die Aktion* printed no less than twelve contributions by the antimilitarist and antinationalist French socialist Gustave Hervé, who wrote in an article entitled 'Patriotismus als Religion' in *Die Aktion* in 1911 (Patriotism as religion):

> The patriots of all countries nourish the same feelings for the foreigner, for he who has committed the major crime of not having been born in their country. And the school system (…) contributes to the support of the bloody memory of past wars between the nations. If only the most enlightened minds of every nation could extinguish this culture-discrediting trait (…) that manifests itself in a brutal way among the masses on both sides of the border when only the slightest international crisis and the slightest international conflict occurs, provoking them to kill each other![50]

The similarity between these remarks and those by Schwitters on *Übernationalität* in 1924 is obvious.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, the preceding observations indicate that German expressionism was not as German as present-day historiography often assumes. In a small pamphlet entitled *Gibt es überhaupt eine deutsche Geschichte?*, the German historian Hagen Schultze argues that anyone 'who

[48] See Bock, 'Antipatriotismus'; Fähnders and Rector, Linksradikalismus und Literatur, Vol. 1.
[49] Pfemfert, *Bis zum August 1914*, p. 21.
[50] Cited in Bock, 'Antipatriotismus', p. 211-212.

wants to speak about German history, should speak about Europe'[51] and that German history in general and more particularly German cultural history should be denationalised. This is most certainly necessary for a more adequate assessment of expressionism as a truly international phenomenon.

The question still remains, self-evidently, of how it was possible that an international denomination for an international phenomenon, transcending national boundaries in many respects, was transformed in the course of time into a national, German phenomenon. Whereas in the case of constructivism, the national parcellation of its historiography might be regarded as the main cause of its nationally based, fragmented description, certain other historical factors are obvious in the case of expressionism (and its – as it were – 'French' counterpart, cubism). The writing of history is not an isolated craft, but rather closely related to other activities in the cultural field, for example, criticism. To begin with, the First World War contributed to the nationalisation of expressionism. During the war years, expressionism was increasingly regarded as something specifically German, notably in the tradition of German Gothic art. In addition, for several years the front lines in Northern France and Belgium interrupted the constant exchange between Paris on the one side and Berlin and Munich on the other.

It is at this stage that *Expressionismus* starts to become a national, specifically German phenomenon, and not only the German term for what on the other side of the frontline was referred to as *cubisme*. This 'nationalisation' continued after the war, when expressionism was presented by some as the German contribution to modern art in general and the avant-garde in particular, either to accommodate German expressionism within German nationalism or simply to rescue expressionism from exclusion and persecution by conservative and fascist nationalists, which culminated in 1937 in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, targeting expressionism, amongst other styles.[52] In the late 1930s, a discussion among German émigrés aligned with communism on the role expressionism in the rise of German fascism, the so-called *Expressionismusdebatte*, negatively reinforced the nationalisation of expressionism, finding it now a supposed precursor of national socialism.[53] Finally, in an inverse way, the Nazi campaign against degenerate expressionism paved the way for a positive understanding of expressionism after 1945, in which expressionism was found to be a German cultural al-

[51] Schulze, *Gibt es überhaupt eine deutsche Geschichte?*, p. 67.
[52] See Van den Berg, 'Lothar Schreyers Beiträge in *Die Unvergessenen*'; Bushart, 'Der Expressionismus, ein deutscher Nationalstil?'; C. Saehrendt, *Die Brücke zwischen Staatskunst und Verfemung*; Schuster, *Nationalsozialismus und 'Entartete Kunst'*; Segal, *Krieg als Erlösung*; Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism*.
[53] See Schmitt, *Die Expressionismusdebatte*.

ternative to the totalitarian art of fascism and communism, in other words, as an example of an 'other' German tradition, but German nevertheless.[54]

However, in the case of expressionism, the role of the conventional compartmentalisation of European literature and art into national segments should also not be underestimated. This segmenting determined and still determines not only the historiography of European art and literature but European historiography as a whole. It is only in recent years that the establishment of the European Union as the common house of Europe has given transnational approaches more weight. In this respect, it can be concluded that the case of constructivism and its historiography can indeed be seen as a *pars pro toto* for the historical avant-garde as a whole, and not just for certain elements of the avant-garde.

As the previously quoted Hagen Schultze notes in his preface to the fourth volume of a European history published by the German Siedler Verlag, writing European history still remains a very difficult enterprise, as 'writing a European history is still unusual. National histories still dominate the field'.[55] Although many attempts have been made, the results are generally 'encyclopaedic, multi-volume, academic compendia, that present Europe mostly *als Addition seiner nationalstaatlichen Geschichten* (as the sum of the histories of its national states)'.[56]

What seems to hold true for European historiography in general seems to be even more true for cultural history, perhaps not least because the construct of nationhood is basically a cultural phenomenon. It is a cultural fiction, which nevertheless might have played an important role in the European history of past centuries, and which as such should be an important object for historical research, also in the cultural field. However, this cultural fiction cannot serve as a framework for an adequate history of the avant-garde as a profoundly international phenomenon. As such, nationality blocks a comprehensive view on the European avant-garde. The historiography of the avant-garde as a phenomenon transcending national boundaries and limitations needs instead – in the terms of Franz Pfemfert – an 'anational perspective'.

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[54] See Raabe and Greve, *Expressionismus*; Serke, *Die verbrannten Dichter*.
[55] Schulze, *Phoenix Europa*, p. 9.
[56] *Ibidem*.

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