

Guten Tag, Monsieur Ich, was haben Sie heute für eine Krawatte umgebunden? möchte man manchmal einem «Kunstwerk» zuzurufen.

Paul Klee, *Tagebücher*, 1906

Hausenstein's Klee

In the year 1921, in his book *Kairuan, oder eine Geschichte vom Maler Klee und von der Kunst dieses Zeitalters*, the eminent German art critic Wilhelm Hausenstein declared his subject the quintessential artist of his era. Yet his reasons made the honor an ambiguous one:

Wir [...] sind in die Epoche des Anarchischen und der Disgregation eingetreten. [...] Der Malerzeichner Klee nahm von der Zeit, was sie war. Er sah, was sie nicht war; sah ihr Vakuum, ihre Sprünge; sah ihre Ruinen und saß über ihnen. Sein Name bedeutet kein System. Seine Kunst ist irrational, selbst in der raffiniertesten Überlegung naiv, ist der unerhörten Verwirrung des Zeitalters hingegeben.¹

Such gloomy words seem strangely discordant with our image of Klee. They must have seemed especially incongruous when read alongside the artworks illustrating Hausenstein's book. For most of us familiar with Klee's art, his name evokes humor and charm, fantasy and poetry, witty and evocative titles, aesthetic enchantment, delights for the mind as well as the eye—not «Sprünge» and «Ruinen», not anarchy and disintegration. What «Verwirrung» was Hausenstein talking about? To be sure, the confusion of modernity was by then a well-established trope, yet if we read Hausenstein's previous writing we will see that he had something more specific in mind. The symptom of the confusion of the age was the confusion of styles, and that confusion was manifest in Klee's art more than in any other. And in the years following the publication of Hausenstein's book, it would get worse—much worse, as a random selection of Klee pictures from any year up to his death in 1940 shows.² We find styles figurative as well as abstract, geometric as well as biomorphic, linear as well as painterly, severe styles alongside more fluid ones.

We take the confusion of styles for granted now, even if no single artist since Klee has ever matched him in this regard. Yet at this time in Germany such confusion was to many a worrisome phenomenon of modernity. There was among many artists, architects, and intellectuals a fervent longing for a unified period style, a «Suche nach dem verlorenen Stil», to borrow a phrase from Hans Sedlmayr.³ This longing had a history reaching back to the eighteenth century. Since Winckelmann, who in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764) had divided Ancient Greek art into «vier Zeiten und vier Stile»,⁴ the notion of unified period style became normative—any culture worthy of the name had a unified style. And as the rapidly expanding discipline of art history began to construct a narrative of the art of the past, it became conspicuously apparent that, as the art historian Richard Muther conceded, «Das 19. Jahrhundert hat keinen Stil—ein Satz, der so oft ausgesprochen wurde, dass es zum Gemeinplatz geworden ist.»⁵ When this fact

about the present was contrasted with the cultures of the past it became for many a deeply troubling symptom. In his *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen* the young Friedrich Nietzsche declared a unified style to be the *sine qua non* of culture: «Kultur ist vor allem Einheit des künstlerischen Stiles in allen Lebensäußerungen des Volkes.» Yet contemporary Germans lived in a «chaotischen Durcheinander aller Stile», in a condition of «Stillosigkeit» and, consequently, of «Barbarei».⁶

This trenchant critique of eclecticism was widespread in the late nineteenth century. Max Klinger's lament is a typical example:

Wir haben täglich Gelegenheit, in allen Kunstschriften über die Stillosigkeit unserer Zeit Klagen zu lesen, wir sind, in Architektur, in Plastik, in Malerei abhängig von anderen, früheren, toten Richtungen . [...] Wir haben nun Baukunst und Bildhauerkunst, Malerei und reproduzierende Kunst, dazu noch dekorative und Fachkünste. Der große, gesammelte Ausdruck unserer Lebensanschauung fehlt uns. Wir haben Künste, keine Kunst. [...] Der Lanzknecht ist kaum im japanischen Topf verschwunden, vom Renaissancestil wird der Rokokopuder abgestäubt. Und in dieser Verwirrung schreien wir nach Stil!⁷

The notion that a distinctive style was a defining condition of culture persisted into the early twentieth century, reinforced by the writings of Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölfflin, and it was embraced by many of the young critics who promoted the new art they called «Expressionism». Wilhelm Hausenstein was among them. As he wrote in 1913:

Die Idee des Stils bedeutet, wenn sie ganz streng gefasst wird, die festgeschlossene Synthese aller Formen der Existenz. Der Stil ist [...] das feindlichste aller Widerspiele des Individuationsprinzips. [...] Eine Kunst, die also wirklich den Namen des Stils verdient, [wurde] überall da erreicht, wo die Kunst der Funktion einer wohlorganisierten Gemeinschaft war. [...] Das formal entscheidende ist immer die Frage, ob der Künstler einer Gemeinschaft dient oder ob er nur der Vermittler individueller Genüsse, der Maître de plaisir sublimer Privatbegeisterung des einzelnen ist—ob er kollektiven Schönheitsbegriffen untergeordnet bleibt oder sich den ästhetischen Subjektivismen eines allem Gemeinschaftsleben abholden Kunstanachoreten opfert.⁸

Like many critics of his generation who had forged the concept of Expressionism, Hausenstein had believed that with the new art modern Europe was at last on the threshold of a unified period style, a collective style.⁹ Expressionism, he confidently asserted, meant «die Katastrophe des Naturalismus und der Sieg des Stils».¹⁰ But by the end of the War, for him and others who shared this hope, the dream of such a unified, collective style had collapsed, leaving in its wake a deep cultural pessimism. One now had to recognize that the sheer teeming diversity of modern art, its virulent individualism, made the prospect of a collective style an absurd fantasy. Hausenstein now asked: «Was ist Expressionismus? Wer ist Expressionist? Das keiner Expressionist sei, ließe sich etwa so gut behaupten wie dies, dass alle es seien oder einige: weil es nicht feststeht, was Expressionismus ist.» Acknowledging «die maßlose Spannweite zwischen Picasso und Nolde, Kandinsky und Rousseau, Klee und Meidner, Seewald und Kokoschka», he painfully conceded: «Der Nenner entschwindet.»¹¹ It was in this frame of mind that Hausenstein wrote his book on Klee.¹²

Picasso's stylistic pluralism was much debated in its time and in our own, and has been the subject of a thick book by the British scholar Elizabeth Cowling.¹³ Yet Klee's far more extreme stylistic pluralism has up to now been largely ignored in the vast literature on his art. When scholars deal with the formal as-

pects of his work, they usually do so either with reference to his theoretical and pedagogical writings or by discussing his relationship to contemporary developments such as Cubism and the Bauhaus. And because the topic has been largely ignored, there has been no assessment of Klee's practice in the context of the period's debates about style, nor has anyone considered its implications either for our understanding of early twentieth-century modernism or our broader thinking about the phenomenon of style. What I want to do here is to examine Klee's practice with regard to style and how Wilhelm Hausenstein, in my view the critic who grasped most fully the radical implications of that practice, interpreted it. His interpretation anticipates in striking ways that of one of the twentieth century's most influential thinkers, which I will take up later. In conclusion I will turn from historiography to methodology, offering an expanded model of stylistic analysis that enables us to grasp more fully the complexity of Klee's practice.

Klee's Styles

We would do well to pause a moment and clarify what is generally meant by style in the visual arts. The definition offered by Meyer Schapiro, in his classic essay on style from 1953, probably captures best how the term has generally functioned in art history and art criticism since the late 18th century: «By style is usually meant the constant form—and sometimes the constant elements, qualities and expression—in the art of an individual or group.»¹⁴ For the art historian

[...] style is above all a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group are visible. [...] Although there is no established system of analysis [...] in general the description of style refers to three aspects of art: form elements or motifs, form relationships, and qualities (including an allover quality which one may call the «expression»).¹⁵

It will become apparent that Klee's exuberantly polymorphous art exposes the inadequacies of such a working definition.

Lothar Schreyer, who was briefly Klee's colleague at the Weimar Bauhaus, recalled his working method: «[Er] malte gern an mehreren Bildern nebeneinander, ging von einem Bild zum anderen, einmal auf diesem, dann einem anderen Farben auftupfend [...]»¹⁶ Schreyer's words are corroborated by photographs of Klee's Weimar studio.¹⁷ Given the extraordinary variety of Klee's production we can reasonably conclude that in a given painting session he most likely worked on pictures with—to use Schapiro's terms—different «form elements or motifs, form relationships, and qualities» that were anything but constant. In short: he worked—simultaneously—in different styles.

Randomly examining a cross-section of works from the year 1925 we can see that within the span of a single year Klee produced a stylistically more heterogeneous body of work than did many of his contemporaries in an entire lifetime. Compare the taut, pristine geometric style of *Gebirge im Winter* (*Mountains in Winter*; fig. 1), created by spraying watercolor onto stencils that had been laid over paper prepared with a dark brown ground, with *Obstgarten* (*Orchard*; fig. 2), a colorful, dappled sheet of loosely applied dabs of oil color. The first work, devoid of brushwork, was created with no direct trace of the human hand; the second is dominated by staccato touches of the brush.

We encounter a third style in *Alter Friedhof* (*Old Cemetery*; fig. 3), with its muted yet warmly glowing colors and severe, linear, architectonic style. Instead of the free brushwork of *Obstgarten* there are extremely delicate hatchings that border the crisp lines of the angular forms. In another work from the same year, *Orientalischer Lustgarten* (*Oriental Pleasure Garden*; fig. 4), we see yet another combination: the deployment of linear architectural structures such as we find in *Alter Friedhof*, but with conspicuous dabs of color closer to the painterly technique of *Obstgarten*. Fine hatchings such as those in *Alter Friedhof* figure even more prominently in *Kreuz- und Spirablüten* (*Crucifers and Spiral Blossoms*; fig. 5). While in *Alter Friedhof* the extremely thin parallel lines appear curiously like a delicate fringe, an ornament adorning the architectural elements, in this work they seem to constitute the very tissue of these fanciful botanical forms.

And still we are not done with Klee's styles of 1925. In that year he made around twenty fictive portraits and physiognomic compositions in several distinct styles. In *Kl[eines]. Mädchen Bildnis in Gelb* (*Little Girl-Portrait in Yellow*; fig. 6), executed in oil with watercolor glazes on muslin, a figure rendered in closed contours appears transparent over a textured ground of changing colors. In *Die Maske mit dem Fähnchen* (*The Mask with the Little Flag*; fig. 7), Klee used the same technique of sprayed color and stencils as in *Gebirge im Winter*, but now with a different formal vocabulary. And alongside the figurative styles of 1925 Klee also produced a series of abstract paintings and watercolors composed of color squares, of which the oil painting *Maibild* (*May Picture*; fig. 8) is an example. And even with this I have not exhausted all of the styles of that year, but the extraordinary stylistic diversity of Klee's practice should by now be apparent.

Klee on Style

Klee had relatively little to say in his writings—diaries, letters, pedagogical and theoretical texts—about style. To be sure, in his diaries there are a few passages in which he writes of a personal style—«Ich bin mein Stil» appears in an early entry, when Klee is twenty-one years old and had not yet produced his first important works.¹⁸ In 1906 he declares that in his art he has at last reached the point where he can convert «die «Natur» direkt in meinen Stil. [...] Alles wird Klee sein».¹⁹ And two years later: «Seinen Stil findet der wo nicht anders kann, das heißt etwas anderes nicht kann. Der Weg zum Stil: *gnothi seauton.*»²⁰ All of these remarks represent a conventional notion of personal style, of a unique style as individual expression. By the following year, however, Klee adopted a practice in which «sein Stil» was no longer singular, less a matter of a univocal expression of personality than of choice, with a practice distinguished by a plurality of contemporaneous styles.

It began with a series of drawings. As a young artist Klee had repeatedly struggled against his «literary» inclinations, namely his desire to use his art as an expression of ideas, and resolved to renounce temporarily the expression of his feelings and fantasies and commit himself to the study of nature, with Impressionism as his guide. But if Klee invoked the late nineteenth-century model of Impressionism as his model, what he actually did on the formal plane was decidedly more radical. In their dissection of the pictorial means these works are in principle much closer to the spirit—if not the appearance—of Cubism, indeed to the phase in the work of Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque that began only one year

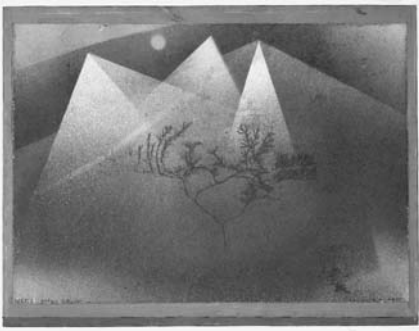
later, in 1910, when they punctured the pictorial fiction of closed form and treated line and color as independent elements.²¹

Klee called the principle on which he based these works of 1909–10 the «Reinzucht der Mittel,» or, elsewhere, the «Isolierung der bildnerischen Elemente».²² Working from nature, he isolated the three basic elements of painting—line, tone, and color—from one another by deploying each of them as autonomous and, sometimes, as the exclusive means of representation.²³ In the pen drawing, *Laubwald* (*Deciduous Forest*; fig. 9), and in a series of other drawings, Klee set himself the goal of representing a landscape motif purely by means of line, yet without deploying that line to create closed contours. Out of bundles of uniformly delicate strokes of his pen he conjures up a densely wooded landscape. The lines enclose nothing, nor are they grouped into hatchings to form masses of light and shade; in themselves the individual pen strokes are thoroughly non-mimetic—trunks, foliage, and the forest floor are rendered with the same short, choppy, fragile line. Only through their placement, their syntax, do they evoke the optical impression of an arboreal landscape while steadfastly retaining their identity as individual marks of the pen.

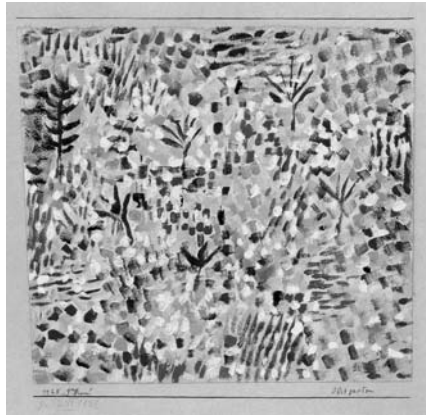
In a second group Klee allowed himself to use line as closed contour, but in a thoroughly unconventional way. In a pen drawing of Bern with its soaring cathedral (fig. 10) the lines serve not to denote solid forms but function, as Klee formulated it, as «Ersatz für vermiedene Tonwertung: Linie (als Tonwertgrenze) oder Farbwertkontraste».²⁴ That is to say, it is not solid forms that are circumscribed by lines, but the areas of brightest value—«Lichtinseln», Klee called them. The dark areas are indicated with dense zigzag strokes, the middle tones remain «stillschweigend dazwischen».²⁵ This results in an extremely curious and decidedly anti-naturalistic effect: the buildings assume forms that are fully unarchitectonic; horizontals and verticals are to be found nowhere; the cathedral tower seems shattered into pieces.

In another variant of the Bern Cathedral, a pen drawing with wash, Klee again enclosed the brightest areas with line, while rendering the shadows with areas of tone (fig. 11). The principle here was to avoid what Klee called the «Kombinationsteufel», that is, any technique in which the individual elements of line and ink wash were fused. As he later formulated it, «Die Elemente sollen Formen ergeben, nur ohne sich dabei zu opfern. Sich selber bewahrend.»²⁶ Each pictorial element had to preserve its identity, its purity. Tonal values, for example, must not be deployed as modeling, in a subordinate role to line, as the creator of form; they must themselves create forms independent of those created by line. It is entirely consistent with this method of working that Klee also invented a style in which tonal values constitute the only formal element (fig. 12).

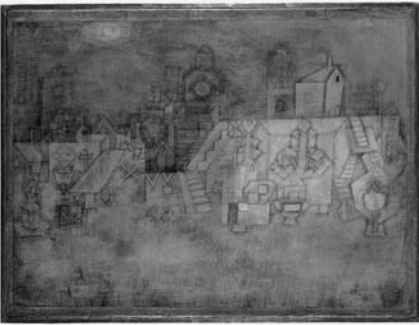
During the summer of 1910, Klee also experimented with color in this vein (fig. 13). He called this technique «die Lichtform»; by squinting his eyes to blur the focus of the motif with the help of a lens, «alles Detail fällt einfach weg.» By means of what he called a «koloristischen Extrakt der Naturerscheinung», he now succeeded in treating color as an isolated, independent means of representation, just as he had done earlier with line and tonal values.²⁷ In the years 1910 to 1916 it was a chief concern of Klee to find a way to *combine* line with color in such a way that each element in the construction performed a self-sufficient function in creating form, without one being subordinate to the other.



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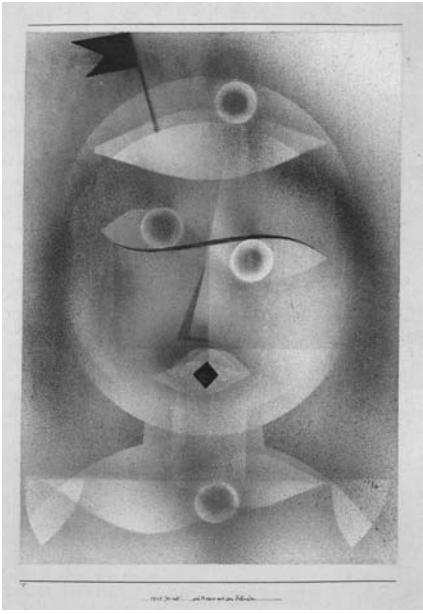
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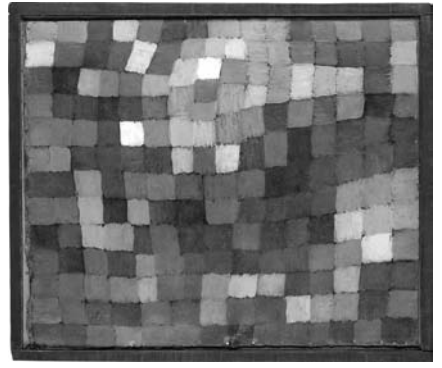
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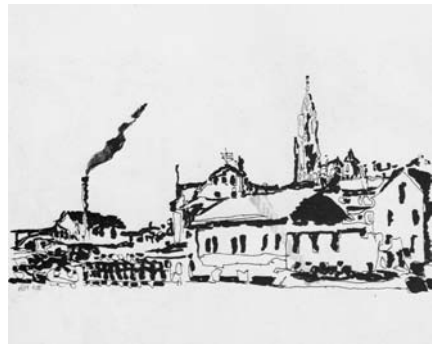
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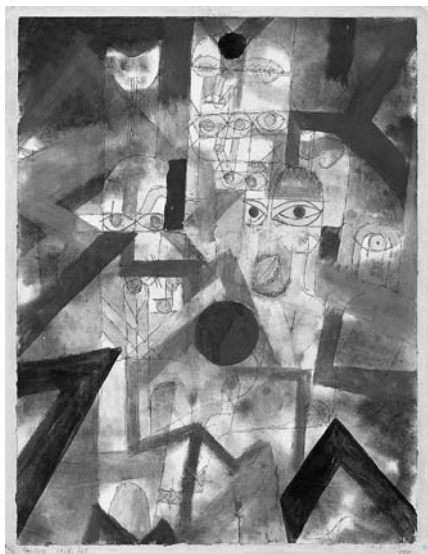
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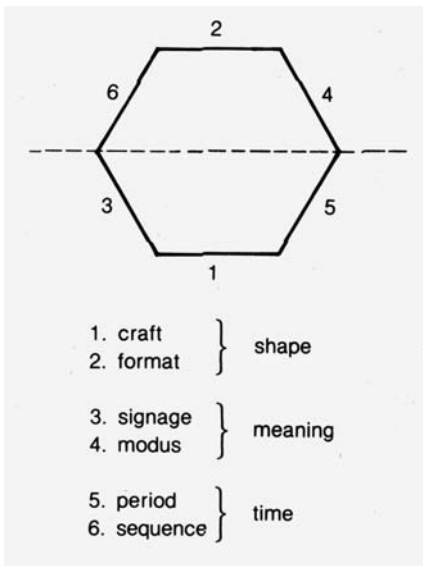
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1 Paul Klee, *Gebirge im Winter* (*Mountains in Winter*), 1925, brush and watercolor, sprayed, on chalk ground on paper, border in gouache and pen, on bottom edge a framing strip with gouache and pen, on cardboard, 25 × 35 cm., Bern, Kunstmuseum, Hermann und Margrit Ruf-Stiftung.

2 Paul Klee, *Obstgarten* (*Orchard*), 1925, oil color on white oil ground on paper on cardboard, 19,7 × 25 cm., Whereabouts unknown.

3 Paul Klee, *Alter Friedhof* (*Old Cemetery*), 1925, watercolor on paper on fiberboard panel, bordered with paper strips, 36,5 × 48 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Nationalgalerie.

4 Paul Klee, *Orientalischer Lustgarten* (*Oriental Pleasure Garden*), 1925, oil color on cardboard, 40 ×

52 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Berggruen Klee Collection.

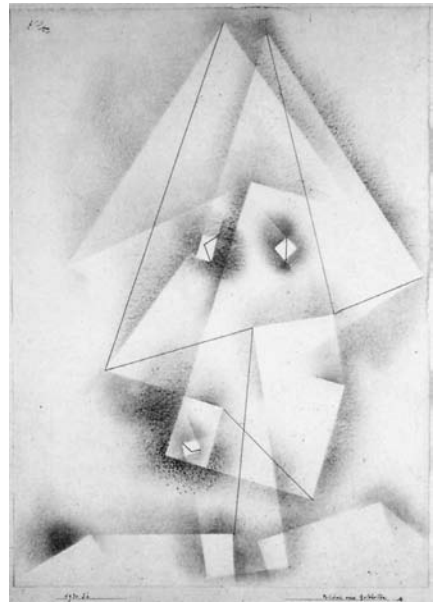
5 Paul Klee, *Kreuz- und Spiralblüten* (*Crucifers and Spiral Blossoms*), 1925, watercolor on paste ground on paper, border in gouache and pen, on bottom edge a framing strip with watercolor and pen, on cardboard, 23,2 × 30,7 cm., Private Collection, Germany

6 Paul Klee, *Kl. Mädchen Bildnis in Gelb* (*Little Girl-Portrait in Yellow*), 1925, oil color on white oil ground on muslin, verso oil color, nailed onto wooden frame; original frame, 24,1 × 21 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Berggruen Klee Collection.

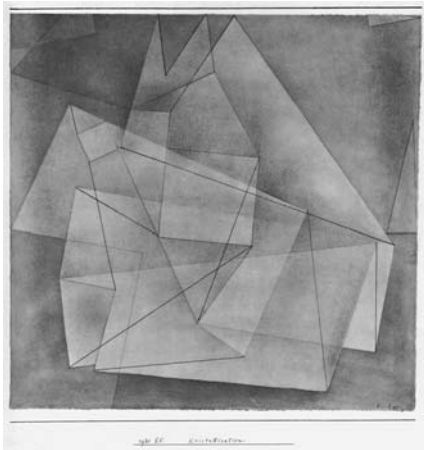
7 Paul Klee, *Die Maske mit dem Fähnchen* (*The*



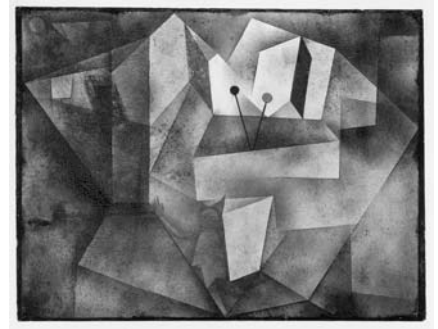
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Mask with the Little Flag, 1925, graphite and watercolor, partially sprayed, on chalk ground on paper on cardboard, 65 × 49, cm., München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek der Moderne.

8 Paul Klee, *Maibild (May Picture)*, 1925, oil color on cardboard nailed on wood, original frame, 41,6 × 49,5 cm., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Berggruen Klee Collection.

9 Paul Klee, *Laubwald (Deciduous Forest)*, 1909, pen on paper on cardboard, 26,2 × 14,8 cm., Bern, Sammlung Bürgi.

10 Paul Klee, *Bern (Berne)*, 1910, pen on paper on cardboard, 17,3 × 15,1 cm., Bern, Zentrum Paul Klee.

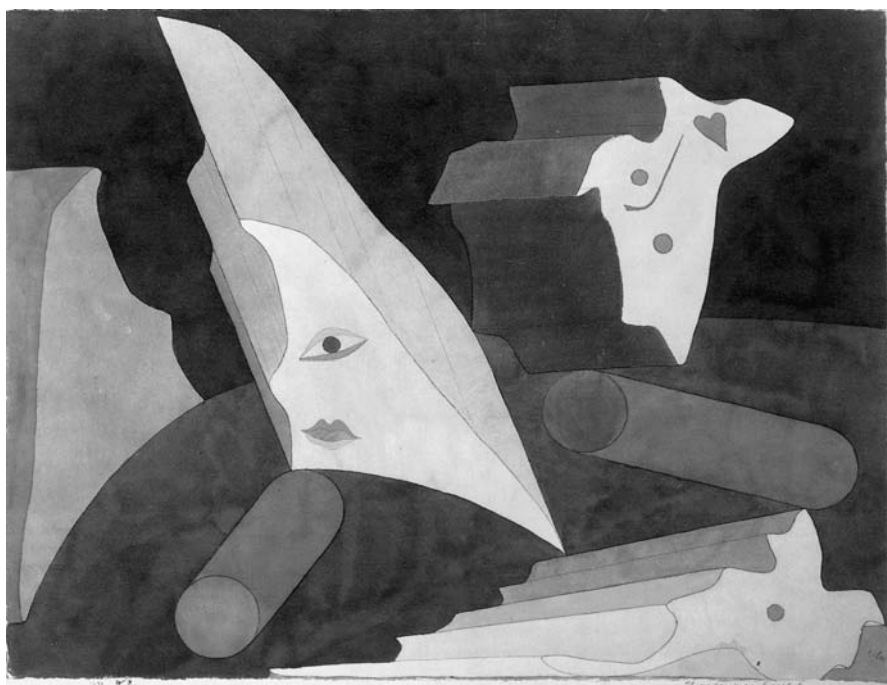
11 Paul Klee, *Bern (Berne)*, 1909, pen and brush on

paper on cardboard, 13,3 × 26,3, private collection, Switzerland.

12 Paul Klee, *Fensteransicht der elterlichen Wohnung in Bern (View from a Window of My Parents Home in Berne)*, 1909, watercolor on paper on cardboard, 23,6 × 20,6 cm., Bern, Zentrum Paul Klee.

13 Paul Klee, *Blumensteg, Gießkanne u. Eimer (Flower Stand, Watering Can and Bucket)*, 1910, watercolor on paper on cartoon, 13,9 × 13,3 cm., München, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus.

14 Paul Klee, *Einordnung (Classification)*, 1918, watercolor, gouache, and India ink on wove paper, mounted on cardboard, 29,8 × 22,5 cm., Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum of Art, The Blue Four Galka Scheyer Collection.



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15 George Kubler, Diagram of Visual Style.

16 Paul Klee, *Prophet (Prophet)*, 1930, colored paste on paper on cardboard, 61 × 47 cm., private collection, France.

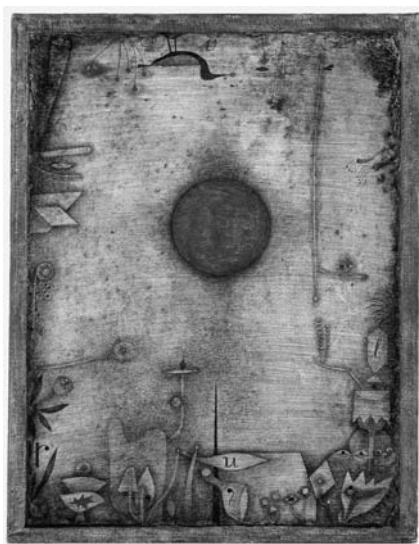
17 Paul Klee, *Bildnis eines Gelehrten (Portrait of a Scholar)*, 1930, pen and watercolor on paper on cardboard, 51 × 31,6 cm., Milan, Fondazione Antonio Mazzotta, inv. No. 113.

18 Paul Klee, *Kristallisation (Crystallization)*, pen, watercolor, and charcoal on paper on cardboard, 31,1 × 32,1 cm., Bern, Zentrum Paul Klee

19 Paul Klee, *Die Pauken-Organ (The Kettle-Drum Organ)*, 1930, oil and watercolor on cartoon on wood stretcher, original frame, 31,8 × 41,9 cm., Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum.

20 Paul Klee, *Physiognomien von Querschnitten (Physiognomies of Cross-Sections)*, 1930, watercolor on paper on cardboard, 47,6 × 61,9 cm., Chicago, Morton G. Neumann Collection.

21 Paul Klee, *Ad marginem (Ad marginem)*, 1930, watercolor on lacquer ground on cardboard nailed on wood stretcher, verso with white ground with color traces, gauze over stretcher, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung.



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Not until 1916 did Klee reach that goal. A 1918 watercolor, *Einordnung* (Classification; fig. 14), is an example of a mode of working in which line and color function as autonomous elements, each, remarkably, in its own style. The color is applied in amorphous tints abstract, thick bands to form zigzag motifs; line, on the other hand, fine and delicate, forms a transparent representational structure. Neither does the line serve as a contour for the color planes, nor does color serve merely to fill in the linear configurations. Each forms a construction in itself; together they form a complex contrapuntal structure, more reminiscent of music than of anything in traditional painting.²⁸

In the lecture Klee gave in the Jenaer Kunstverein in January 1924, a decade and a half after these first experiments, he referred to line, tone, and color as the «bildnerischen Elementarmittel»; they constituted the foundation of all plastic art, the building materials of pictorial form. Reflecting on his own artistic activity Klee pointed out the variability of his formal modes:

Ich versuchte die reine Zeichnung, ich versuchte die reine Helldunkel-Malerei, und farbig versuchte ich alle Teiloperationen, zu denen mich die Orientierung auf dem Farbkreis veranlassen mochte. So dass ich die Typen der farbig belasteten Helldunkel-Malerei, der farbig-complementären Malerei, der bunten Malerei und der totalfarbigen Malerei ausarbeitete. / Jedesmal verbunden mit den mehr unterbewussten Bild-Dimensionen. / Dann versuchte ich alle möglichen Synthesen zweier Typen. Combinierend und wieder combinierend, und zwar immer unter möglicher Wahrung der Kultur des reinen Elementes.»²⁹

With reference to the approach to his medium that Klee describes in this passage, the concept of style as it was understood by the art history and art criticism of the period is fully inadequate and irrelevant. And not only in that period. Hans Sedlmayr, who clung to that concept of style and to the norm of unified period style, understood as much when, in 1948, in *Verlust der Mitte*, his notorious reactionary attack on the art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he cited this very passage of Klee's lecture with the following gloomy commentary: «Es wird—um 1925—ein Punkt erreicht, über den hinaus eine weitere Zerlegung der Künste in «Elemente» nicht mehr vorstellbar erscheint. Damit ist die Einheit der Künste endgültig dahin.»³⁰

Klee's most developed remarks on style are found in his pedagogical manuscripts from his years at the Bauhaus.³¹ In the twenty-four sections of the *Bildnerische Gestaltungslehre*, which constitute the major part of his pedagogical writings, Klee takes up the question of style, or as he calls it, «Stillehre». He does so in detail in the twenty-first section, under the rubric «Statik». The title of the first lecture in the series, dating from 1924, is «Bildnerische Mechanik I (oder Stillehre I)». ³² «Bildnerische Mechanik» deals with principles of construction with reference to the static and dynamic. Klee begins by offering a dictionary definition: «Mechanik ist die Wissenschaft von den Gesetzen der Bewegung und des Gleichgewichtes, demzufolge in die Dynamik und die Statik zerfallend.» Then he immediately proceeds to question this definition: «Denn das Gleichgewicht ist nicht nur Sache des unbewegten Gebietes, sondern es gibt auch ein Gleichgewicht der Bewegungen, insbesondere auf bildnerischem Gebiet.»³³

Late in the manuscript Klee declares that «Der Stil ist im Grunde die menschliche Einstellung zu diesen Fragen des Diesseitigen und des Jenseitigen.» This reference to «Diesseitiges» and «Jenseitiges» is not so mystical as it may sound: Klee identifies the first with the gravity of the earth, the second with the freedom of

cosmic space, and he goes on to link this binary opposition with two opposed styles. «Demnach gibt es auf dem Stilgebiet zwei Hauptteile. Auf dem ersten ähneln sich der statische Begriff und der klassische / auf dem zweiten sind Dynamik und Romantik miteinander verwandt.»³⁴ But these are not absolutes; they are two poles and between them there is a *Zwischengebiet* with a range of possibilities combining elements of both. The Baroque, for example, he describes as a domain of style «wo statisches und wohl abgewogenes, oft rein symmetrisches leicht von dynamischen [sic] umspielt wird».³⁵ He then proposes that all historical styles can be thought of in terms of particular combinations of these two polarities:

Auf diese Weise könnte man nun unzählige Beispiele aus allen Stilgebieten untersuchen. Die Fragen romanisch? gotisch spätgotisch klassisch als Renaissance oder als Empire, Barock, Rokoko? bekommen ein präcises Gesicht durch eine Kritik nach dem mechanischen Wesen hin.

Das mechanische Wesen mit seinen zugehörten Grundbegriffen diesseitig und jenseitig sagt dann auch viel mehr und wesentliches geistiges aus, als die Beschäftigung mit den äusserlich-formalen Erkennungsmerkmalen all der verschiedenen Stile.³⁶

In effect, Klee here seems to be extrapolating underlying formal principles from historical styles, and in so doing to be *dehistoricizing* those principles, as is suggested in the continuation of this passage.

[...] schon heute sind die speciellen Stilbegriffe für uns nicht mehr vergänglich-lebendig, was kümmert uns schöpferisch Gothik oder Rococo.

Aber die Begriffe wie: *bedingte oder freie Bewegungsmöglichkeiten* sind ewig lebendig. Wenn auch das Gewicht bald den einen bald den andern Teil betonen wird, im ewig periodischen Wechsel, manchmal klar unterscheidend, manchmal auch die Grenzen verwischend. Auf welcher Seite der Ton liegt, auf der einen oder der andern, oder auf keiner allein sondern auf gemeinsamen *Zwischengebiet* [original emphasis].³⁷

All of these become possibilities for the contemporary artist, and in practice they were as well for Klee. Such an attitude, which is nascent already in his drawings and watercolors of 1909-11, perhaps helps explain the staggering, unequalled diversity of his artistic production.

Hausenstein, Wölfflin, Spengler

Klee's art «bedeutet kein System»—this remark appears in the doleful passage from Hausenstein's *Kairuan* that I cited at the beginning of this paper. We recall that «system» is a term that Schapiro would later use in his definition of style—I repeat the quotation: «Style is above all a system of forms». But «system» had been used before, in the most influential text on style at the time that Hausenstein was writing: Heinrich Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*. Published in 1915, it was already in its fifth edition by 1921. Whatever the individual or collective temperament, Wölfflin wrote, «Jeder Künstler findet bestimmte «optische» Möglichkeiten vor», by which he meant what he called the prevailing «Formensystem»³⁸, either classical or baroque, «an dem der Künstler gebunden ist. Nicht alles ist zu allen Zeiten möglich.»³⁹ These basic form systems, as everyone knows, were «das Lineare» (linear), which Wölfflin identified with the art and architecture of the sixteenth century, and «das Malerische» (painterly), manifested by the art and architecture of the seventeenth. They were the basic, universal «Formensysteme», recurring cyclically in a «Spiralbewegung» throughout history.⁴⁰

Hausenstein had reviewed *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* in 1916. He was, it is clear, particularly struck by the way in which Wölfflin had reduced the diverse art and architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to contrasting *systems*:

Wölfflin führt den Gegensatz zwischen Barock und Klassik [...] systematisch durch. [...] Fünffach gliedert sich das System. Klassisch und Barock erscheinen in dem Gegensatz des Linearen und des Malerischen, der Flächigkeit und der Tiefe, der geschlossenen und der offenen Form, der Vielheit und der Einheit, der Klarheit und der—gewollten, prinzipiellen, insofern methodischen und klaren—Unklarheit. [...] Nirgends geht das System im philologisch gepflegten einzelnen unter, und wiederum währt das System, wo es die Eindringlichkeit der Durchführung fühlen lässt, eine feine Liberalität, die das Ganze schließlich um des einzelnen willen liebt.⁴¹

Hausenstein ends his review by speculating whether Wölfflin favors the Baroque: «dies Buch ist trotz seiner zurückhaltenden Neutralität bewegend modern. [...] Die Pole der Kunstgeschichte sind nachgewiesen; die Welt springt vom klassischen zum Barock—vom Gestern zum Heute.»⁴²

In light of this review, Hausenstein's remark that Klee's art «bedeutet kein System» assumes an added resonance, for «system» presupposed an internal consistency of style. Klee, with his virulent pluralism of styles, his simultaneous practice of linear and painterly, including even the combination of both in a single work, decisively shattered Hausenstein's expectations of the future course of art. For Klee, one might say with only slight exaggeration, «alles ist zu allen Zeiten möglich». His art was a devastating refutation of Hausenstein's anticipation of «der Sieg des Stils», of which he had been so confident only a few years before.

Yet, another author was, I believe, even more important for Hausenstein's Klee interpretation than Wölfflin: Oswald Spengler. The first volume of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* appeared in the summer of 1918, as the catastrophic war was in its final stages. The book came as a particularly brutal shock to the German art world, dealing a lethal blow to what was left of its Utopian expectations for Expressionism.⁴³ The topic «Das Problem des Stils» appears in the book's table of contents.⁴⁴ The problem of style to which Spengler referred was not a problem of art-historical method, it was a problem of civilization; style was a defining feature of great, vital cultures and it was now, he asserted, a thing of the past: «Ein Stil ist ein Schicksal. Man hat ihn, aber man erwirbt ihn nicht. Bewusster, gewollter, gemachter Stil ist erlogener Stil, wie es alle Spätzeiten, allen voran die Gegenwart, beweisen.»⁴⁵ Style in this sense, style as destiny, Spengler declared, had ended in the late eighteenth century. As for the present: «Gewaltsam in Szene gesetzte «Stile» und exotische Entlehnungen sollen den Mangel an Schicksal, an innerer Notwendigkeit ersetzen. Halber Ernst und fragwürdige Echtheit beherrschen das Künstlertum. In diesem Falle befinden wir uns heute. Es ist ein langes Spielen mit toten Formen, an denen man sich die Illusion einer lebendigen Kunst erhalten möchte.»⁴⁶

The opening sentence of the first draft of *Kairuan* confirms Spengler's impact on Hausenstein's thinking: «Ausgehn vom «Untergang des Abendlandes»».⁴⁷ His writings from this period leave no doubt that he had accepted Spengler's bleak verdict on the status of style in modernity. Yet rather than seeing Klee's art as one of «Gewaltsam in Szene gesetzte «Stile» und exotische Entlehnungen», as

Spengler surely would have, Hausenstein repeatedly uses the term *Schicksal* in his text as he narrates Klee's artistic development. If for Spengler true style is destiny, he seems to be saying, Klee's systemless art of multiple styles is equally a matter of destiny, of historical fate—not a matter of individual caprice or willfulness. To be sure, Hausenstein does twice refer to Klee's «style» in the singular, but it is clear that this style no longer has anything in common with Hausenstein's earlier understanding of the concept.⁴⁸ And so he rewrites the terms: Klee's «style» is *individual*, «überaus persönlich» Hausenstein calls it,⁴⁹ something that he had earlier denied as a possibility, as a contradiction of the very principle of style (recall his words: «Der Stil ist [...] das feindlichste aller Widerspiele des Individuationsprinzips»). Spengler himself was adamant on this point: «Mit der Persönlichkeit einzelner Künstler, ihrem Willen und Bewusstsein haben [Stile] nichts zu schaffen. Im Gegenteil, das Medium des Stils liegt seinerseits dem Phänomen der künstlerischen Individualität a priori zugrunde.»⁵⁰ But now for Hausenstein Klee's extremely individualistic art, so antithetical to his deeply held convictions about the social basis of style, is not a matter of will but of *Schicksal*. In a particularly searing passage, he writes of Klee's works of the years 1917–19, during the war and its immediate aftermath:

[...] es war ein Schicksal dabei. Was konnte gemalt werden? In allem, was Geschichte, Ereignis, Mensch und Sache oder Gesinnung war, gab es unter diesen Umständen nichts, das gelten konnte. Die Welt war: nichts – abermals und schlimmer nichts. Nichts mit absurdem Gestänge von Organisation und Maschinen. Vielfältiges Nichts. Was war, musste sich verbergen. Das Menschliche zog sich zurück. Das Göttliche wurde verhöhnt – am meisten, wo es angebetet wurde. Die Dinge wurden verbraucht. Hohlräume entstanden, mit Staub besiedelt. Fenster zersprangen und wurden mit Papierstreifen wie mit verrückten Zeichnungen beklebt.⁵¹

And now, for Hausenstein, since the world of nature that had sustained art for millennia had been shattered by war and technology, subjectivity became the only possibility: «Das Subjektive ist wahrlich nicht das Höchste. Aber es ist in diesem scheelen Augenblick das Einzige; und ein Wunder des Himmels der Künstler, der dazu die Schönheit des Reims vermag. Wo das Objektive entfällt [...] da entfällt die natürliche Gemeinschaftlichkeit. Wo sie verschwindet, da wird das Subjekt Gesetz und Inhalt.»⁵²

As recently as 1918, Hausenstein had found the subjectivity of Klee's art deeply unsettling, even ominous for the future of art, a «Subjektivität [...] so schwer erreichbar, dass sie zugleich das Ende des unveräußerlichen Begriffs der künstlerischen Öffentlichkeit zu werden droht. Es ist möglich, dass die Reise der Kunst dahin geht. Das ist nicht abzusehen. Dazu: es ist nicht zu wünschen.»⁵³ This statement, so startling in its directness, should surprise only for its candor; it is a position thoroughly consistent with the conclusions of Hausenstein's sober reevaluation of Expressionism. The issue was not Klee's purely artistic merits; Hausenstein now believed him to be without peer, placing him even above Picasso.⁵⁴ But his art, at the extreme limits of abstraction and subjectivity, stood as the antithesis of the values that Hausenstein felt must now, of historical necessity, be recuperated: a more humble, more objective devotion to nature, an awareness of the metaphysical dimension in the world of perceived reality, a restoration of a collective basis for culture. And yet it was, significantly, precisely at this time that Hausenstein resolved to write his book on Klee. It was—let us re-

call the full title— not only «eine Geschichte vom Maler Klee», but «von der Kunst dieses Zeitalters».

And so what was to be the content of such a subjective art, an art representing a world from which, as Hausenstein saw it, objects had vanished? Certainly there were still «figures» and «objects» in Klee's paintings and drawings, albeit highly abstract ones—«zerstreute Fetzen von Gegenständlichkeit. [...] Keine Möglichkeit einer Verdichtung.»⁵⁵ Yet the real object of Klee's art, Hausenstein writes, lies in the medium itself:

[...] dies ist gemacht wie Malerei, gezeichnet wie Zeichnung. Nicht von bestimmten Bildern und Malern ist jetzt die Rede, sondern von der Malerei als einer Art der Darstellung, und ebenso allgemein von der Zeichnung. Hier ist Farbe nach Malerweise auf Leinwand, Papier, Holz gesetzt, hier Strich nach Zeichnerart auf Blätter. Nimm ein beliebiges Bild . [...] Mit spitzem Finger der Klugheit zieh von rückwärts aus dem Bild alles, aber auch alles, was Gegenstand geheißen wird [...].Dann sieh zu, was übrigbleibt. [...] Dies, Freund, ist nur, was alle Ästhetiker von jeher für das Eigentliche der Kunst erklärt haben; [...] dies ist, was sie Form nennen. Der Einwand ist nahe – man hört ihn voraus: Form müsse etwas realisieren. Sicher muss sie. Hier realisiert sie sich selbst. Über die Maßen ist sie in einer Welt, die der Dinge verlustig ging, ihr eignes Objekt geworden. [...]Form malt sich selbst. Form zeichnet sich selbst. Das Mittel emanzipiert sich, wie ehemals der Leibeigene. Das Mittel züchtet sich durch und balanciert geschürzt hoch oben in der freilich gefährlichen Souveränität seiner Freiheit, seines Adels. [...] Die Form von Gestern ist Gegenstand der Form von heute.⁵⁶

Although framed by Hausenstein's cultural pessimism, I think this passage reveals a genuine insight into Klee's art, and anticipates remarks, cited earlier, that he himself would make a few years later at the Bauhaus on the subject of style.

In his claim that Klee was painting painting itself, drawing drawing itself, Hausenstein anticipated a little known remark by Michel Foucault on Klee's art, made in a 1966 interview.⁵⁷ In the introduction to *Les mots et les choses*, Foucault described Velázquez's *Las Meninas* as a painting in which «representation undertakes to represent itself here in all its elements, with its images, the eyes to which it is offered, the faces it makes visible, the gestures that call it into being.»⁵⁸ What does Foucault mean? Velázquez shows himself in the act of painting; we see the tools of pictorial representation—his brush, his palette with its pigments, the back of his canvas, which emphasizes its material instrumentality. The studio is flooded with light, that which makes visible, that which enables seeing. We see perspective, which gives the scene the illusion of being an extension of the space that we, the spectators, inhabit. And we see a mirror, showing King Philip IV and Queen Marianna, which extends the space of the representation into our space.⁵⁹ Finally, above in the shadows, we see a series of paintings on the wall, end products of the practice of representation exemplified below.

In the aforementioned interview, which appeared two months after the publication of *Les mots and les choses*, the interviewer, Claude Bonnefoy, raised the issue of contemporary philosophy and how it differed from that of the past. Today the object of our thought, Foucault responded, is no longer nature or man and society or human existence as such, but knowledge itself, the relations between the different domains of knowledge. At the end of the interview Bonnefoy asked Foucault what work of art gives visual form to this, the episteme of our epoch, as Velázquez's *Las Meninas* gave visual form to the episteme of his time.

This was his response:

Il me semble que c'est la peinture de Klee qui représente le mieux, par rapport à notre siècle, ce qu'a pu être Velásquez par rapport au sien. Dans la mesure où Klee fait apparaître dans la forme visible tous les gestes, actes, graphismes, traces, linéaments, surfaces qui peuvent constituer la peinture, il fait de l'acte même de peindre le savoir déployé et scintillant de la peinture elle-même.

Sa peinture n'est pas de l'art brut, mais une peinture ressaisie par le savoir de ses éléments les plus fondamentaux. [...] *Les Ménines* représentait les éléments de la représentation, le peintre, les modèles, le pinceau, la toile, l'image dans le miroir, elles décomposaient la peinture elle-même dans les éléments qui en faisaient une représentation.

La peinture de Klee, elle, compose et décompose la peinture dans ses éléments qui, pour être simples, n'en sont pas moins supportés, hantés, habités par le savoir de la peinture.⁶⁰

It is an interpretation that, in some of its particulars, was anticipated forty-five years earlier by Hausenstein. Both Hausenstein and Foucault are in agreement: Klee is a unique figure within modernism, one who in his art reveals its distinguishing theoretical foundations. Yet Foucault takes it further than Hausenstein, to argue that Klee's art is itself a form of knowledge – «il fait de l'acte même de peindre le savoir déployé et scintillant de la peinture elle-même.» It is a claim corroborated by the extraordinary ambition of Klee's pedagogical manuscripts, which were only partially available at the time.⁶¹

Rethinking Style

So where does this leave us with respect to the «problem of style»? What I have done thus far is to investigate an episode in Klee's reception, to situate his practice in relationship to the contemporary German discourse on style. But I think that Klee's example should be seen as more than a fascinating footnote in the historiography of style or of Klee reception. His art offers a powerful challenge to our received notions about style and an invitation to rethink the concept.

There is, I believe, a concept of style that accommodates the complexity of Klee's practice, precisely by severing the concept of style from unilinear historical narratives and the assumption of common denominators that so long marked the role of style in art-historical discourse.⁶² I am referring to a short, brilliant, and unjustly overlooked paper by George Kubler, published in 1979: «Toward A Reductive Theory of Visual Style». Kubler begins by lamenting the confusion surrounding the concept of style: «Style», he writes, had become «a word of which the everyday use has deteriorated in our time to the level of banality. It is now a word to avoid, along with declassé words, words without nuance, words gray with fatigue.» His intention, as he formulated it, was «to rediscover the purposes to which the word in question was appropriate; and to demonstrate its present unacceptable uses.»⁶³ In so doing Kubler offered not only a fundamental reconceptualization of style but a radically new analytical model.

Kubler was pointedly critical of the definition of style offered by Meyer Schapiro, who, he claimed, «insists upon style as «constant form» in the art of individuals and societies».⁶⁴ These notions had led to the belief that a style was something that existed in duration; such thinking, Kubler complained, «endows styles with attributes like those of allegorical figures in stone or bronze in a palace park».⁶⁵ Moreover, art historians often thought of style as akin to language, as a system of rules, signs, and practices that had an existence outside of individ-

ual works of art. Yet style, Kubler objected, was not a phenomenon like a language, which is a genuine system capable of development over time; style, rather, is a *concept*, one *external* to the objects to which it is applied. There may be a class of objects produced over time and linked by a common style, but the style itself is not something that *evolves* over time, manifesting itself in individual works, in the way that individual speech acts are manifestations of a language. For Kubler, then, style is less a concept to be applied to temporal, developmental, or «diachronic» phenomena than it is a spatial or «synchronic,» *taxonomic* one, applied to objects *coexisting* in time. In other words it is a term of classification rather than of development.⁶⁶

Although Kubler called his theory «reductive», it is reductive only in its emphasis on the synchronic rather than the diachronic dimensions of style. For in actuality Kubler's concept of style is more expansive than our traditional notion, which has usually been limited to questions of form, composition, and manner of execution. His concept of style and his method of stylistic analysis, which he calls «componential», applies to «all essential characteristics of works of art». By «componential» Kubler means that visual style is a manifold—a complex of distinct particulars—of six independently variable dimensions. These he groups under three aspects—*shape*, *meaning*, and *time*, each of which has two components (fig. 15).⁶⁷

First there is *shape*, which encompasses *craft* and *format*. Craft refers to materials and techniques, elements omitted from Schapiro's definition of style.⁶⁸ Format, on the other hand, which «identifies stable configurations enduring through time as recognizable entities», encompasses those features that are traditionally identified with style, what Schapiro called «form elements» and «form relationships».⁶⁹ Indeed, this alone of Kubler's six components of style belongs to the traditional concept – he remarks on a «common confusion between «style» and «format».⁷⁰

With the second pair of components, related to *meaning*, Kubler incorporates two dimensions of works of art normally excluded from what is understood as style. These he identifies as *signage* and *modus*. Signage is, simply put, the subject matter of the work of art, «any complex of structured symbols which can be subjected to iconographic or iconological analysis». If signage refers to content embodied in subject matter and symbolism, *modus* relates to the manner in which the artist chooses to express that content.⁷¹

The third pair of components relates to *time*, and consists of *period* and *sequence*. Kubler says frustratingly little about period; sequence, an important concept in his earlier book, *The Shape of Time*, refers to the «dated succession of gradually altered repetitions of the same trait».⁷² By introducing sequence into his model, Kubler presumably wants us to recognize that each of the traits chosen in the four preceding components—craft, format, signage, and *modus*—is subject to choices as to its replication in a new work, and that each trait also has its own age, its own history within the medium and in the art of an individual or group. As he had written earlier in *The Shape of Time*: «Thus every thing is a complex having not only traits, each with a different systematic age, but having also clusters of traits, or aspects, each with its own age.» For this reason, «historic time seems to be composed of many envelopes, in addition to being mere flow from future to past through the present».⁷³

Crucial for the constitution of a style is the factor of «instantaneous acts of choice» in each of these six dimensions.⁷⁴ The particular configuration of those choices with regard to craft, format, signage, modus, sequence, and period constitutes the style. Works that share a similar manifold of traits will be classified together as sharing a style. It is in part because the style of a work of art is constructed of components of which each has a different systematic age, a different duration, that one cannot speak of style as a unitary thing that evolves.⁷⁵

Kubler's componential model of style, with its six-fold domain of choices, seems to me to offer a method that is particularly well suited to Klee's art, given the remarkable degree of variability that exists in his deployment and combination of various traits in the domains of craft, format, signage, and modus, each trait occupying a position in its respective sequence. No other artist of his generation constructed his works from such a broad range of choices in these areas.

The year 1930, during which Klee made nearly three hundred works in various media, is particularly rich in stylistic diversity, and a brief look at six of them will, I hope, demonstrate the usefulness of Kubler's theory as an analytical model. *Prophet* and *Bildnis eines Gelehrten (Portrait of a Scholar)* (figs. 16 and 17) are about as stylistically unlike one another as it is possible to imagine. In both of these works the dimension of *craft* feeds into *modus*, the term Kubler uses for the manner in which a particular content is expressed—the *how* as opposed to the *what*. *Prophet* is crudely painted with colored paste; it has a raw, spontaneous look, almost as if it were an artifact from some primitive culture. The very crudity of the execution suggests an image created in a state of mystical ardor, remote from the precincts of reason. By contrast, the geometric *format* and methodical technique or *craft* of *Bildnis eines Gelehrten* are consonant with the idea of rational investigation, of a highly developed culture of inquiry and argument. Here Klee applied watercolor over stencils to create a crystalline planar structure, then used pen and ink to form a second, linear structure, one that interacts with but remains independent of that created by color planes.

Prophet and *Bildnis eines Gelehrten* each share their respective traits with other works of the same year, but in varying combinations. In *Kristallisation (Crystallization)* (fig. 18), for example, Klee employed the same craft and format—stencils, watercolor and pen and ink, now with the addition of charcoal—as in *Bildnis eines Gelehrten*, but chose to leave the work non-representational, making a different choice with respect to *signage*. Or, rather, the very crystalline forms themselves could be said to be the signage of the work, embodying a process within nature. In *Die Pauken-Orgel (The Kettle-Drum Organ)* (fig. 19), Klee replicated the format of transparent, crystalline planes, but now eliminated the use of line except for the two drum sticks in the upper center (fig. 18). And here, with respect to craft, the technique is a combination of watercolor and oil. Klee's choice to repeat or alter traits is, as we have seen, itself a constitutive element of style.

Physiognomien von Querschnitten (Physiognomy of Cross-Sections), (fig. 20) shares with the *Bildnis eines Gelehrten* and *Kristallisation* the media of watercolor and ink, but here they are deployed in a different technique, while the work's format, signage and modus are of another order altogether. In *Ad marginem* (fig. 21), Klee introduces another variation in the domain of craft, applying watercolor over a lacquer ground on cardboard, nailed to a wooden stretcher covered on its visible edges with gauze. In format, signage, and modus each of these two works is as

different from the other as from the four works discussed above, and with respect to each of these traits they form part of different sequences.

Perhaps one can say, *pace* Wilhelm Hausenstein, that Klee's art does have a system after all. What defines that system is a commitment to the continual exploration of the materials, formal elements, and signifying possibilities of drawing and painting. This produces an art defined by maximum variability within those domains that Kubler defined with his concepts of craft, format, signage, and modus. This is, as Foucault so well understood, an art that has been «grasped anew by the knowledge of its most fundamental elements».⁷⁶ The merit of Kubler's expanded notion of style, with its componential model of analysis, is that it can «contribute to sharper perception of the pictorial order and character».⁷⁷ Rather than producing specious unities and unilinear narratives it disposes us to look for diversity and complexity in artistic practices, and this, I believe, is precisely what it does so effectively with Klee. It may be, as Frederic Schwartz has argued, that «the history of art is no longer the history of styles», that the notion of style «is not adequate to our thinking about visual form and representation today».⁷⁸ Yet I would argue that, conversely, any such thinking that *ignores* style is equally inadequate.

Notes

1 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Kairuan, oder eine Geschichte vom Maler Klee und von der Kunst dieses Zeitalters*, München 1921, pp. 102, 104. (Hausenstein 1921)

2 A random perusal of the catalogue raisonné of Klee's works in all media will quickly establish this fact. See *Paul Klee. Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. Josef Helfenstein and Christian Rümelin, 9 vols., Bern 1998–2004. Klee's stylistic pluralism becomes particularly evident beginning with the third volume. (Klee 1998–2004)

3 The title of the second chapter in Hans Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte. Die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als Symptom und Symbol der Zeit*, 10th ed., Frankfurt am Main 1983 (Salzburg 1948). (Sedlmayr 1983)

4 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, Wien 1934 (Dresden 1764), p. 207.

5 Richard Muther, *Geschichte der Malerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols., München 1893–94, vol. 1, p. 7.

6 Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Studienausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli u. Mazzino Montinari, 15 vols, München 1988, vol. 1, p. 163.

7 Max Klinger, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1899, pp. 51, 57.

8 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Der nackte Mensch in*

der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker, München 1913, pp. 18, 21, 22.

9 On this issue see Charles W. Haxthausen, «A Critical Illusion. «Expressionism» in the Writings of Wilhelm Hausenstein», in: *The Ideological Crisis of Expressionism. The Literary and Artistic War Colony in Belgium 1914–1918*, ed. Rainer Rumold and O. K. Werckmeister, Columbia, p. C. 1990, pp. 169–191.

10 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart. Malerei, Plastik, Zeichnung*, Stuttgart 1914, p. 1.

11 Wilhelm Hausenstein, «Die Kunst in diesem Augenblick», in: *Der neue Merkur*, 3, 1920, Sonderheft «Werden», pp. 115–127, here pp. 120, 123.

12 See Hausenstein's note at the end of the text: «Der Plan zu diesem Buch verdichtete sich im Laufe des Kriegs. Die Arbeit wurde 1919 begonnen. Das Manuskript wurde im Juni 1920 zu Ende gebracht.» Hausenstein 1921 (see note 1), p. 134. We know from Klee's correspondence with Hausenstein that the plan for the book dates to the spring of 1918. For a thorough account of the origins and evolution of the publication, see O. K. Werckmeister, «Kairuan. Wilhelm Hausensteins Buch über Paul Klee», in: *Die Tunisreise. Klee, Macke, Moillet*, ed. Ernst-Gerhard Güse, Stuttgart 1982, pp. 76–93. (Werckmeister 1982). See also Annie Bourneuf, «An Art

of Privacy? Wilhelm Hausenstein on Paul Klee», in: *Paul Klee: Making Visible*, ed. Matthew Gale, London 2013, exh. cat., London, Tate Modern, 2013, pp. 37–42.

13 Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso. Style and Meaning*, London 2002.

14 Meyer Schapiro, «Style» [1953], in: id. *Theory and Philosophy of Art. Style, Artist, and Society*, New York 1994 (Selected Papers, vol. 4), p. 51. (Schapiro 1994)

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 54.

16 Lothar Schreyer, *Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus*, München 1956, pp. 165–66.

17 See the photographs of Klee's Weimar studio in 1925 and 1926 in: *Paul Klee in Jena 1924. Der Vortrag*, ed. Thomas Kain, Mona Meister, Franz Verspohl (Minerva. Jenaer Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte, vol. 10), pp. 225, 231. (Kain/Meister/Verspohl 1999)

18 Paul Klee, *Tagebücher, 1898–1918, Textkritische Neuedition*, ed. Wolfgang Kersten, Stuttgart 1988, 22. Juni 1902, no. 425, p. 154. (Klee 1988)

19 *Ibid.*, February 1906, no. 757, p. 235.

20 *Ibid.*, Juni 1908, no. 825, p. 271.

21 See Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Der Weg zum Kubismus*, München 1920, p. 27; Pepe Karmel, *Picasso and the Invention of Cubism*, New Haven 2003, pp. 49, 68–82.

22 Klee 1982 (see note 18), April 1910, no. 876, p. 302; *ibid.*, 1910, no. 874, p. 500 (autobiographical notes prepared for Wilhelm Hausenstein).

23 For a detailed discussion of these works see Charles. W. Haxthausen, *Paul Klee. The Formative Years*, New York 1981 (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts), pp. 257–309.

24 Klee 1982 (see note 18), April 1910, no. 876, p. 302.

25 *Ibid.*, Herbst 1909, no. 859, p. 294. Klee used the term «Lichtinseln» in the entries for the two drawings of the Bern Cathedral, 1909/50 and 1909/57.

26 Paul Klee, «Beitrag für den Sammelband «Schöpferische Konfession»», id., *Schriften. Rezension und Aufsätze*, ed. Christian Geelhaar, Köln 1976), pp. 118–122, here p. 119. (Klee 1976)

27 Klee 1982 (see note 18), März 1910, no. 874, p. 300.

28 Hausenstein emphasized the fundamental importance of music for Klee's approach to pictorial form, as well as the coexistence of graphic and painterly modes in his art. Klee was a «Malerzeichner, dem die Musik der Alten im Blut ist». «Denn in der Kunst des Malerzeichners Klee ist nicht allein das Farbige musikalisch geordnet, sondern auch das Graphische.» Hausenstein 1921 (see note 1), pp. 109, 112. For an excellent discussion of Hausenstein's treatment of Klee as a «painter-draftsman» see Annie Bourneuf, *The Visible and the Legible. Paul*

Klee, 1916–1923, Dissertation, Princeton University, 2012.

29 Kain/Meister/Verspohl 1999 (see note 17), pp. 68–69.

30 Sedlmayr 1983 (see note 3), p. 87. Sedlmayr repeats the point in: id., *Die Revolution der modernen Kunst*, 2. ed., Köln 1985 (Hamburg 1955), p. 42.

31 Paul Klee, *Bildnerische Form- und Gestaltungslehre*, Netzseite, 2011, <http://www.kleegestaltungslehre.zpk.org/ee/ZPK/Archiv/2011/01/25/00001/>, Zugriff am 31. Dezember 2013. (Klee 2011). For a detailed consideration of this material see the recent dissertation by Fabienne Eggelhöfer, *Paul Klees Lehre vom Schöpferischen*, PDF/Dissertation, Universität Bern 2012, http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/2067/1/Eggelhoefer_Paul_Klees_Lehre_vom_Schoepferischen_2012.pdf. Zugriff am 28. Dezember 2013. (Eggelhöfer 2012)

32 For a discussion of Klee's lectures on style, see Eggelhöfer 2012, pp. 216–19.

33 Klee 2011 (see note 31), pt II, ch. 21, p. 5.

34 *Ibid.*, pt.II, ch. 21, pp. 91–92. Eggelhöfer points out a parallel to the thinking of Gottfried Semper without suggesting that Klee would have known the book. Eggelhöfer 2012, pp. 168–69.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

36 Klee 2011, pt. II, ch. 21, pp. 100–102. In all quotations from this source I am reproducing Klee's original orthography in these handwritten lecture notes.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

38 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, 2nd. ed., München 1917 (München 1915), pp. 10, 170, 171, 198. Throughout his text Wölfflin uses the term «System» with reference to the formal practices of artists or the stylistic character of artworks and buildings. (Wölfflin 1917)

39 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

41 Wilhelm Hausenstein, «Der neue Wölfflin», in: *Vossische Zeitung*, 7. März, no. 122 (Abendausgabe) 1916, p. 2.

42 *Ibid.*

43 Wilhelm Worringer, in his «Grabrede» for Expressionism, wrote: «Da brauchte nur in die Zeitstimmung ein so unheimliches Wort wie das vom Untergang des Abendlandes zu fallen und die Katastrophe der veränderten Blickrichtung war da: man sah den Expressionismus auf einmal von hinten, sah ihm auf den Rücken— und da sah er auf einmal wie eine große Torschlusspanik der an sich selbst verzweifelnden Kunst aus.» Wilhelm Worringer, *Künstlerische Zeitfragen*, München 1921, p. 10.

44 Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltge-*

schichte. Erster Band: *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit*, 23rd.–32nd. ed., München 1920 (München 1918), p. xii. (Spengler 1920)

45 Ibid., p. 276.

46 Ibid., p. 287.

47 As related by Werckmeister 1982 (see note 12), p. 83. Werckmeister consulted the manuscript in the private Hausenstein family archives. He adds that Hausenstein commissioned a review of Spengler's book from Robert Musil for *Der neue Merkur*. Spengler is nowhere mentioned in the final, published version of *Kairuan*.

48 Hausenstein 1921 (see note 1), pp. 46, 106.

49 Ibid., p. 106.

50 Spengler 1920 (see note 44), p. 284.

51 Hausenstein 1921 (see note 1), p. 90.

52 Ibid., p. 102.

53 Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Über Expressionismus in der Malerei*, Berlin 1919 (Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit. Eine Schriftensammlung, vol. 2), p. 51. As noted on page 76, the manuscript, based on a lecture Hausenstein had given in Berlin in Spring 1918, was completed by September of that year.

54 Ibid., pp. 34–35, 45–47.

55 Hausenstein 1921 (see note 1), p. 103.

56 Ibid., pp. 113–14, 115.

57 Michel Foucault, «L'homme est-il mort?» in: id. *Dits et écrits, 1954–1988*, ed. Daniel Defert and François Ewald, 4 vols., Paris 1994, vol. 1, pp. 540–544. (Foucault 1994) I thank Gary Shapiro for directing me to this text.

58 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York 1979 (Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, Paris 1966), p. 16. (Foucault 1970)

59 Ibid., pp. 14–15.

60 Foucault 1994 (see note 57), p. 544.

61 I refer to Paul Klee, *Das bildnerische Denken. Schriften zur Form- und Gestaltungslehre*, ed. Jürg Spiller, Basel 1956.

62 This methodological predisposition was perfectly captured by Riegl: «Die Kunstgeschichte will uns in Stand setzten, jedes Kunstwerk, das uns unter die Augen kommt, sofort unter ein uns bereits bewusstes Allgemeineres, den Stilbegriff, zu subsumieren, so dass das Kunstwerk den störenden Charakter des Fremdartigen verliert [...]» Alois Riegl, «Eine neue Kunstgeschichte» [1902], in: id., *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Arthur Rosenauer, Wien 1996 (Klassische Texte der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte, vol. 5), pp. 41–48, here p. 42.

63 George Kubler, «Toward a Reductive Theory of Visual Style» [1979], in: *The Concept of Style*, ed. Berel Lang, 2.ed., Ithaca 1987, pp. 163–173, here p. 163. (Kubler 1987)

64 To be fair, it should be noted that Schapiro does not «insist» on that definition. He writes: «By style is usually meant the constant form

[...]» [my emphasis]; he is merely describing the conventional usage of the term as it normally functions in scholarly discourse. At the end of his essay Schapiro concludes: «A theory of style adequate to the psychological and historical problems has still to be created.» Schapiro 1994 (see note 14), p. 100.

65 Kubler 1987 (see note 63), pp. 164–165.

66 Ibid., pp. 167–168.

67 Ibid., pp. 168–171.

68 Reflecting prevailing practice, Schapiro explicitly excluded materials and techniques along with subject matter from his definition: «Technique, subject matter, and material may be characteristic of certain groups of works and will sometimes be included in definitions; but more often these features are not so peculiar to the art of a period as the formal and qualitative ones.» He remarks, for example, that a «method of stone-cutting will change less rapidly than the sculptor's or architect's forms. [...] For the subject matter, we observe that quite different themes – portraits, still lifes, and landscapes – will appear in the same style». Schapiro 1994 (see note 14), p. 54.

69 Ibid.

70 Kubler 1987 (see note 63), pp. 169–170.

71 Ibid., pp. 170–171.

72 Ibid., p. 171.

73 George Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things*, New Haven 1962, p. 99.

74 Kubler sums it up in the concise formulation, «synchronous choices among synonymous possibilities». Kubler 1987 (see note 63), p. 173.

75 «Historically, every work of art is a fragment of some larger unit, and every work of art is a bundle of components of different ages, intricately related to many other works of art, both old and new, by a network of incoming and outgoing influences. These larger units, these bundles of components, and these interrelations across time and space, constitute the study of historical style which is also called stylistic analysis.» George Kubler, «Style and the Representation of Historical Time», in: id., *Studies in Ancient American and European Art. The Collected Essays of George Kubler*, ed. Thomas F. Reese, New Haven 1985, pp. 386–391, here p. 386.

76 My translation (see note 57).

77 I borrow this formulation from Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, New Haven 1985, p. 136.

78 Frederic J Schwartz, «Cathedrals and Shoes. Concepts of Style in Wölfflin and Adorno», in: *New German Critique*, Winter 1999, no. 76, pp. 3–48, here p. 3.