

Thinking Is Form

The Drawings of Joseph Beuys

\$50.00

Thinking Is Form: The Drawings of Joseph Beuys

Ann Temkin and Bernice Rose
with a contribution by Dieter Koeplin

The public reaction that greeted Joseph Beuys's death in 1986 resembled that more usually accorded to a deceased world statesman than an artist. Yet even now the art and life of this controversial and extremely influential German artist remain impenetrably intertwined — even more so perhaps because Beuys, like Marcel Duchamp and Andy Warhol, precisely orchestrated his public image, building a personal myth that has the power to bind together his entire oeuvre.

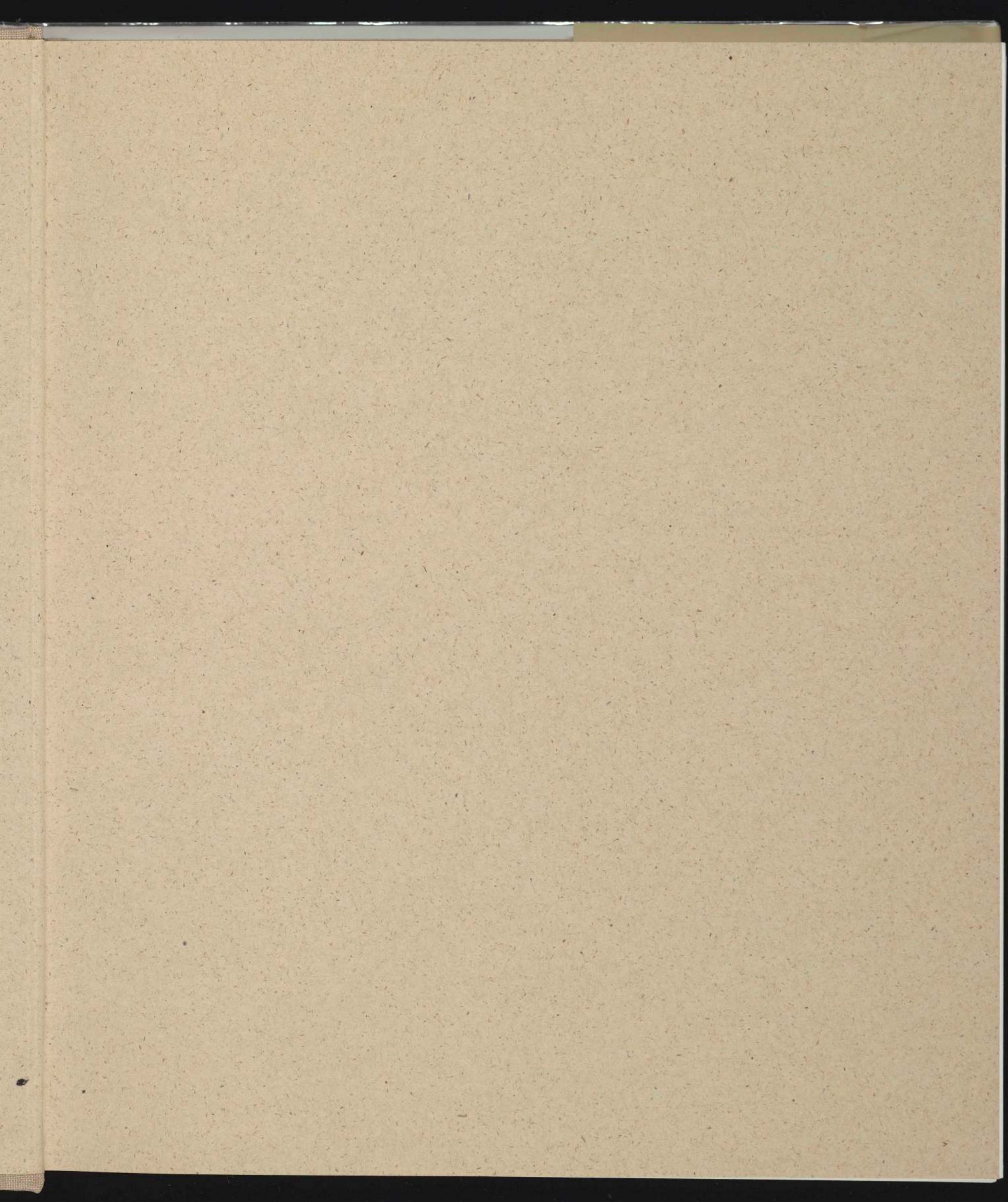
Thinking Is Form breaks through the mass of obscure writing about Joseph Beuys to introduce this legendary artist in a simple and clear manner, through his utterly individual drawings. The subject of a major touring exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and The Art Institute of Chicago, Beuys's drawings are used here as the springboard for discussions of his life, art, and ideas. Some employ such unconventional mediums as hare's blood or margarine, or use the backs of envelopes or commercial stationery. Some incorporate photographs, pressed flowers, and other organic materials, emphasizing their function as a reservoir of ideas for Beuys's sculpture, actions (performance art), and other enterprises.

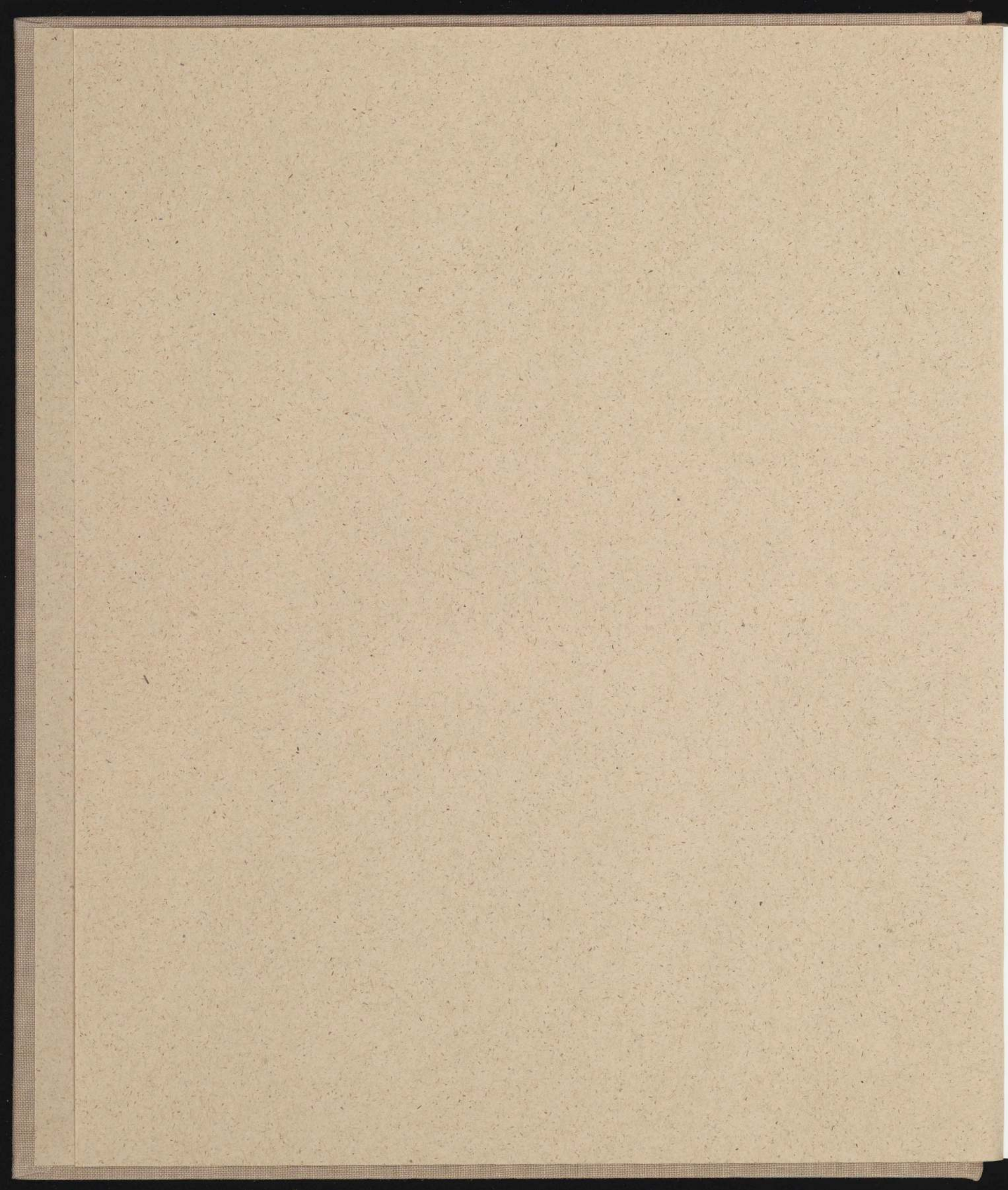
His achievement is viewed in the broader context of European art, and his graphic works are considered chronologically as his formative medium, in relation to his work as a whole, and as autobiographical narrative. This is the first time that the disciplines of curator and connoisseur have been rigorously applied to the selection and presentation of a truly representative segment of Beuys's work.

Beuys, following the strategy articulated by Duchamp, made his own life his masterwork, and his drawings formed the drafts for that work. Now that the work is complete, it is through the drawings that we can begin to grasp as a whole the accomplishment of a man who declared "Everyone is an artist."

With 291 illustrations, 135 in color

On the jacket: Detail of *For Felt Corners*, 1963
(plate 103)





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Edited by Hans...

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Philadelphia Museum of Art

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Foreword

Since his death in 1986 at the age of sixty-four, Joseph Beuys has steadily continued to gain greater recognition across Europe as one of the extraordinarily seminal artists of our century. It is with a sense of privilege and challenge that our institutions have collaborated on the first major exhibition of Beuys's work to be organized in the United States since the 1979 retrospective at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, in which the artist himself was energetically involved and which, therefore, constituted in many ways a vast work of art in its own right. As with the life and art of other twentieth-century figures such as Marcel Duchamp and John Cage — whose interests and influence embraced intersecting fields including metaphysics, the arts, the environment, or even politics — the dilemma posed by the loss of the artist, as the living center of a complex body of ideas, actions, and images, is to find ways in which to understand the works of art that remain as containing and expressing that life.

The very title of this exhibition, *Thinking Is Form*, expresses Beuys's conception of the processes of drawing and making sculpture as profoundly akin to thought. In deciding to focus upon drawings across Beuys's entire career, choosing among more than ten thousand works from the earliest exquisite diagrams of animals to the last blackboards crowded with delineations of actions, Bernice Rose, Senior Curator of Drawings at The Museum of Modern Art, and Ann Temkin, the Muriel and Philip Berman Curator of Twentieth-Century Art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, have conjoined their individual talents and approaches to the artist's work to produce a survey that strives to be at once comprehensive and fresh. That they were able to attempt this is due to the remarkable ability of the owners of Beuys's work, whether private or public, to take passionate and informed interest in such a project. The lenders were, in every sense, supporters, and we are deeply grateful to all of them. Without the steady and thoughtful help and encouragement of Eva Beuys, this exhibition would not have been possible. The collaboration of such old friends, colleagues, and collectors of Beuys's work as Hans and Franz Joseph van der Grinten was invaluable; that their remarkable collection will be accessible in the future Schloss Moyland Museum in Germany is deeply gratifying. We are also thankful for the participation of one of the most respected Beuys scholars, Dieter Koeplin, whose essay on a single drawing published here indicates the richness to be explored in the artist's imagery.

Given the international nature of this venture, it is a source of special gratification that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany should have taken such an interest in the exhibition as to award it a major grant through its cultural division. Without the energy, resourcefulness, and unflinching good humor of Irene Kohlhaas, Cultural Counselor at the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, in New York, we would have lost heart several times along the way. To Deutsche Bank, and in particular to Christian Strenger, formerly Managing Director, Deutsche Bank Capital Corporation in New York, we owe a vast debt of gratitude for recognizing the importance of this exhibition for the United States public and offering both substantial financial and moral support at an early stage. To Dr. Herbert Zapp, Managing Director of Deutsche Bank, Mr. Horst Risse,

Managing Director of Deutsche Bank Capital Corporation, and Mr. Michael Rassmann, General Manager of Deutsche Bank, we extend our heartfelt thanks. We are also especially grateful to the management and staff of Lufthansa German Airlines, which has generously assisted with the transportation costs of the exhibition.

There has been no lack of support for this international project in the United States, from a grant received from the National Endowment for the Arts and an indemnity approved by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities to significant contributions from private foundations and individuals: The Pew Charitable Trusts, The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc., The Bohen Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald S. Lauder and The Solow Foundation in New York, and Lewis Manilow in Chicago. We are also most grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Lauder and Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart, for their support of this publication, which accompanies the exhibition.

We could not have been happier to be joined in presenting this exhibition to the public across the United States by The Art Institute of Chicago and The Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles, with which we have collaborated on many occasions. James N. Wood, Director, and Douglas Druick, Curator of Drawings in Chicago, and Richard Koshalek, Director, and Paul Schimmel, Chief Curator in Los Angeles, have been patient and enthusiastic colleagues.

To our own respective staffs, of course, go warm thanks for their significant share in realizing this endeavor — and to George Marcus, Head of Publications in Philadelphia, and Jane Watkins, Senior Editor, our gratitude for this substantial volume, embodied in Nathan Garland's sympathetic design, which presents for the first time in English an overview of Beuys's achievement through his drawings.

Almost twenty years after Joseph Beuys's first performance in the United States, the salutary shock still reverberates, although a relatively small number of viewers were actually witness to his three days spent in a bare room of the René Block Gallery in New York, communing with that distinctly North American symbol of our original wilderness, the coyote. It is the hope of the authors, and of our two institutions, that this exhibition and catalogue will find a new and expanded audience for the art of Joseph Beuys as he moves from the romantic scholar/poet of his youth to the mature environmental and political activist (and back again full circle), drawing and thinking, thinking and drawing, in the same breath.

Anne d'Harnoncourt
The George D. Widener Director
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Richard E. Oldenburg
Director
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York

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- | | |
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Joseph Beuys:
Life Course/Work Course

- 1921 Kleve Exhibition of a wound drawn together with plaster
- 1922 Exhibition of dairy cows Molkerei near Kleve
- 1923 Exhibition of a moustache cup (contents: coffee with egg)
- 1924 Kleve Open exhibition of heathen children
- 1925 Kleve Documentation: "Beuys as Exhibitor"
- 1926 Kleve Exhibition of a stagleader
- 1927 Kleve Exhibition of radiation
- 1928 Kleve First exhibition of an excavated trench
Kleve Exhibition to elucidate the difference between loamy sand and sandy loam
- 1929 Exhibition at the grave of Genghis Khan
- 1930 Donsbrüggen Exhibition of heathers with healing herbs
- 1931 Kleve Connecting exhibition
Kleve Exhibition of connections
- 1933 Kleve Underground exhibition (digging beneath the ground parallel to the surface)
- 1940 Posen Exhibition of an arsenal (together with Heinz Sielmann, Hermann Ulrich Asemissen, and Eduard Spranger)
Exhibition of an airfield, Erfurt-Bindersleben
Exhibition of an airfield, Erfurt-Nord
- 1942 Sebastopol Exhibition of my friend
Sebastopol Exhibition during the interception of a JU-87
- 1943 Oranienburg Interim exhibition (together with Fritz Rolf Rothenburg + Heinz Sielmann)
- 1945 Kleve Exhibition of cold
- 1946 Kleve warm exhibition
Kleve Artists' Union "Profile of the Successor"
Happening Central Station, Heilbronn
- 1947 Kleve Artists' Union "Profile of the Successor"
Kleve Exhibition for the hard of hearing
- 1948 Kleve Artists' Union "Profile of the Successor"
Düsseldorf Exhibition in the Pillen Bettenhaus
Krefeld Exhibition "Kullhaus" (together with A. R. Lynen)
- 1949 Heerdt Total exhibition three times in a row
Kleve Artists' Union "Profile of the Successor"
- 1950 Beuys reads "Finnegans Wake" in "Haus Wylermeer"
Kranenburg Haus van der Grinten "Giocondologie"
Kleve Artists' Union "Profile of the Successor"
- 1951 Kranenburg Van der Grinten Collection Beuys: Sculpture and Drawing
- 1952 Düsseldorf 19th prize in "Steel and Pig's Trotter" (consolation prize, a light-ballet by Piene)
Wuppertal Museum of Art Beuys: Crucifixes
Amsterdam Exhibition in honor of the Amsterdam - Rhine Canal
Nijmegen Museum of Art Beuys: Sculpture
- 1953 Kranenburg Van der Grinten Collection Beuys: Painting
- 1955 End of the Artists' Union "Profile of the Successor"
- 1956-57 Beuys works in the fields
- 1957-60 Recovery from working in the fields
- 1961 Beuys is appointed Professor of Sculpture at the Düsseldorf Academy of Art
Beuys adds two chapters to "Ulysses" at James Joyce's request
- 1962 Beuys: The Earth Piano
- 1963 FLUXUS Düsseldorf Academy of Art
On a warm July evening on the occasion of a lecture by Allan Kaprow in the Zwirner Gallery, Cologne
Kolumba churchyard Beuys exhibits his warm fat
Joseph Beuys Fluxus stable exhibition in Haus van der Grinten, Kranenburg, Lower Rhine
- 1964 Documenta 3 Sculpture Drawing
- 1964 Beuys recommends that the Berlin Wall be heightened by 5 cm (better proportions!); 1964 Beuys "VEHICLE ART"; Beuys the Art Pill; Aachen; Copenhagen Festival; Beuys Felt works and Fat Corners. WHY?; Friendship with Bob Morris and Yvonne Rainer; Beuys Mouse Tooth Happening Düsseldorf - New York; Beuys Berlin "The Chief"; Beuys: The Silence of Marcel Duchamp is overrated. 1964 Beuys Brown Rooms; Beuys Stag Hunt (behind); 1965 and in us . . . under us . . . landunder, Parnass Gallery, Wuppertal; Western Man Project; Schmela Gallery, Düsseldorf: . . . any old noose . . . ; Schmela Gallery, Düsseldorf "How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare"; 1966 and here already is the end of Beuys: Per Kirkeby "2,15"; Beuys Eurasia 32nd Set 1963 - René Block, Berlin - ". . . with brown cross"; Copenhagen: Traekvogn Eurasia; Affirmation: the greatest contemporary composer is the thalidomide child; Division the Cross; Homogen for grand piano (Felt); Homogen for Cello (Felt); Manresa with Björn Nörgard, Schmela Gallery, Düsseldorf; Beuys The Moving Insulator; Beuys The difference between Image Head and Mover Head; Drawings, St. Stephan Gallery, Vienna; 1967 Darmstadt Joseph Beuys and Henning Christiansen "Hauptstrom"; Darmstadt Fat Room, Franz Dahlem Gallery, Aha-Strasse; Vienna Beuys and Christiansen: "Eurasienstab" 82 minute fluxorum organum; Düsseldorf June 21st, Beuys founds the DSP German Student Party; 1967 Mönchengladbach (Johannes Cladders) Parallel Process 1; Karl Ströher; THE EARTH TELEPHONE; Antwerp Wide White Space Gallery: Image Head - Mover Head (Eurasienstab); Parallel Process 2; THE GREAT GENERATOR 1968 Eindhoven Stedelijk van Abbé Museum Jan Leering. Parallel Process 3; Kassel Documenta 4 Parallel Process 4; Munich Neue Pinakothek; Hamburg ALMENDE (Art Union); Nuremberg ROOM 563 x 491 x 563 (Fat); Earjom Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Braunschweig, Würm-Glazial (Parallel Process 5); Frankfurt: Felt TV II The Leg of Rochus Kowallek not carried out in fat (JOM)! Düsseldorf Felt TV III Parallel Process; Intermedia Gallery, Cologne: VACUUM - MASS (Fat) Parallel Process . . . Gulo borealis . . . for Bazon Brock; Johannes Stüttgen FLUXUS ZONE WEST Parallel Process - Düsseldorf, Academy of Art, Eiskellerstrasse 1: LEBERVERBOT; Intermedia Gallery, Cologne: Drawings 1947 - 1956; Christmas 1968: Crossing over of the IMAGE HEAD track with the track of the MOVER HEAD in All (Space) Parallel Process - 1969 Düsseldorf Schmela Gallery FOND III; 12.2.69 Appearance of MOVER HEAD over the Düsseldorf Academy of Art; Beuys takes the blame for the snowfall from 15th - 20th February; Berlin - René Block Gallery: Joseph Beuys and Henning Christiansen Concert: I attempt to set (make) you free - Grand piano jom (zone jom). Berlin: National Gallery; Berlin: Academy of Art: Sauerkraut Score - Eat the Score! Mönchengladbach: Transformation Concert with Henning Christiansen; Düsseldorf Kunsthalle Exhibition (Karl Ströher); Lucerne Fat Room (Clock); Basel Kunstmuseum Drawings; Düsseldorf PROSPECT: ELASTIC FOOT PLASTIC FOOT.

Joseph Beuys: An Introduction to His Life and Work

Ann Temkin

Seven years after his death, the art and life of Joseph Beuys (1921–1986) refuse separation. The British artist Richard Hamilton has observed of Beuys that “no artist of his generation so powerfully projected that disposition of his time, legitimized by Duchamp, for the artist’s life to be his master-work.”¹ Yet it is necessary to realize that the private life and that of the “master-work” cannot be confused; both Marcel Duchamp and Beuys (and one might append to Hamilton’s statement the American Andy Warhol) precisely orchestrated their public personae. Beuys, to an unprecedented extent, crafted a personal myth that has a power to bind together his entire oeuvre. Introduced in a narrative text entitled *Lebenslauf/Werklauf* (*Life Course/Work Course*, see facing page), which was first published in 1964,² extended over the years, and rehearsed in endless interviews, Beuys’s life assumed heroic dimension.

In a sense the *Life Course/Work Course* can be interpreted as laying down the foundations of Beuys’s most important “series,” the events of his life as an artist. This series of events is a constructed narrative that both participates in and supports the fundamental ideas of Beuys’s aesthetic. It is apparent at first glance that the document is anything but a straightforward accounting of Beuys’s career, with the usual recitation of education and exhibitions. What it includes — inscrutable allusions that may refer to memories, fantasies, ideas — is as significant as what it excludes. One looks in vain for events from the artist’s personal life or his artistic work that do not somehow develop the idea that came to be recognized as “Beuys.” Everything in the *Life Course/Work Course* functions together as “signature,” as would Beuys’s myriad activities in the years to come.

Today the research necessary for a definitive biography is just beginning, as historians pursue the facts Beuys’s myth has ignored or obscured. The history of the complex response to Beuys’s work also awaits investigation; an understanding of this now-esteemed work requires maintaining a constant sense of its incendiary effect when first presented. Beuys’s conflation of life and art, culminating in the activism he termed “social sculpture,” still confuses audiences looking for an artist in his studio. Beuys leads in other directions.

The *Life Course/Work Course* is notable first of all for the language it employs; the choices of diction evident in the text are those that permeate Beuys’s program for the rest of his life. The first entry obliquely denotes the artist’s birth in 1921 as “Kleve Exhibition of a wound drawn together with plaster.”³ The word *exhibition* immediately establishes Beuys’s strategy in conflating the rituals of life and art. The event that is the staple of any modern artist’s curriculum vitae here describes the presentation of a human being.

The choice of the wound as a metaphor is also extremely important. The image of the wound is central to Beuys’s work and illuminates its historical context. Myth claims a place outside the linearity of historical time; Beuys’s myth-making, however, occupied and addressed a powerfully charged historical moment. The postwar years in West Germany witnessed a collective crisis of identity in a population bearing the catastrophic legacy of National Socialism and World War II. During the 1950s this crisis was hidden beneath the massive effort of physically and administratively rebuilding the country, a stunning success now known as the “economic miracle.”⁴

Beuys viewed as gravely wrong West Germany's concentration on material rather than spiritual recovery. As such, his work takes its place within a vanguard of post-war artists and intellectuals who probed issues largely left unstated in everyday discourse.⁵ Postwar writers such as Günter Grass and Heinrich Böll explored questions of national and cultural identity in their fiction. Their characters and narratives suggest that the physical rebuilding of houses and downtowns masked an essentially destroyed inner structure, which could not be repaired without coming to terms with the nation's recent history.⁶

Beuys did not address these issues as directly as did many of these writers, and there is no school of pictorial or sculptural *Trauerarbeit* (mourning work) into which his work fits. His methods were indirect and his message ambiguous, and certainly in specific regard to his own wartime past, Beuys made no public coming-to-terms. Instead, his work functioned as a probe into a national psyche. The profound discomfort and frequently virulent controversy that surrounded Beuys's work during his lifetime can not wholly be explained by naive resentment of his unorthodox aesthetic choices. Adapting and subverting Romantic and folk images and motifs that Nazi history had made taboo, Beuys's work confronted audiences with the issues of memory and mourning. At the most basic level, Beuys's own powerful force as a charismatic leader took on ambiguous resonances after the nation's experience of the Third Reich. Moreover, in modeling his life project as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or total art work, Beuys took up one of the great Romantic concepts that had been ruined by Adolf Hitler's perversion of it in his plan for world conquest.

As recently as 1985 Beuys began a speech entitled "Talking About One's Own Country: Germany," by stating "Once again I should like to start with the wound."⁷ He went on to discuss how his art had been an attempt to find "the only way of overcoming all the surviving racist machinations, terrible sins, and indescribable darkness without losing sight of them for even a moment."⁸ Beuys's presentation of the wound — with his body, his objects, his discourse — provided a vehicle for a healing process. As he engaged the country's Nazi past in various ways, Beuys framed his work as a form of homeopathic therapy: "the Art Pill."⁹

Beuys grew up in Kleve, a town on the Dutch-German border extraordinarily rich in both geological and cultural history. The community had Celtic roots and maintained a strong Catholic tradition. Beuys was the only child of Joseph Jacob and Johanna Beuys; in 1930 the family moved to Rindern, the neighboring town, where they had a grain- and feed-store. Beuys described his childhood as greatly involved with nature, the beginning of a lifelong interest in natural science.¹⁰

The *Life Course/Work Course* is conspicuously silent on the years from 1933 to 1940, his adolescence, which included membership in the Hitler Youth. Beuys's later recollections of those years mentioned only his furtive retrievals of government-censored books destined for burning.¹¹ Details on his subsequent years of military service are little more conclusive. Beuys served as an aircraft radio operator and flew with the *Luftwaffe*. His service took him to Italy as well as to areas of Yugoslavia, Poland, and Russia. Beuys later told of having been shot down in the Crimea in 1943 and saved from near death by a group of sympathetic Tatar nomads. This anecdote became the best-known aspect of Beuys's myth, although it was not recorded in the *Life Course/Work Course*.¹² Beuys often explained the Tatars' use of fat and felt as

salve for his wounds and insulation from the cold as the basis of his later interest in these two materials for his sculpture. Beuys was wounded several other times, and finally was taken as a prisoner of war by the British. In 1946 he returned to a Kleve badly damaged by Allied bombing.

In 1947 Beuys enrolled at the Staatliche Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, one of the oldest and most prestigious art academies in Germany. Having abandoned earlier intentions of scientific courses, he studied with the Kleve sculptor Walter Brux to qualify for admission. A student of an academic sculptor, Josef Enseling (1886–1957), Beuys soon transferred to the more innovative class of Ewald Mataré (1887–1965). Mataré had first taught at the Düsseldorf Academy in 1932 and was dismissed as a “Degenerate” artist by the National Socialists one year later. Invited back after the war to be acting director, he proposed a new curriculum that centered on interdisciplinary study and a guildlike collaborative structure.¹³ When his plans were rejected, he chose to resume his career as a teacher. His idealistic concepts governed his classes, as did an extraordinary sense of discipline and commitment. These left a strong mark on Beuys, whose own art career and aesthetic would fully integrate the theory and practice of education. Beuys and Mataré had a powerful, if contentious, relationship, and Mataré invited Beuys to collaborate on several public and church commissions.¹⁴

Beuys left the Düsseldorf Academy in 1951 and commenced a decade of virtual seclusion and profound spiritual crisis. He continued the wide reading that he had begun as a schoolboy, building up a vast grounding in poetry, philosophy, and literature, as well as science, folk tradition, and the occult. In particular, the work of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and the German Romantics — especially Friedrich von Schiller and Novalis — left a deep and lasting mark on his thinking.¹⁵ The art and literature of German Romanticism grounded Beuys’s understanding of a world in which man and nature, spirit and matter, are interdependent and cannot be separated. This Romantic outlook had also found expression in the work of Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), in whom Beuys developed an abiding interest.¹⁶

Steiner was a singular figure in the history of modern spiritual thought.¹⁷ At the beginning of the twentieth century he became the founding secretary of the German branch of the Theosophical Society, an occultist movement from London. Soon, however, Steiner broke with the Theosophists over differences in belief; most importantly, he asserted that spiritual investigation must lead to world change, while the mission of Theosophy was entirely inner-directed. In 1912 Steiner established the Anthroposophical Society. Anthroposophy is founded on the belief that all humans have the capacity for spiritual perceptions that transcend material reality, and that sensory powers far exceed the physical limits assumed by modern Western cultures. This conviction gave rise to revolutionary approaches in fields as diverse as agriculture, art, economics, medicine, and education.¹⁸ Of particular importance to Beuys was Steiner’s understanding of Christ as the living force empowering all human creativity. Steiner’s “spiritual science” replaced faith in an external being with a focus on one’s innate potential, a belief that found expression in Beuys’s famous declaration “Everyone is an artist.”

During the 1950s Beuys supported himself with a few commissions for sculpture and furniture, but mainly worked on thousands of drawings. The primary audience for these drawings was provided by the brothers Hans and Franz Joseph van der Grin-

ten, whom he had first met in 1946. By 1951 the two brothers had agreed with Beuys to collect his work, and for the next several years Beuys would deliver to them stacks of drawings at a time. During these years Beuys's personal suffering was very great, and by 1957 he underwent an utter emotional and physical collapse. Although specific details of Beuys's private nightmare are unclear, the trauma of his war experience probably played a part. At this point Beuys went to live with the van der Grintens for several months. During his time on their farm, which the *Life Course/Work Course* describes as "work in the fields," they provided him with art supplies, and their mother monitored his return to health. Beuys later spoke of this period as essential to his evolution: "The things inside me had to be totally transplanted; a physical change had to take place in me. Illnesses are almost always spiritual crises in life, in which old experiences and phases of thought are cast off in order to permit positive changes."¹⁹

The *Life Course/Work Course* characterizes the years from 1957 to 1960 as "recovery from working in the fields" (it was metaphorically apt that Beuys then rented a studio in a former municipal sanitarium in Kleve). His simple statement belies the fact that these were the signal years of Beuys's development. It was at this time that he made his first important bronze sculptures and that he elaborated the theory of sculpture that would govern his work for the coming three decades. In his words, "this Theory of Sculpture describes the passage of everything in the world, physical or psychological, from a chaotic, undetermined state to a determined or ordered state."²⁰ Beuys's investigation of these polarities—expressed as warm and cold, organic and crystalline—provides the structure of his drawings and objects, as well as his performance and activism in the years to follow.

Personal and professional developments paralleled the evolution of Beuys's aesthetic. In 1959 he married Eva Wurmbach, an art-history student at the Düsseldorf Academy and the daughter of a well-known zoologist. In 1961 Beuys held a major exhibition—a selection of works from the van der Grinten collection—at the Haus Koekkoek, a cultural center in Kleve.²¹ That same year he was appointed professor of sculpture at the Düsseldorf Academy, despite prior reservations by the faculty that this strangely intense, shy man was ill-suited to such a distinguished position.

It was precisely at this time that Düsseldorf was becoming an important center in the European art scene, offering the cosmopolitan internationalism that at the time seemed the proper path to many German artists.²² For the first fifteen years after the end of the war, artists throughout Germany had been groping for a viable direction to take.²³ The Nazis had condemned the German modernist tradition as degenerate; but paradoxically, that same tradition now was unappealing in its very Germanness. It was in Düsseldorf and Cologne, in the Rhineland on the western side of the nation, that examples of French and American contemporary work became readily available by the end of the 1950s.²⁴ The Düsseldorf Academy, the galleries of Alfred Schmela and Jean-Pierre Wilhelm (Gallery 22), and the Kunsthalle and the Kammerspiele all brought important art and artists for exhibitions and performances. Beuys was well-located for exposure to avant-garde innovation and for his own experimentation to be accorded attention.

In 1962 Beuys became involved with Fluxus, the art movement named and led by the American George Maciunas, stationed as a serviceman in Wiesbaden during the early 1960s. Initiated in Germany, Fluxus consisted of an international group of men and women whose mutual affiliation was largely dependent on the mail; the artists

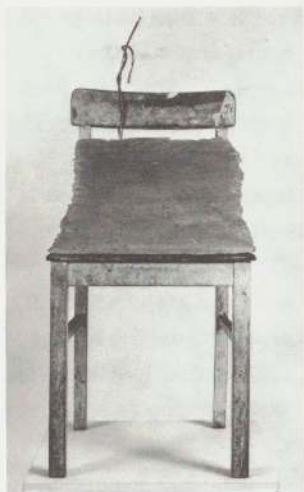


Figure 1. Joseph Beuys, *Fat Chair*, 1963. Wood, wax, and metal, height 39" (100 cm). Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt

got together on the occasions of performances organized all over the world.²⁵ As stated by Maciunas in his manifesto, Fluxus shared with earlier revolutionary art movements such as Dada and Lef in Russia the goals of an art that would be a way of life, not a profession, and art objects that would function beyond the realm traditionally reserved for "art" in modern Western culture.²⁶ Ideals and objectives such as these paralleled Beuys's own concerns. While he never officially became part of Fluxus, that context was essential to moving his art outside of the studio.

Paradoxically, in the midst of this milieu committed to collective and anonymous work, Beuys developed the concepts that would serve as his unique signature. At the beginning of the 1960s he virtually abandoned traditional sculpture in bronze and wood and began to organize the making of sculpture around the performance of actions or the occasion of exhibitions. The two outstanding examples of this new aesthetic were felt and fat, materials that are emblematic of Beuys's work, defined in key works such as the *Fat Chair* now at the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt (fig. 1). Each had autobiographical significance, as Beuys explained that these were the insulating materials with which the Tatars had brought him back to life in 1943. Beyond this anecdotal reference, however, fat had an ambivalent resonance. On the one hand it is a nurturing, life-sustaining substance, essential to survival as nourishment and fuel; at the same time it gestures to human decay and the image of burning bodies in extermination camps. Felt can be a warm, protective insulator, but its composition — compressed fiber or hair — brings similarly ambiguous references to the body.²⁷

Just as fat and felt carry negative and positive associations, both have structures that embody the two poles of open and closed form. Each is made of amorphous elements that, when compressed, form a solid mass; fat and felt thus integrate the opposite poles of cold and warm identified in Beuys's theory of sculpture. Thermal change became the operative principle for sculpture in working with fat and felt. For Beuys, the role of the heating process extended the reach of sculpture into both scientific and psychological realms. The reconciliation of opposites sought in Beuys's manipulation of warm and cold addressed a longtime goal of alchemists and their Romantic heirs.²⁸

Beuys's use of fat and felt underlies much of the mystification of his work. Generally, critics have interpreted the use of fat and felt as a result of his wartime plane crash, a response encouraged by Beuys's own remarks. But this explains away their significance rather than illuminating their real function in the context of his theory of sculpture, their connection to past and contemporary sculptural practice, and other metaphoric resonances. The mystification of Beuys's work has also worked to obscure the irony inherent in Beuys's choice of felt and fat to make sculpture, as it teased at conventions of form, purpose, and stature. It is an irony very much in the spirit of his time, explicitly expressed in Claes Oldenburg's "soft monuments," and present in much of the art of the 1960s. Fat and felt also took part in the contemporary opposition to formalist criteria of sculptural quality and to the role of art as a luxury commodity. As did similar materials used in contemporary process art in the United States or Arte Povera in Italy, fat and felt affected a conspicuous distance from the affluence of the societies in which they were made.²⁹

Beuys's involvement with Fluxus launched his performance activity, for which he used the term *Aktionen* (actions). This work began in earnest when he invited the group to the Düsseldorf Academy for a "Festum Fluxorum Fluxus" in February



Figure 2. Joseph Beuys during an action at the "Festival for New Art," Aachen, 1964

1963.³⁰ There he presented the *Siberian Symphony, section I*, the action he later found to contain "the essence of all my future activities."³¹ And it was a Fluxus-organized event that catapulted Beuys into prominence: the 1964 "Festival for New Art" at the Technische Hochschule in Aachen. The festival took place on July 20, the twentieth anniversary of the failed attempt on Hitler's life, and thereby a highly inflammatory occasion. Beuys's Dada-like action was interrupted by angry students in the audience who rushed onstage; in the course of the ensuing melee, Beuys was punched in the face.³² A photograph taken just afterward — Beuys standing martyr-like with bloodied nose and raised arm, holding a cross he had used in the action — was widely circulated in the press (fig. 2). That photographer became the first of many intentional or unintentional collaborators with Beuys in creating himself as a work of art. The Aachen photograph earned Beuys his first notoriety, and the occasion alerted him to the political resonance of cultural action.

The Aachen event also brought Beuys his first encounter with government authorities. The Ministry of the Interior for the state of North Rhine-Westphalia questioned Beuys about a statement from the *Life Course/Work Course*, which had appeared in the Aachen festival program notes: "Beuys recommends that the Berlin Wall be heightened by 5 cm (better proportions!)." The Berlin Wall, erected in 1961, had instantly become the ugly focus of Germany's division. Beuys explained in his response to the investigatory questionnaire that his humorous image was intended to erode the power of the wall.³³ Convinced of the overemphasis on the physicality of the wall itself, he wished to redirect attention to the "mental wall" as a symbol of all the unnecessary walls that exist between individuals and peoples. Beuys's humor provided a vehicle for an absolutely serious conviction that a political problem was an artistic one. The alteration of five centimeters appeared to be an "aesthetic" solution, but the "aesthetic" that Beuys was getting at was in fact far different. He wrote to the Ministry of the Interior that he was ready "to solve this wall problem in my life, if I am given the opportunity."³⁴

A later action that same year had a title that proved to be another of Beuys's enduringly provocative statements: *The Silence of Marcel Duchamp Is Overrated*. The action was performed live for German television on November 11, with Fluxus artists Wolf Vostell, Bazon Brock, and Tomas Schmit.³⁵ Duchamp epitomized the modernist image of the artist's exemption from everyday reality; Beuys used Duchamp's self-imposed retreat as a foil by which to state the case for the *engagé* alternative originally implied in the concept of avant-garde. Beuys addressed his critique to a new generation of artists whose work depended on the premises that Duchamp had introduced. Yet, Beuys's confrontational statement was despite itself an act of affiliation with the French artist's work, an affiliation fruitfully maintained in Beuys's art throughout his life.

During the next decade Beuys's actions made up a primary part of his work and were integrally linked to his production of objects. Beuys's body of nearly thirty actions possesses an extraordinary unity, despite the broad range of settings and subjects. The best known remains the action that opened his first exhibition at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf in 1965, *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare* (fig. 10). *How to Explain Pictures . . .* shares with all of Beuys's actions a strongly ritualistic aspect, more laden with symbols than most Fluxus performances or the often playful happenings of his American counterparts. The sense of ceremony related more closely to the contemporary performances of the Viennese artists of the Actionist

movement, although Beuys's work did not share the gruesome theater of the Viennese. As *Gesamtkunstwerke*, the actions involve musical and visual imagery, and look back to the dramatic strategies explored by the Futurists and Dadaists in the 1910s.

Other early actions such as *Eurasia* (Copenhagen and Berlin, 1966), *Manresa* (Düsseldorf, 1966), *Hauptstrom (Mainstream)* (Darmstadt, 1967), and *Eurasian Staff* (Vienna and Antwerp, 1967 and 1968) demonstrate Beuys's exquisite sense for achieving theatrical effect produced with very little means. His props were all part of a tightly consistent vocabulary: blackboards, copper rods, rolls of felt, margarine or fat, or acoustic instruments. Such tools differentiate Beuys's work from Fluxus and American happenings, in which the artists rarely attributed to their props the autobiographical or metaphoric layers of meaning so important to Beuys. The concepts underlying Beuys's actions remained essentially the same in every one: the need to unify divided aspects of the universe, whether East and West, intellect and intuition, or human and animal. With their often marathon-like durations and their strictly defined sites, Beuys's actions aimed to disrupt the conventions of time and space that govern a materialist, rational culture.

During the 1970s Beuys continued to broaden the medium of the action. Certain works continued the ritualistic flavor of the actions of the 1960s but were carried out on an even grander scale, as in *Celtic (Kinloch Rannoch) Scottish Symphony* (Edinburgh, 1970), expanded to *Celtic + ----* in Basel the following year. The action—four hours long in Edinburgh and twelve in Basel—involved movements and drawing that made overt use of Christian, Celtic, and alchemical imagery, as well as film and music, to create an unforgettably haunting theatrical event. Conversely, as Beuys began to interweave art and political activism, many actions carried more pointed messages. Brief outdoor pieces such as *Ausfegen (Sweeping Up)*, performed on the Karl-Marx-Platz in Berlin on May Day 1972, addressed political issues with dramatic power. In this case, Beuys stood with a Korean and an African student collecting trash from the public celebration, implicitly calling for a clean sweep of current ideologies and separatisms.



Figure 3. Joseph Beuys and the coyote during the action *Coyote: I Like America and America Likes Me* at the René Block Gallery, New York, 1974

The action performed on Beuys's second visit to the United States in May 1974, *Coyote: I Like America and America Likes Me*, is in many ways a return to the theme of *How to Explain Pictures . . .*³⁶ The piece exemplifies the way in which Beuys's work incorporated the longstanding symbiosis of primitivism and modernism. *Coyote . . .* transformed the René Block Gallery in New York into a habitation for Beuys and a coyote brought from New Mexico, who learned to live together over the course of three days (fig. 3). The action made clear the America Beuys "liked": the coyote represented the native American population and landscape as it existed prior to the arrival of the Europeans, an idealized state of nature reminiscent of that described by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Like the stag or hare, the coyote embodied for Beuys the vitality and intelligence of the animal world. *Coyote . . .* could be interpreted further as an indictment of American imperialism, with pointed relevance given the nation's recent role in Vietnam (Beuys had altogether refused to visit the United States during the war itself). But it was also an optimistic vision, presenting the coyote's talent for survival as a symbol of hope and offering the possibility of peaceful cohabitation as a recommendation for the future.

Beuys's rise to stardom in West Germany by the end of the 1960s coincided with the astonishing ascendancy of the German art scene as a whole.³⁷ The fledgling market activity in Düsseldorf begun in the tiny galleries of Alfred Schmela and Jean-Pierre Wilhelm had crossed to the nearby city of Cologne, where there were over fifty galleries by 1970, as well as an annual art fair.³⁸ Museum budgets swelled, and enrollments in art schools escalated dramatically. This transformation carried with it closer artistic involvement with current events in society at large.

Beuys's role as a professor is crucial to the politicization of his work during the 1960s, and his position was inseparable from the international groundswell of cultural and political protest rooted in the universities. The birth of the student movement, which in Germany began in Berlin in 1967, was an important catalyst for Beuys and other artists throughout Europe and in the United States. In Europe, state control of higher education meant a far more direct link between national policy and university activity than in the United States. Beuys's position as a teacher provided the necessary path from the realm of the art world to society at large, and thereby set the tone for his next two decades of work.³⁹

On June 20, 1967, Beuys founded the German Student Party at the Düsseldorf Academy.⁴⁰ This followed an outburst of anger throughout German universities in response to the shooting of a student in Berlin demonstrating against a visit by the Shah of Iran.⁴¹ The founding minutes of the German Student Party named as goals worldwide disarmament and European unification, as well as "self-administration" in the realms of law, culture, and economics.⁴² Further concerns, articulated later, included opposition to the Vietnam War and criticism of the national emergency laws that threatened civil rights in West Germany. There, more than in France or the United States, student protests could not be separated from the intensely problematic question of national identity left them by their parents' generation.

Beuys's politics were no more conventional than his art. In this way they were absolutely typical of the 1960s, when protest bespoke a widespread suspicion of the very structures of authority, as well as the individuals who occupied those structures. In Europe and the United States, countless citizens' groups arose to demand participation in systems ranging from health and education to the workplace and government.⁴³ The German Student Party described itself as a "metaparty," a group organized not against other parties, but against parties themselves. In 1968 Beuys adopted the term "Fluxuszone West" for the German Student Party, further distancing any conventional political implications.⁴⁴

In 1970 Beuys directed his efforts beyond the Düsseldorf Academy and formed the Organization of Non-Voters for Direct Democracy by Referendum, which the following year became the Organization for Direct Democracy by Referendum. It operated from a storefront office on a street near the academy, and, like similar organizations throughout Europe and the United States, sought to redirect centralized power back to the individual. The organization advocated a nonparty political system that operated through citizen initiatives, or referenda, and took as its first principle "politics structured from below to above."⁴⁵ Information sheets dispensed by the office offered perspectives on a mosaic of issues, such as the environment and women's rights, which helped to redefine sociopolitical discourse during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Multiples such as a large plastic tote bag (fig. 4) "carried" the organization's ideals into the everyday public arena. The activities of the group constituted what Beuys called "social sculpture," applying the principle of form-

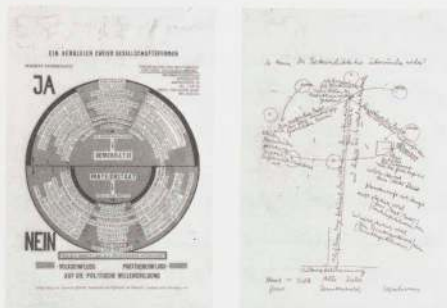


Figure 4. Joseph Beuys, *How the Dictatorship of the Parties Can Be Overcome*, 1971. Printed tote bag in polyethylene, front and back, 29 1/2 x 20" (75 x 51 cm). Art Intermedia, Cologne

creation, as stated in his theory of sculpture, to that of a new democratic society. Individual energies were to be dedicated to the development of new forms of educational, economic, judicial, and legislative process. It is in this sense that Beuys declared “Everyone is an artist” — a responsible participant in that sociopolitical enterprise.

Beuys’s circumstances within the Düsseldorf Academy provide an important context for the extension of his teaching practice into his political activity. Several colleagues at the academy, upset by his artistic iconoclasm, his already messianic aura, and the activity of the German Student Party, had registered a withdrawal of trust against Beuys in 1968. By 1970 critic Ursula Meyer would report to readers of *Art News* that “as a teacher, Beuys poses a formidable threat to his colleagues.”⁴⁶ In 1971 and 1972 the controversy intensified over the issue of restricted admission of students to the academy. Beuys believed strongly in equal opportunity for all candidates, and at the meetings of student selection held during the summers of 1971 and 1972 he declared that he would accept into his classes (subject to two-semester review) all those rejected by the admission committee’s vote. In October 1971, Beuys occupied the academy offices with a number of these students and won consent to their admission. On October 10, 1972, the strategy was repeated, but the outcome was different. Johannes Rau, the Minister of Science and Research for the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, promptly terminated Beuys’s appointment. Beuys refused to accept the dismissal, and, amidst great sensation, stayed overnight at the academy with dozens of students for two nights. On October 12, a student march through Düsseldorf rallied support for Beuys. But police escorted Beuys from the school on October 13, an event recorded in a photograph, which he later inscribed *Democracy Is Merry* and issued as poster and postcard multiples in 1973 (fig. 5).⁴⁷



Figure 5. Joseph Beuys, *Democracy Is Merry*, 1973. Postcard. Edition Staeck, Heidelberg

Despite the quip, Beuys was profoundly pained by the dismissal. The situation received enormous attention in the press, and letters in support of Beuys arrived from all over the world. The next five years were marked by an arduous legal battle, ultimately resolved in Beuys’s favor in 1978.⁴⁸ Yet, the experience intensified Beuys’s conviction that his aspirations for a more genuine democracy had to be rooted in educational reform. Even before his dismissal, Beuys had begun to work with others on a plan for an alternative educational system that would give students an equal voice in their programs and prepare them for active participation in community and global political initiatives. In 1971 preliminary plans for a Free International School for Creativity and Interdisciplinary Research were begun. With Beuys, the novelist Heinrich Böll wrote a manifesto in 1972, and the following February a first branch of the school was established in Düsseldorf.⁴⁹

Five years earlier, the German Student Party already had defined as a student “every man whose personal interest lay in the process of learning and of spiritual development.”⁵⁰ Thus the founders of the Free International University conceived the school to bring together individuals from different fields and to view all participants as both teachers and students. The aim was to apply to all spheres of work the principle of creativity usually reserved for artists. This concept of creativity was directly linked to that of democracy, which would be practiced in workshops to bring together specialists and nonspecialists to address social questions as artistic ones.

The manifesto was careful to differentiate the school from such predecessors as the Bauhaus, which still preserved essentially object-oriented ambitions: “It is not the aim of the School to develop political and cultural directions, or to form styles, or to

provide industrial and commercial prototypes. Its chief goal is the encouragement, discovery and furtherance of democratic potential, and the expression of this."⁵¹ Beuys hoped for the establishment of the Free International University around the world, but first aimed at troubled regions such as Ireland. Like Germany, Ireland was an unhappily divided nation, and one to which the late 1960s had brought terrorism as a part of daily life. Affiliates of the Free International University were eventually set up in the United States, England, Yugoslavia, Italy, and several cities in Germany, deriving the programs and goals of the respective branches from their specific locales.⁵²

Beuys's activist strategies found their most obvious expression within the realm of objects in his commitment to the production of multiples. The proliferation of artists' multiples in the 1960s and 1970s had a variety of motivations and explanations, revolving around a desire to liberate art from an elitist straitjacket. Beuys's multiples took the form of postcards, large and small objects, posters, and recordings, ranging from an edition of only six items (*Felt TV*, 1970) to a great many unlimited editions.⁵³ Multiples supplanted the individual artist by a collaborative production team, and, ideally, the individual consumer by a mass audience perhaps unable to afford or relate to the products of the modern art market.

Beuys's *Felt Suit*, issued in an edition of one hundred in 1970 (see fig. 26), remains one of his most affecting works, with an uncanny power to evoke a sense of the situation of the prisoner in its generically oversized, clumsy form. Beuys wore the suit himself in the anti-war action *Isolation Unit*, performed with Terry Fox in the basement of the Düsseldorf Academy in 1971. With clothing as an obvious nexus for the issues of art and life, Beuys's *Felt Suit* counts among its ancestors Wieland Herzfelde's Dada act of 1918, when he persisted in wearing his battered soldier's uniform through the streets of Berlin in the months following the war.⁵⁴

While Beuys spoke of his multiples within the context of societal as well as artistic revolution, he fiercely defended their identity as objects: "Although these products may not seem suitable for bringing about political change, I think more emanates from them than if the ideas behind them were revealed directly."⁵⁵ The title of the multiple *Letter from London*, a lithograph of one of the blackboards from the exhibition "Art into Society, Society into Art" at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, in 1974, literalized Beuys's description of multiples as a way "to stay in touch with people."⁵⁶ It reproduced the image of one of the blackboards made during the exhibition and came with a tape explaining the imagery. As Beuys said of these diagrams, "all the things are meant with an iconographic meaning. I believe that one of these blackboards only has aesthetic worth if [the viewer] sees what is written here. . . ."⁵⁷

Beuys expertly carried his mission to the traditional gathering places of the art world, such as the international art exposition Documenta, held every five years in Kassel, West Germany. At Documenta 5, in 1972, he set up an office of the Organization for Direct Democracy — a few folding tables and chairs beneath a neon sign spelling the organization's name in cursive letters. Beuys spent the one hundred days of the exhibition engaging passersby in wide-ranging discussions about educational systems, environmental practices, and political initiatives.⁵⁸ A new variety of "action," this converted the onlookers into participants, a parallel to what Beuys hoped to bring about in state government. A single rose in a graduated cylinder —



Figure 6. Joseph Beuys, *We Can't Do It Without Roses*, 1972. Color poster. Edition Staeck, Heidelberg



Figure 7. Joseph Beuys inaugurating the 7000 Oaks project for Documenta 7, Kassel, 1972

“a rose for direct democracy”—stood atop an office table throughout the exhibition (fig. 6). The simple image captured the essence of Beuys’s philosophy: the need to unite spirit and science, love and knowledge. The rose also symbolized Beuys’s idea of revolution: a gradual, organic blossoming from within.

Again at Documenta, in 1977, Beuys converted his area of the museum into an outlet of the Free International University. The sculpture *Honey Pump* (now at the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Humlebaek, Denmark) arranged the space in which visitors assembled to take part in thirteen different workshops addressing such issues as the media, human rights, energy, and unemployment. Speakers from different disciplines came from all over the world. The honey continually flowing around them in huge arteries (the engines were located in an adjacent stairwell) symbolized the communal creativity that could re-energize democracy.

Documenta 7, in 1982, provided the occasion for the inauguration of the project *7000 Oaks*, with a goal of planting seven thousand trees, each coupled with a column of basalt, around the city (fig. 7). The aim was a symbolic beginning to re-forest a German landscape turned over to industry.⁵⁹ Although the oak had been made notorious by the Nazis as a nationalist symbol, its tradition as a sacred tree dated back to the Druids and ancient Germans.⁶⁰ Again, Beuys resuscitated a symbol that had been ruined both literally and figuratively. *7000 Oaks* transcended the usual spatial boundaries of art and also its temporal ones: the tree-planting was to take place during the years following Documenta 7, removing the concept of “art” from specific, staged moments. The last tree was planted by Beuys’s son Wenzel at the opening of Documenta 8 in 1987.

Beuys’s efforts eventually entered the sphere of more formalized politics. In 1979 the Free International University was a key participant in the founding convention of the Green Party (Beuys was one of its five hundred founders), an organization with a rotating leadership originally conceived of as an “anti-party,” much as the German Student Party had been in 1967. Common interest in environmental issues provided the base for a coalition of activists with a wide variety of concerns and agendas, but sharing the conviction that major legislative and economic reform was necessary to rescue the environment from past and present assault.

For several years Beuys parlayed his own celebrity into a useful vehicle for many fundraising and publicity efforts on the part of the Greens. He was named as a candidate on the Green Party list in several elections for the European Parliament and the West German Federal Parliament, although never in these elections did the Greens win sufficient votes to earn representation. Beuys’s relationship with the party was not entirely smooth, however; many of the Greens distrusted his artistic basis (just as, conversely, many who admired his art resisted his activism). As the Greens evolved into a more ordinary political organization, Beuys grew discouraged. Shortly before his death in 1986, alluding to the Greens’ increasing conventionalism, Beuys observed that “the idea of the political becomes ever more impossible for me.”⁶¹

The activist course that Beuys’s work had taken by the end of the 1960s might lead one to expect that the personal component of his enterprise would recede; indeed, after 1974 Beuys abandoned the text of the *Life Course/Work Course* and left subse-

quent additions to catalogue authors. The autobiographical voice was stronger than ever, however, in the individual works of art that Beuys continued to make during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly the actions and large-scale environments he created for specific occasions. Installations such as *I Want to See My Mountains* at the van Abbé Museum, Eindhoven, in 1971, and *Show Your Wound* in Munich in 1976 (now at the Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich) transformed private circumstances into compelling public theater. Each was a spare installation of elements alluding to Beuys's personal history: in Munich, for example, Beuys employed two metal operating tables to create a haunting atmosphere that could allude to his recent heart attack but set up a drama of larger personal and universal suffering and recovery. Beuys's installations played a central part in the redefinition of the exhibition that took place in Europe and the United States during the 1970s, as artists asserted the power of the exhibition as a medium in itself.



Figure 8. "Joseph Beuys" exhibition at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1979–80

Beuys's use of the exhibition as an art form reached its grandest proportions in the retrospective exhibition created at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, in 1979, for which he devised twenty-four "stations" along the ramps of Frank Lloyd Wright's round building, charting the evolution of his career (fig. 8). Beginning with the sculpture *Jacob*, 1961, made from Beuys's childhood bathtub, the circuit of objects once again refigured the artist's *Life Course/Work Course*.⁶² The exhibition occupied an eerily dim atmosphere under a covered skylight, filtered through the smell of wax emanating from the twenty-five-ton sculpture *Tallow* placed in the rotunda.

Museum director Thomas M. Messer had viewed as a risk his decision to invite Beuys to produce the exhibition, given the artist's radical mission and means. In a letter sent to the museum's trustees one month before the opening, Messer warned that "Beuys is likely to cause turbulence and give offense to visitors who will find it as impossible to relate to his art today as the contemporaries of, say, the early Kandinsky, found it impossible to relate to his." Messer admitted that he was "issuing a storm-warning but I am doing so convinced that Beuys is not a malevolent but a purging wind."⁶³ Indeed, the exhibition met with open hostility from many visitors and generally bewildered the American art public.⁶⁴ In retrospect, however, the Guggenheim event appears to have been a turning point in Beuys's reputation. His official confirmation in New York, while gaining Beuys few American private or institutional collectors, considerably boosted his prestige at home and throughout Europe. Adding to the paradoxes that defined Beuys's persona, the image of senior statesman crowded alongside that of notorious provocateur and *enfant terrible*.

Beuys possessed a keen sense for the enduring monument, as had Duchamp in arranging for most of his work to be bought by Louise and Walter Arensberg and ultimately given to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. In 1968 Beuys designed a similar agreement with the industrialist Karl Ströher, who in 1970 placed his extensive collection on loan to the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt.⁶⁵ Beuys installed it there and continued to supplement and refine this block of work for the rest of his life. The six rooms, filled with artifacts from Beuys's actions, sculpture, drawings, and multiples arranged on the floors and walls and gathered in vitrines, serve as a capsule retrospective of his work. Although Beuys's installation is found in the museum's art collection, it seems to have migrated from the natural history collection across the building. Because of their organic materials and their great distance from contemporary images, the displayed objects appear to be the finds of some archaeological excavation, tempting the viewer to gauge their age in millenia rather than decades.

The effort to gather his work in “blocks,” or series, was one Beuys managed to carry out with a number of devoted patrons, starting with the van der Grinten brothers two decades earlier. As a longtime collector in Cologne has written, “One sensed that Beuys collectors were true believers who absorbed something of the magic energy stored up in their objects and drawings. . . . Almost automatically, one became a kind of disciple.”⁶⁶ While this circle encompassed a handful of people throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, it expanded considerably during the last decade of Beuys’s life. Beuys’s relationships with his collectors remained remarkably personal, and the collections document the nature of their mutual interests. Some of the collectors remained aloof from his political projects, while others willingly lent their efforts to these causes. In all cases, Beuys synthesized his diverse activities, as he channeled the proceeds gained from sales of works into the programs of the Free International University, literally using his creativity as capital to fund such projects as *7000 Oaks*.



Figure 9. Joseph Beuys, *Palazzo Regale*, 1985.
Installation at the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

During the last years of his life, Beuys maintained an astonishing pace, traveling worldwide for Free International University activities and for events and exhibitions as far away as Australia and Japan. For many of the monumental exhibitions characteristic of the 1980s Beuys designed correspondingly monumental installations, such as *The End of the Twentieth Century* for the exhibition “Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk” in the Kunsthau Zürich in 1985. Beuys’s distinguished role was acknowledged in the stream of honorary prizes, so important a part of the German art world, that came to him during the 1980s. In quite poor health by this time, Beuys’s own visage acquired the quality of a death’s head, and his work, too, took on the flavor of a requiem. This was most true when, in December 1985, Beuys created *Palazzo Regale* (fig. 9) at the Museo di Capodimonte, an eighteenth-century Bourbon summer palace, in Naples. Beuys employed his autobiographical strategy of recycling elements from former actions into a new form, a grand memorial chamber. Death had long played an integral role in Beuys’s work, but until then had appeared in the sense of emergency, pain, or trauma. In Naples, Beuys turned his attention to the ceremonial side of death, with each of the two brass-rimmed glass vitrines, like stately sarcophagi, in a room walled with seven bronze plates coated in gold leaf. The solemn sense of awe was heightened by the opening date of December 23. With Beuys’s death occurring exactly one month later, *Palazzo Regale* was Beuys’s ultimate transformation of life into art.

1. Richard Hamilton, in *Beuys zu Ehren*, edited by Armin Zweite (Munich, 1986), p. 626.
2. The *Lebenslauf/Werklauf* was first written for the program notes to the "Festival der neuen Kunst" in Aachen on July 20, 1964. For the history of subsequent revisions of the *Lebenslauf/Werklauf* and Beuys's final major adaptation of this text, see Kunstmuseum Basel, Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung, *Joseph Beuys: Werke aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher* (Basel, 1969), pp. 4-7. Later catalogues and publications include slight variants in the text through 1969 and entries written by catalogue authors. The English version published here is adapted from Caroline Tisdall's translation in *Joseph Beuys*, the catalogue to the retrospective held at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York (New York, 1979), p. 9.
3. Beuys referred to the town of Kleve as his birthplace, as that is where he spent his first years. In fact, he was born in the hospital in nearby Krefeld.
4. On the history of West Germany's "economic miracle," see Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., *The Two Germanies Since 1945* (New Haven, 1987), pp. 59-64.
5. See Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior*, translated by Beverley R. Placzek (1967; New York, 1975).
6. See Eric L. Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca and London, 1990).
7. Joseph Beuys, "Talking About One's Own Country: Germany," in Wilfried Wiegand et al., *Joseph Beuys: In Memoriam Joseph Beuys; Obituaries, Essays, Speeches*, translated by Timothy Nevill (Bonn, 1986), p. 35.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 37. This speech was given in Munich in 1985, only months before Beuys's death; the following years saw a rise in public interest in the issues of German identity for a variety of reasons, most obviously the events surrounding the nation's reunification in 1990. See, for example, Andreas Huyssen, "After the Wall: The Failure of German Intellectuals," *New German Critique*, vol. 52 (Winter 1991), pp. 109-43. Even in 1986 the *Historikerstreit* (historians' battle), a heated controversy within the field, which spilled into the public press, debated the uniqueness of the Nazi crimes. A related conflict arose in the late 1980s over the nature of the new museum of German history in Berlin. See Geoffrey H. Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986); Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1988); and Peter Baldwin, ed., *Reworking the Past* (Boston, 1990).
9. See Caroline Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys* (New York, 1979), p. 89.
10. See Tisdall 1979, p. 14.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
12. See *ibid.*, pp. 16-17. See also Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Joseph Beuys: The Twilight of the Idol," *Artforum*, January 1980, pp. 35-43, for a skeptical analysis of the anecdote's verity. Buchloh argued that the praise of Beuys's art largely depends on the persuasive power of his myth, and that therefore debunking the myth is a necessary beginning to a critique of the work.
13. When Mataré became acting director in 1945 the academy was closed for reconstruction after extensive bombing. It reopened in 1946. See Hans van der Grinten and Franz Joseph van der Grinten, et al., *Ewald Mataré: Retrospektive Das Plastische Werk* (Cologne, 1987), pp. 41-42.
14. Beuys participated in Mataré's designs for the new bronze portals of the Cologne cathedral; his design of a burning village can still be seen on the first door on the southern side.
15. See Theodora Vischer, *Beuys und die Romantik: Individuelle Ikonographie, individuelle Mythologie* (Cologne, 1983). On other connections between German Romanticism and twentieth-century art, see Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko* (New York, 1975).
16. See Volker Harlan, *Was ist Kunst? Werkstattgespräch mit Beuys* (Stuttgart, 1986). According to Harlan, Beuys's library consisted of over ninety books by Steiner, at least forty of which are closely annotated with drawings and comments (interview with the author, Bochum, June 1990). See also John F. Moffitt, *Occultism in Avant-Garde Art: The Case of Joseph Beuys* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1988); and a review of this book by David Adams, "Joseph Beuys," *The Art: Journal*, vol. 50 (Spring 1991), pp. 96-97.
17. Born of Austrian parents in what is now Yugoslavia, as a young man in Germany, Steiner began his career as a teacher and Goethe scholar; Rudolf Steiner, *The Story of My Life* (London and New York, 1928). See "Rudolf Steiner" in Harald Szeemann, *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk* (Aarau and Frankfurt, 1983), pp. 221-30. Steiner's work was important for the painting of contemporaries such as Piet Mondrian and Wassily Kandinsky; see R. P. Welsh, "Mondrian and Theosophy," in *Piet Mondrian, 1872-1944: Centennial Exhibition* (New York, 1971), pp. 35-51; and Rose Carol Washton Long, *Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style* (Oxford, 1980), chapter 2.
18. Today the international anthroposophical movement remains centered in the village of Dornach, Switzerland, not far from Basel. Waldorf schools (named after Steiner's first school in the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette factory) throughout Europe and the United States continue to follow his tradition of teaching.
19. Götz Adriani, Winfried Konnertz, and Karin Thomas, *Joseph Beuys: Life and Works*, translated by Patricia Lech (Cologne, 1973; Woodbury, N.Y., 1979), p. 56.
20. Tisdall 1979, p. 72.
21. Städtisches Museum Haus Koekoek, Kleve, *Josef Beuys: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Oelbilder, Plastische Bilder aus der Sammlung van der Grinten* (Kleve, 1961).
22. Documenta I took place in 1955 in Kassel. The first exhibition showed early modern art, while the next, in 1959, initiated the focus on art after 1945. See Manfred Schneckenburger, ed., *Documenta, Idee und Institution* (Munich, 1983).
23. See Wieland Schmied, "Points of Departure and Transformations in German Art, 1905-1985," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1905-1985*, edited by Christos M. Joachimides, Norman Rosenthal, and Wieland Schmied (London and Munich, 1985), pp. 21-74 and 502-10.

24. There were very different developments of parallel importance around 1960 in Berlin, where artists such as Georg Baselitz, Eugen Schönebeck, and Markus Lüpertz revitalized the Expressionist tradition. See Kynaston McShine, ed., *Berlinart, 1961-1987* (New York and Munich, 1987).
25. See Jürgen Becker and Wolf Vostell, eds., *Happening, Fluxus, Pop Art, Nouveau Réalisme* (Hamburg, 1965); and Harald Szeemann, *Happening & Fluxus* (Cologne, 1970).
26. See Jon Hendricks, *Fluxus Codex*, with an introduction by Robert Pincus-Witten (Detroit and New York, 1988); Clive Phillpot, *Fluxus* (New York, 1988); and Thomas Kellein, "Fluxus: eine Internationale des künstlerischen Misslingens," in *Europa/Amerika: Die Geschichte einer künstlerischen Faszination seit 1940* (Cologne, 1986), pp. 325-36.
27. One of the objects in Beuys's *Auschwitz* vitrine in the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt positions two mounds of fat atop two electric hotplate burners. See Eva Beuys, Wenzel Beuys, and Jessyka Beuys, *Joseph Beuys: Block Beuys* (Munich, 1990), pp. 182-87.
28. See C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 2nd ed., translated by R.F.C. Hull (Princeton, 1968).
29. See Donald B. Kuspit, "Beuys: Fat, Felt, and Alchemy," *Art in America*, vol. 68 (May 1980), pp. 78-89. On related work, see, for example, Robert Morris, "Anti-Form" (1968), reprinted in *The New Sculpture, 1965-75* (New York, 1990), pp. 100-101. See also Germano Celant, *Arte Povera* (New York and Washington, 1969), which groups Beuys with Italian, British, Dutch, and American artists working in a similar vein.
30. See Exhibitions and Actions for a chronological listing of actions by Beuys. Also see Adriani, Konnertz, and Thomas, 1979, as well as Tisdall 1979.
31. Tisdall 1979, p. 87.
32. In a subsequent interview Beuys denied the incendiary effect of his particular action: "Yet [Beuys's nose] was only the bloody accent in a raging auditorium, composed almost half of people who had come with the firm intention of sabotage." ("Jedoch war das nur der blutige Akzent in einem tobenden Auditorium, das fast zur Hälfte aus Menschen bestand, die mit der festen Absicht zu sabotieren gekommen waren"); "Krawall in Aachen: Interview mit Joseph Beuys," *Kunst*, vol. 4 (October 1964), pp. 95-97; reprinted in Basel 1969, p. 10.
33. This response is reprinted in Basel 1969, pp. 14-15.
34. "Dieses Mauerproblem noch in meinem Leben zu lösen, falls man mir Gelegenheit dazu gibt." Quoted in Basel 1969, p. 15.
35. Beuys worked with felt and fat, and at the action's conclusion he made the sign stating the piece's title with chocolate and *Braunkreuz* paint. See Tisdall 1979, pp. 92-94.
36. Caroline Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys: Coyote* (Munich, 1976); and Tisdall 1979, pp. 228-32.
37. See Georg Jappe, "Young Artists in Germany," *Studio*, February 1972, pp. 65-73.
38. In October 1970 the Cologne art fair was the site of the action *We Enter the Art Market*, in which Beuys joined the gallery owner Helmut Rywelski and artists H. P. Alvermann and Wolf Vostell to protest monopolistic gallery practices.
39. The work of Buckminster Fuller was also concerned with the issue of education as integral to contemporary art. See Robert Filliou, *Teaching and Learning as Performing Arts* (Cologne, 1970), with contributions by John Cage, Allan Kaprow, Benjamin Patterson, Dieter Roth, and Joseph Beuys.
40. See Johannes Stüttgen, "Auszug aus 'Der ganze Riemen': 22. Juni 1967-Die Gründung der Deutschen Studentenpartei," in Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, *Brennpunkt Düsseldorf, 1962-1987* (Düsseldorf, 1987), pp. 142-51.
41. On related reactions to the death of Benno Ohnesorg throughout West Germany, see Marie-Luise Syring, ed., *um 1968: konkrete utopien in kunst und gesellschaft* (Cologne, 1990).
42. *Ibid.*, p. 167. The statement is partially translated in Tisdall 1979, p. 265.
43. For an anthology of critical writings countering recent interpretations that diminish the historic impact of that decade, see Sohnya Sayres et al., *The 60s Without Apology* (Minneapolis, 1984).
44. Beuys responded with annoyance to questions of how the party fit into a spectrum of left or right, dismissing such terms as meaningless relics of an obsolete system. See, for example, Johannes Stüttgen in Düsseldorf 1987, p. 145. See also René Block, "Fluxus and Fluxism in Berlin, 1964-1976" in McShine, ed., 1987, pp. 75-77.
45. For the program of the Organization for Direct Democracy by Referendum, see Tisdall 1979, p. 268.
46. Ursula Meyer, "How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare," *Art News*, vol. 68 (January 1970), p. 54. Beuys's controversial positions at the Düsseldorf Academy also involved his support of student Jörg Immendorff's "Lidl Academy." See Syring, ed., 1990, pp. 157-63.
47. See *Studio*, December 1972, pp. 226-29.
48. Meanwhile, in 1978, Beuys had been offered a chair at the Hochschule für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna, which he declined. See Tisdall 1979, p. 276.
49. The manifesto is reprinted in Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, *Art into Society, Society into Art* (London, 1974), pp. 49-50; see Tisdall 1979, pp. 278-82; and Carin Kuoni, ed., *Energy Plan for the Western Man: Joseph Beuys in America* (New York, 1990), pp. 149-53.
50. German Student Party program, June 21, 1968; quoted in Christos Joachimides, "The truth must also be beautiful" in London 1974, p. 17.
51. Quoted in Tisdall 1979, p. 282.
52. Only the German offices still operate, headed by Rainer Rappmann and Johannes Stüttgen.
53. See Jörg Schellmann, ed., *Joseph Beuys: Die Multiples*, 7th ed. (Munich and New York, 1992).
54. See Georges Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," in *The Dada Painters and Poets*, edited by Robert Motherwell (New York, 1951), p. 153.
55. Joseph Beuys, in conversation with Jörg Schellmann and Bernd Klüser, December 1970; reprinted in Schellmann and Klüser, *Joseph Beuys: Multiples*, 5th ed., rev. (Munich, 1980), n.p.
56. *Ibid.*, n.p.
57. Joseph Beuys, quoted in "Letter from London: Joseph Beuys im Gespräch mit Willi Bongard," in Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, *Joseph Beuys: Multiplizierte Kunst 1965-1980, Sammlung Ulbricht* (Düsseldorf, 1980), n.p. (author's translation).
58. See Clara Bodenmann-Ritter, ed., *Joseph Beuys: Jeder Mensch ein Künstler* (Frankfurt, 1975). Excerpts from Beuys's discussions at Documenta 5 were immediately published in New York in "Direkte Demokratie: Joseph Beuys Rapping at Documenta 5," *Avalanche*, vol. 5 (Summer 1972), pp. 12-15.
59. The project *7000 Oaks* involved planting individual sculptures composed of an oak sapling beside a hexagonal basalt stone; the pair united plant and mineral, nature and art, organic and geometric structure.
60. On *7000 Oaks* see also "Time's Thermic Machine" and "Interview with Richard DeMarco" in Kuoni, ed., 1990, pp. 93-107 and 109-16.
61. Joseph Beuys, "Talking About One's Own Country: Germany," in Wiegand et al. 1986, p. 42.
62. The format of the Guggenheim exhibition was anticipated in the autobiographical installation *Arena: Where I Would Have Ended Up, Had I Been Intelligent*, presented at the Modern Art Agency in Naples in 1972. The piece consisted of 264 photographs of Beuys or his art, many overworked with wax, felt, paint, and other materials, mounted in a circle in one hundred gray aluminum frames, essentially providing a sculptural scrapbook. The work is now owned by the Dia Center for the Arts, New York.
63. The letter, accompanied by a copy of the exhibition catalogue, was sent "to lessen the surprise and to administer some of the shock ahead of time." This text is reprinted with the essay in "Joseph Beuys at the Guggenheim" by Thomas M. Messer in *Joseph Beuys: Drawings, Objects, and Prints*, edited by Götz Adriani (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 22-34.
64. Reviews of the show share a respectful but puzzled tone. John Russell's long article on Beuys "The Shaman as Artist" for *The New York Times Magazine* (October 28, 1979) was bolder in its praise than most, but remained reticent in regard to interpretation of Beuys's work.
65. Ströher had purchased almost the entire contents of Beuys's 1967 Mönchengladbach retrospective. For the history of the Ströher deposit, see David Galloway, "Beuys and Warhol: Aftershocks," *Art in America*, vol. 76 (July 1988), pp. 112ff.
66. Reiner Speck in *Zweite*, ed., 1986, p. 588.



Figure 10. Joseph Beuys, *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*, Galerie Schmela, Düsseldorf, 1965. © Ute Klophaus

Joseph Beuys: Life Drawing

Ann Temkin

One of the best-known images of Joseph Beuys presents the artist seated in an art gallery, dressed in jeans and fisherman's vest, cradling a dead rabbit in his arms (fig. 10). Beuys's trademark felt hat, synonymous with the artist himself, is missing; instead his head is coated with honey and gold leaf. Behind the artist a group of large drawings hangs on the wall, their thin lines almost invisible in the photograph. The year is 1965, and the setting is the action *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*, which Beuys performed at the opening of his first exhibition at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf. The pictures in question are Beuys's own drawings, crudely framed and densely hung.

This striking photograph exemplifies the place of drawings in Beuys's work: always in the background, they provided an essential basso continuo to his other work. Autonomous objects in themselves, they are an inextricable part of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of Beuys's life, teaching, performance, sculpture, and political activism. The total number of Beuys's drawings is unknown, but it is generally agreed to exceed ten thousand sheets. Beuys has been described by those who knew him as constantly drawing; he drew while traveling, while watching TV, while in private discussion, while in performance. Beuys's attitude toward drawing implied it to be as intrinsic to him as breathing.

The photograph of Beuys and the hare demonstrates rupture as well as continuity. Beuys's performance at the Galerie Schmela marked the conspicuous beginning of the second half of a four-decade career. During the next few years Beuys emerged as a leader in an international vanguard convinced that art-making could not be separated from the sociopolitical context in which it occurred. Paradoxically, the moment at which Beuys's work began to be embraced by galleries and museums was the point when that work (and that of a new generation of artists throughout Europe and the United States) began to challenge the authority vested in such institutions. Innovations in medium and structure signaled rejection of modernist ideas of art's permanence, transcendence, and form itself.

The pictures that Beuys "explained" to the hare were, by that point, a sort of work that engaged him far less powerfully than previously. Drawing had been Beuys's major preoccupation throughout the 1950s; during the mid-1960s his drawing practice markedly shifted to become a vital component of the performance and activism that characterized his next decades. Yet Beuys always insisted that those early pictures contained the seeds of his later use of drawing as a vehicle for social change.

Beuys's rhetoric with regard to his early drawings was remarkably consistent over the years in the course of innumerable interviews. He referred to them as the source of all his ideas, and as catalysts to his work in all mediums.¹ Beuys made this assertion in respect to drawings that appear to be self-sufficient "presentation drawings" as well as to those that seem to be note-like jottings. The importance that Beuys attributed to his drawings is consistent with the autobiographical voice of his work as a whole; drawings traditionally are regarded as the work most intimately connected to the artist, as is implicitly acknowledged when scholars examine a sketchbook much as one would a diary, or use drawing as a key tool of connoisseurship. Beuys's estimation of drawing relates both to the medium's distinguished place in the German artistic tradition, and to its importance in the line of modernism — stretching from Marcel Duchamp and Dada to contemporary conceptualists — that valorizes idea rather than masterpiece.

Beuys was extraordinarily voluble during the interviews and lectures that filled the last two decades of his life, as critics, collectors, journalists, and curators sought explanations of his work and ideas. The gathered pages of published and unpublished interviews would run into the thousands, not including the innumerable hours he spent talking in the classroom, following an action, or at an exhibition. Only in extremely rare cases, however, did Beuys directly address the subject of the art he made. While he was willing to speak volumes on his theories of art and society, he displayed great reticence when it came to the matter of his art objects.

A valuable description of Beuys's drawing exists in the form of a telephone conversation in 1974 with the art critic and historian Caroline Tisdall on the occasion of the exhibition of his drawings entitled *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*. This "conversation" was transcribed in the catalogue published by the Oxford Museum of Modern Art.² The text demonstrates Beuys's frequent use of the telephone to express the idea of communication, but it also rather coyly plays down the seriousness of the exchange, placing it on the level of a chat rather than a lecture. Beuys's pleased conclusion to the published version of the "conversation" was: "See we have talked for two hours and not said one word about art."³

Beuys's language of drawing is open to enormously rich possibilities of interpretation. The process of separating the important strands that inform his work — alchemy, the Christian tradition, anthroposophy, folklore, literature, and the history of science — reveals the extraordinary breadth of the thinking that underlay the methods of Beuys's art.⁴ Beuys's drawings invite individual reading to a degree unique in the work of his contemporaries. Here, however, the place of drawing will be situated within Beuys's career as a whole. Through a study of his drawings, one follows Beuys from his position as an isolated outsider, to that of the avant-garde teacher and performer, to the "social sculptor" intent on worldwide reform. Over the course of four decades, Beuys's drawing moved from the sketchbook page to the blackboard, from private to public; the studio and the gallery were replaced by the street, art fairs, magazines, and television. The lone dead hare metamorphosed into thousands of students, collectors, activists, artists, and tourists watching and listening to Beuys explain his vision.

Beuys's drawings, like his entire oeuvre, participated in the formation of the artist's identity. Beuys has been suspected, with Andy Warhol, of being more noteworthy as a celebrity than an artist, but that judgment ignores the fact that Beuys's construction and presentation of self occurred inside his work rather than outside of it. His life and work have an intrinsic and reciprocal relation in which priority is undefinable: the artist "Beuys" is as much a product of the work he created as that work is a product of "Beuys." The unique conflation of life and art expressed in that signature became the vehicle through which his work found its voice, and through which it continues to speak today.

(Stoop) if you are abcedminded, to this claybook, what curios of signs (please stoop), in this allaphbed! Can you rede (since We and Thou had it out already) its world? (James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*)⁵

Beuys's unusually long formative period prior to recognition as a professor and an artist in the early 1960s evolved through the medium of drawing. A vast body of work on paper pre-existed the emergence of the public figure who came to be known as "Beuys"; a recent exhibition of the early drawings was aptly entitled "Beuys before Beuys."⁶ The painfully precise and delicate lines of these mysterious drawings convey Beuys's search for an alternative language, his escape from "the usurpation of language through culture development and rationality."⁷ The alingual communication he advocated with the hare in his arms can be seen as the original objective of the drawings themselves.

Beuys's initial interest in art had its source in the question of language. Beuys listed in his *Life Course/Work Course* for 1950 "Beuys reads 'Finnegans Wake' in 'Haus Wylermeer'" (a cultural center near Kleve).⁸ Beuys singled out a book that expanded the limits the English language had posed for its author (Joyce had informed skeptical friends that he was at the end of English⁹), and that created a rich network of multilingual puns to provide a new vocabulary. Joyce's revolutionary concept of language assured him a place in the pantheon of personal heroes from various centuries and disciplines whose biographies Beuys artfully braided into his own throughout his life.¹⁰

After Beuys left the Düsseldorf Academy in 1951, he commenced a period of isolation that resulted in one of the most remarkable outpourings of drawing in this century. Beuys spent close to a decade elaborating a personal idiom, doing so almost entirely in the medium of drawing. Setting aside the functionalism of academic training, he sought in his drawing practice an avenue to other realms of the spirit. Working in solitude in Düsseldorf, Beuys drew prodigiously: thousands of works on paper in oil, watercolor, and ink and pencil record the themes and ideas he was investigating. The intensity with which Beuys worked during these years finds few equivalents in the art of his predecessors. The analogies are to periods of crisis; one recalls, for example, Paul Klee's last year of work, achieved both despite and because of physical and spiritual agony.¹¹ For Beuys these years were a therapeutic episode; in fact, he was administering to himself what in 1964 he would call the "Art Pill," which by then he directed at the healing of society as a whole. Beuys later referred to the decade of the 1950s as a long period of "preparation," evoking the mandatory period of purification for holy figures in many religious orders as well as tribal cultures.¹² John Cage once stated that art must serve as self-alteration rather than self-expression; this process might best describe Beuys's explorations during the 1950s.¹³ Like the burrowing hare, the artist went underground.

Beuys had been drawing since boyhood. *Landscape near Rindern*, 1936 (pl. 1), one of the few surviving watercolors he made during high school, faithfully portrays the flat, spare landscape of the Lower Rhine area. Beuys continued to draw during the war, and as a student at the Düsseldorf Academy, he adapted his work to the idiom of his professor, Ewald Mataré. Mataré's artistic language reconciled abstract form and naturalistic figure, and his students followed his example in sketches of plants and animals structured in geometric sections (pl. 7). The small wooden and bronze



Figure 11. Joseph Beuys, *Sheep*, 1949. Bronze, length 4 3/4" (12 cm). Private Collection



Figure 12. Joseph Beuys, *Sun Cross*, 1947-48. Bronze, height 14 3/8" (36.5 cm). Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg



Figure 13. Joseph Beuys, *Throwing Cross, verso*, 1949-52. Bronze, height 6 3/8" (17 cm). Private Collection

animal sculptures made in class (fig. 11) share the simply articulated forms of these studies. Mataré's sensitivity to any material's inherent qualities was one of his more important lessons for Beuys, as can be seen in remarkably textural drawings such as *Sheep Skeleton*, of 1949 (pl. 11).¹⁴

Beuys's earliest drawings also made direct use of Christian symbolism, which in more subtle ways would permeate his work throughout his life.¹⁵ Drawings from the years 1948 to 1951 include many renderings of the Pietà (pl. 10), the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, and the Lamentation. These belong more to a process of private exploration than classroom mandate. Beuys later described works such as these as "small attempts" to approach the spiritual realm in terms of traditional motifs.¹⁶ In many of the drawings Beuys sought to integrate Christian imagery into a broader context, setting the religious element in a cosmic, nature-based frame recalling the pantheism of German Romanticism. The drawings are contemporary with many small crosses he sculpted in wood and bronze, reminiscent of ancient relics, which thereby add a pagan aspect to a Christian context. For example, the bronze *Sun Cross*, of 1947-48 (fig. 12), points to the ancient significance of the cross as a sun symbol, as it conflates the crown of thorns around Christ's head with the form of a sunburst.

During his years at the Düsseldorf Academy, Beuys and several fellow-students developed an intense interest in the interpretation of Christianity espoused by Rudolf Steiner. Beuys adopted from the anthroposophist what he later termed "the fundamental anthropological notion of the human being . . . the human being as a being that has a thoroughly earthly character and yet cannot be described without a transcendental dimension."¹⁷ Steiner's teaching on the unity of the spiritual world with the physical world directly influenced Beuys's imagery, as did his emphasis on the event of Christ's Resurrection as the pivotal moment in man's spiritual history. Beuys's delicately penciled *Cross* of 1950 (pl. 12), corresponding to the bronze *Throwing Cross* of 1949-52 (fig. 13), imparts to the cross the quality of a living thing as it conflates monument and blossoming plant; the cross implicitly signifies the transformation and hope that follow suffering.

The spiritual quest manifest in these drawings continued into the decade of work after Beuys left the academy in 1951. Drawing became the vehicle for that search and, at the same time, a way of life. The countless pages, ranging from simple writing paper to small sketchbooks to torn sheets of newsprint, testify to one large work in progress. There is a strong dichotomy between the narrowly defined range of key themes, such as the female figure and the landscape, and the mesmerizing variety of renditions that continually renewed the encounter between the artist and the page. This introspection differentiated Beuys's work from the art of the day, and his drawings bear little resemblance to contemporary German artists' echoes of Expressionism or experiments in abstraction. The archaic motifs and the drawing style maintain a powerful, if puzzling, anachronism. Yet Beuys's desire to step out of time and place reflects his position in a context that offered no real sense of either. During the 1950s German culture had yet to recover its foothold from more than a decade of Nazi dictate; German identity was being questioned, as collective ambivalence over the recent past effectively blocked access to an older tradition.

Internationally, too, the postwar years sent scores of artists seeking models that offered an alternative to contemporary bourgeois culture. Abstract Expressionists in the United States turned from shattered illusions to the realm of primitive myth. The “anti-cultural position” of the Frenchman Jean Dubuffet condemned a Western culture too fond of analysis and argued for painting that could “imbue men with new myths and new mystiques . . .”¹⁸ Beuys’s therapeutic ambition was distinct, nonetheless, in its specific investigation of the roots of a poisoned Germanic tradition. His effort to transcend the present excavated a vision of the past he would later use with the aim of changing the future.

The female figure pervades Beuys’s drawings of the 1950s: the world of these drawings is one almost empty of men. The many artists who portrayed women so constantly — Auguste Rodin, Gustav Klimt, Alberto Giacometti, to name three who interested Beuys — had differing contexts for their obsessions. In Beuys’s case, the insistent representation of the female figure over the course of a decade in hundreds of sheets suggests a personal search for the qualities embodied in the traditional feminine archetype. As a ruined Germany initiated its “economic miracle,” Beuys sought recovery in the opposite direction. Setting himself up as an outsider to society — a patriarchal society — this litany of women points toward an alternative: an ease among the spirits and nature, at far remove from civilization.

Throughout the 1950s Beuys’s drawings of women grew more technically sophisticated and diverse in mood, but the pattern was established with the simple figures of the late 1940s. Most often, the woman represented is isolated on the page, self-absorbed and self-contained. The depictions of the 1950s were steeped in tradition, as witnessed by several images of the theme of Death and the Maiden (pl. 40). The figure is seldom individualized, even in the case of an occasional portrait (minimally identified by initials), or an historic or mythic figure such as Judith or Diana. Generally, the features of the face are unimportant, and sometimes the head is not represented at all, such as in *Nude*, of 1954–55 (pl. 39), where the woman’s shoulders meet the top of the page. More notable is the sculptural carriage, an acrobatic reach, or a graceful gesture. The placement on the page is the most dramatic aspect of these quiet works, as the figure hovers in a void or balances provocatively at the edge.

Beuys’s images present an essentialist view of woman as a sign for the natural world, and, at the same time, the realm of the spirit. Whether seer or mother, priestess or acrobat, she occupies the axis opposite from intellect and culture. Haunting images such as *Woman Warding Off*, 1952 (pl. 19), perpetuate the ancient concept of woman’s connection to the irrational and immaterial. Attention focuses on the woman’s staring eyes (covered by hands in the fainter visage hovering above), while a tiny spiral (which Beuys considered a “hearing form”¹⁹) suggests his equal interest in the ear as an organ of perception. The extraordinary perceptive powers Beuys ascribed to his women set them in the tradition of the ancient sibyls, who preserved the link to the gods long lost by the general community. In certain nomadic societies, male shamans wore women’s clothing in order to establish contact with the spirits. Carl Jung discussed such practices as demonstrations of the anima, the feminine personification of man’s unconscious. Jung’s portrayal of the anima principle as a “radio” to man’s unconscious anticipates Beuys’s later description of himself as a sender or a transmitter, the intermediary between the spiritual and earthly worlds.²⁰ Beuys would articulate this feminine capacity in later works such as the multiple of 1968 entitled *Intuition* (fig. 14) — a recommendation in the form of a word penciled on a wooden box.



Figure 14. Joseph Beuys, *Intuition*, 1968. Pencil on wooden box, 11 3/4 x 8 1/4 x 2 1/8" (30 x 21 x 6 cm). Vice Versand, Remscheid

Simultaneously, Beuys's female archetype claimed a connection to the earth, an association with seasonal cycles and growth. Beuys's drawings of the 1950s include many images of pregnant women and women menstruating or giving birth. Beuys also focused on the state of motherhood, in straightforward pictures of mother and child as well as in more mysterious works such as the drawing *Mother with Child* (pl. 46), in which two figures loom over a railway landscape, cradling a child between them. Conversely, women are sometimes depicted as strong warriors sporting spears or shields. Many, such as *Representation with Critical (-) Objects*, 1957 (pl. 56), portray women with strange objects in the forms of filters, rolls, or wedges that anticipate Beuys's sculptural forms of the 1960s. The women's mobility — spiritual as well as physical — is implied by the many wearers of skates or snowshoes, or more exotically, a female astronaut (pl. 53).

Beuys extended the idea of the natural woman in drawings such as *Woman Sitting on the Ground*, 1952 (pl. 21), in which women assume almost animal-like positions. Sometimes the visual pun is explicit, as in *Bat*, 1958 (pl. 60), where the spread legs of the woman become wings. Beuys's many depictions of women as basket-makers or carriers signal their own biological capacities as vessels. Indeed, the women often appear as vessels, their graceful forms drawn as those of an amphora (pl. 9), or the area of the womb explicitly depicted as a cavity.

The figuration of the female provided Beuys with a vessel for images of otherness, as it had for generations of male artists before him. In this respect, a solidly traditional cultural viewpoint coexisted with the radical aspects of his work. Woman already offers a representation of an Other, from a male point of view. This duality is replayed in the female's own dual characterization, at once ethereal and/or natural. Predecessors such as Paul Gauguin or the German Expressionists had represented women as fleshly creatures set within the faraway culture whose otherness they embodied. Beuys's vision pointed north, but whereas he occasionally identified a figure as Eskimo or Tatar, his women generally remain immaterial, often almost ghostly. The quality of absence on these pages gives them their poignancy as well as their capacity to function as signs; the lack of solidity, of identity, and of setting is filled by femaleness.

Beuys's exploration of medium is the most important vehicle for his emphasis on the organic aspect of woman. The female figures are evoked in many mediums, ranging from all sorts of pencil line (faint silhouettes, intense networks of nervous scratches, exquisitely shaded plastic volumes) to almost transparent watercolor and thickly painted oils. At the end of the 1940s, Beuys painted the female figure in delicate pinks or pale green watercolor evocative of Rodin's example. Soon thereafter Beuys derived the use of what was probably an iron compound in solution often referred to as *Beize*, the German word meaning stain or corrosive, and the general term for furniture wood stain.²¹

Beuys reserved this medium primarily for depictions of women and girls, and used it for the rest of the decade. The iron medium refers to the female in substance as well as in form and relates closely to the hare's blood with which Beuys also worked occasionally, as in *Color Picture*, of 1958 (pl. 69). Depending on the intensity with which it is concentrated on the page, *Beize* produced colors varying from a warm honey to a rich red brown. Beuys often used a thin onion-skin paper for works painted with *Beize*, so that a pronounced puckering surrounds the saturated area. The solution

permitted Beuys a rich exploitation of positive/negative space in delineating the human body. In works such as *Untitled (Salamander I)*, 1958 (pl. 59), the medium impregnates the sheet and pools in sculptural ponds of varying shades. Saturated with this solution, even more than in Beuys's watercolors, the page itself becomes a vessel for the liquid medium.

The female figure suggested for Beuys a bridge between the earthly and unearthly worlds. The animals that populate scores of his drawings of the 1950s function in the same way. In Mataré's classes at the Düsseldorf Academy, Beuys had drawn animals in the manner of his instructor, but after 1951 both his iconography and idiom underwent a dramatic shift. The local world of farm animals such as sheep shifted to the realm of Northern legend, while strictly geometric analysis of form gave way to individual freehand drawing. Beuys elaborated a specific menagerie of swans, stags, elk, and bees, all dense in symbolic meaning, Germanic as well as Celtic, Christian, or Greco-Roman. These are animals of legend and folktale; although they occupied the Northern landscape, it is their mythical powers more than their physical presence that fill these drawings. Beuys described these animals as "figures which pass freely from one level of existence to another, which represent the incarnation of the soul or the earthly form of spiritual beings with access to other regions . . ." ²² The reference could describe Beuys's hopeful vision of himself at that moment; indeed, it defines the aspirations of the Romantic artist from Caspar David Friedrich to Wassily Kandinsky to Clyfford Still. Friedrich's paintings of figures standing on mountaintops explicitly posit the artist as mediator between the earthly and otherworldly; the prevalence of mountain imagery in Kandinsky's and Beuys's work echoes that shamanistic or priestly identification. And just as animals provide shamans with their attributes, so they serve an artist who casts himself as such a mediator. ²³

The animal most closely identified with Beuys is the stag, a traditional emblem of the Northern forest and an omnipresent creature in German legend. In Beuys's work the stag assumes particular meaning as a spiritual being ("accompanier of the soul" ²⁴), a status shared in many folk and religious traditions. In Celtic legend, for example, the stag is the spirit guide, and in Christian tradition, a symbol of the crucified Christ. ²⁵ The stag is a conventional symbol of masculine power, but it also has a feminine aspect as a symbol of fertility, with antlers that are renewed each late autumn or winter and fall off blood-red every spring. The figures in drawings such as *Stag*, 1955 (pl. 29), have a princely mien and yet the exquisite grace of feminine beauty. The stag appears in scores of Beuys's drawings of the 1950s, in a wide variety of pictorial formats. In many pencil drawings the animal is formed by a thin and fairytale line, while in others the stag is conjured out of thick pencil that has the roughness of charcoal.

Beuys's stags or elks often assume a martyred aspect and appear wounded or as skeletons (pl. 28). These lonely scenes are easily read as tales of spiritual defeat; Beuys discussed the death of the stag in his drawings as "the result of violation and misperception." ²⁶ Such scenes relate to the many images of the skull in Beuys's work of the mid-1950s. Whether modeled in pale watercolor or detailed in networks of radiating pencil lines, the skull suggests hardened thought — necessarily softened with honey in order to "explain pictures to a dead hare" (fig. 10). Often shown on an "ur-sled" (pl. 26), the skull is presented as an intermediate stage in existence, passing from material death to spiritual rebirth.

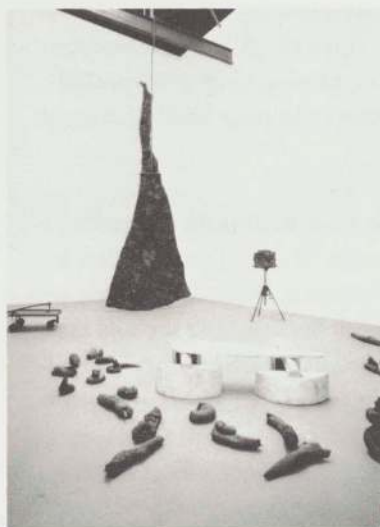


Figure 15. Joseph Beuys, *Lightning with Stag in Its Glare*, 1958–85. Bronze, aluminum, iron, height 20' (6.1 m). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased: Various gifts (by exchange)

Beuys commemorated the death of the stag, in particular, in a number of striking pencil drawings from the 1950s called “stag monuments.” These images all present a large sculptural form whose arching pyramidal shape loosely echoes a stag’s skull, the volume defined by fine striations. The stag monument remained an important element in Beuys’s symbolic landscape throughout the rest of his career — in 1978 he confessed it to be “still in his head”²⁷ — and his sculpture *Lightning with Stag in Its Glare*, 1958–85 (fig. 15), endures as its final grand memorial.

Beuys’s most personal totem is the swan, the traditional symbol of his native town of Kleve. To this day a Swan Tower crowns the town’s center, honoring the legend of the swan who delivered the knight Lohengrin to the daughter of the Duke of Kleve.²⁸ In countless forms, the swan occupies a central place in Norse and Teutonic myth, legend, and folktale — generally as a feminine force linking the realms of life and death.²⁹ The swan first appeared in Beuys’s drawings in quite naturalistic guises and thereafter in far more abstract drawings where a fluid sweep of line alludes to the grace of the bird and the ripples of a lake.

Beuys’s expansive, lush line, executed variously in lead or colored pencil or inks, is at its best in a family of works known as “From the Intelligence of Swans” (see pl. 35). Again, Beuys’s title refers to the realm of knowledge that lies beyond simple human intellect. The swan’s “intelligence” implies its connection to the other world (heralded in the Lohengrin legend as well as in the common notion of the “swan song,” a swan’s announcement that it is to die). A mediator between different realms, like the stag, it also mediates between the sexes: its essentially feminine aspect is united with a phallic neck. The swan embodies the unity of the female and male capacities in a single being, the integration of physical prowess and psychic powers.

“From the Life of the Bees” (pls. 27, 32, 33) is a group of works parallel to that of “From the Intelligence of Swans.” Neither is a series as such; both groups include drawings made over a long span of time, with a wide variety of mediums and supports. While the bee did not share the local specificity that the swan had for Beuys, it is a creature that has attracted fascination for centuries and was considered divine in many ancient cultures. Beuys’s title repeats that of the well-known book *The Life of the Bee*, written by Maurice Maeterlinck in 1901, but Beuys’s more direct inspiration was probably his reading of Rudolf Steiner’s lecture “Über die Biene,” given in Dornach in 1923. Steiner emphasized the importance of the bee’s process of forming solid geometric shapes (the honeycombs of six-sided cells) from amorphous material (the bee’s waxy secretions), a metamorphosis he saw as parallel to those that take place continually in the individual human body as well as in the earth itself.

“From the Intelligence of Swans” displays the virtuosity of line in Beuys’s drawings of the 1950s; “From the Life of the Bees” presents the role of substance. While drawings such as the *Queenbee (For Bronze-Sculpture)*, 1958 (pl. 63), employ a regal gold, most of the bee drawings are made in the honey-colored *Beize* solution that Beuys used for his female figures. The connection recalls the ancient identification between the queen bee and Venus, and several of Beuys’s early sculptures and drawings conflate the form of the bee and woman, such as the tiny *Woman*, of 1957 (pl. 64). The honey color and oozy quality of the *Beize* solution medium evoke what Beuys called the “warm” character of the liquid the bees produce and transform into a geometric structure.

This counterpoint between “warmth” and “cold,” between organic amorphousness and geometric form, provided the foundation of what would become, by the end of the 1950s, Beuys’s theory of sculpture.³⁰ His elaboration of the process of metamorphosis has as its exemplar the activity of the bee, and the honeycomb offers a natural model for Beuys’s “fat corner,” the sculptural form that integrates fluidity and geometry. The bee’s waxy secretion has a chemical composition similar to that of fat, and the long history of wax sculpture was an important antecedent to Beuys’s seemingly radical choice of medium.

Beuys was well within tradition when he used the bee as a basis not only for sculpture but for social sculpture. The bee’s advanced social organization — long praised as a model of perfect order and industry by societies ranging from the medieval Catholic church to nineteenth-century utopias — provided a pattern for a social sculpture wherein individuals are integrally linked in self-government. Even more directly than the drawings of animal or female figures, the sheets on the theme “From the Life of the Bees” hint at Beuys’s transformation of a visual motif into a conceptual system and of a personal vision into a universal one.

The animals and figures in Beuys’s drawings of the 1950s inhabit an undefined region, affixed neither to heaven nor earth. Similarly, the landscapes he painted and drew during this time were curiously placeless. While Beuys’s early watercolors mirror his native countryside of Northern Germany, and works of the 1940s document the places he saw during the war, the landscapes of the 1950s rarely portray a specific view. These landscapes have more to do with process than with place, as they pictorialize the drama of creation and regeneration. Beuys’s subjects — glaciers and volcanoes, waterfalls and mountains — chart the formation of the earth in primeval times and its continuing evolution. They represent the carving of space and the shaping of land that occurs over the ages. Rarely are there inhabitants or other evidence of civilization; instead, the earth appears as a sculptural site that natural processes endlessly create. Beuys often made this concept literal in drawings such as *Warmth-Sculpture in the Mountains (Double)*, 1956 (pl. 52), in which he placed “sculptures” within the landscape.

The interchange between solidity and fluidity that occurs during these earthly processes supplies the poignancy of the sensuous watercolors Beuys painted during his months at the van der Grinten farm in 1957. In all of these drawings — themselves solid objects — the vitality of water is foremost, whether mixed with pigment or present in such forms as tea or berry juice, which Beuys sometimes used as mediums. Certain drawings depict water processes specifically, as in *Two Reflections on the Water* (pl. 49), while a work such as *Granite* (pl. 48) takes as its subject a hard crystalline substance that originated as molten liquid. Both in subject and technique, *Granite* and a host of works like it explore what Jean-Paul Sartre described as “the secret liquid quality in solids,” evoked in Grimm’s tale about a tailor who pretends to draw water from a stone, using a piece of cheese to accomplish the trick.³¹

Beuys’s watercolors explore the theme of creation and metamorphosis. The cyclical nature of life (Joyce’s Finn again awaking) and the pattern of birth and rebirth underlay Beuys’s spiritual vision. And whereas Beuys was not engaged in confessional drawing, these subjects reflected Beuys’s unmistakable response to his current situation. The drawings posit the re-creation of a country — both a landscape and a culture — that had undergone a collective death. They document the creation of an artist who needed to be invented and forecast an art whose very subject was to be creativity.



Figure 16. Joseph Beuys, *Double Aggregate*, 1958–69. Bronze, 42 x 23 5/8 x 126" (107 x 60 x 320 cm). Museum Ludwig, Cologne

By the end of the 1950s this art began to take form in what Beuys described as a purposeful integration of the realms of science and art. Naming as his models the universal thinkers Leonardo, Paracelsus, and Goethe, Beuys sought to merge the paths of spiritual, intellectual, and artistic research. He later remarked that by 1958 he had begun to be convinced "that the two terms, art and science, are diametrically opposed in the development of thought of the Occident, and because of this fact, a dissolution of this polarity of perception had to be looked for."³²

The initial sign of this search was the variety of scientific allusions in Beuys's pictorial language. Beuys was widely read in science, dating back to his early plans for a career in that field, and his imagery at the end of the 1950s reflects this interest. Beuys's plaster *Aggregate* of 1957, which was cast later in bronze for works such as *Double Aggregate*, 1958–69 (fig. 16), parallels drawings that depict electrical apparatus such as batteries and inductors.

The theory of sculpture that Beuys developed at exactly this time also resembled a scientific formula: the "warmth theory" recognized that heating and cooling were the active factors in changing mass and proposed this thermal axis as the basis for the making of sculpture. It doubled as a formulation for the thinking process — opposing dry, dead, "cold" thought with fluid, living, "warm" intuition. This oscillation is the basis of countless drawings made between 1958 and 1961, many of which are Beuys's most powerfully mysterious images on paper. In these graphic works that have no definable subject and yet are far from abstract, the energy of Beuys's line was more highly charged than ever before.

Relatively few pencil drawings from this period now exist as autonomous works. Among the most elaborate is the drawing entitled *Currents*, 1961 (pl. 86), in which arrows pointing up and down chart the energy forces within a complex tangle of ducts, channels, and waves drawn on a long, narrow sheet of tissue-thin paper. More typically, Beuys worked in sketchbooks and preserved in distinct masses the drawings that explore his theory of sculpture. The four sketchbooks collectively entitled *Projekt Westmensch*, begun in 1958 and continued through the early 1960s, include pencil drawings and watercolors as well as text notations.³³ Obviously a reservoir of plans and ideas, these books were preserved intact by the artist and exhibited only during his museum retrospective at Mönchengladbach in 1967.

Many of the drawings of the late 1950s made on loose sheets or torn from sketchbooks were incorporated into the drawing project *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*. Assembled and titled in 1974, the block consists of over four hundred drawings that Beuys said he had set aside over the years in order to form a totality. With three exceptions, the titles of the fifty-five drawings from 1958 and 1959 in *The secret block* are designated only by a line and a question mark (as Beuys told Caroline Tisdall, "Art is at its most effective and scientific when expressed with a question mark."³⁴) They have as strong a sense of narrative content as his earlier landscapes — Beuys's collectors recall how the artist liked to "narrate" his early drawings, telling the story of each as he looked at them — but their iconography is less closely tied to existing tradition. The energy fields in these drawings conceptualize the sense of process and metamorphosis detailed in the earlier drawings.

The same enigmatic pictorial language dominates a series of six sketchbooks, known as the Ulysses sketchbooks (pl. 82), that Beuys worked on between 1959 and 1961.³⁵ These are indicated in the *Life Course/Work Course* by the statement for 1961 that "Beuys adds two chapters to 'Ulysses' at James Joyce's request." This elliptical reference indicates their profound importance to Beuys. The sketchbooks contain pages and pages of intensely worked drawings in pencil, crayon, and watercolor; containing 346 drawings altogether, they present an encyclopedic view of the artist's formal and thematic vocabulary. The invention of language was again on Beuys's mind, and the drawings are the culmination of the long odyssey he made during the previous decade.

The signs and systems represented in these drawings defy verbal translation, yet they create a universe that is in itself somehow perfectly readable. In dense images full of arrows, canals, probes, and antennae, Beuys evoked natural processes of circulation, growth, and transformation. As one looks through the six sketchbooks, a variety of voices and moods arises in drawings more or less intense or quiet, all united in a flow that has no particular start or stop. The vitality of the line throughout the books attains a haunting level, as each point and stroke virtually moves on the page.

Beuys understood Joyce's *Ulysses* as a spiritual book, and it is significant that he claimed it as a foundation for the drawings that gave pictorial form to the concepts of his warmth theory. He firmly maintained that his scientific pretensions were geared toward spiritual or evolutionary warmth, rather than anything actually representing a technically scientific brand of art. In so doing Beuys reclaimed an idea with which he felt the twentieth century had lost touch: that the professional work of science, or art, was initially and ultimately a spiritual undertaking.

Interviewer: How do you relate to art, in general?

*Beuys: My relationship with art is good. Likewise with anti-art.*³⁶

Beuys's emergence from a decade of self-declared "preparation" roughly coincided with his appointment to teach at the Düsseldorf Academy in 1961. At this time he discovered among the Fluxus artists working in West Germany an all-important laboratory for new forms and ideas. In a few years he would be the nation's most notorious artist, operating in a whirl of students, fellow-artists, journalists, and slightly later, collectors. Beuys had neither the need nor the time to give drawing the role it had during the 1950s, but it by no means disappeared as a central aspect of his practice.

This turning point is best witnessed by the appearance of the medium *Braunkreuz* (brown cross) in Beuys's drawings at the start of the decade. So named by Beuys, it is an opaque reddish-brown paint, varying considerably in tonality and texture in his different drawings. The use of *Braunkreuz* presents a distinctive change in the drawings, replacing introversion with an assertive voice in works often larger in dimension and more monumental in scale than those of the 1950s. From this point on, Beuys's drawing cannot be considered apart from the rest of his body of work. His art also began to resemble physically the contemporaneous work of German colleagues as well as American and European artists, and to engage ideas current among the avant-garde. Trespassing borders between drawing, sculpture, perfor-

mance, and multiples, *Braunkreuz* provided an important route to Beuys's disintegration of conventional object categories. Sometimes called "Beuys-brown," *Braunkreuz* came to function, like fat and felt, as an autographic medium linking life and art.

Immediately, the word *Braunkreuz* signals Beuys's keen sensitivity to language and his penchant for word play. A cross in itself, the word is an intersection of two independent elements that creates a third whole. The combination of the words *brown* and *cross* calls to mind a number of varied, even contradictory, associations. Red Cross (*Rote-Kreuz*), the international relief agency for the wounded or sick, is perhaps the most obvious. *Braunkreuz* also echoes the name of Christian Rosenkreuz, the supposed fifteenth-century mystic for whom the Rosicrucian sect was named.³⁷ Apart from the doctrines of the Rosicrucians, early Christian traditions associate the rose with the blood of Christ and with the secrets of the cross in general.

Beuys's substitution of "brown" for "rose" or "red," however, renders a complex transformation. The word *Braunkreuz*, like the appearance of fat in Beuys's work, plays ambiguously on the awareness of Nazi history and its evocations of genocide. Brown was the color adopted by the Nazis, evidenced in such terms as *Braunhemd* (Brownshirt), the unofficial name for Hitler's storm troopers. "Brown" became a casual adjective to describe anything Nazi—today still used in references to a *braun Vergangenheit* (brown past).

The allusion to Nazism and World War II is reinforced by the militaristic associations the cross holds in Germany alongside its religious symbolism. The Iron Cross (*Eisernes Kreuz*) is a military medal for valor, first awarded by Prussia in the Napoleonic Wars and reissued by the German government during this century's two world wars. The same cross marked the vehicles of the German armed forces in the two world wars and is used in a modified form by the *Bundeswehr* of the Federal Republic today. Moreover, the symbol of the swastika, adopted by the Nazis in 1935, is also known in German as the *Hakenkreuz* (hooked cross).³⁸ Such associations can continue further: it is a short step to *Gelbkreuz*, the German term for mustard gas, used in World War I.

Braunkreuz, then, is a term loaded with powerful references not only to Christianity, the occult, and war or disaster relief, but equally to German militarism and Nazism. This complex constellation of terms—circulating around the concepts of the spirit, the wound and war—removes both the word and the medium *Braunkreuz* from any fixed interpretation. Beuys's homeopathic concept of art (healing like with like) allows the possibility of a purposeful link with the "brown" vocabulary of Nazism. In his public remarks Beuys never sought to clarify these multiple allusions. On the contrary, the very ambiguity of the interchange of these concepts is a primary element in Beuys's work as a whole.

One cannot look to Beuys's own statements for direct explanation of technical questions regarding *Braunkreuz* any more than for mention of its references. Indeed, this subject in particular has acquired the air of a house secret, echoing the clandestine nature of Rosicrucian activities. This mystery concerns, first of all, questions about the exact nature of the medium(s) used to achieve the rust-brown color. Beuys



Figure 17. Joseph Beuys in his studio at the Düsseldorf Academy, c. 1962–63

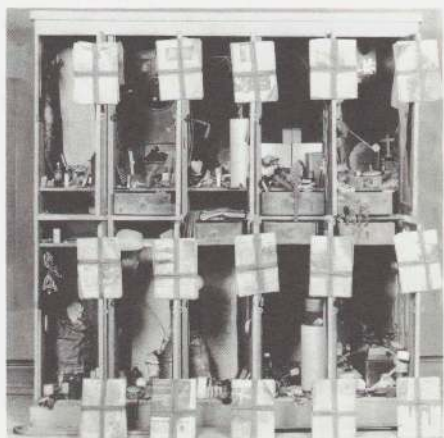


Figure 18. Joseph Beuys, *Scene from the Staghunt*, 1961. Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt

termed his *Braunkreuz* works *Ölfarbe* (oil colors), as distinct from his watercolors and pencil drawings, and never specified further. Commentators have identified Beuys's brown in a variety of ways over the years. Recent laboratory analysis indicates the paint to include commercial rust proofing.³⁹ The great numbers of drawings made with *Braunkreuz* reveal a range of slightly different colors; this may result from different practices on Beuys's part (mixing the paint with more oil, for example), or on variations in the specific brand of paint available over the years, as well as varying rates of change in appearance over time.

Braunkreuz can be seen as a culmination of Beuys's interest throughout the 1950s in painting with unusual materials. It demonstrates his preference to treat his mediums as "substances" with independent values rather than as mere coloring agents.⁴⁰ While *Braunkreuz* technically relates to the work in oils Beuys did during the late 1950s, it more generally reflects his fascination for pigments and mediums that were to be found in nature or at the hardware store rather than a specialty art supplier. Specifically, *Braunkreuz* appears to be a descendant of the *Beize* solution with which Beuys worked throughout the 1950s, each associated with the element iron. The two share a luminosity that, in the case of *Braunkreuz*, works in striking counterpoint to the apparent density of the surface.

The early manifestations of this brown substance are essentially paintings on paper. The development from *Beize* to *Braunkreuz* is paralleled in the many women painted in rich brown, such as *Rubber Doll*, 1959 (pl. 74), or *Mystery of a Love*, 1960 (pl. 76). More boldly explicit than figures drawn during the 1950s, these women exert the powerful aspect Beuys described as that of "actresses." Beuys was rapidly defining his self-presentation, and his dual roles as teacher and performer contributed to the aptness of the shamanistic metaphor. Lapidary yet mesmerizing images such as that of the powerful *Shamaness*, 1963 (pl. 93), expressed the auratic power of the person at the head of a classroom or on stage.

A good basis for an exploration of the meaning of *Braunkreuz* is provided by a photograph of Beuys in his studio in Düsseldorf (fig. 17), probably dating from 1962 or 1963. Four thin, flat bundles of folded newspapers hang on the back wall, each covered by two crossing stripes of paint. They hang isolated on the wall like medieval icons or targets. The newspapers on the studio wall are the same sort of bundles that hang on the cupboard for *Scene from the Staghunt* in the collection of Beuys's works now on view at the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt (fig. 18). Both the photograph and the sculpture represent workplace situations. The Darmstadt *Staghunt* is a simple, tall, open wooden cabinet, the contents of which present the accumulation of material in the laboratory/studio: wires, old bottles, test tubes, funnels, mousetrap, metronome, twine, trash, tools, paint tubes, little toys, first-aid items, fire extinguisher, and assorted debris (a miscellany evoked in the typescript and *Braunkreuz* drawing of 1961, *Scene from the Staghunt* [pl. 96]). Hanging in front of the cabinet are fifteen bundles of newspaper (dating from 1963), all wrapped with twine in a cross shape, painted over with brown lines about one inch thick, formally echoing the compartments of the cabinet.

As the newspapers hang along the cabinet's open front, they have the decided presence of something more than ornaments. A clue to their role can be found in a number of small objects that Beuys called "batteries," simple bundles of newspapers like

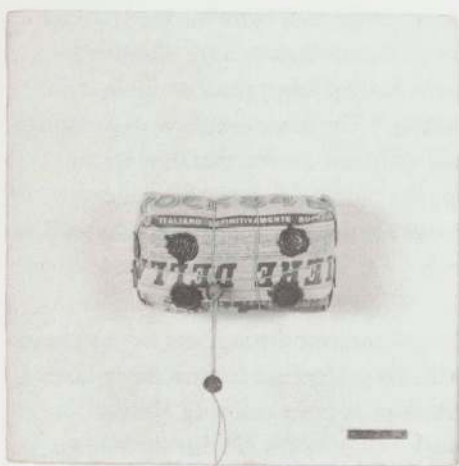


Figure 19. Piero Manzoni, *Package*, 1961. Newspaper, rope, and sealing wax mounted on canvas, frame 16 x 16" (40.5 x 40.5 cm). Hirschl & Adler Modern, New York



Figure 20. Marcel Broodthaers, *Le Probleme noir en Belgique*, 1963. Newspaper, enameled eggs, and paint, 19 1/8 x 16 1/2" (50 x 42 cm). Galerie Isy Brachot, Brussels and Paris

those seen hanging on his wall in the photograph mentioned above (fig. 17). The "batteries" bear striking resemblance to contemporary works by Piero Manzoni and Marcel Broodthaers (figs. 19 and 20), among other artists concurrently exploring the arena of assemblage. The electrical metaphor, however, is unique to Beuys's work and relates to the artist's theory of sculpture. The friction that results from the accumulated layers of newspaper sheets produces physical warmth, while "psychological" warmth results from the accumulation of the information in those pages. To extend the metaphor, the cord that ties them (overpainted with brown and forming a literal *Braunkreuz*) contains that energy and grounds it. Indeed, a work entitled *Ground*, 1964 (pl. 118), joins a small copper wire, which conducts electricity, to the corner of a rectangular sheet covered with *Braunkreuz*. The earth brown color of the paint provides a double meaning to the function of the paint as a "ground."⁴¹

Operating in this way, the *Braunkreuz* newspaper bundles and single sheets form direct counterparts to the *Fond* sculptures that Beuys made throughout his career. *Fond* is the German word for base or foundation, and as their name indicates, they form the base of Beuys's overall sculptural project. The *Fond* series operates on the principle of energy producers and presents, according to Beuys, "the idea of the battery as a reality and a metaphor."⁴² In the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt, the visitor encounters in the same room as the *Scene from the Stag Hunt* the 1968 work entitled *Fond II*, two wooden tables thickly coated with copper (fig. 21). An actual foundation on which work can be done or things can be rested, *Fond II* could be charged at 20,000 volts, transformed through an inductor from a 12-volt battery. When exhibited in a charged state, as it was in two exhibitions before being installed in Darmstadt, the sculpture literally conducted energy.

Later *Fond* sculptures replaced the use of an actual battery with the repeated layering of piles of felt, iron, and copper, which produced warmth in a more figurative manner. In the case of every *Fond*, the function of the sculpture can be described as the accumulation of warmth to supply the power of transformation of matter, and by extension, of spirit. Beuys called the *Fond* pieces "static actions" because they rest in one place and yet imply activity.⁴³ In the same way, one can view the *Braunkreuz* bundles hung on the front of *Stag Hunt* as small motors for a machine, or for human creativity (to use Beuys's word, "evolution") at work in the studio or laboratory.

In Beuys's universe, the role of the warming, sculptural nature of *Braunkreuz* closely relates to that of felt, an analogy made clear in the many *Braunkreuz* drawings that evoke large fuzzy masses of that material, as well as in works such as *Felt-Action*, of 1963 (pl. 101), that incorporate into the *Braunkreuz* drawing an actual felt fragment. Many works sharing the spirit of *Braunkreuz* employ an opaque gray paint more directly suggestive of felt.⁴⁴ These drawings can be beautifully minimal: a work of 1963 entitled *For Felt Corners* (pl. 103) juxtaposes two small triangles, one with a wedge tipped beside it, on the inside covers of an opened sketchbook smudged by footprints. They can also be richly complex: *Felt Angle and Nude* of the same year (pl. 100), which depicts a human figure beside a sculptural form (a tall, black, angled column), employs hare's blood, milk casein, oil and a collaged piece of film celluloid. These two very different drawings share the doubled structure characteristic of much of Beuys's drawing and sculptural work, paralleling the polar structure of his theory of sculpture. These works also reflect his preference for the triangle (in three dimensions, a tetrahedron or corner), the symbol by which Beuys expressed "form" in his

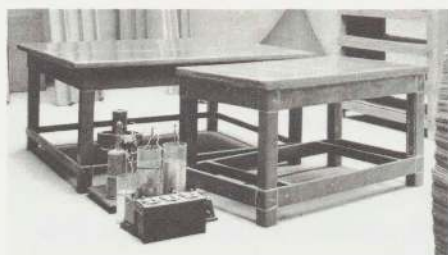


Figure 21. Joseph Beuys, *Fond II*, 1968. Two copper tables and generator. Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt

theory of sculpture. “Felt angles” are frequent motifs in the pictorial drawings of the early 1960s, as in *Felt Angle and Nude* or the eerie *Dead Rat, Felt Ridge, Two Black Felt Crosses, Felt Angle*, of 1963 (pl. 105). Later in the decade, they appear in works such as *Notes for an Action*, 1967 (pl. 138), as representations of the felt angles Beuys would use in performance.

The newspaper “batteries” found in the *Scene from the Stag Hunt* are paralleled in many untitled *Braunkreuz* drawings that are made on sheets of newspaper (pls. 112–115). These drawings partially mask the surface of the newspaper with *Braunkreuz*, exposing particular sections of photographs or newsprint. Beuys was extending the Cubist collage tradition, which had been explored by Germans such as Kurt Schwitters and John Heartfield, whereby the “found” photograph or text functions as a key component of the image in content as well as form. In Beuys’s case the photographs or texts often refer to scientific or ecological concerns, using clippings taken from sections of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, such as “*Natur und Wissenschaft*” or “*Deutschland und die Welt*.” A *Braunkreuz* work of 1967 (pl. 114), for example, reveals headlines linking LSD to leukemia, and reporting an artists’ protest against a government-sponsored “morals clause” for films.

The reference to the “brown art” of the Third Reich implicit in *Braunkreuz* is explicit in a work of 1963 that paints over an advertisement to reveal the letters *Pst* . . . (pl. 112), the German word meaning *hush*. A series of Nazi propaganda posters had been posted around German cities during the war to warn the populace — *pst!* — to exercise caution in the interest of national security.⁴⁵ Some twenty years later, the word brought up the topic of silence in a new context, questioning the muteness of the modernist avant-garde (the silence for which Beuys challenged Duchamp), as well as the heavily charged issue of past and present German silences.⁴⁶



Figure 22. Joseph Beuys, *Untitled*, 1964. Oil on paper, 9 7/8 x 7 7/8" (25 x 20 cm). Edwin C. Cohen Collection, New York

Beuys also used *Braunkreuz* as overpaint in more than a dozen works centering on Greta Garbo, employing photographs and photocopies of the film star both as an actress and a retired recluse (fig. 22). A literal extension of the 1950s “actress” figures, the Garbo drawings convey the reality of the individual as aura, a reality that Beuys had grasped as well as Warhol. Beuys’s characteristic identification with the martyr surely led him to understand Garbo’s cool rejection of public life: “People take energy from me, and I want it for pictures.”⁴⁷ That energy is captured in these reproductions, more real than the actress herself, and it fuels the *Braunkreuz* objects they compose.

The manifestation of the “brown cross” in Beuys’s work during the 1960s extended beyond the literal form of his “batteries” with their crossed cords overpainted in brown. From the beginning of the decade, small painted crosses appear on a variety of objects and drawings; in a sense, these crosses are abbreviations for the polar energy dynamic more fully transmitted by the bundled “batteries.” Often the objects on which the brown crosses are painted — letters, lists, drawings — date from years earlier. The basis of the drawing may be printed matter, such as a textbook chart or a magazine advertisement; several brown-crossed drawings employ technical maps and code sheets from Beuys’s military service (pl. 109). In the case of these drawings, the information on the page’s surface provides the energy of the newsprint “batteries,” and the simple brown “seal,” the counterpoint.

An important category of brown-crossed drawings includes the work lists that Beuys made throughout his career. These lists are the verbal equivalent of a piece such as *Scene from the Stag Hunt* in their accumulation of experience and ideas. The activity of list-making can be traced to Beuys's early studies in natural science and would continue throughout his life. Beuys began to make work lists in quantity at the time of his interest in Fluxus, when he painted over such lists with images or several brown crosses. These lists, such as *List with Wolf*, 1962, or *Washed-Out List, Double Crossed*, 1963 (pls. 110, 111), compose an informal inventory of the names, mediums, and dates of Beuys's own drawings. Such an annotated compilation recalls Paul Klee's oeuvre catalogue, a document with which Beuys may have been familiar. Klee's private catalogue served the purpose of record keeping, even as its meticulousness attained a form of poetry. Beuys brought the form of the record explicitly into the arena of the works that are its subject, validating the list as an object of art in itself. The lists serve as metonyms for the entirety of Beuys's enterprise in terms of their function as well as their content. All of Beuys's pieces stand as souvenirs of, or probes into, his lifelong *Gesamtkunstwerk*. As a list signals toward the objects, so an individual object gestures toward the whole of Beuys's career.

Beuys's work-list drawings exemplify the role of the brown cross in Beuys's formulation of *Braunkreuz* as a personal signature. Whereas the cross operates in terms of Beuys's central metaphor of energy production for the making of art, and the living of life, the choice of the cross as a symbol brings with it inherent spiritual references. The particular significance of the cross within the system of Beuys's theory of sculpture joins with the artist's deep and longstanding interest in its traditional iconographies. One of the key sculptures in which the small brown crosses play an important role is the small *Crucifixion* now in the collection of the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (fig. 23). This work of 1962–63 provides the most direct link between the theme of *Braunkreuz* and the Crucifixion itself, made apparent in the object's title if not in its immediate appearance. The piece is composed of simple materials that share the junk-like quality evident on the shelves of the *Scene from the Stag Hunt* (fig. 18). Like contemporary assemblages by Robert Rauschenberg, the piece's humble elements take up the heritage of Dada found particularly in the work of Kurt Schwitters.⁴⁸



Figure 23. Joseph Beuys, *Crucifixion*, 1962–63. Wood, nail, wire, thread, needle, twine, bottles, newspaper, oil (*Braunkreuz*), and plaster, 16 3/4 x 7 1/2 x 5 7/8" (42.5 x 19 x 15 cm). Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

The crude appearance of the *Crucifixion* belies Beuys's exacting choices for the materials, especially the acid-encrusted hospital blood-storage bottles that take the places of Mary Magdalene and John the Baptist. The three squares of newspaper, atop each bottle and in front of the cross, bear close reading; in this respect they, too, are descendants of the newspaper fragments used in Cubist *papiers collés*, whose texts often seem selected for a point. The text accompanying Mary Magdalene is an engagement notice, suggesting her holy marriage. The excerpt over John includes the word *guilt*, which alludes to the Baptist's call for repentance and moral purification.⁴⁹ The text of the fragment on the central beam is initially more enigmatic: an article from the newspaper's financial pages, it refers to the Zentralbank and the fluctuation of the pound. This text brings to the subject of the *Crucifixion* the principle of an economy and the circulation of capital therein. With this, Beuys drew a direct connection between the blood implied by the bottles and currency: that is, between the circulatory system of the human and the social bodies. This circulation model stands as the basis of Beuys's concept of the social body, later envisaged in actions and installations such as the *Honey Pump* at Documenta 6 in Kassel in 1977. Again and again, Beuys proclaimed that "creativity = capital," arguing that man's potential rests on spirit and imagination rather than on money and material assets.

Herein rests the connection to the Christian theme of the Crucifixion, for it is this form of capital that Beuys described as the gift of Christ to man: a mandate to act freely and to assume responsibility for one's own fate. Beuys centered spirituality and, concomitantly, creativity, within the individual. Christian symbolism underscored for him a faith in man's own creative potential, a potential that must replace money as society's concept of capital.

This concept depended heavily on the theories of Rudolf Steiner, with which Beuys had been familiar for over two decades. It was probably through the study of Steiner that Beuys became acquainted with Rosicrucianism, one of the touchstones of Steiner's teachings. Steiner felt that his mission in the twentieth century was to lift esoteric teachings into the reach of common people and to reconcile spiritual insight with the demands of modern life: "The role of Rosicrucian theosophy or occultism is to satisfy the spiritual longings of men and to enable spirit to flow into the daily round of their duties. Rosicrucian theosophy is not there for the salon or for the hermit, but for the whole of human culture."⁵⁰

It is along this path that Beuys's vision of Christianity came to extend beyond that of the conventional church. Steiner believed that art would succeed where both religion and science had been condemned to failure by their equally narrow systematization. A similar conviction led Beuys away from an art that directly illustrated Christian tradition and motivated him to explore a way to incorporate and transform that tradition. With objects as his "vehicles," Beuys became most interested in using art as an avenue to spiritual and social revitalization. When his theory of sculpture broadened into an "expanded art concept," Beuys spoke of sculpting a society in the same terms as sculpting an object. This idea governed the last twenty years of his life, when Beuys centered his work in a variety of activist organizations and projects. When asked in an interview what he thought was his clearest example of the image of Christ, Beuys's response was "the expanded art concept."⁵¹

In this sense, the idea of the cross acquires meaning as a general symbol of unification. Beuys's vision of social change, like that of many other artists during the 1960s, centered on repairing a divided world and a divided self. The political bisection of Germany exemplified the wide gap between Eastern and Western philosophy, religion, economy, and government. The cross suggested for Beuys the unification of East and West necessary for a healthy society, as much as inner integration was required for a fully realized human being.

The channeling of Beuys's spiritual ideas into the monochrome visual system of *Braunkreuz* was as much cultural as personal. The context of the Düsseldorf art scene in the late 1950s and early 1960s provides an important backdrop for the story of *Braunkreuz*. This period witnessed the development of the ZERO group, which was greatly indebted to the example set by the Frenchman Yves Klein. For both Klein and the ZERO artists, the spiritual mission of art was a fundamental concern of their work, and the solution was found in the seeming purity of a monochrome system.

In 1957 the inaugural show at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf was a roomful of Klein's large canvases with rounded corners, identical painted fields of intense blue. One can only speculate on the inspiration that International Klein Blue may have

provided to the invention of *Braunkreuz*. Yet the parallels between Klein and Beuys are striking, particularly the spiritual ambitions that motivated the work of both artists. Contemporary critics primarily remember Klein for the sensational aspects of his showmanship and his elegant critique of the avant-garde tradition in works such as his “exhibition of the void” in 1958.⁵² However, Klein’s work, informed by Rosicrucian study as well as by his long encounter with Zen while in Japan, rested on the vision of a new age in which the spirit overcomes materialism.⁵³ Klein’s bold entreaty, “Come with me into the void”⁵⁴ invited the viewer into the realm of pure space, leaving behind images of the day-to-day world and the lines tracing its details and complications. The viewer looking into a blue canvas with its rolled-on paint was gazing into the infinite, uncontaminated by the painter’s hand.

The repercussions of the Klein exhibition in Düsseldorf were immediately felt in the ZERO group, which had been founded in 1957 by Otto Piene, Heinz Mack, and Günther Uecker. The ZERO artists shared the goal of an art that sought to expand human consciousness and to reach beyond the subjectivity presented by any form of expressionism or illusionism. The ZERO artists chose white as the color ideally suited to their needs, precisely because it encompassed all colors and thereby generalized the artistic statement. All-white canvases announced an attempt to overcome materiality and to arrive at the weightlessness signifying the highest of spiritual states.⁵⁵ Springing from these utopian goals came the desire of the ZERO artists to enter into the social context, literally to transform daily life beyond the picture plane. In July 1961, in conjunction with an exhibition at the Galerie Schmela, the first ZERO festival took place in Düsseldorf. It was organized as a “Festival of Light” complete with mylar foil and balloons, fireworks, and a parade. With an earnestness that recalls the Dada festivities of Hugo Ball, these artists set out to clothe contemporary reality in an invented one. Even the pavement of the street outside the Galerie Schmela was painted white for the occasion.⁵⁶



Figure 24. Joseph Beuys, *Double Fond*, 1954–74. Iron, steel, and copper, two pieces, each 21 5/8 x 59 x 22 7/8" (55 x 150 x 58 cm). Marx Collection, Berlin

Against this backdrop of a white Düsseldorf, *Braunkreuz* takes on a pointed quality. Beuys’s spiritual concerns as an artist were by no means unique, and yet there is a dramatic difference between Beuys’s approach and that of Klein or the ZERO group. Klein set out to visualize the absolute that denoted the coming age, but Beuys seemed to face the opposite direction. The texture and color of *Braunkreuz* appear to present all the weight, materiality, and ordinariness that his peers wished to escape from or replace. Rather than imagining man’s disappearance into the sky, man’s “leap into the void,” *Braunkreuz* seems to confirm his attachment to the ground. This recalls drawings from the 1950s in which Beuys depicted himself as contained in stone or merged with the earth (see fig. 41). One thinks also of Beuys’s *Double Fond*, 1954–74, a sculpture composed of two iron blocks (one with copper cladding), a steel rod, and a steel plate (fig. 24). Beuys’s accompanying inscription states: “These iron blocks are so heavy that I cannot easily escape from this Hell.”⁵⁷ Adapting a traditional Romantic theme, Beuys addressed the dilemma of the artist whose lofty aspirations are confounded by human physical limitations.⁵⁸

Beuys’s motives in selecting *Braunkreuz* as his medium for a spiritual project involve a mechanism that is also evident in the sculptural materials he used. Paradoxically, Beuys chose a brown color evoking dirt, dried blood, rust, or excrement to stand for a nonmaterial realm. The meaning, therefore, must be derived not through illustration or conventional symbolism, but rather, by a dynamic of contrast. Beuys described this strategy concretely in an interview with Jörg Schellmann and Bernd Klüser in 1970, discussing why he worked with felt:

The phenomenon of complementary colours is well known if for instance, I see a red light and close my eyes, there's an after-image (ocular spectrum) and that's green. Or, the other way round, if I look at a green light, then the after-image is red

So it's a matter of evoking a lucid world, a clear, a lucid, perhaps even a transcendental, a spiritual world through something which looks quite different, through an anti-image. Because you can't create an after-image or an anti-image by doing something which already exists, but only by doing something which is there as an anti-image, always in an anti-image process.

So it isn't right to say I'm interested in grey. That's not right. And I'm not interested in dirt either. I'm interested in a process which leads us away beyond those things.⁵⁹

The same attitude is reflected in Beuys's comment about why the objects used in the performance *Coyote: I Like America and America Likes Me* were overpainted with brown: "Through the blockage the light colors or spectral colors will be directly driven forth as contrasts."⁶⁰ This explanation depends on the nineteenth-century color theories of Goethe, whose writings meant a great deal to Beuys. Here he echoed Goethe's observation that "if we look at a dazzling, altogether colourless object, it makes a strong lasting impression, and its after-vision is accompanied by an appearance of color."⁶¹ This counterpoint is suggested in several *Braunkreuz* works Beuys made on the pages of technical color charts (pl. 159), the squares of pretty color revealed beneath the plastic substance of the brown paint.

Beuys's use of brown paint, like fat and felt, led to accusations that Beuys made ugly art. While Beuys staunchly denied that he found felt unappealing (responding, for example, that if felt were so ugly, why did men wear felt hats all the time?⁶²), the strategy was clear. Beuys's attitude toward material signified a rejection of conventional notions of culture, in a grand modernist tradition of "anti-art." He found in *Braunkreuz* a paint that looked like the paint on people's floors — an art to step on. Its color evoked not only the ground but also waste or decayed material. The very manner in which *Braunkreuz* was applied — it was by nature a form of overpainting — constituted a gesture of opposition, of wiping out or covering up.

Beuys's approach adapted a realm of imagery that involved the supposedly ugly or unvalued, an avant-garde tactic since the early days of Romanticism and throughout the twentieth century. Both the Expressionists and the Dadaists, for example, incorporated into their aesthetic a profound distrust of the material and professional conventions of Western art. Kandinsky had celebrated the primitives for "renouncing . . . all considerations of external form,"⁶³ a claim that reflected his fantasy rather than actuality. When the Dada artists chose that nonsense word as their collective name, its members pretended to similar ingenuousness.

In the work of artists ranging from Duchamp to Malevich, Dubuffet to Rauschenberg, the path of twentieth-century art repeatedly dislodges the accepted trappings of high culture. Yet the anti-art posture, in the case of Beuys as much as his predecessors, reinvigorated an evolving tradition. Often, the concept of anti-art marked a

refusal to accept the restricted territory granted to art in the modernist era. Among the Fluxus artists, especially, the attraction to detritus and ephemeral elements expressed their opposition to commodification on the art market or memorialization in museum galleries. Beuys's involvement with Fluxus during the early 1960s reinforced his idea of art as something that could look less important than it was.

Braunkreuz never became exclusively associated with Beuys in the same way as did fat and felt, or as International Klein Blue became the trademark of Yves Klein. Nonetheless, the Beuys signature was implicit in *Braunkreuz* and, for this reason, *Braunkreuz* played a key role in the development of Beuys's production of multiples during the last two decades of his life. *Braunkreuz* provided the path from the unique work to the large editions of multiples that could function efficiently as object-autographs, Beuys "antennae" that could radiate his message to a large public.⁶⁴

Beuys's first multiple, *Two Frauleins with Shining Bread*, a complex play on the concept of transubstantiation, has as its center a bar of chocolate overpainted with *Braunkreuz*.⁶⁵ His next multiple, the first that Beuys produced with the gallery owner and publisher René Block, was entitled . . . *with Braunkreuz* (pl. 131). It extended the strategy of creating new works of art by putting small brown crosses on pre-existing images. Each of the twenty-six numbers in the edition included one brown-crossed drawing, typescripts of two stage plays of 1961, and a half-cross made of felt. Painted in large block letters on the cross was the word *BEUYS*, flanked by two small brown crosses that echo those framing the drawing. United in a handmade linen box, these items supply a composite of Beuys's work: texts, image, and sculpture, as well as the concept of the name. Following the model of the many "anthologies" published by Fluxus, and ultimately the Box-in-a-Valise made by Marcel Duchamp in 1941 to house miniature reproductions of his own works, . . . *with Braunkreuz* provided a small Beuys survival kit. Completing that metaphor, in one box of the edition a gas-mask bag was substituted for the drawing.



Figure 25. Joseph Beuys, *Mönchengladbach Museum Catalogue*, 1967. Felt, 7 7/8 x 6 1/4" (20 x 16 cm). Städtisches Museum Abteiberg, Mönchengladbach

Beuys's next multiples provide the transition from the individually painted brown cross to the array of stamps that cover his work from 1967 on, marking sculptures, photographs, drawings, posters, postcards, and drawings.⁶⁶ Created with an ordinary rubber stamp pressed to an ink pad, the stamp was at once a method of personalization and a banal part of everyday life, omnipresent in Germany more than in America. The rubber stamp was emphasized in Fluxus work during the 1960s, although it dates back at least to the drawings of Kurt Schwitters. For Beuys, the debut of the stamp occurred in the multiple following . . . *with Braunkreuz*, the catalogue that accompanied the one-man exhibition at the Städtisches Museum in Mönchengladbach in 1967 (fig. 25). The book's felt cover is in the form of a modified half-cross. Stamped in brown across the felt is the word *BEUYS*, with a cross stamped just beneath the *U*.

The same stamp marks Beuys's felt suit (fig. 26), a multiple of 1970. The suit had a precedent in an outfit Beuys displayed at the "Demonstration for Capitalist Realism" in Düsseldorf in 1963: a man's set of clothing with small, painted crosses pinned to it (fig. 27).⁶⁷ The evolution occurring between those two suits reveals a refinement of Beuys's language but no change in his intentions. The Christian and historical allu-



Figure 26. Joseph Beuys, *Felt Suit*, 1970. Felt, length 67" (170 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of the Friends of the Philadelphia Museum of Art



Figure 27. Joseph Beuys's suit shown at the exhibition "Demonstration for Capitalist Realism" at Möbelhaus Berges, Düsseldorf, 1963, photographed in his studio, c. 1967

sions of the earlier costume surface in the stamped felt-suit multiple. Beuys discussed the felt suit in terms of the warmth it provides, that is, "a completely different kind of warmth, namely spiritual or evolutionary warmth."⁶⁸

The "Beuys" stamp soon evolved into others, and the stamp became a ubiquitous part of Beuys's work. The *Hauptstrom* stamp, for example, became part of any works Beuys considered to embody the central currents of his thought; other stamps named Beuys's organizations (such as the German Student Party, the Organization for Direct Democracy, and the Free International University) or favored slogans ("Beuys: ich kenne kein Weekend" ["I know no weekend"]). The appearance of these stamps on Beuys's works depends directly on the precedent set by the brown crosses used to mark drawings and objects throughout the early and mid-1960s, but the mood was now different. The proliferation of the stamps signals what might be considered the next phase in Beuys's career, after the period dominated by his teaching at the academy and his early actions. During the end of the 1960s Beuys's methods expanded to use his personal celebrity as a vehicle for a group effort to achieve world change. The individual identity "Beuys," as it was integrated—indeed stamped—into every work, at the same time opened out to include the idea that everyone is an artist.

Bender of space: the Human (h)

Bender of time: the Human (h)

(Joseph Beuys, from *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder*, 1965)⁶⁹

One of the many paradoxes of Beuys's art is that the works for which he is perhaps most remembered—the actions of the mid-1960s and early 1970s—are those that are least available to memory. A limited number of people actually witnessed them, and remarkably few of them were recorded on film or video. The actions survive most prominently in often-reproduced photographs and in the objects used during performance that are preserved as autonomous works. They also survive through a number of drawings that relate to the individual actions, now scattered among various collections. These drawings, usually combining text and image, are collectively known as *Partituren*, the German word for musical scores. This general usage derives from Beuys's own frequent, although by no means exclusive, tendency to refer to an action-related drawing as a *Partitur*.

Beuys's scores comprise an extremely diverse body of drawings, sometimes serving as working notes for an action, sometimes as documentary records. In general, the drawings name or illustrate objects used during the event, list key phrases that Beuys recited aloud, or elaborate the conceptual foundation of the action. Never are they complete accountings of all that would take place. By definition, as drawings, the scores cannot convey the mesmerizing quality of Beuys's gestures, the sensory complexity of the experience, the immediacy of the political moment in which they took place, and the mood of the audience in attendance. But precisely because the scores exist explicitly as fragments, as incomplete elements, they signal the absence of all the rest while they permit a unique perspective on the actions themselves. As such, the scores share the spirit of relics surrounding the action-related objects now clustered in Beuys's vitrines at the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt and other museums and private collections.

Beuys's actions remain the most spectacular enactment of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* aesthetic that pervades his work.⁷⁰ His commitment to the notion of creativity as a resource that supersedes departmentalization as well as his own strong sense of music and theater made the actions primary touchstones for the strikingly international and interdisciplinary avant-garde of the 1960s. In the United States, the medium of happenings brought artists out of their studios to stage seemingly improvisational (although often tightly planned) events in lofts, galleries, backyards, and on the street.⁷¹ In Austria, the Actionist movement developed a much more aggressive and sensational theater based on the principle of catharsis.⁷² Germany was the center of Fluxus, a worldwide movement in which artists, poets, and musicians used performance to return to art its sense of play. Live performance was an ideal medium for a group that stressed the ephemeral nature of art in a universe of "flux."

The myriad achievements and interrelationships of the artists involved in Fluxus, happenings, and Viennese Actionism have only recently begun to be charted. Their documentation has been hindered by the very qualities that attracted artists to performance practice in the mid-1960s: its resistance to the compartmentalization of art history and institutions. The blend of text, dance, sound, and visual image attained an importance not witnessed since the activities of the Futurists and Dadaists in the 1910s. Like those predecessors, most of these artists shared strong political commitments, even if often veiled by the comic or mystical aspect of their activities. The German word *Aktion*, employed by the Viennese as well as by Beuys, has the connotation of a political or military maneuver. The politicization of culture during the 1960s resounds in the Fluxus manifesto by George Maciunas calling to: "FUSE the cadres of cultural, social & political revolutionaries into united front & action."⁷³ The involvement of the artist with an audience metaphorically signals or implies a desire for an art that has more integral connection with life than that of the formalist strain of modern painting or sculpture.⁷⁴ While most of Beuys's actions did not explicitly present topical content, the artist's self-transformation in performance beckoned toward individual and societal transformation beyond that arena. Recalling *The Chief* (1964), in which he lay rolled in felt for nine hours at the Galerie René Block in Berlin, Beuys explained that "Such an action, and indeed every action, changes me radically. In a way it's a death, a real action and not an interpretation. Theme: how does one become a revolutionary? That's the problem."⁷⁵

Boundaries between art and life were not the only boundaries to be broken; at the beginning of the 1960s, boundaries between performance and literary and visual art eroded first. This development was both reflected in and fueled by a new-found awareness of the Dada movement of the 1910s, little in evidence for several decades. At the close of the 1950s, the rediscovery of Dada, in Europe as well as the United States, had a forceful impact on the emerging generation. In 1958 the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle and Kunstverein organized an enormous retrospective, "Dada—The Documents of a Movement." As its title implies, the exhibition of over five hundred works included Dada journals, ephemera, film, and performance as well as paintings and objects.⁷⁶ The American press noted the enthusiastic response to the provocative spirit of the exhibition, summed up in a young viewer's pleased verdict: "Dada isn't the Economic Miracle!"⁷⁷ Still recovering from Nazi repression and its aftermath, German art was to find rebirth in its earlier tradition of protest.



Figure 28. Joseph Beuys, *Revolution Piano*, 1969. Piano with roses installed in a vitrine, 71 x 71 x 35 7/8" (180.5 x 180.5 x 91 cm). Städtisches Museum Abteiberg, Mönchengladbach

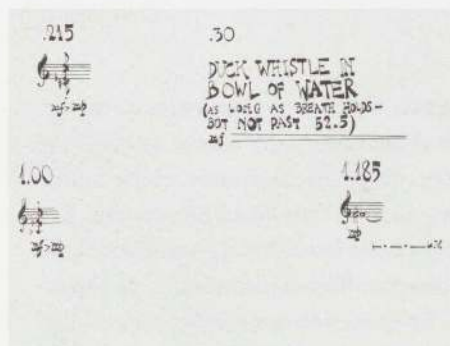


Figure 29. John Cage, *Excerpts from "Water Music,"* 1960. © Henmar Press Inc. by permission of C. F. Peters Corporation

Visual artists also received important direction from the field of contemporary music. The word *Partituren* immediately signals the musical context in which this body of Beuys's drawings was conceived. Beuys's involvement with Fluxus ushered him into a milieu of many artists who had begun careers as musicians and whose primary platform was musically based live performance. Beuys had studied piano and cello as a boy, and music remained an essential part of his understanding of art. At the opening of his one-man exhibition at the Haus Koekkoek in Kleve in 1961, he played piano pieces by Erik Satie, a composer of interest to avant-garde musicians during the 1950s and 1960s.⁷⁸ Musical collaborators such as the Danish composer Henning Christensen played an important role in Beuys's actions, as did "acoustic instruments" of various kinds. In objects as well as performance, the play between sound and silence remained a fundamental part of Beuys's artistic language throughout his life.

Beuys's work in Fluxus, and Fluxus activity as a whole, is greatly indebted to the theories of John Cage (1912–1992). Inspired by Cage's classes in the late 1950s at the New School in New York, a number of young artists such as Dick Higgins and Allan Kaprow began to rethink what might be defined as music. Cage's insistence on a musical piece as an entity in a continuous process of change proved central for the Fluxus artists. Equally important was his belief that the ordinary sounds of daily life were more interesting than the sounds produced by musical cultures. This conviction inspired Cage's transformation of everyday objects into instruments, as well as his elaboration of the "prepared" piano—a piano whose interior would be filled with any number of objects or materials in order to alter the sounds produced. Beuys's *Revolution Piano* of 1969 (fig. 28) is one of countless offspring of Cage's creation.

Cage's ideas about music implied a corresponding challenge to traditional concepts of notation. Western musical notation did not provide for a connection between music and the picturing of it. Cage felt that notation should "recognize that sounds did truly exist in a field,"⁷⁹ rather than in the abstract context of an intellectual system. Thus, for example, notes of longer duration should occupy a longer space, while bigger notes could indicate louder volume. Cage's scores have a visual elegance that attests to his early interest in painting; at the same time, his spatial concept of notation implied what might well be considered a sculptural approach to sound (fig. 29). In this sense it held great importance for the next generation of artists. Cage's activity, as much as that of the Futurists and Dadaists, licensed the great variety of unconventional pages that would serve as "scores" to Beuys's actions and to the performances of other artists of the 1960s.

Beuys was well aware of Cage's work, which was accessible in West Germany by the end of the 1950s.⁸⁰ In 1958 Cage gave a concert in Düsseldorf at Gallery 22, the progressive gallery run by Jean-Pierre Wilhelm. Nam June Paik, a classically trained Korean musician who had come to West Germany in 1956, attended that performance; in 1959 Paik performed a piece billed as an homage to Cage (music for piano and tape recorder) in the same gallery. Beuys was in the audience during that event, as he was for Paik's concert during the 1962 "Neo-Dada in der Musik" festival at the Düsseldorf Kammerspiele. Paik and Beuys began a warm friendship, and over the next two decades they would join in several collaborative actions.⁸¹ Beuys's great appreciation for Cage would continue throughout his life. Many of Cage's musical innovations were useful to Beuys, and his social, pedagogic, and aesthetic theories also provide remarkable parallels to Beuys's own thinking.

The concept of a drawing as a score had a solid precedent in Beuys's own understanding of drawing. The score provides a suitable metaphor for Beuys's drawing enterprise as a whole. It echoes his consistent reference to the drawings as a source of ideas from which to work and as a form of blueprint for his artistic projects. The score exemplifies Beuys's preference for process over product, and the concept of art as an event that takes place in time rather than one that exists in stasis. This same principle gave Fluxus its name.⁸²

Nonetheless, Beuys's scores distinctly differ from those written and drawn by Fluxus artists. While the latter primarily were written as prescriptive recipes that anyone could enact at any time, Beuys's drawings do not begin to offer such opportunity. They remain distinctly tied to unique events, wholly dependent on Beuys's own persona and the setting, sound, timing, and mood that he created. In this respect they are far closer to the performance-related drawings of the Viennese Actionists. Their individuality as original works was still of great importance for Beuys and recalls the central place that drawing held in the evolution of Beuys's thought during the previous decade.

In Beuys's work the score traces its roots to the list drawings he had begun making two decades earlier. These works, dependent on words for both pictorial structure and expressive content, play an important role in Beuys's drawing activity throughout his entire career. A work such as *Herb Robert* (pl. 2) is a list of plants penciled on a thin notebook page, sealed with the pressed geranium blossoms from which the work derives its title. The geranium was known for its healing powers, and the list names a variety of therapeutically useful plants. Made while Beuys was at the University of Poznan on a study leave from his military service,⁸³ the drawing reflects the passion for natural science that Beuys had nurtured since boyhood. Throughout his life Beuys retained a deep interest in the use of herbs and wild flowers for medicinal and culinary purposes.

The lyrical and often witty aspects of Beuys's early list drawings belie their importance to his way of working. Lists, as tools for organizing one's world, tap into the thought patterns fundamental to daily existence. Only this accounts for the fascination that can accompany the making or reading of even the most ordinary list. In their reordering of typical classifications, Beuys's early lists already anticipate his work of the 1960s, which would address the heart of Western assumptions about order and disorder, sameness and otherness. The obsession with indexing and list-making shared by all the Fluxus artists reflects similar motivations.

In the drawing entitled *Sediment* (pl. 108), Beuys anticipated the spirit of Fluxus.⁸⁴ This three-part work looks much larger than its size (about 12 by 25 inches), chiefly because of the bold strokes of dark gray paint across its surface. The crude brushwork acts as a counterpoint to the nicely ordered, thin ink columns. There is an incantatory quality to the flow of German words, ranging from industrial materials (steel, felt, petroleum) to household goods (ointment, bottles, picture frames, fabrics) to all sorts of waste matter (tailor's waste, slaughterhouse waste, construction waste, industrial waste), and a host of miscellaneous items ranging from office fasteners to lipsticks to Christmas trees. The concept of sediment was a key one for Beuys in that it denotes the transition between death and rebirth: deposits of dead matter go through the process of decay in order to become nutriment. Following the thought of Rudolf Steiner, Beuys understood life on earth as a cycle of metamor-

phoses rather than an unconnected series of entries and exits. In this respect, Beuys focused his attention on the points of continuity and transformation. For example, he celebrated the bogs of Northern Europe as “the liveliest elements in the European landscape . . . storing places of life, mystery and chemical change, preservers of ancient history.”⁸⁵ Bogs provide both a record of ancient life and the material of regeneration, as they convert dead organic matter into new, usable form.

While *Sediment* enumerates the waste left by an industrial society, the drawing resonates beyond that image. This resonance comes largely as a result of what followed soon thereafter in Beuys’s work: *Sediment* can be read as a virtual prescription for Fluxus. In addition to indicating the role that trash would play in the Fluxus repertory, *Sediment* also has to do with the idea of use and re-use, the “flow” from which the movement derived its name. “Sediment” implies the idea of works of art not as products in and of themselves, but as relics of events or processes and nourishment for those to come. Past and future are present within any individual work. Beuys’s emphasis on the organic nature of his work was strikingly evident at the “Stallausstellung—Fluxus 1963” held in the stable of the van der Grinten farm in Kranenburg (fig. 30).⁸⁶ A careful installation placed objects on the floor as well as on the walls and along the stalls and troughs.



Figure 30. “Joseph Beuys ‘Stallausstellung’—Fluxus 1963,” Kranenburg, 1963

The structure of the list provides the first evidence of Beuys’s interest in the theater: between 1961 and 1963 he wrote a small number of “stage plays,” documented in manuscript and typescript drawings (pl. 97). The stage plays are Beuys’s most directly Fluxus-like works, although some date prior to his actual participation in the Fluxus movement. These “plays” are written primarily as lists of characters, with a few instructions. This format brings the stage plays close to drawings such as the typescript list (pl. 96) that names the components of the *Scene from the Stag Hunt* at Darmstadt (fig. 18). The stage plays represent the metamorphosis of the list into a dramatic scenario and provide a step on the way to fully developed actions. These plays occupy a middle ground between a form of poem and a *Partitur* for an action; they are purely conceptual compositions, rather than literal performance scripts. The closest precedent for Beuys’s stage plays can be found in the playlets written in the 1920s by Kurt Schwitters, which have a similarly compelling absurdist logic.⁸⁷ They also relate to what George Maciunas termed the “Haiku theater” developed by Fluxus artists—short recipes such as those found in Dick Higgins’s “Danger Music” (“Danger Music Number Twenty Nine: Get a job for its own sake,” March 1963).⁸⁸

Despite their modesty, Beuys’s stage pieces contain the seeds of his future work. The importance of *Play 17*, 1963 (pl. 97), for example, is confirmed by its existence in four different multiple editions between 1969 and 1977 and in several individual handwritten versions. This piece, like most, takes the form of a list, preceded by the phrase “in a room with / 4 fat corners acting together.” A variety of animals, insects, birds, and fish makes up the company of actors, dominated by nine stags and five Easter rabbits. The point of the play comes in the stage directions that follow: “The animals vanish as soon as / the Western man enters / simultaneously projected on / the room’s north wall / the Eastern man.”

This short stage play can be seen as the initial form of the complex actions *Eurasia* and *Eurasian Staff* of 1966 and 1967, which find their central themes in the spiritual and political division of East and West. *Play 17*, which takes the terms Western and Eastern man from Rudolf Steiner, exemplifies Beuys’s belief that European culture

has divorced itself from the world of nature; it holds up a mythic East as an alternative model. Beuys uses animals both metonymically and metaphorically here. They stand for the natural environment as a whole but also signal the animal aspect of human nature: the instinctual or sensory capacities not related to intellect or conscious will.

Play 17 demonstrates Beuys's ongoing concern with the spiritual and social links between humans and animals. When he founded the German Student Party at the Düsseldorf Academy in 1967, Beuys described it as the largest party in the world, admitting that most of its members were animals.⁸⁹ Beuys's cheerful claim had a serious edge in its suggestion that the healthy future of life on this planet was as important to animals as to human beings. The sensibility first implied in *Play 17* found practical expression ten years later with Beuys's role as a founder of West Germany's Green Party and his individual initiative in various environmental projects such as the planting of trees for *7000 Oaks* begun at Documenta 7 in 1982.

Beuys's stage plays indicate the artist's interest in theatrical setting, but they remain distinct from his actual performance activity, which began in earnest in 1963 with the "Festum Fluxorum Fluxus" at the Düsseldorf Academy. As might be expected of the early *Partituren*, the drawings for *Siberian Symphony*, performed on the second night of the festival, closely relate to the narrative imagery of the 1950s. Many descriptively illustrate the performance and are painted in *Braunkreuz*, which remained an important medium for the objects Beuys used during actions as well as in his *Partituren*.⁹⁰ As his work with Fluxus continued, however, Beuys's drawings became more concerned with sound and words than with picturing the action.

The drawings that relate to the many actions that Beuys performed from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s indicate how drawing remained an integral part of Beuys's process during this period. Complete typescript scores exist for two of Beuys's early actions, *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder*, 1965, and *Manresa*, 1966. Each typescript relates to several drawings that elaborate the finished scores and the settings of the actions and articulate the central concepts underlying them.

The drawings to *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder*, like all the *Partituren*, provide a key to the action they document. The action *and in us . . .* was performed at the Galerie Parnass in Wuppertal in 1965, as part of a twenty-four hour Fluxus festival lasting from midnight June 5 to the following midnight. The participants were Bazon Brock, Charlotte Moorman, Nam June Paik, Eckart Rahn, Tomas Schmidt, and Wolf Vostell. Beuys's action lasted the entire twenty-four hours, with the other participants' performances taking place simultaneously elsewhere in the gallery.

The theme of *and in us . . .* centered on man's power to redefine the experience of space and time. Beuys's performance accomplished both: for twenty-four hours, he crouched on a wooden crate placed in the center of the room. A variety of props surrounded him on the floor—a cane, small tools and containers, a dead hare and a hare made of molded gelatin, small mounds of margarine and lard, a music stand, and a tape recorder. Photographs taken by Ute Klophaus depict Beuys absorbed in small tasks—blowing onto a mound of lard, for example, or listening to a metal funnel held closely to his ear. At certain intervals, Beuys stood up and ceremoniously raised a double-handled, heart-shaped spade high in the air (fig. 31).⁹¹ The photographs emphasize the pronounced aura of ritual involved in Beuys's movements, not in the Dionysiac mode of the Viennese Actionists, but radiating intense focus and concentrated energy.



Figure 31. Joseph Beuys, *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder*, Galerie Parnass, Wuppertal, 1965.
© Ute Klophaus

Beuys's typescript score for the action examines the modern division between science and spirit.⁹² Several handwritten *Partituren* (pls. 121–25) seem to have served as drafts for the published score. Unlike the two sketchbooks for the action,⁹³ they do not illustrate any of the props, such as the double-handled spades, but rehearse Beuys's ideas for the text's basis in scientific terminology. One *Partitur* lists the names of twenty-seven physicists next to the scientific formulas they developed (pl. 121), while another excerpts only the formulas (pl. 122). Beuys had already used the imagery of science in countless drawings of the 1950s and in works such as *Double Aggregate* and the *Fond* sculptures to suggest a broadening of the art arena beyond that of culture and to posit a relationship between scientific and aesthetic creativity. In the score to *and in us . . .* he manipulated the conventional formulas of science to express this conviction.

The work of the physicist Max Planck (1858–1947) provided a metaphoric foundation for *and in us . . .*. The essence of quantum physics is expressed in Planck's formula $E = hv$, in which E stands for energy, V is an electromagnetic frequency, and h , known as Planck's constant, quantifies a relationship between the two. Beuys's score took Planck's equation as a departure point from which to propose a reformulation of hard science into a field that allows a place for the human spirit. In the score for *and in us . . .*, drafted on a drawing with a generous fat stain in the upper left and later stamped *Hauptstrom*, Beuys wrote:

The formulae of Planck and Einstein urgently need expanding, since otherwise they are only in the position to prove space hypertrophy. The value "h" can be identified from the Planck formula as "Human"/h is the value on which all futures converge.⁹⁴

Beuys's claim that we must identify the value h as *human* deftly sets Planck's formula in the service of Beuys's "warmth theory," his vision of the creative process. The production of energy becomes not so much a scientific problem as a human one: *man* is the constant that determines energy production. Human beings replace anonymous quanta as the agents of transformation.

Beuys's assertion alludes to the fact that the history of twentieth-century physics is tied to the history of Nazism and World War II. The Third Reich redefined policies and careers in science no less than in art, and Max Planck is one of many scientists who both greatly contributed to the field of physics and willingly worked within Hitler's regime. Beuys's purposeful redefinition of Planck's constant from an abstract symbol to a human being insists on the failure of science separated from human morality, and the dangers of isolating creative work from the rest of life.

This message was reinforced in a series of statements in the score: man is identified as the "bender of space," the "bender of time," the "producer of space" and "counterspace," the "producer of time" and "countertime," and so on.⁹⁵ The end of the score declares man the "producer of truth." Man's potential for a vastly different experience of this world — spiritually and materially — is far broader than the formulations of modern physics would suggest. He needs only to recognize that this energy lies within himself: "Since Beuys' warm theory/FLUXUS humanity has it all."⁹⁶

At the same time Beuys asked that modern science adopt the humanistic considerations more usually confined to art, his methods implied that art could, in turn, imitate science. Beuys's drawings for *and in us . . .*, like much conceptual art of the time in both Europe and the United States, or like Duchamp's notes to *The Large Glass*,⁹⁷ adopt the look of the work of the scientist, using bits of scrap paper or bound note-

books. Beuys did not pretend to address the actual science of his own time, and his method remained at the metaphoric level of suggesting that the work of the artist is less craft- than brain-oriented. In this he was very much of his moment, as artists mirrored a post-industrial society whose basis had shifted from physical to mental work and began to produce art that aspired to “information.”⁹⁸

Manresa is the second action for which Beuys prepared a formal score as well as a large number of preparatory drawings.⁹⁹ These drawings attain an independent pictorial strength beyond that of the textual *Partituren* for *and in us . . .* Some are painted over with *Braunkreuz*, which covers fragments of the text or lists of elements used in the action. These drawings, now dispersed among several collections, form a picture of Beuys’s major concerns in the action. *Manresa* took place at the Galerie Schmela on December 15, 1966, and marked the closing of Alfred Schmela’s first gallery prior to his move to a larger space. This action was a collaboration between Beuys and two Danish artists: Henning Christiansen and Bjorn Norgaard. Both maintained that Beuys did not involve them in the conception or the planning of the action, but enlisted them as autonomous participants.¹⁰⁰ Beuys asked Christiansen to supply the music, and Norgaard to simultaneously perform a piece that had impressed Beuys when he had heard it in Copenhagen.

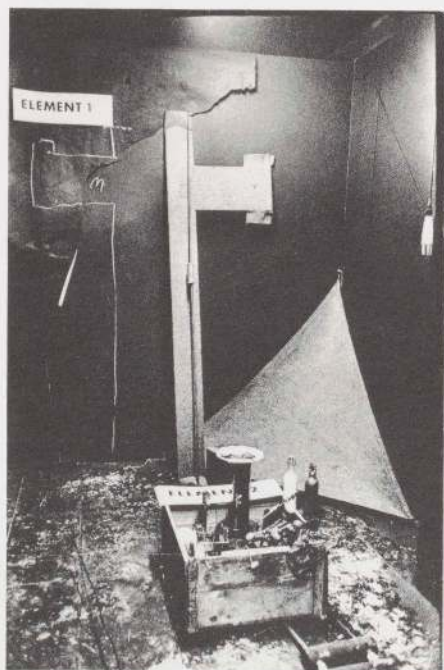


Figure 32. Joseph Beuys, *Manresa*, Galerie Schmela, Düsseldorf, 1966. © Ute Klophaus

Beuys’s activity involved several components. The largest was a tall half-cross built of wood and coated in felt, labeled with a sign as “Element 1.” A wooden box containing electrical apparatus and miscellaneous items such as a rosemary plant was labeled “Element 2” (fig. 32). The half-cross denoted contemporary man’s divided self, as a rational but not a spiritual being. Element 2, which Beuys used to generate sparks during the action, provided the element of intuition. Beuys also used a sculpture from the early 1950s entitled *Plate Crucifix*, as well as felt and fat corners, and a wind-up toy bird, which he released into the air at the conclusion.¹⁰¹

The name of the action is taken from the village in Spain where Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), the founder of the Jesuits, wrote his *Spiritual Exercises*. In so titling the work, Beuys set up an autobiographical analogy with another figure for whom a military career provoked a personal crisis. Retreating to Manresa, Loyola devoted himself to working out the regime of meditation and self-purification that gave birth to the Jesuit order. Here exists, albeit in a Christian context, the paradigm of the shaman who converts his own experience of suffering into a therapy for society and transforms his personal rebirth into a collective one. By 1966 Beuys’s own artistic ambitions were clearly formulated along that line.

“Intuition is the higher form of reason” was the theme of *Manresa*, a principle at the heart of Beuys’s work in all mediums. The theme closely connects *Manresa* to the first action performed at the Galerie Schmela, *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*. This connection is suggested in a pencil drawing now contained in *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland* (fig. 33). It shows a man standing in profile, holding against his forehead a dark sphere, which an inscription identifies as a fat ball (*Fettkugel*). The drawing implies the need for man to counter intellectual activity with intuition, the same principle presented in *How to Explain . . .* when Beuys covered his head in honey. The head, honey-covered and coated in gold leaf, was no longer merely a housing for the brain. Honey, like fat, resists definite boundaries, not fixed in a state of either solid or liquid. Both substances served Beuys as metaphors for creative energy that does not harden into intellectual habit but remains in a state of openness and flux.



Figure 33. Joseph Beuys, *Untitled (Score for "Manresa")*, recto, 1966. Pencil on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm). Marx Collection, Berlin. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*



Figure 34. Joseph Beuys, *Untitled (Score for "Manresa")*, verso, 1966. Pencil on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm). Marx Collection, Berlin. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*

While the drawing from *The secret block* conceptualizes the theme of *Manresa* — intuition counteracting reason — its verso bears a drawing that explicitly illustrates the two main components of the action, Elements 1 and 2 (fig. 34). The action proposed a search for the unification of Elements 1 and 2 in a third element: how can contemporary man achieve a synthesis between spiritual and rational life? This question was posed in the score for *Manresa*, written in the form of a polyphonic text composed of several short phrases repeated in different order. The central refrain, found on several of the drawings, inquired: "Now? Has Element 2 climbed up to Element 1? Now? Has Element 1 climbed down to Element 2?" (pls. 126, 127).¹⁰² Handwritten in ink, the phrases form the ground of drawings overpainted with thick strokes of *Braunkreuz*. In one drawing (pl. 127), the brown paint forms a divided cross, halved by the left border of the sheet. The phrases inscribed on these sheets have a musical quality, even in written form. Straightforward declamations (the introductory "Here speaks Fluxus Fluxus") operate in counterpoint with enigmatic passages ("Good day, Where are you going? the Thorvaldsen Museum").¹⁰³ The rhythm and the color of the text recall the *Merz* plays of Kurt Schwitters and other Dada experiments. The last line, "also I fly to you MANRESA," particularly echoes the mannered sincerity of Schwitters's most famous poem, "Anna Blume."¹⁰⁴

Beuys reproduced one drawing for *Manresa* (pl. 128) as a multiple in 1967.¹⁰⁵ The original drawing is made on cardboard and is the second half of a list that names or illustrates the objects used in the action.¹⁰⁶ These include the microphones and tape recorders, the bicycle pumps through which fat was sprayed on the wall, and the toy bird. The three progressively larger triangles, painted in gray oil as well as sketched in pencil, appear here as well as in another drawing related to the action (pl. 129), in which the three are fit together.

The importance of angles extends throughout Beuys's sculptures and actions; particularly in the context of *Manresa*, they bring to mind Kandinsky's exposition of the triangle in his book of 1911, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. Another artist powerfully influenced by the ideas of Rudolf Steiner, Kandinsky used the triangle to represent "the life of the spirit."¹⁰⁷ He described this triangle as one that moves steadily upward, following the path of the visionary artist. Kandinsky's discussion of the genesis of this triangle provides a striking antecedent to *Manresa*, and to Beuys's thought in general: "Frequent use is made here of the terms 'material' and 'non-material' . . . Is everything material? or is *everything* spiritual? . . . all that matters here is that the boundaries drawn should not be too definite."¹⁰⁸

The action *Manresa* presented the successful conjunction of the two elements in the new "Element 3" as the most important task facing contemporary society. Six months after the action, Beuys initiated one possible response to this challenge by founding his first political organization, the German Student Party. In Beuys's catalogue for the Guggenheim Museum exhibition in 1979, the text describing the *Manresa* score asks "Where is Element 3?" The answer, boxed for emphasis, is the statement "On 22 June 1967 Beuys founded the German Student Party as a Meta-party in Room 13 of the Staatliche Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf."¹⁰⁹ By 1967 Beuys had decided to take the issues that he had articulated in his actions and discussions into an explicitly political arena. His work with the students evolved into a commitment that extended well beyond the academy during the 1970s and 1980s. Beuys's crusade for social change, which included his work with the Free International University and the Green Party, became his means of pursuing an "Element 3" that transcended the inequities of current political and economic systems.

The only two actions for which Beuys published formal scripts and the only two with drawings so literally “scored” were *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder* and *Manresa*. But many of the actions that Beuys performed during the latter half of the 1960s and the early 1970s correspond to casual sketches that detail props or settings. The drawing *Notes for an Action*, 1967 (pl. 138), for example, indicates Beuys’s planning for the action *Eurasian Staff 82 min fluxorum organum* as performed at the Galerie Nächst St. Stephan in Vienna on July 2, 1967.¹¹⁰ It is one of several actions concerning “Eurasia,” a fixation rooted in Beuys’s wartime experience in the *Luftwaffe*, and particularly his encounter with the Tatars.¹¹¹ While typically modernist in its fascination with non-European culture, Beuys’s Eurasian ideal had pointed significance. The theme of synthesis and unification resonated forcefully in West Germany, a nation not only severed from its eastern section, but dominated by the tensions of East/West relations during the Cold War. For Beuys and the Fluxus artists (Fluxus remained the only contemporary art movement uniting Europeans, Asians, and Americans), the concept of “Eurasia” signified political as well as cultural and spiritual exchange between East and West.

Beuys’s drawing for the performance of *Eurasian Staff* (pl. 138) is typical of a preparatory sketch, similar to the drawing listing the elements of *Manresa*. The drawing contains a list of equipment and the names of his co-workers, the photographer Ute Klophaus and the composer Henning Christiansen. It depicts the copper staff and the four felt columns used during the course of the action and illustrates the iron sole that Beuys wore beneath his right shoe and the felt sole that was attached to the wall. The drawing also states the words *Bildkopf—Bewegkopf* (“image head—mover head”), which Beuys repeated throughout the action and wrote on the floor. He used the first term to refer to things as they are; the second to suggest how they could be changed by new forms of thought. A succinct, utilitarian “note,” the drawing documents the practical thinking underlying the hypnotic spirit of Beuys’s performance.

The action *Hauptstrom* (*Mainstream*), presented in Darmstadt at the gallery of Franz Dahlem in 1967, introduces performance-related drawing created during the process of the action. A ten-hour action, *Hauptstrom*, like so many of Beuys’s other actions, placed the artist in an isolated area for a long period of time. Beuys demarcated the room as a “fat space,” setting boundaries with ridges of fat. During the course of the action, he manipulated the fat, moved through it, and applied it to his body.¹¹² The *Partituren* that correspond to the *Hauptstrom* action were made on quadrant-ruled pages of a notebook, and all bear large stains of pale yellow fat (pls. 135, 136, 137). According to Beuys, the notebook was filled with notes for *Manresa*; the notebook was next to Beuys during the *Hauptstrom* action, and the fat soaked the pages within (fig. 35).¹¹³ As relics of a specific event, the *Hauptstrom* drawings operate in very much the same way as the objects from the same action now gathered in vitrines in the Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt. One finds, for example, lumps of fat into which Beuys had bitten, bearing the clear imprint of his teeth.

The drawings from *Hauptstrom* are exceptional in that they are relics of a performance. Nonetheless, all of Beuys’s *Partituren* share that feeling, whether they present object lists, text citations, or spatial diagrams. This quality of souvenir is true of coherent bodies of drawings—such as those related to *Manresa* or other actions such as *Iphigenia/Titus Andronicus*¹¹⁴—as well as various, more note-like preparatory sketches. Beuys’s *Partituren* possess an autonomous existence as unique drawings, but also emphasize their connection to the event they document, to the

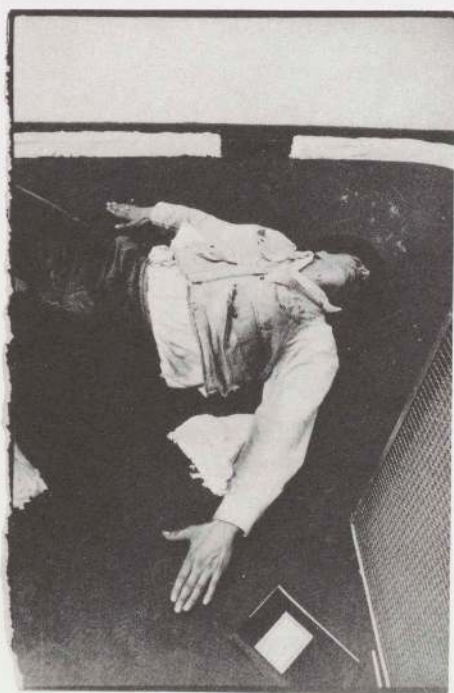


Figure 35. Joseph Beuys, *Hauptstrom* (*Mainstream*), Galerie Franz Dahlem, Darmstadt, 1967.
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artist/performer who created them, and to his larger body of work. Even when the connection is not so literal as that between *Manresa* and *Hauptstrom*, their visual similarities reinforce their mutual association.

The tightly knit development that links the themes and instruments of Beuys's various actions is mirrored in the corresponding section of his *Life Course/Work Course*. After the first version was published in Aachen in 1964, Beuys continued to add to the text for various catalogue publications throughout the 1960s. The later additions to the biography differ both in tone and appearance from the first part. The text written in 1964 retains distinct listings with separate lines for each year, much in the manner of a conventional biographical chronology. But the last entry for 1964 begins a continuous recital of the events that filled the next five years. It takes the form of one dense run-on paragraph, the different events separated only by semicolons, with no spaces separating annual entries. The entire text reflects the spirit of Fluxus, with no clear beginning or pause at any point. As an overall score for those years, it reflects the nonstop nature of Beuys's performance, teaching, and exhibition activity, and the absolute indivisibility within and among each.

The work of art is the greatest riddle of all, but man is the solution
(Joseph Beuys).¹¹⁵

In autumn 1967 the Städtisches Museum Mönchengladbach, located sixteen miles from Düsseldorf, presented the retrospective exhibition "Joseph Beuys." In his *Life Course/Work Course* Beuys described the exhibition as "Parallel Process 1." The term suggests a double track that carried conceptual or theoretical work alongside the more obvious object-oriented route. The latter had begun in the studio and reached into the gallery; the former had begun in the classroom and now would extend beyond school walls. By the mid-1960s the spiritual aims of Beuys's work translated into an "expanded concept of art" that sought real-world change. The political steps inherent in the term "action" were to be taken, and the "Parallel Process" implied that Beuys's roles as an artist and as a citizen would run hand-in-hand.

The work that began with the founding in 1967 of the German Student Party, and continued with the Organization for Direct Democracy three years later, aimed to catalyze all individuals to participate directly in government and social policy. This came at a moment when, internationally, the anti-war, civil rights, and feminist movements were stirring popular protest and activism at every level; Beuys captured the mood of an era with his formulation of democratic society as an art work and its citizens as the artists. While this "expanded concept of art" defines the second half of Beuys's career, the details of his work as an activist have received scant attention from art historians focused on objects and political historians unfamiliar with artists. Beuys's refusal to fit cleanly into either camp also cost him allies. However, his concept was far from an exception within the Western art tradition; in Germany, particularly, the question of art's relationship to ideology was seldom far from the surface. Nor was Beuys's work an exception during the decade in which the politicization of culture changed the artistic landscape in Europe and the United States as it had not since the 1930s. Countless artists engaged issues such as opposition to the Vietnam War either directly in their work or through participation in organized protests, activist associations, and benefit events.¹¹⁶ Beuys's project of "social sculpture" fit into a moment when few artists found the realms of art and life simple to distinguish.

Social sculpture brought with it a new medium for Beuys's work: that of the spoken word. Whether at the Düsseldorf Academy, or later at the Organization for Direct Democracy office in Düsseldorf, on the street, or at art events, Beuys explained to any willing listener his vision of a better society. The silence dramatized in the 1965 action with the dead hare turned into an unceasing volubility, and the spiritual sensibility coded in mysterious imagery was now expressed in concrete workaday terms. During these years Beuys had far less use for the personal drawings that had occupied him until then. Work on paper metamorphosed into paperwork — organizing meetings, disseminating information, circulating petitions.

Beuys nonetheless redirected, rather than abandoned, his prodigious ability as a draftsman. His ideas for a new society retained a sculptural basis, and, indeed, the visual nature of the work of "social sculpture" distinguished Beuys from all contemporary activists. Beuys's concept of a better society was literally a vision, sketched on paper and on blackboards that set out the principles he saw as fundamental to a democratic society and the processes he saw as underlying human evolution. Thus, by 1970 a new sort of *Partitur* was richly in evidence: a score not for a theatrical action but for a social process.

These *Partituren* might be executed on blackboards, tabletops, menus, or notepads, in front of a crowd or one individual. Most of those made on stationery paper — often with the letterhead of the Organization for Direct Democracy — stem from impromptu dialogues with journalists, students, collectors, and others. Stamped with Beuys's *Hauptstrom* disk or other insignia in such a way as to augment the visual energy of the ink or pencil lines, these *Partituren* remain as souvenirs of conversations or documents of work situations. All of the surviving sheets and blackboards contain variations on the same fundamental principles, rehearsed again and again. Much as Beuys had produced countless reiterations of favored themes during the 1950s, the incantatory power of repetition again carried along his vision.

Beuys's diagrams on blackboards and sheets of paper certainly developed from his experience as a teacher at the Düsseldorf Academy. Echoes of the classroom had resonated before in Beuys's many gallery actions that included writing on blackboards, such as *Siberian Symphony* and *Eurasia* (fig. 36). The exchange between artistic practice and pedagogy culminated in the lectures and actions comprising Beuys's practice of social sculpture. Beuys's work in the 1970s synthesized the teacher and the performer, the classroom and the gallery, as he gladly accepted "any place" as one where efforts to transform society could occur.¹¹⁷

A tally of Beuys's corpus of work from his last two decades must therefore include the innumerable transcripts, tapes, and videos of lectures and interviews from those years. And almost always, drawing served as an essential accompaniment to his speaking, much like gesturing with one's hands. Drawing was even a way of talking about drawing, as witnessed in the book *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, 1947–1956* (Cologne, 1972).¹¹⁸ The text consists of a spirited interview between Beuys and the critic Hagen Lieberknecht, interspersed with Lieberknecht's recited analyses of selected drawings. The analyses are serious and thoughtful, and yet the manner of their recitation gleefully parodies scholarly convention, as Lieberknecht traces minute points of iconography or cites historical authorities. The book reproduces the drawings in a plate section, but first presents a series of impromptu drawings Beuys made during the interview, sketching motifs they discussed, reinforcing key ideas. That section, together with the text edited by Beuys so as to reflect a very informal conversation, lifts the original 1950s drawings into a contemporary performance context.



Figure 36. Joseph Beuys, *Object from the Action "Eurasia, 32nd Section of the Siberian Symphony"* 1963, 1966. Blackboard, dead hare, felt, wood, and rope, 72 x 90 1/2 x 20" (183 x 230 x 51 cm). Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

Beuys's drawings and blackboards of the 1970s and 1980s all share this quality of live action; the finished compositions map the progress of a lecture that encompassed several points to be illustrated. Such lectures took place within the context of the Organization for Direct Democracy or the Free International University, the latter a mobile entity that brought interested citizens together at conferences and lectures throughout the world, addressing policy questions of local as well as global concern. The blackboard drawings also were created during the hundreds of lectures he gave in schools, galleries, museums, churches, and community centers. Beuys's first trip to the United States in January 1974 included no exhibition per se, and instead took the form of a month-long speaking tour billed as an "energy plan for the Western man." During lectures and discussions in New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis, Beuys sketched his ideas on blackboards, using the English he had learned to speak quite well.

Much as a teacher at the front of the classroom, Beuys would illustrate a point in one corner of the board, move elsewhere for a later point, and so on, until the surface was covered with individual diagrams that merged into one picture. Often, the hurried quality of line reveals the haste with which Beuys worked. This activity fits the theoretical and pedagogical tradition so important in German art; Paul Klee's work at the Bauhaus forms the greatest example in this century. While constituting a generally analytical study of perception and representation, Klee's thick compendia of art theory carried a humane, even spiritual subtext, and implied an extension of graphic energy into action. His metaphor of "taking a line for a walk"¹¹⁹ hinted at art's connection to life; Beuys's admonition, "walk only when you feel: your walk starts revolution,"¹²⁰ extended the message.

One of the key elements of virtually all Beuys's lectures was his illustration of the warmth theory, which had originated as a formula for physical sculpture but had expanded into one for social sculpture. Consequently, the warmth theory (or theory of sculpture) is diagrammed in countless blackboards and drawings that continue to function as visual demonstrations of Beuys's ideas. In a series of drawings made in Italy in 1972 (pl. 151), the fifth drawing shows the theory in its simplest form: the movement from left to right along a line, showing the passage from *unbestimmt* ("undetermined") to *bestimmt* ("determined") — Beuys's favorite words to describe both the physical and psychic aspects of the transformation of energy into form. Again and again Beuys demonstrated the evolution from the pole of chaos (a wavy mass) to that of form (a tetrahedron) on a straight line going from left to right. The motion extends from *Willen* ("will") to *Denken* ("thought"). This diagram represents in abbreviated form what had been implicit in Beuys's earliest drawings and in his actions. In the 1970s, rather than referring to the forming of a fat corner or a dramatic scenario, the theory applied to the personal ability of each individual to shape society as a responsible, creative citizen.

The drawing *Untitled (Score: Aesthetics = Man)*, 1971 (pl. 153), focuses on Beuys's conviction that man is essentially a creative being. The drawing describes Beuys's concept of "Eurasia" — the unification of East and West. At the top of the drawing the "Eurasian staff" first used during the mid-1960s links the two poles, cutting across the wall that divides them. The felt pillars and copper rod used in Beuys's action *Eurasian Staff* are drawn at the left. Here, as was often the case, the diagram of the sculpture theory is superimposed on the human form. A figure is laid out horizontally, with the path from chaos to form represented in the line from the feet to the head. The heart at the center embodies the spirit, or movement, that transforms Will into Form.

The idea of how each individual fits into the framework of society forms another paradigm in Beuys's lectures. The model is again tripartite: basing his ideas on the threefold model of Rudolf Steiner, Beuys advocated the division of society into three realms corresponding to culture, government, and the economy: freedom, democracy, and equality. Steiner had devised the model as a response to the threat of increasing state authoritarianism in the 1910s. Beuys supported it as the only hope for an alternative to the party politics of the postwar years and the misplaced success of the economic miracle.

Countless untitled drawings such as a small pencil work of 1971 (pl. 143) all depict a similar pyramidal outline of a threefold society. The left side encompasses the realm of freedom: that which depends on and nurtures individual creativity and thus includes education, culture, religion, and the media. The right side concerns the principle of equality, thereby involving the economic sphere. Beuys saw little distinction between the state capitalism of the East and the private capitalism of the West and argued for a socialism that equitably employed and distributed the world's resources. The central spine of the image represents a democracy that operates from the individual upward, depending on direct voting rather than a representative parliamentary system corrupted by party power. This democratic mechanism interconnects and supports the realms of individual freedom and economic system; the three spheres form a whole in which the individual and the community are reciprocally joined. According to the three-part model of the sculpture theory (chaos — movement — form), democracy is the "movement" that mediates between the two poles of freedom and equality.

In drawings such as these the principle of social sculpture is visualized in the sculptural force of the compositions. The energy relationships between figural forms of the 1950s carry over into the distribution of directional arrows and staccato points, columns of words, and brief signs. Many of the drawings have the pyramidal composition that echoes Kandinsky's utopian triangle as well as Beuys's own innumerable drawings of mountains. In addition to the play of graphic lines, the works on paper have as vital ingredients the ink insignia with which Beuys stamped them. In *Untitled (Score: Aesthetics = Man)* (pl. 153) or the untitled drawing (pl. 143), the *Hauptstrom* stamp floats like a disk, joining with the many drawn circles (the sun, the heart) in acrobatic counterpoint to the directional lines. In the series of pencil drawings made during an interview in Italy in 1972 (pl. 151) the *Hauptstrom* stamp travels along the seven pages like the bouncing ball across the score for a sing-along. In every case the ink stamp lifts a drawing out of its individual isolation, signifying its link to a work in progress and identifying it as one element in a larger process.

Anthroposophy plays a large role in the blackboard and blackboard-related drawings, for Rudolf Steiner's longstanding importance to Beuys increased with the enterprise of social sculpture. In the wake of the devastation of World War I, and in an atmosphere of extreme economic and political instability, Steiner had developed from a spiritual thinker into a social reformer. Steiner's lectures to workers throughout Europe and at the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland, argued for a restructuring of society by which the individual shaped the state, rather than the reverse.¹²¹ Beuys's efforts fifty years later — their spiritual intensity, political idealism, and grassroots approach — were similar responses to the contemporary situation. Even Beuys's medium — the large blackboard drawing — echoes that of Steiner. While lecturing at the Goetheanum during the 1920s, Steiner illustrated his points with

brightly colored chalk drawings on sheets of black paper pinned to the wall. Still preserved at Dornach, these panels explored topics ranging from anthroposophical initiation to eurythmy to the creation of the world.¹²²

The importance of anthroposophy is evident in the small ink drawing *Untitled (Evolution)* (pl. 154). *Untitled (Evolution)* replicates a blackboard made during a lecture given at an anthroposophical school in Bochum, West Germany, on July 1, 1974,¹²³ and shares the imagery of many others, including *Untitled (Sun State)* (pl. 155), made in Chicago that same year. Figures representing plants, animals, and man are illustrated above a time line in the form of a double cone. Going from left to right, the diagram traces the narrowing path from the early age of myth to the time of Christ, through the Age of Reason. The present materialist moment is equated with that of the Crucifixion (also suggested in a small symbol of a five-petaled rose). The cone then widens again, opening up to the future of a sun state, where every individual exercises the “warmth” of creativity.

In the lower left of *Untitled (Evolution)*, the usual formulation of Beuys’s sculpture theory — the passage from chaos to form — is presented in an alchemical context: sulphur, mercury, and salt, the three universals in alchemy, make up the three stages of the sculptural process. Sulphur signifies energy; and salt, with its crystalline composition, form. The two are mediated by mercury, the element of movement and the spirit.¹²⁴ Beuys’s early fascination with the ideas of the sixteenth-century Swiss alchemist and physician Paracelsus initiated a lifelong interest in alchemy that reappeared throughout his imagery and ideas.

Beuys often integrated his work for the Free International University with his participation in art events and exhibitions. For example, he proposed his contribution to the exhibition “Art into Society, Society into Art,” held at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London in 1974, as a “permanent school where a free expansion of creative concepts can take place.”¹²⁵ Beuys spent almost every day of the four-week-long exhibition in the gallery from noon to eight o’clock explaining to visitors his principles and goals.¹²⁶ The blackboards on which he wrote and drew during the discussions stood on three easels, alluding to the threefold system of culture, economy, and law (or freedom, brotherhood, and equality). When Beuys finished one board he removed it from the easel and swung it onto the floor, aware that eventually “the floor will change to a black floor.”¹²⁷ The “sculpture” was thus a changing and growing entity throughout the show, with the finished blackboards on the floor already fragmentary relics of a still-ongoing process. The life of the relic was renewed when, at the exhibition’s close, the one hundred blackboards were collectively entitled *Directional Forces (Richtkräfte)* (pl. 156) and reassembled in expanded form as installations at the René Block Gallery in New York in 1975 and at the Biennale in Venice in 1976, and finally as part of the permanent collection at the Nationalgalerie Berlin (from 1977).

Beuys used as the basis for *Directional Forces* the site of an artist’s workplace, much as he did for the *Scene from the Stag Hunt* in 1961 (fig. 18). This workplace is no longer a private studio or laboratory but a public place of communication. *Directional Forces* literalized the principle of thinking as form, as the discussions from the summer in London became sculptural reality. The blackboards are not neatly piled;

the installation is left in an "open" form, suggesting that the piece functions not only as a relic but as an invitation to continue work that remains unfinished. It now rests with museum staffs and visitors to allow the piece to live as a "permanent school."

In an era in which the physical and ideological character of museums underwent fierce attack from artists and critics, Beuys saw museums (as well as expositions and galleries) as welcome hosts to his work. He also recognized them as candidates for change. As with universities, the issue of museum policies has greater political dimension in Europe than in the United States, since most European museums are government supported. Beuys's ideas on the subject are explained in the interview and drawings for a project in the Netherlands entitled *museum in motion* (pl. 162).¹²⁸ He argued that museums had to take part in a "totalized" concept of art and had to work to reverse the fate of culture as an isolated enterprise. Beuys's second drawing during the interview sets up the threefold model of freedom, democracy, and equality. The museum is at the far left, in the realm of culture and freedom, but wide arcs connect it to the spheres of the economy and the democracy; two arrows go back and forth between the realm of art and capital. The drawing repeats the theme that creativity equals capital ("totalisation of art = totalisation of the economy"). In assertive handwriting, the word *production* is scrawled across the realms of culture, democracy, and the economy: spiritual goods and democratic goods (powers of self-government) are equally as vital to national production as material goods.

In this interview Beuys proposed the museum as a university, which would "equate the concept of creativity with the possibility of shaping the world."¹²⁹ He invoked the interdisciplinary nature of an ideal university, where the humanities are not an isolated pursuit but belong to a general effort directed toward building the future. Beuys also compared the museum to a temple, sketched in the third drawing for *museum in motion*. He spoke of people's visits to the museum in romantic terms: "they'll be able to concentrate on the intellectual side of human nature which is wholly spiritual, wholly religious: the very thing that gives man human dignity."¹³⁰ Correspondingly, Beuys's exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York in 1979 transformed the building into an otherworldly place, slightly dimmed and thick with the smell of wax. At the same time, Beuys used his museum exhibition as an educational vehicle: his own voice spoke through the acoustic guide tape, making one's visit an introduction to the concept of social sculpture.

The structure of the exhibition at the Guggenheim testified to Beuys's autobiographical view at this time in his life, an attitude reflected in how he dealt with older drawings and in the new sorts of drawings he invented. During the 1970s Beuys made a pointed effort to reclaim for the present his drawings of the 1950s and to demonstrate their significance for his current projects. In a succession of museum and gallery exhibitions and publications, he presented the early, mystical drawings as critical forerunners to the concept of social sculpture. At the opening of a drawing exhibition in Krefeld in 1974, Beuys described the body of drawings as "material which represents aspects of a central point towards which I wanted to steer. In the course of time this central point has been able to work itself out more and more until it enters into a political dimension."¹³¹ Beuys was steadfast in his insistence that art could provide the beginnings that would help shape humanity's future, as it broadened the sense of what is possible and necessary for the true fulfillment of human potential: "That which one nowadays in the culture of consciousness apprehends by 'understanding something' will certainly not enable one to understand art."¹³²

The priority that Beuys attached to his early drawings is most evident in the importance he gave to the exhibition *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland* in 1974, which he said consisted of drawings “that I have put aside over the years, a few each year here and there.” He asserted that “as a whole it represents my selection of thinking forms in evolution over a period of time.”¹³³ Beuys staged this art event in such a way as to declare its potential therapeutic power for contemporary political problems: originating in Oxford, *The secret block* traveled to London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Belfast. It was the first exhibition to tour both the North and South of a divided Ireland, a country whose myths, culture, and landscape were dear to Beuys’s personal universe.

The idea of a “block” had been raised in the catalogue to Beuys’s exhibition in Mönchengladbach in 1967. The art critic Hans Strelow had observed that the drawing oeuvre “including more than a thousand sheets, sketchbooks and a several-volume free interpretation of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, stands like a block before us.”¹³⁴ During the next two decades, as Beuys’s renown and his circle of devotees grew, he proceeded to cultivate for each collector a block of drawings that parallels, in greatly abbreviated form, the broad span found in the thousands of drawings owned by Hans and Franz Joseph van der Grinten or in the more than four hundred works in *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*. Beuys tailored his choices for each individual according to the other works in their collection or the personal interests they shared. Every collector’s “block” re-created the arc showing the evolution from Beuys’s early imagery to the late diagrammatic drawings that outlined his vision of a new sociopolitical framework. Each carefully configured grouping emphasizes the idea of Beuys’s work as continuous research rather than isolated product.¹³⁵

Beuys did not abandon altogether traditional pencil drawing on paper, which maintained its importance in the context of his continuing relationships with individual collectors. As well as finding older drawings for their “blocks,” Beuys continued to make new works that recapitulated the mystical themes of the 1950s — mountain landscapes, figures, animals, and energy fields. The current of humor running through Beuys’s work often rose closer to the surface, while in other works the mysterious nature of his signs retains the aura of a secret language. The sketchbook continued to be an essential accessory at all times, and the perforated margins of its pages are an omnipresent feature of Beuys’s drawings.



Figure 37. Joseph Beuys, *Drawings after the Recently Rediscovered “Codices Madrid” of Leonardo da Vinci*, 1975. Book with 106 granolithographs, 9 x 6 1/2” (23 x 16.5 cm). Manus Presse, Stuttgart

Beuys’s sketchbook activity culminated in a project for a multiple initiated in 1974, the edition *Drawings after the Recently Rediscovered “Codices Madrid” of Leonardo da Vinci*.¹³⁶ During the 1970s Beuys’s involvement with multiples rivaled his interest in the individual drawing as a vehicle of personal exploration, as multiple editions permitted him to spread ideas to a large public. The *Codices Madrid* sketchbook is the best example of how Beuys integrated his interest in multiples with the making of new drawings. After the project was proposed to him in 1973, Beuys spent over a year making drawings with the edition in mind, and in 1975 he chose one hundred six from among them to reproduce in the format of the marbled student composition books he favored (fig. 37).¹³⁷ The Leonardo drawings strongly recall the *Ulysses* sketchbooks of 1958–61 both in the quality of their line and the nature of their imagery. But whereas the Joyce notebooks were a private treasure, the purpose of the Leonardo sketchbook, from the beginning, was a public presentation.

It was no accident that Beuys reconnected to the Joyce notebooks at the same time he was preparing to reveal *The secret block*. Beuys's integration of past and present, of drawing and multiple, also took form in his practice of reclaiming several early drawings to initiate larger series or to convert into multiple editions. A *Braunkreuz* drawing of 1961 inspired a work of 1976 that exists as a cross between a multiple and a unique object: Beuys painted ninety examples of the same image, titled "Painting Version 1-90."¹³⁸ Beuys closely copied the original drawing, *Two Sheep Heads (Hole)*, spreading butter on brown oil paint to outline two shiny animal heads, with one sheep's skull formed from a hole torn through the center of the sheet. The edition signals Beuys's continued interest in the "hole" drawing, first explored in such works as *Listening Man from Behind* (pl. 98) as well as several drawings of 1961 and 1962 in *The secret block*. In several works of the mid-1970s, Beuys combined earlier "hole" drawings with current ones, such as the untitled work (pl. 160) that juxtaposes three oil-covered sheets from 1964, 1974, and 1976.

The print medium offered another opportunity for the regeneration of earlier drawings. The portfolios *Trace I* and *Trace II*, dating from 1974 and 1977, each consist of nine color lithographs taken from oil and pencil drawings of previous decades.¹³⁹ *Trace I* returns to Beuys's signature motifs of the 1950s, the stag and the bee, and *Trace II* presents more enigmatic sculptural gestures. The lithographs provide "traces" of the earlier work as literal reproductions of them. More importantly, they join each of Beuys's objects and installations as the traces of a unified enterprise on which all depend for their meaning.

The continued pleasure that the activity of drawing held for Beuys is evident in his new means of exploring the medium during the last decade of his life. The principle of autobiographical "blocking" generated a large body of drawings that are themselves inventories of Beuys's works, perhaps itemized for a publication or exhibition. Such a manner of working had first appeared in the early 1960s, with Fluxus-related works such as the *List with Wolf* or *Washed-Out List*, *Double Crossed* (pls. 110, 111). In the 1970s Beuys's ink *Hauptstrom* stamp replaced the *Braunkreuz* paint that covered the earlier lists. The later lists also have a sculptural identity absent from their predecessors, achieved largely through the effect of repetition and massing. Such multipart lists might be composed of groups of ordinary large-sized index cards naming single objects, their dates, and mediums. These cataloguing drawings take on life from the exuberant interplay between Beuys's energetic handwriting and the colored stamps planted around and atop it.

The same principle also underlay more formally conceived series. *Democracy Sings* (pl. 161), made in 1975, unites twenty-five sheets, most of which are plain white typing paper. The ensemble adopts the strategy of Beuys's *Life Course/Work Course* as it presents a self-portrait in the form of a text retrospective. Some of the sheets contain typed titles of earlier actions, or sections of their scores, all marked by a *Hauptstrom* stamp. Others are unique pencil drawings, including two studies for the actions *Celtic (Kinloch Rannoch) Scottish Symphony* and *Celtic + -----* in Edinburgh and Basel. One white sheet contains nothing but a round hole at its center, again demonstrating the artist's fascination for this motif of 1961. Beuys brought a personal element into *Democracy Sings* with the *Hauptstrom*-stamped room receipt of a hotel in Eindhoven, The Netherlands: The Grand Hotel Silver Sailor ("J. silveren Seepaerd"). Marked 1968, it dates from the year that Beuys's Mön-

chengladbach museum exhibition traveled to Eindhoven. This room receipt is the only drawing for which Beuys designated a sequence within *Democracy Sings*; it is the last. The sailor, a modernist metaphor for the artist-wanderer, serves as signature piece to the ensemble.¹⁴⁰

The sense of a complete meshing of life- and work-course informs a new type of drawing that Beuys developed in the 1970s: configurations of pocket diary pages charting his schedule, over which Beuys sketched, wrote, and stamped. Beuys framed many groups of such pages arranged in grids, thus forming sculptural assemblages of the flat sheets. The autobiography that had permeated the content of Beuys's sculptures and actions now was economically and explicitly presented by the pages of his pocket agendas. Names of collectors, dealers, and acquaintances with whom he met, and the remarkable number of cities he traveled to, form small synopses of the work required by the task of social sculpture.

These agenda drawings testify to the fact that Beuys's work of the 1970s erased the distinction between "art" time and "non-art" time. Beuys's energetic graphic line had always suggested action over time, and his performances made theatrical time a primary vehicle of expression. By 1970, however, the real time of daily activity was synonymous with Beuys's art work. The relationship between space and time implied in the blackboards — the time the lecture took, as well as the time for the individual and social evolution that the diagrams indicated — took concrete form in the ongoing enterprise of the Organization for Direct Democracy, the Free International University, and the Green Party. This life-time was captured in the stamped agenda pages with the same economy of means witnessed in the pictorial drawing of the 1950s, and with the same sense of autobiographical narrative.

Fittingly, an agenda drawing of 1975 (pl. 163) was bought by Andy Warhol, a late modernist counterpart in converting an individual life into a work of art. The selection of thirty-five diary pages documents Beuys's schedule from March through December 1974, an astonishing period that included the performance of *I Like America, America Likes Me* in New York, the four weeks at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London that resulted in the work *Directional Forces*, and the tour of *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland* in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The thirty-five sheets, linked by *Hauptstrom* disks bobbing along the surfaces, include drawings and exclamations as well as schedule notations. Today, the diaristic aspect of the work is compounded by a stamp bearing Warhol's photograph on the lower left corner of the frame (applied by Sotheby's for the sale of his estate in 1988). Warhol was an artist whom Beuys knew only slightly but toward whom he felt great kinship as another individual working to navigate the poles of celebrity and anonymity, individual genius and collective artistry.¹⁴¹

Several distinct series of agenda page drawings share the lyrical title *Words Which Can Hear* (pl. 166), a choice that recalls Beuys's early habit of uniting drawings from different moments under a common name such as "The Life of the Bees" or "The Intelligence of Swans." The cycle originated in 1975 and continued throughout the next several years. These drawings consist of dense patterns of arching pencil lines, formed by words written in a script so tight that they are hardly perceptible as such. The configurations strongly suggest the sound waves these "hearing words" ride, and the voids at the centers of the drawings, reprising the holes found in the draw-



Figure 38. Joseph Beuys, photographed by Lord Snowdon, 1985. © The Condé Nast Publications Ltd.

ings from the early 1960s, imply so many listening ears. Beuys's conception of words as sculpture is embodied in the strongly plastic presence of these compilations. In the realm of social sculpture, words provide the means for change. As the series' title substitutes "hearing" for "speaking," it conveys Beuys's insistence on the two-way operation of the sender-receiver relationship: "Communication occurs in reciprocity: it must never be a one-way flow from the teacher to the taught. The teacher takes equally from the taught. So oscillates . . . the master/pupil, transmitter/receiver, relationship."¹⁴² Yet while *Words Which Can Hear* implies the public dialogue necessary as the basis of Beuys's expanded art concept, the drawings retain the private air of a secret language characteristic of Beuys's earliest drawing.

Such a reconciliation of early and late work also manifests itself in Beuys's last major series of drawings, *Ombelico di Venere—Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris* (pl. 172). This consists of a group of fourteen pressed plant drawings made in Bolognano, Italy, in summer 1985. Later that year Beuys returned to Italy for the creation of *Palazzo Regale* at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples (fig. 9). This was Beuys's most grandly conceived autobiographical installation, an austere and elegant arrangement of brass-rimmed glass vitrines filled with action objects from the past two decades. The *Ombelico* drawings share that air of retrospection (and the regal gold tonality of the *Palazzo Regale* installation) as they return to the genre of botanical collage, one of Beuys's earliest passions.

Beuys's decision to return to his beginnings for his last important drawing project casts his drawing life as a cyclic phenomenon. It affirms his vision of existence as a continuum of births and rebirths. This same cycle is seen in concentrated form in the individual blocks of drawings that Beuys formed for a devoted number of private collectors. These remain largely intact today, still in the houses of specific owners or on deposit at museums in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, and England. In its range of work from beginning to end, each drawing collection supports Beuys's firm insistence that "the drawing holds special meaning for me, because in the early drawings . . . everything is in principle already foreshadowed."¹⁴³ The subsequent evolution of his drawings demonstrates Beuys's personal process of self-transformation. The individual drawing, and the sculpture formed by the ensemble of many, document the metamorphosis of thought into form.

I am very grateful to Robert L. Herbert, Danielle Rice, and Paul Paret for their advice during the preparation of this essay.

1. See "If nothing says anything I don't draw," interview with Heiner Bastian and Jeannot Simmen, in Heiner Bastian et al., *Joseph Beuys: Drawings* (Berlin, 1979).
2. Caroline Tisdall and Nicholas Serota, eds., *Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland* (Oxford, 1974).
3. Tisdall and Serota, eds., 1974, n.p.
4. See, for example, Theodora Vischer, *Beuys und die Romantik: Individuelle Ikonographie, individuelle Mythologie* (Cologne, 1983); Axel Hinrich Murken, *Joseph Beuys + Die Medizin* (Münster, 1979); and Friedhelm Mennekes, *Beuys zu Christus/ Beuys on Christ* (Stuttgart, 1989).
5. James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (1939; New York, 1976), p. 18.
6. Ministerium für Bundesangelegenheiten des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bonn, *Beuys vor Beuys: Frühe Arbeiten aus der Sammlung van der Grinten* (Cologne, 1987).
7. Interview with Hans van der Grinten, 1973; quoted in Bonn 1987, p. 247. "Ich versuche, diese Sprachlichkeit in besonders grosser Flüssigkeit und Beweglichkeit zu halten, um so über die Usurpation von Sprache durch Kulturentwicklung und Rationalität hinauszukommen. . . . Diese Spracherweiterung interessiert mich an der Zeichnung." This lament, long part of the mystic tradition, echoes the attitudes of nineteenth-century Romantics and the Expressionists and Dadaists working during World War I.
8. This citation has been read to mean that Beuys gave a public presentation of *Finnegans Wake* at Haus Wylmermeer; Franz Joseph van der Grinten believes that the citation is rather a nod to the patroness of Haus Wylmermeer, who was translating *Finnegans Wake* into German (conversation with the author, October 1991).
9. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (1959; Oxford, 1982), p. 546.
10. Like Joyce, Beuys would organize his art around a strongly autobiographical axis, with the artist's homeland as a central issue in the work. The phonic proximity of their respective surnames would not have been lost on Beuys.
11. See Josef Helfenstein and Stefan Frey, eds., *Paul Klee: Das Schaffen im Todesjahr* (Stuttgart, 1990).
12. See Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, translated by Willard R. Trask (1951; Princeton and London, 1974).
13. Richard Kostelanetz, *Conversing with Cage* (New York, 1988), pp. 215-16, quoting Cage from C. H. Waddington, *Biology and the History of the Future* (Edinburgh, 1972).
14. See Hans van der Grinten and Franz Joseph van der Grinten, *Mataré und Seine Schüler: Beuys, Haese, Heerich, Meistermann* (Hannover, 1979).
15. See Friedhelm Mennekes, *Beuys on Christ: A Position in Dialogue* (Stuttgart, 1989); Wouter Kotte and Ursula Mildner, *Das Kreuz als Universalzeichen bei Joseph Beuys* (Munich, 1986); Horst Schwebel, *Glaubwürdig: Fünf Gespräche über heutige Kunst und Religion mit Joseph Beuys, Heinrich Böll, Herbert Falken, Kurt Martin, und Dieter Wellershoff* (Munich, 1979); and Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum and Museumsverein Aachen, *Kreuz + Zeichen: Religiöse Grundlagen im Werk von Joseph Beuys* (Aachen, 1985).
16. See Mennekes 1989, p. 13.
17. "Elisabeth Pfister im Gespräch mit Joseph Beuys," November 10, 1984; published in Mennekes 1989, p. 128.
18. Jean Dubuffet, "Anti-Cultural Positions," in *Jean Dubuffet: Towards an Alternative Reality* (New York, 1987), p. 132.
19. "Gespräch zwischen Joseph Beuys und Hagen Lieberknecht, Geschrieben von Joseph Beuys," in *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, 1947-1959, I* (Cologne, 1972), p. 13.
20. Beuys echoed the shaman outfitted in woman's dress when he covered his groin with a gauze triangle to switch his sex during the 1965 action *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder . . .* at the Galerie Parnass, Wuppertal. On the role of the anima, see Carl G. Jung et al., *Man and His Symbols* (New York, 1964); and Emma Jung, "The Anima as an Elemental Being," translated by Hildegard Nagel, in *Animus and Anima* (Dallas, 1957).
21. The use of the term in regard to Beuys's drawings probably originated with Hans and Franz Joseph van der Grinten.
22. Tisdall and Serota, eds., 1974, n.p.
23. See Eliade 1974, pp. 88-99.
24. Tisdall and Serota, eds., 1974, n.p.
25. The legend of Saint Eustace, for example, describes his vision, while hunting in the forest, of Christ on the cross between the antlers of a stag. In Celtic tradition, the stag-horned god named Cernunnos ruled over the hunt and the animal world. On the stag's double significance for the Celts, as both hunting and fertility symbol, see Miranda Green, *The Gods of the Celts* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 182-84.
26. "Der Tod des Hirschen in meinen Zeichnungen und anderen Darstellungen ist meistens ein Ergebnis von Schändung und Misserkennen." In conversation with Hagen Lieberknecht in Lieberknecht 1972, p. 17.
27. "Joseph Beuys: Gute Cascadeure sind sehr gesucht" [interview with Ludwig Rinn] in Kunstverein Bremerhaven, *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Objekte* (Bremerhaven, 1978), p. 7. See also Mark Rosenthal, *Lightning with Stag in Its Glare* (Frankfurt, 1991). A precursor to this sculpture was Beuys's *öö* action at the matriculation ceremony of the Düsseldorf Academy in 1967, in which his speech to the students took the form of a stag's cries, predictably infuriating many colleagues.
28. In Beuys's words: "Wenn ich als Kind auf die Burg guckte hatte ich immer den Schwan da vor Augen" ("When, as a child, I looked up at the castle I always had the swan before my eyes"); Lieberknecht 1972, p. 15.

29. On the history of the swan in Kleve legend, see Donald Ware, ed. and trans., *The German Legends of the Brothers Grimm* (Philadelphia, 1981).
30. Beuys discussed the connection between his theory of sculpture and the activity of the bee in "Gespräch zwischen J. Beuys, B. Blume und H. G. Prager vom 15.11.1975" in *Rheinische Bienenzeitung*, vol. 12 (1975).
31. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, translated by Hazel E. Barnes (New York, 1956), p. 601. See "The Valiant Little Tailor" in *The Complete Grimm's Fairy Tales*, introduction by Padraic Colum (1944; New York, 1982), pp. 112-20.
32. Götz Adriani, Winfried Konnertz, and Karin Thomas, *Joseph Beuys: Life and Works*, translated by Patricia Lech (1973; Woodbury, N.Y., 1979) pp. 65-66.
33. Franz Joachim Verspohl and Hans van der Grinten, *Joseph Beuys—Projekt Westmensch* (New York and Munich, 1992).
34. Conversation with Caroline Tisdall in Tisdall and Serota, eds., 1974, n.p. Beuys kept a handwritten list that indicated shorthand titles for all of *The secret block* sheets for identification purposes, but in most cases crossed out his words and replaced them with the lines and question marks that appear in the checklist printed in *The secret block* catalogue in 1974.
35. The Ulysses sketchbooks were first revealed in the Danish magazine *Hvedekorn*, which devoted an issue to Beuys in 1966 and published two of the drawings with a text on "Beuys's Joyce"; *Hvedekorn*, vol. 40, no. 5, is reprinted in Kunstmuseum Basel, Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung, *Joseph Beuys: Werke aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher* (Basel, 1969), pp. 22-29. The sketchbooks were first exhibited in 1969 at the Kunstmuseum Basel; in the mid-1970s they entered the Marx Collection, Berlin, together with *The secret block*.
36. "Interviewer: Wie ist Ihre Stellung zur Kunst überhaupt? Beuys: Meine Stellung zur Kunst ist gut. Meine Stellung zur Antikunst ebenfalls." "Krawall in Aachen: interview mit Joseph Beuys," *Kunst*, vol. 4 (1964); reprinted in Basel 1969, p. 12.
37. Rosicrucianism was first heralded publicly by a manifesto entitled "Fama Fraternitatis, or a Discovery of the Fraternity of the Most Laudable Order of the Rosy Cross," published in Kassel in 1614. The manifesto named as father of the fraternity a Christian Rosenkreuz, who in the fifteenth century had brought back to Germany secret wisdom gathered on travels to the East. The mysterious brotherhood that took up his teachings had since devoted itself to curing the sick. The publication of the manifesto signaled the active beginnings of the Rosicrucian movement, which then spread to England and France. The Rosicrucian seal was a dark cross and a light rose. See Kurt Seligmann, *The History of Magic and the Occult* (1948; New York, 1978), pp. 286-94.
38. The anti-Fascist propaganda work of the artist John Heartfield noted the Nazi distortion of cross symbolism; several of the photomontages that Heartfield created for the publication *AIZ* (*Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung*) during the 1930s played on the relationship between the swastika and the Christian cross. See David Evans, *John Heartfield: Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung, Volks Illustrierte, 1930-38* (New York, 1992).
39. Examination at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1992.
40. This echoes the terminology of Paracelsus, whom Beuys admired. See Henry M. Pachter, *Magic into Science: The Story of Paracelsus* (New York, 1951), p. 56.
41. The interpretation of *Braunkreuz* as related to Beuys's theory of sculpture was first explored by Martin Kunz in "Christus, Kreuz und Braunkreuz," in Kunstmuseum Luzern, *Joseph Beuys: Spuren in Italien* (Lucerne, 1979), n.p.
42. Tisdall 1979, p. 134.
43. George Jappe, "Review: Fond III von Joseph Beuys," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 11, 1967; quoted in Dia Art Foundation, New York, *Joseph Beuys* (New York, 1987), p. 16.
44. Anne Seymour writes that Beuys experimented with gray as a signature color before finally settling on brown; Seymour 1983, p. 21.
45. I am grateful to Paul Paret for noting this connection. See Peter Paret, Beth Irwin Lewis, and Paul Paret, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton, 1992).
46. The play between sound and silence is fundamental to Beuys's work and to avant-garde art of the time. See Susan Sontag, "The Aesthetics of Silence" (1967), in Sontag, *Styles of Radical Will* (New York, 1969).
47. Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown* (New York, 1986), p. 27; quoting Alexander Walker, *Sex in the Movies* (New York, 1968), p. 104.
48. Rauschenberg's work was exhibited at Galerie 22 in Düsseldorf, as was that of Cy Twombly, in 1961.
49. Cited in Karin van Maur, "Joseph Beuys und der 'Christusimpuls,'" in *Joseph Beuys: Skulpturen und Objekte*, edited by Heiner Bastian (Munich, 1988), p. 50.
50. Rudolf Steiner, *Rosicrucian Esotericism* (Spring Valley, N.Y., 1978), pp. 7-8.
51. Beuys in dialogue with Friedhelm Mennekes, 1984; reprinted in Mennekes 1989, p. 61.
52. Klein's exhibition "Le Vide" was held at the Galerie Iris Clert in Paris in 1958; the canopy and facade of the building were painted in his eponymous blue, but the gallery interior was an absolutely empty white room.
53. Thomas McEvelley discussed Klein's interpretation of blue in relation to Max Heindel's "Cosmologie des Rose-croix," a reading of Rosicrucianism first published in Paris in 1907. See "Yves Klein: Messenger of the Age of Space," *Artforum*, vol. 20 (January 1982), pp. 39-51; and "Yves Klein: Conquistador of the Void" and "Yves Klein and Rosicrucianism" in *Yves Klein* (Houston, 1982), pp. 19-87 and 238-54.

54. In *Le Journal d'un seul jour, Dimanche* (November 27, 1960), a four-page newspaper published by Klein, which printed the now-famous photograph of Klein leaping into space from a second-story window.
55. This revolutionary attitude reflects the movement's debt to the work of the Russian avant-garde of the 1910s, a debt echoed in their choice of name. In 1915 Kasimir Malevich had commented on the title for a new journal: "In view of the fact that we are preparing to reduce everything to nothing, we have decided to call the journal *Zero*" (letter to M. Matiushin, May 27, 1915; quoted in "Kazimir Malevich, His Creative Path," by Evgenii Kovtun in *Kazimir Malevich, 1878-1935* [Leningrad, 1988]).
56. See Stephan von Wiese, "The ZERO Group: 1958-1966" in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1905-1985*, edited by Christos M. Joachimides, Norman Rosenthal, and Wieland Schmied (London and Munich, 1985), pp. 468-69.
57. "Die Eisenklötze sind deshalb so schwer, dass ich mich nicht leichtfertig aus dieser Hölle entferne."
58. Such a sentiment is also expressed in Paul Klee's etching of 1905, *Hero with the Wing*, in which the broken arm and leg of a one-winged "hero" show the futility of his attempt to fly. On the relationship between Beuys, Klee, and German Romanticism, see Jürgen Glaesemer, "Klee and German Romanticism" in *Paul Klee*, edited by Carolyn Lanchner (New York, 1987), p. 77.
59. Jörg Schellmann and Bernd Klüser, *Joseph Beuys: Multiples*, 5th ed., translated by Caroline Tisdall (New York, 1980), n.p.
60. "Durch die Stauung werden aber die Lichtfarben oder Spektralfarben als Gegenbilder geradezu hervorgetrieben," in Caroline Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys: Coyote* (Munich, 1976), p. 14.
61. *Goethe's Theory of Colours*, translated by Charles Lock Eastlake (1810; London, 1967), part IV, p. 39.
62. Wulf Herzogenrath, ed., *Selbstdarstellung: Künstler über sich* (Düsseldorf, 1973), p. 30.
63. Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, translated by M.T.H. Sadler (1911; New York, 1977), p. 6.
64. Wolf Vostell's article "Beuys: Ich bin ein Sender, ich strahle aus," in *Berliner Tagesspiegel* (December 3, 1964), describing Beuys's action *The Chief*, 1964, quoted Beuys's declaration, "I am a sender; I radiate out . . ." See Tisdall 1979, p. 94.
65. Beuys provided an uncharacteristically detailed explanation of this work during the interview published in Schellmann and Klüser 1980, n.p.
66. See Johannes Stüttgen, "Die Stempel von Joseph Beuys," in *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Skulpturen, Objekte*, edited by Wilfried Dickhoff and Charlotte Werhahn (Düsseldorf, 1988), pp. 155-206.
67. Beuys's suit hung with work by Gerhard Richter and Konrad Lueg. See Stephan von Wiese, "Brennpunkt Düsseldorf — eine Chronik," in Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, *Brennpunkt Düsseldorf, 1962-1987* (Düsseldorf, 1987), p. 13.
68. Schellmann and Klüser 1980, n.p.
69. "Krümmer des Raumes: der Mensch (h)/ Krümmer der Zeit: der Mensch (h) . . ." Excerpt of text to the action *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder*, Galerie Parnass, Wuppertal, June 5-6, 1965.
70. See Harald Szeemann, *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk* (Zurich, 1980).
71. Allan Kaprow's *Eighteen Happenings in Six Parts*, the performance that gave the American movement its name, involved precise individual scripts for each performer and many days of rehearsals. See Michael Kirby, *Happenings: An Illustrated Anthology* (New York, 1966); and Gregory Battcock and Robert Nickas, eds., *The Art of Performance: A Critical Anthology* (New York, 1984).
72. Since the early 1960s, the Viennese Actionists — most importantly Günter Brus, Otto Mühl, Hermann Nitsch, and Rudolf Schwarzkogler — staged explicitly violent and disturbing actions in an effort to expose societal repression and challenge deep taboos concerning death and sexuality. See Hermann Nitsch, *Orgien Mysterien Theater* (Darmstadt, 1969); and Dieter Schwarz, Veit Loers, and Hubert Klocker, eds., *Viennese Aktionism* (Klagenfurt, Austria, 1988).
73. George Maciunas, "Manifesto," 1963, reproduced in *Fluxus: Selections from the Gilbert and Lila Silverman Collection*, edited by Clive Phillpot and Jon Hendricks (New York, 1988), frontispiece.
74. See Maurice Berger, *Labyrinths: Robert Morris, Minimalism, and the 1960s* (New York, 1989); and Henry M. Sayre, *The Object of Performance* (Chicago and London, 1989).
75. Tisdall 1979, p. 95. The incident in Aachen in 1964 proved the possibly explosive response to Beuys's actions; the action *I Attempt to Set (Make) You Free* in Berlin in 1969 was also disrupted. See René Block, "Fluxus and Fluxism in Berlin, 1964-1976," in *Berlinart, 1961-1987*, edited by Kynaston McShine (New York and Munich, 1987), pp. 75-76.
76. Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, Düsseldorf Kunsthalle, "Dada: Dokumente einer Bewegung," September 5-October 19, 1958.
77. See John Anthony Thwaites, "Dada Hits West Germany," *Arts*, February 1959, pp. 31-37.
78. Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek, Kleve, *Josef Beuys: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Oelbilder, Plastische Bilder aus der Sammlung van der Grinten* (Kleve, 1961). On Satie, see Richard Kostelanetz, ed., *Conversing with Cage* (New York, 1988), pp. 48-50.
79. Kostelanetz, ed., 1988, p. 183.
80. Beuys used Cage's example in discussing innovation in an interview in 1964: Beuys noted that "Zen was very important for Cage, but he made the Cage method out of it, which is something new." See "Plastik und Zeichnung:

- Interview mit Professor Beuys," *Kunst*, vol. 4 (October 1964); reprinted in Basel 1969, p. 13 (author's translation).
81. See Nam June Paik, *Beuys Vox* (Seoul, 1986). Paik and Beuys first performed in the same context at the "Festum Fluxorum Fluxus" at the Düsseldorf Academy in February 1963. Their last collaboration was "Memorial to George Maciunas," performed on July 7, 1979, also at the academy.
82. The principle of movement had a central place in Beuys's theory of sculpture, which described the passage from chaos to form as one that took place through motion. See Dieter Koepplin, "Fluxus: Bewegung im Sinne von Joseph Beuys," in *Joseph Beuys: Plastische Bilder, 1947-1970* (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 20-35.
83. Anne Seymour, "The Drawings of Joseph Beuys," in *Joseph Beuys: Drawings* (London, 1984), p. 13.
84. Although Beuys retroactively dated the drawing 1959, it seems likely to have been made a few years later.
85. Tisdall 1979, p. 39. One of the heavily annotated books in Beuys's library was *The Bog People: Iron Age Man Preserved*, by P. V. Glob, translated by Rupert Bruce-Mitford (1965; Ithaca, 1969). See Eva Beuys, Wenzel Beuys, and Jessyka Beuys, *Joseph Beuys: Block Beuys* (Munich, 1990), p. 330.
86. See Hans van der Grinten, "Joseph Beuys 'Stallausstellung' - Fluxus 1963 in Kranenburg," in *Die Kunst der Ausstellung*, edited by Bernd Klüser and Katharine Hegewisch (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1991), pp. 172-77.
87. Several of Schwitters's plays are reprinted in *Dada Performance*, edited by Mel Gordon (New York, 1987), pp. 96-101.
88. See *The Fluxus Performance Workbook* (Trondheim, Norway, 1990).
89. See also the multiple *A Party for Animals*, 1969; Jörg Schellmann, ed., *Joseph Beuys: Die Multiples*, 7th ed. (Munich and New York, 1992), no. 11.
90. Beuys's piano sheet-music during the action *Siberian Symphony* was overpainted with *Braunkreuz*, for example; the 1964 action at Aachen, *The Silence of Marcel Duchamp Is Overrated* and *Coyote . . .* in 1974 included objects painted with *Braunkreuz*.
91. For further descriptions of the action, see Adriani, Konnertz, Thomas, 1979, pp. 126-30; and Tisdall 1979, pp. 95-100.
92. An English translation of the typescript is reprinted in Tisdall 1979, pp. 98-100; the original is published in Basel 1969, pp. 16-18. It was published as a booklet by Verlag Hansen and Hansen, Itzehoe-Losskate, in 1965.
93. Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg. Two pages of the sketchbooks are reproduced in Basel 1969, pp. 20-21.
94. See Tisdall 1979, p. 99.
95. Ibid. Beuys's concepts of time and countertime, and so forth, can be related to George Maciunas's formulations in the essay "Neo-Dada in Music, Theater, Poetry, Art," 1962; reprinted in Phillipot and Hendricks, eds., 1988, pp. 25-27.
96. See Tisdall 1979, p. 99.
97. Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even*, edited by Richard Hamilton, translated by George Heard Hamilton (London and New York, 1960).
98. See Kynaston McShine, *Information* (New York, 1970); Ursula Meyer, *Conceptual Art* (New York, 1972); and Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object* (New York, 1973).
99. Score published in *ta* [Copenhagen], vol. 1, no. 4 (1967), p. 10; reprinted in Basel 1969, p. 32.
100. Interviews with Norgaard and Christiansen in Copenhagen and Mon, Denmark, August 1989. Beuys and Christiansen had become friends after they met at the Aachen "Festival for New Art" in 1964. Norgaard was a student at the art academy in Copenhagen.
101. For further description see Friedhelm Mennekes, "Beuys in MANRESA" in Mennekes et al., *Beuys: Manresa* (Cologne, 1991), pp. 20-25.
102. "Nun? Ist Element 2 zu Element 1 heraufgestiegen/ Nun? Ist Element 1 zu Element 2 heruntergestiegen?" See Basel, 1969, p. 32.
103. "Hier spricht Fluxus/ Fluxus . . ." "Guten Tag, wo gehen Sie hin?/Thorvaldsen-Museum . . ." The Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen was built as a monument to the renowned Danish sculptor Albert Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844).
104. "Auch zu dir fliege ich Manresa." Friends recount that Beuys liked to recite "Anna Blume" from memory. "Anna Blume," is reprinted in Hans Richter, *Dada Art and Anti-Art*, translated by David Britt (New York, 1965), p. 141.
105. Schellmann 1992, no. 4.
106. The first half of the list is a drawing in the Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg; reproduced in Mennekes 1991, p. 49.
107. Kandinsky [1911] 1977, p. 6. See also Rose-Carol Washton Long, *Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style* (Oxford, 1980), chapter 2.
108. Kandinsky [1911] 1977, p. 9.
109. Tisdall 1979, p. 113.
110. The same action's performance at the Wide White Space in Antwerp in 1968 served as the basis for a film and a book. See Anny de Decker, ed., *Joseph Beuys: Eurasianstab* (Antwerp, 1987).
111. See Carl Haenlein and Franz Joseph van der Grinten, *Joseph Beuys: Eine innere Mongolei* (Hannover, 1990).
112. For further description of the action, see Tisdall 1979, pp. 142-46.
113. "Joseph Beuys: Gute Cascadeure sind sehr gesucht," [interview with Ludwig Rinn] in Bremerhaven 1978, pp. 17-18. An additional drawing from *Hauptstrom* is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo.
114. Several drawings related to the action *Iphigenie/Titus Andronicus*, which was performed in Frankfurt in 1969 (see Tisdall 1979, p. 182), are in the collections of Jost Herbig (at the Neue Galerie in Kassel) and Lothar Schirmer, Munich.

115. Joseph Beuys, "Talking About One's Own Country: Germany," in Wilfried Wiegand et al., *Joseph Beuys: In Memoriam Joseph Beuys; Obituaries, Essays, Speeches*, translated by Timothy Nevill (Bonn, 1986), p. 38. The statement is probably a paraphrase of Rudolf Steiner's statement, "The whole world except man is a puzzle, the real world-riddle; and man himself is its solution." See Steiner, *The Story of My Life* (London and New York, 1928), p. 230.
116. See Deborah Wye, *Committed to Print* (New York, 1988); Therese Schwartz, "The Politicization of the Avant-Garde," *Art in America*, November–December 1971, pp. 96–105; March–April 1972, pp. 70–79; March–April 1973, pp. 67–71; January–February 1974, pp. 80–84; and Lucy Lippard, "The Art Workers' Coalition," 1970, in *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York, 1984), pp. 10–22.
117. "Any place will do where something can happen to broaden the concept [of art], whether it's in parliament, in church, in a museum, in the street, in a commune, in a working class neighbourhood or in a factory." Joseph Beuys, interview with Frans Haks in *museum in motion? the modern art museum at issue*, edited by Carel Blotkamp et al. (The Hague, 1979), p. 180.
118. Lieberknecht 1972.
119. Paul Klee, *Pedagogical Sketchbook*, translated by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy (1925; London, 1968).
120. This statement appears on a drawing of 1969; Bastian et al. 1979, cat. no. 94.
121. See Rudi Lissau, *Rudolf Steiner: Life, Work, Inner Path, and Social Initiatives* (Stroud, Great Britain, 1987).
122. Rudolf Steiner, *Rudolf Steiner: Wandtafelzeichnungen zum Vortragswerk* (Dornach, 1990), vols. 1–28.
123. This lecture took place at the invitation of Volker Harlan; see Harlan, *Was ist Kunst?: Werkstattgespräch mit Beuys* (Stuttgart, 1986), p. 122–23.
124. See Pachter 1951, Appendix D.
125. Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, *Art into Society, Society into Art* (London, 1974), p. 9. This exhibition was inspired by an exhibition entitled "Art in the Political Struggle" at the Kunstverein in Hannover.
126. He told the exhibition organizers that he would be absent only during those days he had to be in Belfast for the opening of *A secret block for a secret person in Ireland*. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
127. Quoted in Christos M. Joachimides, *Joseph Beuys: Richtkräfte* (Berlin, 1977), p. 7.
128. Blotkamp, ed., 1979.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
131. "Speech by Joseph Beuys at the Opening of His Exhibition 'Drawings 1946–1971' in the Haus Lange Museum, Krefeld, on May 19, 1974," in London 1974, p. 52.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Oxford 1974, n.p.
134. "Weit über tausend Blätter, Skizzenbücher und eine mehrbändige vollkommen freie Interpretation des 'Ulysses' von Joyce umfassend, steht wie ein Block vor uns." Hans Strelow, "Joseph Beuys als Zeichner," in Städtisches Museum Mönchengladbach, *Beuys* (Mönchengladbach, 1967). This may well have echoed Beuys's own language: Dieter Koepplin writes that the van der Grintens report him using the term in the mid-1960s; Koepplin, *Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*, edited by Heiner Bastian (Munich, 1988), p. 21.
135. Many issued catalogues of their personal collections. See, for example, Historisches Museum, St. Gallen, *Joseph Beuys—Sammlung Lutz Schirmer Köln* (St. Gallen, 1971); and Kunstverein Bremerhaven, *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Objekte* [Collection Ludwig Rinn] (Bremerhaven, 1978).
136. *Zeichnungen zu den 1965 wiederentdeckten beiden Skizzenbüchern "Codices Madrid" von Leonardo da Vinci*, Manus Presse, Stuttgart, in 1975; Schellmann 1992, nos. 165–85.
137. Ninety-six of the original drawings are now owned by the Dia Center for the Arts, New York. More of Beuys's drawings for the Leonardo project, not selected to be reproduced in the sketchbook edition, are in private collections. See Ann Temkin, "Spiegelschrift: Beuys' Zeichnungen zu Leonardos 'Codices Madrid,'" in *Joseph Beuys—Tagung, Basel 1.–4. Mai 1991*, edited by Volker Harlan, Dieter Koepplin, and Rudolf Velhagen (Basel, 1991), pp. 183–89.
138. Schellmann 1992, no. 186.
139. Schellmann 1992, nos. 109–17 and 195–203.
140. The penultimate drawing of the *Codices Madrid*, a profile view of a stag, is made on a similar hotel notice.
141. See Johannes Stüttgen, *Das Warhol—Beuys—Ereignis* (Wangen, 1979).
142. Joseph Beuys, "I am searching for field character," in London 1974, p. 48.
143. "Die Zeichnung ist aber für mich von besonderer Bedeutung, weil in den älteren Zeichnungen bis 1947 zurück im Prinzip alles bereits vorgezeichnet ist." "Plastik und Zeichnung: Interview mit Professor Beuys," *Kunst*, vol. 4 (1964); reprinted in Basel 1969, p. 13.

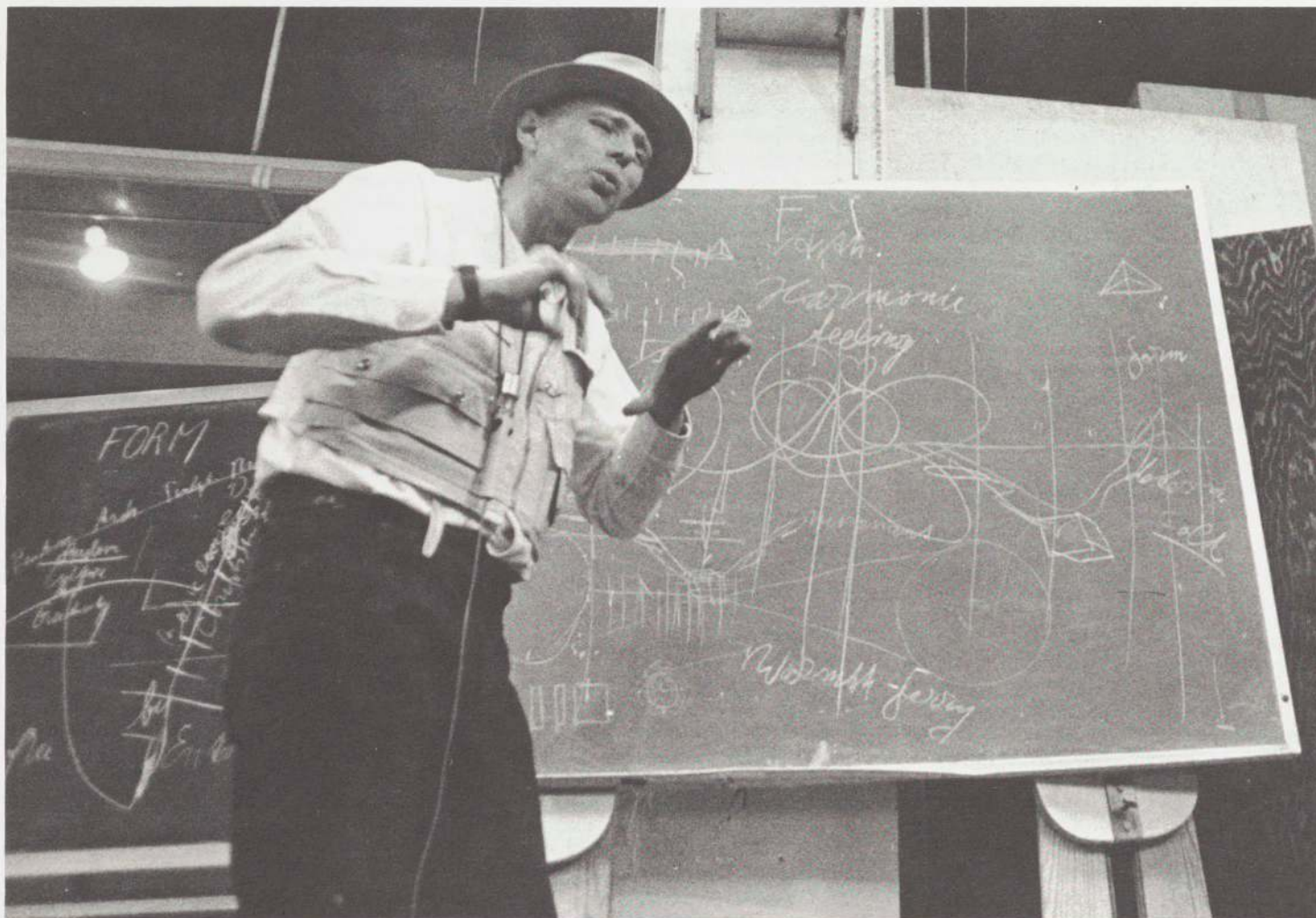


Figure 39. Joseph Beuys speaking at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1974

Joseph Beuys and the Language of Drawing

Bernice Rose

Drawing is the first visible form in my works . . . the first visible thing of the form of the thought, the changing point from the invisible powers to the visible thing. . . . It's really a special kind of thought, brought down onto a surface, be it flat or be it rounded, be it a solid support like a blackboard or be it a flexible thing like paper or leather or parchment, or whatever kind of surface. . . . It is not only a description of the thought You have also incorporated the senses . . . the sense of balance, the sense of vision, the sense of audition, the sense of touch. And everything now comes together: the thought becomes modified by other creative strata within the anthropological entity, the human being. . . . And then the last, not least, the most important thing is that some transfer from the invisible to the visible ends with a sound, since the most important production of human beings is language. . . . So this wide understanding, this wider understanding of drawing is very important for me (Joseph Beuys).¹

On June 18, 1984, in Düsseldorf, in a recorded interview, Joseph Beuys expressed his thinking about the value of drawing. Like his work, his remarks were on the surface intensely personal and idiosyncratic, but the artist's idea of drawing was in every sense fundamental. His comments were very specific and conceptual, and because Beuys's work had by then achieved a status so privileged that his every mark had come to be regarded as significant, they were important to grasp. Yet, as his remarks reflect, in the unfolding of the four decades of his career, the practice and concept of his drawing underwent profound changes. As Beuys changed course he reconceptualized the role of his earlier drawings in the light of new ideas. That retrospective reconfiguration compels clarification, since in its process, Beuys came to radically reorder the relationship between drawing and what is traditionally regarded as an artist's major work. For Beuys art and life became inextricably one, and the vocation of artist came to carry a specifically social and ethical responsibility. Through drawing Beuys did no less than radicalize the notion of art as it relates to the larger category of the aesthetic in Western thought.

In the German philosophical tradition, the aesthetic is the realm of the social. It is historically understood in its original meaning as a discourse of the body, referring not to art initially, but to all of human perception and bodily sensation. The aesthetic begins in "the first stirrings of a primitive materialism — of the body's long inarticulate rebellion against the tyranny of the theoretical,"² and proceeds from there to become the mediator of the forms of social organization that order existence. Beuys, wounded in World War II and living in a divided Germany, had come to see human experience as it is reflected through the body's drives and sensations, its pleasure and pain. The metaphor of the wounded body is at the heart of his work, a motif woven throughout as both its source and its essence. Thus his eventual turn away from the narrow definition of the aesthetic as the science of the beautiful to encompass all of human experience was, in effect, a return to the core meaning of the aesthetic within his own and the larger Western cultural tradition.

Ultimately, Beuys came to reject style, as such, and eventually the free-standing art object, because it could no longer embody the totality of the work of art. He asserted that real art had not yet been achieved and proposed quite another possibility, "which never existed in history before,"³ a truly social *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total artwork) spanning both time and space, which he called "social sculpture." In this genre-defying, multidisciplinary enterprise, drawing became the mapping of a discourse of the body as the central subject in the world, projecting it outward into a map of the entire "social body."

On first approaching the work of Joseph Beuys, one may find it a world of puzzling objects, a tangle of peculiar and difficult ideas. Although Beuys's work began with closely observed, realistic studies of nature that continued the tradition of German Romanticism, by the end of his life it included not only drawings (and a very small number of oil paintings on cardboard), but also sculptures, collages, assemblages, environments, actions (performances and lectures), as well as documentation through photographs, films, and videos made by others.

The drawings are perhaps the best entry into this system, but they, too, present difficulties. How and why has it happened that what often look like unintelligible marks on a surface, apparently so structurally disintegrated as to be virtually indecipherable, have taken on such a weight of signification? What are they? What makes them worth examining? At first glance, they seem to be mere fragments, often scratchy, idiosyncratic, and problematic; they do not even reveal themselves immediately as being representational — but they are, and quite specifically so. Yet they repay study, for Beuys was an artist who talked in the language of drawing, which he elevated to an originating system — a living language of creation.

Beuys's is a special case; while single early drawings can be read as a whole world, only in the aggregate can the full story emerge. The early drawings contain a welter of information: motifs, figures, subjects. And, as in variations on a theme, these subjects are reiterated in different voices, reinforcing one another as metaphors, building to an increasingly complex allegorical structure in which the individual drawing, placed in the context of the whole oeuvre, paradoxically, can no longer be seen as stylistically or iconographically self-sufficient. Rather, drawing became part of Beuys's ever-widening research into the possibilities of form through the ritualized practice of art. Beuys's drawings are both signposts on the way to a concept and the concept's vital retrospective components; they function as records of works and as certificates of Beuys's presence. They are, first and last, his energy banks.

For many years, drawing was Beuys's chief means of expression. He drew prolifically, thousands upon thousands of drawings. He had what might be described as a logorrhea of drawing: it overflowed in him. Not that Beuys was an easy draftsman; rather, he was an intense, obsessive one. His drawing is often tense and stiff, yet delicate, produced from the wrist and fingers, visualized small and from a distance. The drawings in which he seems more fluent come as a surprise. Typically, he constructed minute detail out of the most minimal and fragmentary information: little darts and squiggles of the pencil, sudden turns of the wrist, and blots. But it is just this tense, almost withheld line and fragmentation, and the resultant ghostly, numinous presence that give his drawings their extraordinary expressive power and convince us, as Beuys himself was convinced, that intuition is the basic stuff of things, the vital force in our sense of reality.

Drawing was a structural and conceptual necessity for Beuys, not merely a means to create illusion. His work is intensely psychological and functions by means of emotional recognition; for him reality was above all organic — intuition processed into reason. The viewer enters his process of reason through empathy, following the path laid down for him in the drawings. According to Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated statement, line does not exist in nature; the marks of a drawing have a symbolic relationship to experience. The relational construct that is a drawing — even when it is of a natural phenomenon — is a conceptual proposal by the artist to be completed through an act of ideation. Drawing became Beuys's basic plastic language: the first

step in abstraction and, at the same time, another way of reintegrating reality into the overall scheme of things. For Beuys this paradox made drawing both the most traditional of activities and potentially the most radical. Drawing as a faithful medium for the mind not only came to bear the weight of invention but also became a transformative principle in Beuys's search for authenticity. Drawing became for Beuys the means for making psychological space coextensive with pictorial space, enabling a personal rewrite of history. Beuys's search was not for a style but for an ethical model, a form of discourse that was more authentic than the one he began with. He needed a legitimate vehicle for the realization of his human aspirations, and throughout his life he used drawing, in one form or another, either as a working model or a tool—even a weapon—to realize those ambitions. The aesthetic was offered as a revolutionary model, and in Beuys's hands drawing became a tool with which to implement a revolution.

Beuys designated all of life as a creative activity, with humanity as its central subject. Art was a specialized branch of labor, with specific functions within society. He recategorized his art as anthropological: "related to everybody's creativity" and "seen . . . from the principles of form." Like a scientist recording data, he charted the structure of his art, its "gestalt," through drawing.⁴ As the central aesthetic subject and center of the world, man became the control for the social body, and it, in turn, was reconceived as an artifact, one great sculptural enterprise in the process of formation, with a vital pulse—the human heart—at its center. It was the artist's particular responsibility to lead mankind to this new realization of society; thus art became politicized and politics aestheticized as a means for reconciling man to his social role.

Beuys's work may be divided into two major phases. His early drawings may be characterized as preliminary chapters to a radical realignment of conventional aesthetic categories that shapes all of the subsequent chapters. In the early chapters of his story, Beuys slowly and quietly, almost hermetically, illustrated a fable of man the creator, as a form of autobiography. For these drawings he drew on his own early experience, appropriating mythical and anthropological accounts of early cultures, to connect with his own story. In scores of drawings Beuys portrayed Stone-Age nomads whose wanderings ringed the Northern Hemisphere, identifying himself with these first makers of tools. During this time Beuys ceaselessly piled up fragments without any strict idea of a goal.

In the latter part of the story, beginning in the early 1960s, Beuys emerged as a transformative principle himself as a performance artist engaged in actions, a shamanistic figure actually forming the social sculpture. In this phase, drawing outstripped its specific figurative and purely graphic function of describing the elements of the social sculpture and eventually became part of it, as he rearranged his early drawings in a new conceptual context—a new coordinating concept—that developed only after the majority of the drawings had been created. The drawings were given a new life in a new function, as the artist shifted the role of draftsmanship from private disclosure to public instruction—and a more concrete idea of drawings as objects.

In public, Beuys began performing actions, miming, and manipulating objects, often drawing to illuminate a point. In a form of sympathetic magical rite, Beuys encompassed aspects of Christian ritual as well as prehistoric myth and modern atheistic, scientific rationality. As Thomas McEvelley has written about performance art, it requires the "willingness to manipulate linguistic categories," especially those of the area designated by the word *art*. Beuys dissolved not only the boundaries between

the various disciplines of the visual arts but genres and modes as well. The breaking of barriers made time itself porous, facilitating a reciprocal flow between the past and the present and making one continuous with the other. In this way he transformed art, a single category, into a universal coexistent with experience, "its boundaries being utterly dissolved until its content melts into awareness itself."⁵ How Beuys arrived at this melding of art into life and life into art can be told through his drawing.

Modern art is the last end of traditional art. And so from the point of view of my theory, after modern art, anthropological art starts. . . . Even though intellectually I speak about art like a critic analyzing some product of artists, for me the process, the anthropological process of transfer from the spiritual world into the physical world has interested me more than any other thing. . . . But for me it is not abstract; it is the most concrete, let us say, science. And this for me is also the beginning of a concrete anthropology. . . . Even the social body, which was in the past in the mind of the people an abstract thing, becomes a living being, since then under this constellation the social order is a living being (Joseph Beuys).⁶

A nineteenth-century Romantic attitude pervades Beuys's early work. He lingered in the Romantic tradition; his roots were there, and in some sense he always remained affected by it. The romance of the fragment is part of the romance of ruins; they are the places where the past and present become eternally one — aesthetic and static. In drawing, there is a parallel romance, as the very marks of the ravages of time — the losses as well as the accretions — contribute to the feeling that the whole past of the drawing has come together in one instantaneous, present, aesthetic moment. Indeed, "incompleteness" as part of the Romantic tradition of drawing profoundly influenced the aesthetic of the nineteenth century. Drawing, which with a few signal exceptions had been regarded as preliminary and incomplete, became increasingly appreciated as an autonomous expression and took firm hold on the artistic imagination. But Beuys was also attached to the particularities of this tradition: its emphasis on details, its realist forms, its predilection for fragments, and its handwriting. This gave to his work the unusual impression of being radically traditional.

Beuys's drawings rehearse paradox. They are deeply attached to tradition, and yet definitely part of their time; they are in a sense primordial yet extremely sophisticated, classical yet romantic. They are extraordinarily expressive precisely because they document the moment when an idea is given concrete form. As Dieter Koepplin has pointed out, Beuys drew quite deliberately and carefully,⁷ and only when he felt a necessity, which was, for a long time, daily. His drawings are very much about the idea and act of drawing itself, a kind of prototypical drawing. Beuys's drawings are very precise, despite the minimal information they may appear to offer. They take maximum advantage of our psychological tendency to read identities into marks by rearranging them and completing them — that is, we visually re-form fragments and read into them the artist's suggested identities. This activity, called "seeing in," basic to all our experience of art, if not especially so for drawings, is certainly the particular excitement of looking at them. In the act of following the artist's marks, we re-create his act of creation, reshaping our view in conformity with his.

Although Beuys drew from his early youth onward, few of his earliest drawings survive. Those that remain show a precocious talent used in the service of the observation of nature and the local scene. In one of Beuys's earliest drawings, *Landscape*

near Rindern, of 1936 (pl. 1), a tree (although having some artistic antecedents) is directly observed from the local Lower Rhine landscape, where such trees appear almost as sentinels from afar. Its envelope of diffused light is also a recorded observation of the light of the Lower Rhine. Reverence for nature was a continuous thread in Beuys's lifework.

Beuys's initial interest in natural science and medicine was abandoned for a career in art; he entered the Staatliche Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf in 1947, eventually becoming a professor. There he seems, at first, to have found refuge from the trauma of his World War II experience. Several early drawings show him in a Romantic, Turner-esque reverie before nature; however, many of his postwar images suggest a troubled emotional and spiritual life. A profoundly spiritual dimension, quasi-mystical, certainly religious, as well as mythic, became part of his thinking as he explored the oppositions between life and death, spirit and flesh, polarities that became the most basic of the many dichotomies in his work. His early drawings enact Beuys's ethical and spiritual search; in philosophical terms, they are the path to his ground of beginning.⁸

Beuys's was an intelligence that jumped about from recognition to recognition, emotionally connecting to his own experience what was talked about, seen, and read. His insights oscillated between pictorial and literary-philosophic poles. His ideas were deeply indebted not only to his art training, but also to his wide reading of writers as diverse as Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Paracelsus, the German Romantics, and Rudolf Steiner. All these thinkers were interested in the spirituality of matter and the extension of spiritual power into the mundane sphere. Steiner, in particular, was interested in the reconciliation of science and spirit. In addition to the transcendent language of the Romantics, Beuys probably came into contact with the stylistically archaizing language of Martin Heidegger, the philosopher who sought to find a language that would incarnate its own higher reality — that of transcendent thought. Heidegger's idiosyncratic language, too, is highly pictorial; it is also philosophically systematic and transcends conventional semantic categories. Heidegger's eminence in philosophical linguistic investigation and the negative moral end to which his linguistic inquiries were lent — the support of Nazism — were questions much discussed in Germany following the war. It seems probable that Beuys was aware of these discussions. It is possible that the Heidegger question could have been not just an important moral focus but the seed of an idea. Here was an example of a brilliant and impassioned linguistic innovation, philosophically systematic and internally coherent in its transcendence of conventional semantic categories but with a critical moral flaw caused by misuse: Could consideration of Heidegger's aestheticization of language for the dubious purpose of National Socialist ideology have created a critical question for Beuys about the authenticity of language? The immorality of the manipulation of language and art for the purpose of propaganda in the Nazi era seems to be central to Beuys's quest for an authentic means of expression, to his quest for a universal language, the intentions of which would be transparent.⁹

For Beuys, following the darkness of the Nazi era and its relentless propaganda "beautifying" every sphere of life, the plastic language of drawing became a means of resurrection. The metaphor of the wound is pervasive in his work. Beuys described himself as born of a wound (see *Life Course/Work Course*, p. 10). Germany was divided, wounded, and Germany's wound was his own. The physical wound incarnates the spiritual wound. Beuys repeatedly "retrojected" his future death into his current existence as a lesson from his past, parts of which he con-

stantly and convincingly retrieved and rearranged to suit the evolving structural needs of his own legend. From selective parts of the past he built a mythology that was a pastiche of philosophy, alchemy, anthroposophy, fairytale (the influence of the brothers Grimm known to every German child), myth, anthropology, and natural history, all of which became personal history, although not in any anecdotal sense. Internally he lived the eventuality of his own death as if it were imminent — as an aesthetic style of existence. It made possible the acceptance of his “fallen” history — and subsequent rebirth — as he salvaged parts of the German tradition and made out of the material of that fallen history what was for him a different model of time, albeit one that had little to do with history in any conventionally accepted sense.¹⁰ He seemed to live in an eternal mythic present, turning history into a work of art by re-creating it as a sculpture, the malleable substance of which was time itself.

Beuys followed in the messianic tradition of Friedrich Nietzsche and Richard Wagner. He was after a new ideal for all of humanity, and he was particularly concerned with the German people (he made it plain that a people does not constitute a race).¹¹ He wanted a new ideal for man and a new ideal man. The German past was his — an integral component of his youthful impressions — and it was just that injured past he set out to heal. The desire to reach beyond the wound and the deep spiritual breach, the moral trauma, was at the root of his mature art; it determined his course and the role his drawings played in it.

Beuys's drawings make it evident that he was extremely well educated in the craft and technique of the genre, as well as in the visual tradition in which he worked. His earliest work already depended on two ideas about the description of the world: the one perceptual, derived from observation and personal experience, the other arbitrary and measured, “objective,” and cerebral. The two were joined in an organic process in which intuition was processed to become a form of reason. An untitled drawing of animals and plants, including a sheep, of 1948 (pl. 7), made while he was in the Düsseldorf Academy as a student of the sculptor Ewald Mataré, shows Beuys working with a version of a geometric system of proportions based on a variety of sources. One source is from thirteenth-century France, in the earliest known illustrated sketchbook, the notebooks of Villard de Honnecourt, which were based on formulas developed from building up human and animal figures from geometric diagrams based on fixed measures of anatomy.¹² Villard was a master mason, working as what we would now call an architect; his system provided a schematic means of describing in two dimensions the three-dimensional relationship between the human body and the space it inhabits. This system was similar to the Roman model used by Vitruvius (although the Vitruvian model was rediscovered two centuries after Villard's time).¹³ This geometric description of form continued into the time of Albrecht Dürer (who complained of artists' lack of observation based on individual experience).¹⁴ The idea of natural proportion (geometry modified by observation), which came to be called “the divine proportion,” was illustrated by Leonardo in a famous drawing in which the human figure, in two positions, is inscribed in a diagram of a square inside a circle; in the first position the arms extend horizontally and the legs are together, in the second arms and legs are akimbo. Mataré seems to have based his principles on these schemata and to have taught them to his students. Mataré was particularly interested in craft and medieval craft communities, passing on to his students notions of art as the crafting of useful objects. He appears to have used the proportional schemata to return to a view of the world based more on the medieval notion of space that precedes the Renaissance invention of linear perspec-

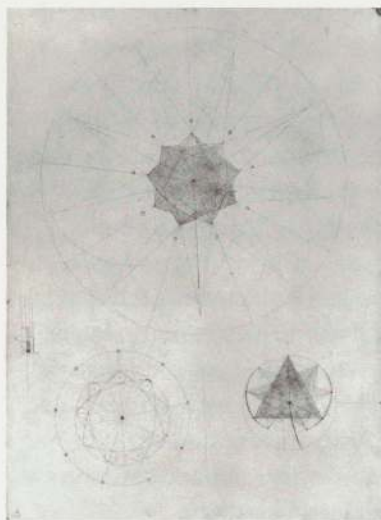


Figure 40. Joseph Beuys, *Lady's Cloak*, 1948. Pencil and watercolor, $13 \frac{3}{8} \times 9 \frac{7}{8}$ " (34 x 25 cm). Private Collection. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*

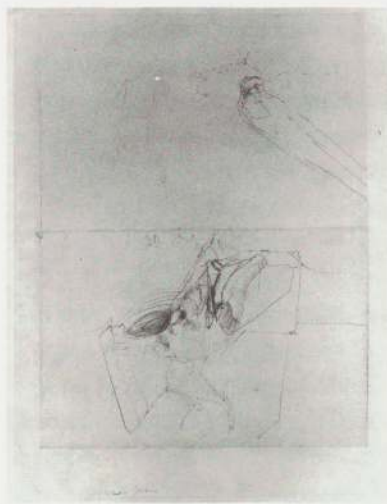


Figure 41. Joseph Beuys, *Self in Stone*, 1955. Pencil on two sheets of paper, $9 \frac{3}{4} \times 14 \frac{7}{8}$ " (24.9 x 37.7 cm). Private Collection. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*

tive and its description of three-dimensional space. As taught by Mataré, the system was not merely preconceived but also pragmatic and morphological; that is, the gridlike geometric figure seems to be obtained by lines extended radially to the joints of the animal or from cardinal points to a geometrically determined center. The proportional schema is not merely rational and scientific; it also has cosmic implications: the perfect and ideal proportion is divine, and numbers subtending it bear a mystical significance. There is a universal mystical order (subtended by numbers), which in the case of Mataré (and Beuys) is regular, or crystalline, in its structure. In Beuys's drawings based on these schemata, there appear to be assumptions of an underlying geometrical order, to which the particular object is adjusted, with some adjustment of the schema to the object as well. Mataré's schema and its implications were important for Beuys later and provide keys to his "theory of sculpture" as a kind of equation or theorem already evident in the drawing with the sheep (pl. 7). The theory illustrated in the drawing is a sculptural concept: the live animal is rationalized into a system of proportionate planes to be completed as a solid sculpture, and the (intuitive) warm animal substance is re-formed by an intellectual process — cold reason — and hardens into a formal crystalline substance. Any natural object could be subjected to the ordering thus propounded; there are also drawings by Beuys of trees and of leaves, such as *Lady's Cloak*, of 1948 (fig. 40), rationalized by geometric projection. (In fact, *Lady's Cloak* seems directly indebted to Leonardo's drawing of the human figure in a circle.) This sort of projection also has implications as a form of heavenly labyrinth — a very early and mystical conception of a navigational map. A sculpture by Beuys entitled *Sculptured Body (Crystal)*, 1949,¹⁵ shows this concept in its three-dimensional state: it is the geometric projection of a globe, a reconstruction of the medieval concept, which existed in two- and three-dimensional versions. These "global" implications were to become the principles underlying the organization of his later work. Over and over again, Beuys's theories were plastically integrated into his graphic system, and the graphic system became the projection and integration of his plastic ideas.

Beuys's drawing style, evolving from the observation of nature and objects, utilized minute and accurate description of the depicted idea. In an untitled pencil drawing of 1947 (pl. 5) Beuys delineated, with the careful precision of a student of natural science as well as of drawing, the essential pictorial details of what appear to be small forms of marine life along a stream — some sort of subvisual life as seen through a microscope. The drawing is arranged in a highly conceptual manner. A continuous motif recurs on four sheets of paper separately mounted in a row, with a "cable" drawn along the bottom of each sheet — a conceptual device that emphasizes the continuity not only of the drawing but also of life. The irregular top of each sheet suggests a "natural" ground. This close attention to the particular in Beuys's work has its roots in the Romantic vision; it is an ethical concept, honoring each thing in its individuality, while also acknowledging its connectedness in the all-over scheme. Precise rendering revealed the individual object in its "peculiarity," that is, both in its "particularity and strangeness."¹⁶ Beuys's graphic singularity, too, especially his tendency to focus on one motif at a time (for there are few multifigural compositions), acknowledges, at least in part, this concept, which has roots in art theory from the Middle Ages, on through Dürer, and to the Romantics. The focus on single elements appears in still another form in *Self in Stone*, of 1955 (fig. 41), as Beuys rendered in detail psychologically significant aspects of the drawing, such as the eye, and treated the energy in the cleft rock as if it were the brain's energy.

Although Beuys seems to have made remarkably few studies for actual sculptures — the study drawings are more often starting points and thoughts — his drawings are typically sculptor's drawings, in that the sheet is treated as a virtual (rather than a pictorial) space. It is space to move around in, not space to be organized compositionally. But he sometimes treated his drawings as if they were sculptures; mounting was a metaphoric device to create plasticity. It is in his collages, however, such as *Untitled (Sphere, Corners)*, of 1960 (pl. 77), in which he used paint as a plastic material, and in the relief assemblages and small objects, such as *Drain*, of 1960 (pl. 71), and *Score for "Manresa,"* 1966 (pl. 125) that retain the scale and feel of drawings where we most clearly see Beuys's sculptural identity. Even more significantly, collage (and its three-dimensional extension, assemblage) is the medium par excellence for telescoping time in a spatial context. The juxtaposition of unrelated images creates an instantaneous time-space leap — a kind of abrupt break in the normal order, of which Beuys takes advantage. Indeed, the collage aesthetic becomes an important compositional and structural principle behind all his work.

Although Beuys started modestly within the security of tradition, from the first his iconography was intensely peculiar (in both senses of the word, as strange and particular). Several early drawings are concrete depictions of concepts that later presented themselves, albeit radically transformed, in his mature theories. Like Dürer in the *Apocalypse* woodcuts, Beuys made the visionary literal. A drawing of 1951, *Golgotha* (pl. 14), shows a landscape split asunder by a rift or gorge, with a skeleton seated on the horizon in the cleft. Long tentacles reach into the earth, and in the foreground is a figure, seen from the back, with arms outspread in awestruck supplication. The figure seen from behind is a device often used by the German Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich. It places the painter's vision and the act of viewing inside the picture, implying that the sense of space extends in all directions. In this drawing, death takes the place of the rising sun as a source of energy, and of a hovering figure suggesting resurrection, as seen in an earlier work related both iconographically and graphically, *Kadmon*, of 1948–49 (pl. 13). The sun as the source of light is a metaphor for the divine.¹⁷ Here its skeletal replacement suggests the notion of "Death as the Source of New Life."¹⁸ The central theme of both drawings is divine creation and rebirth conflated with a pantheistic reverence for nature. The divine creation is beautiful; and the subjective experience of nature's primal beauty is a direct experience of God.

The complex iconography of the two drawings under discussion, with their images of the sun rising, the split in the earth, and the sense of the earth engulfing all as death and resurrection hover, is fundamental for an understanding of Beuys's later work. Many nineteenth-century theorists had embraced the idea of the acceptance of the world as a sensory experience; they bequeathed to the twentieth century a desire to escape conventional form and assert the reality of sensation. In invoking the power of the divine for art and establishing the primacy of reality as interpreted by the individual sensibility, it was necessary to view the natural world as suffused with possibility. Through the reverent contemplation of nature, landscape became the special locale for the expression of introverted sensibility, and nature, a church.¹⁹ Transcendental imagination was the foundation on which to construct a system of universal knowledge.²⁰ The Romantic painter Philipp Otto Runge wrote: "With us too something again is dying; we stand on the brink of all the religions that originated with Catholicism; the abstractions are fading away; everything becomes more airy and lighter than before; everything draws toward landscape, seeks something definite in this indeterminacy, and does not know where to begin."²¹

In *Golgotha*, genesis and resurrection are invoked, with life and death as opposed but paired sources of energy — the rebirth of the world out of the wound in the landscape, which gives access to the deepest energy forces in the earth, life-creating chaos. Repeatedly in Beuys's drawings one sees the magic power of the mountain, of the mesomorphic rock and the power of time stored within it.

The content of *Golgotha* is also complex in that it is more than an illustration of transcendental imagination. There may be an influence here of Søren Kierkegaard's insight that existence is the synthesis of the temporal and the eternal, and that man is the Absolute; and perhaps also of his notion that man takes a leap into the unknown, a leap of faith, and that a life may be divided into radically different parts as a result of this leap. A question arises whether this drawing is illustrative of a deep rift within Beuys. Does it speak of the Christian faith that served some as an antidote in the Germany of the Hitler years? At the same time does the drawing also serve as evidence of the "pseudoprofundity and archaism" affecting official German language under Nazism?²² Is it this that Beuys felt he must purge? A possible reading of the drawing is through the influence of intensely visual archaizing language, such as Heidegger's: the figure in front, Being, inserted into the gap between two worlds and replaced with the Artist, is enacting a drama of moral responsibility in which Being and Truth are one. Expressed in terms of Heidegger's thought,²³ he is not standing before the world — it is not external to him; rather, there would be no world without him, without his humanness — just a background of meaningless materiality. There is a reciprocal interdependence of world and Being for the existence of world as such: the figure stands on a path in a clearing before the originating abyss of Being itself, the source or essence of the human. This Being is also outside himself; he is the Artist looking in and transcending himself in an act of ecstasy. He is summoned back to his intuitive, pre-aesthetic beginnings, to the question why he, or anything at all, should exist. He must realize himself.

Dieter Koeplin connected this drawing to Beuys's own period of depression and suggested that part of its meaning is that in the very depth of depression transcendence and freedom are achieved. Koeplin also noted that the title of the drawing intimates that the figure in the foreground is Christ, but that the religious element is not a structured one.²⁴ Beuys was not specifically, in a traditional sense, religious; rather, the religious element implies the possibility of spiritual transformation outside orthodox religious systems. In Beuys's work, the cross later became a symbol for the earth itself and a sign for a reoriented understanding of science. Thus, we see foreshadowed the scores for actions by Beuys, who later objectified the intensely personal elements of drawings such as this and, transcending the personal, attempted another kind of asking, another practice of evaluating existence, which questions the ordinary relationship between the material world and the aesthetic.

The *Kadmon* drawing was mounted by Beuys on an irregularly folded sheet of tan-gray, grainy wood-pulp paper. Its rather battered appearance, with its accretion of the marks of its own history, creates for it a special aesthetic, which projects a romantic sense of decay and time, and perhaps even social rejection and a fall from grace. The irregular mount creates an ahistoric "natural" space, essential for the message of the drawing and enhancing its iconography. It is difficult to know when Beuys deliberately began to take advantage of this aesthetic device, but it became part of the message conveyed in his drawings, as did the fragility of the ephemeral support materials. Although this fragility first related to his own poverty and connected psychologically to his mental and physical frailty, it later expressed his rejection of art as a commodity and the notion that art is impervious to time.



Figure 42. Caspar David Friedrich, *The Door in the Rock at the Uttewalder Preserve*, 1800. Charcoal and graphite on paper, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ " (23.5 x 37.8 cm). Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim, Germany. From the Great Mannheim Sketchbook



Figure 43. Caspar David Friedrich, *The Door in the Rock at the Uttewalder Preserve*, c. 1800. Graphite and watercolor on paper, 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " (70.6 x 20 cm). Graphische Sammlung, Museum Folkwang Essen, Germany

We see Beuys at a critical early moment embarking on a new life course, and we see him in both of his most basic roles — those from which all else flows: messianic philosopher and artist-voyager. There is a great, fundamental artistic debt to the Romantic tradition — to Friedrich and to Adolf Menzel. The indebtedness is not simply one of theme and mood; it extends into the details and means of representation. Often, when looking at Beuys's drawings, we think we are looking at something we know, that there is some recognizable artistic source that he is copying almost directly, and indeed his iconography encapsulates all the most familiar genres of religious images as well as landscape. The language of the two drawings under discussion grows out of the German landscape tradition, although it is not as elaborate or finished. While one cannot establish a one-to-one correspondence, comparisons with such drawings as Friedrich's sheet from the Great Mannheim Sketchbook and another study, *The Door in the Rock at the Uttewalder Preserve* (figs. 42, 43), both dating from about 1800, are instructive. The indication of the gorge that slashes the landscape in *Golgotha* is a quote from drawings by Friedrich similar to these, while the hand — the graphic system — owes a great deal not only to Friedrich but also to such early drawings by Menzel as the *Wooden Fence and Trees near Water* and *Landscape with Wooden Fence and Grass*, both from about 1843 (figs. 44, 45). The emphatic draftsmanship in the foreground of the first-named Menzel drawing foreshadows a later graphic intensity in Beuys's drawings. The high horizon line was another favorite device in Menzel's late work. More significant, in relation to Beuys's use of fragmentation, is what seems to be his empathic recognition of Menzel's breakdown of pictorial order from a cohesive sequence of events to a series of composite and disparate elements. Menzel had fused both recorded and remembered details, focusing them into a single moment, giving the impression of "authenticity" and the immediacy of a snapshot. For Menzel, as for Beuys later, the breakdown of artistic structure mirrored both a changing historical situation in Germany before and after the war, and a loss of coherence in personal psychology.²⁵

For Beuys therefore, the placement of the onlooker in the act of viewing was of critical importance. He wanted us in his place as he drew; he wanted us in his mind, and within the space of the picture, yet at a distance, paying close attention. He used several devices to ensure our placement and attention. In *Golgotha* (pl. 14), for instance, the lines are drawn very lightly (this is not the result of fading), taking advantage of the landscape tradition that uses light drawing as a form of aerial perspective to indicate that things so depicted are in the distance. For Beuys, faint drawing was a device to indicate otherworldliness and spirituality. The means of depiction that place us at a distance are directly indebted to the more three-dimensional compositional and rendering devices of Friedrich and early Menzel, although Beuys had set his motif on a flat plane and his early graphic vocabulary was not yet so rich as that of either of his nineteenth-century models. Despite this, his drawing here is more emotionally active than theirs. The distancing and indication of mood through tone will become characteristic for Beuys and, independent of subject, will be used in other drawings to evoke the same psychological distance.

Format was a critical factor for Beuys. A device that he used frequently to impose his vantage point was to surround the motif with a great deal of space, either by drawing very small within the support or by later mounting the sheet to gain more space within the frame. Mounting gradually accrued a variety of functions and meanings for Beuys, different from the juxtaposition of unrelated elements in traditional collages. Beuys often mounted two (and later three or more) drawings together; these are usually composed of drawings that are variants on one another, such as *Dynamis*

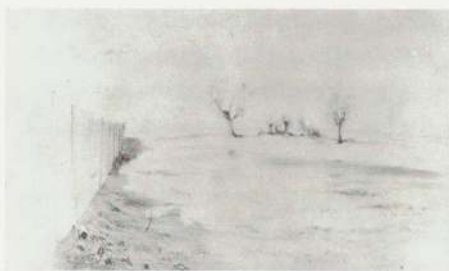


Figure 44. Adolph Menzel, *The Wooden Fence and Trees near Water*, c. 1843. Graphite on paper, 8 1/4 x 5 1/8" (21 x 13 cm). Drawing Collection, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin



Figure 45. Adolph Menzel, *Landscape with Wooden Fence and Grass*, c. 1843. Graphite on paper, 4 7/8 x 8 1/2" (12.4 x 21.8 cm). Drawing Collection, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

3, *Dynamis*, of 1960 (pl. 79). Usually the individual drawings appear to be of the same date and were perhaps associated as a metaphor for the bipolar energy system. Mounting, which made the drawings into a form of relief—more “plastic,” and closer to sculpture—was essential in transforming the drawings from private documents into objects that could be displayed on walls in public. As fragments of an allegory, Beuys’s drawings are not autonomous in the usual sense; occasionally when two drawings are mounted together, mounting served to enforce the tension between dependence and autonomy. Transformed into objects, however, they oscillate between material connection to the world and even greater isolation.

By the mid-1950s Beuys was in full control of another device, which first appeared in such works as *Golgotha* (pl. 14) and *Temple of the Rose*, of 1948 (fig. 46). For example, in an untitled drawing of 1956 (fig. 47), certain details that normal perspective would indicate to be distant are treated, as in the work of Dürer, Friedrich, and Menzel, with the minuteness of surface detail appropriate only to a close view, thus forcing our intimate attention, while conversely, other parts of the composition are treated rather freely. In these drawings perspective becomes a function of scale. In similar drawings, such as *Dead Elk on Ur-Sled*, of 1955 (pl. 28), one can see Beuys adopting this technique, but varying it to suit his own purpose; again staying on the flat plane, he treated some parts of the motif with extreme attention to detail, while letting other parts wander off into generality and freedom. Here Beuys concentrated on a detail of the motif, the life-circulating antlers, drawing them in great, if selective, detail in contrast to the rest of the animal, which is much more freely described. Thus he graphically directed our attention to the part of the drawing that is central to its message and created the focal point of energy in the motif as a function of rendering; it is as though truth resides in the details and the divine is revealed.

Beuys looked constantly at work by other artists, and throughout his career, first as a student and later as a teacher, he was conversant with both academic and modern applications of drawing theory and practice (although a good part of this scrutiny had to be through reproductions; indeed, the scale of reproductions may have been a factor influencing the size of Beuys’s drawings). The traces of this continual scrutiny are evident. In the pencil drawing *Woman Warding Off*, of 1952 (pl. 19), we recognize that the woman pushing Death away is a direct reflection of Edvard Munch’s psychology and style, and the lightly drawn face in the background is a citation of Munch. Here we can see what may be the primary source for Beuys’s treatment of psychological space as coextensive with pictorial space: his compositional device of light drawing for distance and dark for proximity may now be seen as the equivalent of Munch’s manipulation of space by changing his painting style. As Peter Schjeldahl has pointed out, this was a favorite device of Munch’s.²⁶ Beuys’s *Death and the Maiden*, a watercolor of 1957 (pl. 40), is a direct citation of Munch’s famous image *Death and the Woman* (National Gallery, Oslo).

Beuys also seems to have closely examined the works of those artists who, like his teacher Mataré, had been classified by the National Socialist regime as “Degenerate”; thus he effected still another kind of restitution. Beuys’s wiry line and the graceful, elongated figure in the drawing *Girl*, of 1951 (pl. 16), show an admiration for the sculptor Wilhelm Lehmbruck. In watercolors of the 1950s, such as an untitled watercolor of 1955 (pl. 31), the influence of Paul Klee is clearly felt, and there is an even more specific debt to Klee in Beuys’s practice of mounting his drawings. The tough violence of line—the quality that puts backbone into the Romantic line—in drawings such as an untitled drawing of 1956 (fig. 48) derives from Wassily Kan-

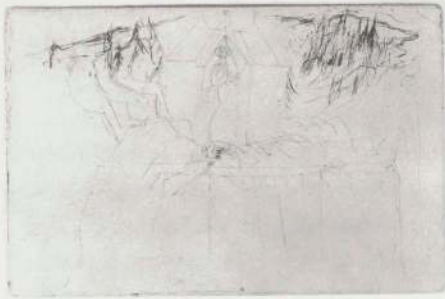


Figure 46. Joseph Beuys, *Temple of the Rose*, 1948. Pencil on paper, 7 3/4 x 11 7/8" (19.8 x 30.2 cm). Private Collection. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*

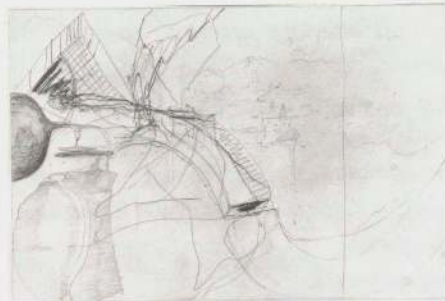


Figure 47. Joseph Beuys, *Untitled (-----?)*, 1956. Pencil on paper, 8 1/2 x 11 5/8" (21.4 x 29.6 cm). Private Collection. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*



Figure 48. Joseph Beuys, *Untitled (-----?)*, 1956. Pencil on paper, 6 7/8 x 10 5/8" (17.4 x 27 cm). Marx Collection, Berlin. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*

dinsky, and perhaps also from Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (whom he quoted directly now and again in landscapes such as *Temple of the Rose* [fig. 46]). Beuys continued to radicalize the tradition of European art. He seems to have long been aware of German Expressionism and its primitivizing and rebellious anti-art stance, both of which were transmitted to Dada.

But Beuys's traumatic wartime experience, specifically his "resurrection" by being warmly wrapped in felt and fat and suffused with life-giving energy when rescued by the Tatars after his plane crashed in 1943 during World War II, and the melancholic introspection triggered by his depression, provided specific imagery in the early drawings as well as the grounds for his theory of sculpture, which was both profoundly spiritual and specifically worldly. The reclamation of the past was, in fact, a form of motor for the theory of sculpture—an important structural device that took a number of forms. Beuys reached back, to before the Nazi experience, seeking a primordial past in the hope of retrieving some aspects of it for the present. Reclaiming the past took a variety of forms in Beuys's work. A dead stag or an elk is often a substitute for the crucified Christ, and as such became emblematic of the soul; frequently the animal is borne away on a sled, as in *Dead Elk on Ur-Sled*, of 1955 (pl. 28). This noble animal has a long history in Northern-European art; at first it is pagan, then Christian, and it is also connected with pagan images of women riding elk or reindeer. In a drawing of 1957, *Elk with Sun* (pl. 47), the rough graphic quality of the line evokes cave drawings and is in strong contrast to the elegant Leonardesque draftsmanship of the dead elk of two years earlier. Clearly the difference in hand is expressive; it is not a question of developing a style but of mastery of a vocabulary of disparate linear means.

The principle of the transmutability of matter is basic to Beuys's theory of sculpture: what is desired is a warm, soft state of potentiality. Everything is in motion, and primordial matter proceeds cyclically from chaos to form. Movement itself is of paramount significance. This is matched in the empirical world by the transmission of electrical impulses from sender to receiver, which also becomes a metaphor for spiritual communication and the constant restless movement of the mind. Beuys's work strategy was a movement between dichotomies; he divided things into opposites and established a flow of energy between that made them mutually dependent, no longer in opposition but part of an ineluctable, life-giving circularity.

An untitled drawing of 1957 (pl. 67) shows the transmission of energy from a chaotic state, pictured at the left: channeled through the sender, it is sorted into a usable signal for the receiver, which is sparked—brought to life—by its energy and which then returns the energy to its source. In another drawing executed two years later, the *Norn Picture (Nornenbild)* (pl. 80), this concept is conceived of in sculptural terms. It shows what appear to be large-scale magnetic transmitters in action in the landscape, sending out streams of electrons. It looks as if it is derived from observation of the heavily industrialized German landscape, but it also has an aura of being removed from any specific time and place as it mediates between observation and invention, changing the power apparatus to one that is strange and magical. The two drawings offer different kinds of descriptive means, virtually different hands; the *Norn Picture*, with its mythic subject, seems more removed from the present. As is evident here, this was a conscious choice on Beuys's part; since drawing is a language in itself, different means are used for different voices, and he made use of a range of possibilities. One kind of drawing, with short, broken lines and gradations

of tone, is quite painterly; the other, using delicate contour drawing, is quite conceptual. The descriptive graphic language of the *Norn Picture* was developed from the Northern tradition for landscape and objects. The contours of the objects are clear, outlined by the sort of layered, linear chiaroscuro shading used by German artists for centuries to indicate space, giving the objects room in which to "turn." The transmitted energy, relayed from negative pole to positive pole through the earth (and thence conducted through the above-ground transmitter in a kind of mythic circularity), is drawn in short, sharp strokes of the sort reserved in traditional landscape drawing for grass, although here the strokes are arrowlike, as in some of Klee's drawings. Thus there is a transposition of the conventional vocabulary for completely other purposes, although the reference to landscape remains.

The untitled drawing (pl. 67), by contrast, functions like a verbal utterance as it enacts energy. For Beuys, drawing was a process of opening thought beyond the habitual patterns imposed by speech; the origin of ideas could be aural as well as visual, the marks of the drawing having a special correspondence with the spoken word. But drawing gave form to what was impossible to say — to think was to create form. Form was in constant metamorphic transition from one state to another, and drawing was the means Beuys used to convey the sense of passage. Drawing channels the chaotic energy of these forces as they evolve into forms. Beuys's line is a "conductor," wiry, fluid; the hand drawing in concert with the eye physically weaves the forces into an energy field. Warmth is the principle that keeps things malleable and capable of transition, and intuition is the spark that ignites the process. The actual course of the line in its kinetic tangle, and as it extends itself outward, must be read in its crossings, connections, and oppositions. These tell the story and give the drawing its drama. The artist himself is a medium: cosmic energy is passed through him. He is merely the channel; his gesture, determined by the force, is quick and concentrated. Here East and West are joined, at a psychic level, in the act of drawing, and through the passing of energy from pole to pole. The bipolarity that is basic to Beuys's formal principle is thus expressed at several levels.

The *Norn Picture* (pl. 80) has a strangely archaic atmosphere; despite its reference to modern technology, it seems to exist outside historical time. By its title, Beuys made reference to Norse and Scottish mythology, to a time when Northern Europe was still connected by mythical forces to the Celtic heartland, and to Wagner, whose three Norns (Fates) in *Götterdämmerung*, the last opera of the Ring cycle, foretell the destruction and death of the gods. Its title is a link to the occupation of the Norns as spinners.²⁷ Its iconography, with its strange imaginary apparatus, reaches back beyond the modern technological era to a time when science and myth were still connected. And Beuys's drawings do reach back to the past, both his own and some primordial past, which he later characterized as having been directed toward the future. Cast as theorems or exercises in structuring a new cultural model, drawings such as the two under discussion came to intimate immutable principles of form controlling the movement of primordial energetic forces. As noted, the formal language of *Norn Picture*, like that of the two cosmic landscape drawings, *Golgotha* and *Kadmon*, grows out of the nineteenth-century German landscape tradition, going back to the line of Dürer and Leonardo. Its iconography connects conceptually to Leonardo's scientific inventions; Beuys stated that in Leonardo there lies a compatibility of art and science.²⁸ Later, in his social sculpture, Beuys aspired to make art and science compatible once again, to create a world of post-materialist science.

Beuys's equation of drawing with the transference of energy as a parallel to language would seem to go back to the very heart of drawing as a discipline, to notions of creativity and sexual generation. His iconography, initially couched in terms of romantic religiosity, became literalized in quite a different way; each concept was given a concrete objective form, and each drawing became an element in a growing vocabulary of such forms, which then, paradoxically, functioned as metaphors and eventually became emblematic.

The material of Beuys's drawings, too, is conceived of as a concrete metaphor and given the power of genesis. Like line it has the self-generative capacity for producing images. Often Beuys's work reconnects a modern usage to its traditional sources as if in recognition of a fundamental likeness among several seemingly diverse sources. In the 1952 drawing *Woman Sitting on the Ground* (pl. 21), the woman emerges out of the material from which she is created, the stain in the paper, with great economy of means. In another feat of seeing in, she is the stain and the stain is the woman; she is literally "grounded" in the material that conjures her forth. In the German tradition, if nature is a church, she is also a woman, a witch, by definition full of tricks, a temptress; she is firmly attached to creation and to the earth. As a woman, she may also express pure feeling (pure intuition) as split from male reason. Her figural type is pure sixteenth-century German — Lucas Cranach through Hans Baldung (Grien) — but Beuys seems also to have been looking at Auguste Rodin's watercolors of dancers, which make a like use of the medium to conjure them forth. Her posture recalls their erotic poses, as does her frank sexuality. She is seen from the back, seated on the ground, with attention focused on her swelling buttocks, which as in paleolithic representations of fertility figures imply fecundity. The irregular format of the torn paper is a device that is an allusion to a natural space; it makes the support a piece of "ground." Virtually headless (her head is partially cut off by the torn paper), she hangs from the edge of the paper, weightless despite her volume. She twists her torso and thrusts her breasts at us, her arm emphasizing her sexuality. She is probably made out of an iron compound in solution. Beuys's works in this medium are sometimes referred to as *Beize*, the German word for a kind of wood stain that creates a nuanced surface volume and an extraordinarily beautiful clear contour as it sinks into the paper — fully the equal of any hand-drawn contour. The medium also can be caustic — a corrosive.

Beuys's special attitude toward the creative energy of materials evokes the Greek notion of *techné*. For him, as for Michelangelo, the artist brings forth the being that lies concealed within the material. These beings already exist, as it were; the artist is the conjuror who is able to bring them out of concealment to reveal them. In fact, when dropping paint in a quick gesture, the artist can see in the air the form it will take before it hits the paper; in directly staining a support, form can be determined by control of the medium at the contact point by manipulating the tool and the direction and amount of material. This is not a mere technical exercise, a matter of skill, but has divine implications for the artist as creator. It is thus, it would seem, that Beuys takes control of *Woman* and of the whole sexual side of life. There is an allusion here, as in a description of Baldung's women, to "the mystery and power shared by the earth and women to bring forth generation after generation of new life,"²⁹ a power now shared also by the artist. He appropriates the economy of nature, the so-called good female side. As Goethe explained: "Our precursors admired the economy of nature. She was thought of as a rational person who within herself created others with rather little material and is inclined to achieve much with little. . . . She devotes herself to the principles of life, which contain the potential to

proliferate by gradation the simplest beginnings of manifestations to the infinite and to the unlikely."³⁰ Women and material share the power of metamorphosis. In *Bat* (pl. 60), a drawing of 1958, a woman with legs spread is transformed into a bat; the brushstroke is the transformative principle, extending the woman's legs into bat's wings and perhaps suggesting the ecstasy of carnal knowledge. Women also have power over death, but behind all this is the power of movement. The dichotomy between life and death is played out in new terms.

There is a long tradition of witches in German art, which can be related back to Dürer's portrayal of Eve, the first temptress. Beuys's *Half-Length Nude (Halbakt)*, 1955–56 (pl. 41), and *Object 1, Object 2, Object 3 (Actress)*, 1957 (pl. 54), belong in this tradition: they are relatives of these traditional representations of witches and have similar magic as expressed by their accouterments. Their demeanor recalls traditional representations of the witches' sabbath. As Talbot explained, the witch exhibits her "possessed state through wild and uninhibited movement. . . . Her movements and, consequently, the appearance of her entire body, express the presence of forces that lie beyond reason. . . . There is a frenzy of flailing limbs in these scenes, and hair flies out like the flames from the vessels the witches hold and from those around their cauldrons. This hair was believed to be a source of magic power, and inquisitors took care to shave a witch's head before her trial."³¹ *Half-Length Nude (Halbakt)*, with her tiny face and wild hair, very closely resembles the *Female Nude on a Red Towel* by Munch (fig. 49), and like some of Munch's women, is in a state of sexual excitement. But it is the swing of Beuys's line that really brings forth the orgasmic frenzy of the witchlike creature. *Half-Length Nude (Halbakt)* seems to have been made with an iron compound in solution mixed with graphite. The effect of Beuys's alchemical mix seems to suggest not sensuality alone but death and decomposition. In German tradition, witches also represented the various stages of life and of aging; according to Talbot: "The transformation of their appearance through wild, uncontrolled motion continues through life in the tempo of equally uncontrollable aging. . . . The suspicion they engender [is] that their familiarity with the erosion of life extends to their being instruments of it."³²

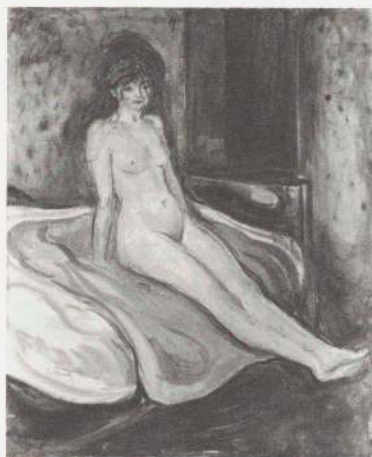


Figure 49. Edvard Munch, *Female Nude on a Red Towel*, begun 1902. Oil on canvas, 31 7/8 x 25 1/2" (81 x 65 cm). Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Dr. A. Klein Memorial Fund, 1960

Beuys's attitude toward materials was as fundamental to his drawing as it was later to his sculpture, for which he employed materials such as fat, wax, felt, and lead, that were technically capable of manifesting his theory of sculpture: from heat (the chaotic and undefined, the formless) to cold (the intellectual, solidified, or defined form), from the flowing organic to the crystalline mineral. Starting with pencil drawings, watercolors, gouaches, and oils on cardboard, he then experimented with a variety of unorthodox materials — iodine, hare's blood, honey, goldleaf, iron, beeswax, copper, and sulphur — as substitutes for traditional ones, seeking to develop a repertory of substances with specific iconic, magical, and alchemical implications. This material idea subsequently found a parallel in his sculptural materials. Thus he not only illustrated his ideas of the transformation of matter by drawing "warm-energy" machines, he also found sculptural materials that expressed these ideas as materially concrete metaphors, for Beuys tended to make metaphor literal.

Beuys's ideas about drawing materials seem to have had a great deal to do with Goethe's color theory, in which color was inherent in bodies, manifesting their nature.³³ As a matter of scientific inquiry Beuys looked for the color inherent in the material that was appropriate to the object depicted. But the appropriate material also had a special requirement: it had to be something common and readily

acquired, which was not on the face of it "arty." Despite his assertion that his materials have no history in art,³⁴ they do have their roots in tradition. Common, often poor, materials were used by Beuys both as a matter of principle — the conservation of resources — and to avoid "artiness"; there is also a direct debt to Kurt Schwitters's use of found materials. Beuys was especially sensitive in his use of supports, which were often anything at hand, and he seems to have thought of them as natural grounds. Transparent, water-resistant paper facilitated the puddled surfaces and sensitive edges of the *Beize* drawings. Common wood-pulp papers presented him with an inherently tinted ground — very much part of traditional drawing — and newsprint provided quite another kind of "history" as a ground, as did any support that was stained, crushed, folded, or worn. And no doubt he was delighted when he was able to find a material that also had linguistic significance, such as a play on words. Beuys's so-called *Braunkreuz* (brown cross) has a linguistic and metaphoric connection with his equivalent of *Deckfarbe*, or body color, the water-based medium of the traditional old masters — and Beuys seems to have very consciously tried for the look of old master drawings. Historically, *Deckfarbe* was white and provided the body substance for mixing other colors; eventually the term came to designate any opaque body color. The word *Deckfarbe*, while literally denoting body color, also carries meanings of covering over (*decken*, to cover). The metaphoric richness of the term *Deckfarbe* provided a connection between the materials of Beuys's early and later works, to drawings beginning in the 1960s, in which Beuys used opaque, brown industrial cover paints, which he referred to as *Braunkreuz*. *Braunkreuz* was a concept; it provided a metaphoric connection between drawing and sculpture. For Beuys, so-called *Braunkreuz* was not a color, it was a generic substance, a sculptural expression. *Braunkreuz*, being brown, also became a metaphor for the earth as an enveloping cover, a protective medium, a fecund "body" in which the spirit was reincarnated, as in a womb, a cave, or a grave.

Beize, used earlier by Beuys, was both its transparent opposite and parallel. As a metaphor for transformation, *Beize* has direct contact with the life source as a substitute for blood, with which Beuys occasionally painted (both hare's blood and his own blood, with their shamanistic connotations and intimations of Beuys as the hare). It had its place, too, as a parallel to *Braunkreuz* in its use of material as metaphor. If *Braunkreuz* covers and forms a protective skin, *Beize* is internal, mercurial, as we have seen; it can etch and corrode as well as simply stain. It is an equivalent in medium to the old European oak-gall ink (its coloring agent is an oxide of iron) and the more modern sepia. An ideal metaphoric substance, it is also a highly flexible technical substance, since different kinds and strengths result in different colors. *Braunkreuz* and *Beize* are metaphors for iron, "earth," skin, and blood, combining the mineral with the organic; by color and use they are also metaphors for food.

In Beuys's view, beings are concealed in the materials of which they are composed; and each material has a magical, transformative quality and life of its own, inherent in the being it reveals. As in Goethe's theory of color, color is related to material; it is also a function of the internal organization of each creature, from the higher to the lower. Thus, for Goethe, the base nature of frogs would be revealed by their intense skin color, as is man's nature in more subtle color.³⁵ The base and the higher creature are combined in Beuys's drawing *Freckled Frogs*, of 1958 (pl. 61), in a demonstration of duality of manifestation. Frogs are inherently frogs by nature's design, but in *Freckled Frogs* the fusion of opposites is revealed in the dappled quality of an iron compound in solution, staining a waxy support that forms the pattern of the invented creatures' skin.

Brown crosses made of *Braunkreuz* became important for Beuys in the early 1960s; the cross was a sign, both a symbol and a form of signature. A drawing of 1960, the *Stag's-Foot — Cross 2X* (pl. 73) is made with *Braunkreuz*, and has the symbols of a cross and a stag's foot embedded in the painterly surface as though in the ground, as a shaman might evoke a sign from the earth by scratching it with a stick. The small sign of the cross, the *Braunkreuz*, was later overpainted in each of the upper corners. Beuys also began to overpaint even earlier drawings with this sign. A drawing so "signed" was transformed, moved forward in time; it became another class of drawing, joined to the others of its class physically and conceptually.

Beuys experimented with his own compounds of inorganic mineral colors. From time to time he incorporated such substances as powdered copper and iron in drawings as equivalents to sculptural materials. And as an allusion to alchemy and myth, he also used gold. In the 1950s, he had experimented with a variety of materials for staining: tea, fruit, vegetable and herb juices, coffee, rusty water, anything transparent. In the 1960s, he also used fat, margarine, and chocolate as parallels to *Braunkreuz*. Beuys often left it to his materials to do their transformative work; clearly many were unstable and bound to decompose — yet another aspect of the expression of his own fragility in drawings.

Food was an important medium for Beuys and may well be a metaphor for art as a sustaining medium. Fat, a transmutable material, was another energizing substance, which in its molten or liquid form stains many drawings, marking them with the warm, life-giving principle. (Also, the practice of alchemy, the science that belongs to myth, resembles cooking, and alchemy is clearly at the root of the theory of the transformation of matter as used by Beuys.) *From the Life of the Bees*, 1954 (pl. 27), is one of a number of drawings on the same subject, done over the course of several years, in which the medium seems to be a metaphor for honey. It is a spiritual, energizing substance that connotes a perfectly structured community, in which the plant nectar is circulated through the system of the beehive, where it rises, flowing from a warm chaotic state, to arrive at a cold crystalline form. The material has the power of transformation and regeneration. In Beuys's series on bees, Steiner's influence is felt directly; Beuys had read his lectures "Über die Biene" (1923),³⁶ and the idea of plasticity in the production of beeswax elucidated there became a "practical" basis of Beuys's theory of sculpture.

If Beuys's conception of materials is both specific to him and in some sense traditional, the system within which it operates — his *Gesamtkunstwerk* — also rests initially on a traditional structural fragmentation, which he then developed to an extreme. In addition to his knowledge of different geometric or perspectival systems, Beuys was conversant with the academic method of drawing in which line, shadow, and color are conceived of as separate modes, which informs the very basis of his own art strategy, the basis upon which structure almost more than iconography carries the message. From this initial structural separation, he then went on to conceive of different styles as different systems, and different disciplines as elements to be manipulated as parts of the multifaceted whole of the social sculpture.

In the academic method, the student draws first from plaster casts, then from life. Line comes first, and color is added only after form is mastered through line. Shading, or *chiaroscuro*, also comes before color, and it, too, is deployed as a separate, although related, element. (This academic model originated in Italy. Its lineage is



Figure 50. Albrecht Dürer, *Madonna with a Multitude of Animals*, c. 1503. Pen and ink, watercolor, and chalk on paper, 12 1/2 x 9 1/2" (31.9 x 24.1 cm). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

from Leonardo into the German tradition through Dürer, and it is taught in one form or another in all academies, and continued even into Bauhaus teaching, although the means were reformulated.) Beuys played with each component at will, sometimes using only color as in his staining and watercolor washes, and sometimes only the linear system, and with it a variety of marks indicating chiaroscuro or texture. Mounting was yet another component. Sometimes he used all the systems together in the same work, although for distinctly different purposes. And it is here, too, that his ability to work in different manners in the same work originates. Motifs, too, are studied separately and then integrated into the composition; the science of perspective was a great aid in integrating motifs in a naturalistic manner. An examination of Dürer's watercolor-tinted ink drawing *Madonna with a Multitude of Animals* (fig. 50) demonstrates the separation of motifs as well as of means. This drawing reveals an interesting structural device: it is constructed of details inserted into a perspective scheme, suggesting that fragmentation inheres in the tradition of German drawing. Beuys then simply took advantage of this inherent characteristic and lifted out and used motifs as the individual elements in which they originated. In their details the landscapes of both the upper right and left of Dürer's drawing seem to be very much the ancestors of Beuys's landscape drawings, such as *Golgotha* (pl. 14). The clouds bring to mind Beuys's clouds in *Dynamis 3, Dynamis*, 1960 (pl. 79). As an ensemble, the elements of the landscape seem to be underlying the structure of Beuys's landscapes in their use of separate iconographic elements.

Beuys's linear means became, in fact, extraordinarily rich: in their varied forms they could be said to constitute a vocabulary in their own right. Each possibility was examined, given its own identity, and adapted for different purposes. In his linear system, line is both an agent for representation and a sign of energy. In other marks, one type of line may be a sign for one kind of energy—the longer, looping line for continuity and connection, or description—while another, shorter and discontinuous stroke, like the marks in *Currents*, 1961 (pl. 86), indicates an altogether different kind of energy. Chiaroscuro is indicated by a variety of means, sometimes by the use of the side of the pencil, a tangle of dark lines indicating an active or volumetric form, or by groups of small, parallel horizontal or vertical linear marks composed of repeated strokes with the pencil point to indicate a background form. These small linear marks constitute a code, as in traditional German drawing: for Beuys they are usually signs for ground as in landscape or background and give a sense of "place."

His color system, within several mediums, is not as varied in treatment, but it is extraordinary in its range from wet to dry brush (and occasionally colored pencil). For Beuys, the origin of this system is in Dürer's tinting of ink drawings, but it underwent a number of transformations to become self-expressive. An examination of drawings by Rodin, who gave distinct, expressive roles to watercolor and linear systems, as did Klee, who used color as an envelope of light and space behind the planar movement of the line, reveals that both seem to have been studied by Beuys.

Initially, watercolor had been one of Beuys's most fertile mediums. It had provided him with a fecund source of pure color to engender form. Although he did some early oils on cardboard, Beuys was not really at home with the relatively slow medium of traditional oil paints, which could not convey his energy; his touch moved too fast. Perhaps he felt intuitively that paint (and later each material) had its own reality, that it was not for representing something else. In many



Figure 51. Joseph Beuys, *The Heart*, 1957. Watercolor on paper, 14 1/4 x 18 1/4" (36.2 x 46.2 cm). Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg



Figure 52. Auguste Rodin, *Crouching Figure*, 1900-1905. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 12 7/8 x 19 1/4" (32.8 x 50.4 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago, The Alfred Stieglitz Collection

of his oil pictures, he used the medium untraditionally in a very diluted form or stain, except when it was used specifically as *Braunkreuz*, where the technique is a form of dry-brush drawing. Of this medium Beuys said in 1984: "Very important was this so-called *Braunkreuz*, where I was looking for a color which was, which could be felt as a synonymous thing. . . . I was looking for a color which was not at all experienced as a color, which was a substance; let us say a kind of sculptural expression which was a color but was not a color. . . . Naturally it is also a metaphor."³⁷

Beuys was a natural watercolorist, conditioned by the soft, diffuse atmosphere of the Lower Rhine. We see a tremendous change, however, from his first watercolors to those of the 1950s: here, masterful manipulation of the medium is evident. He lets his images flow out of the pigment washes themselves, rushing and tumbling under his brush; they are some of his most bravura performances. Often the watercolors depict watery scenes, as in *Animal Kingdom of the Mediterranean Sea, III, Sponge, Mussel*, 1958-59 (pl. 66). Despite its delicate pencil framework, it is as if the landscape were literally made of the brushstrokes and puddled washes — as if the brush had been dipped in waterscape and pulled away, leaving this image, so strong is the metaphor of medium. This power of watercolor goes well beyond its German sources in such works as Erich Heckel's *Woods in the Evening*, of 1919 (Museum Ludwig, Cologne). In Beuys's extraordinary *Double Gouache*, of 1959-60, in the same collection (pl. 68), we see him at his best, both in his delicate, form-giving pencil line and his power to conjure form out of material chaos. The juxtaposition is not just one of iconography and style, it is also about the nature of mediums.

In Beuys's watercolors, color may often seem a generality in that it does not necessarily take the form of objects. Nevertheless, as in Rodin, it has its own plastic energy and takes its own forms, as in *Double Gouache*. And it acts not only as a sign for water but as an emotional atmosphere and a medium, in the sense of a container, or a growth culture (a kind of generative soup), as in *Animal Kingdom of the Mediterranean Sea, III, Sponge, Mussel*. The richly varied line, operating as a separate system, seems to grow forms within it. In a remarkable work of 1957 (fig. 51), a beating, brilliant red heart is rendered in watercolor. The heart is a central mystery to Beuys, an organic "battery" connected to primal nature, and through divine creation directly to God; it appears again several times, very prominently in the figures in the late blackboards, such as *Untitled (Sun State)*, of 1974 (pl. 155).

Rodin, especially prominent among Beuys's sources, particularly with respect to his attenuated linear curve, seems to have been largely responsible for the freeing of his line. Rodin's example showed him how to work the individual components of the system as independent, virtually equal, expressive means. Rodin can also be cited as a precedent for Beuys's stain technique. A comparison of an untitled watercolor of 1952 (pl. 23), *From the Life of the Bees* of 1954 (pl. 27), and *Elk with Woman and Fauness* of 1957 (pl. 45) with such works by Rodin as *Standing Nude Woman, a Garment in Her Hand* or *Clothed Woman Lying on Her Side* is also instructive.³⁸ Also comparable are several depictions of Cambodian dancers in the Musée Rodin, Paris, a woman with wings (Georg-Kolbe-Museum, Berlin),³⁹ and a crouching woman (fig. 52). Beuys undoubtedly saw drawings similar to these in reproduction. But, in spite of this debt, in Beuys's work Rodin's line is "Germanized." We feel in it a particular kind of exaggeration of Rodin's line and an exacerbation of emotion in which the German tradition of mythicizing can be detected.

However, Beuys was not an artist who was influenced in the usual way; he lifted sections from different sources, cobbling the various copies to each other, and at the same time pushing them a little further in a wholly idiosyncratic way. There is a characteristically Northern accretion of detail from many sources. His style is, thus, in some sense a pastiche, which finally exhibits its own characteristics through the combination of various additives. Its originality lies in being a pastiche. For instance, Beuys was not merely influenced by Rodin, he copied what Rodin had done—he tried to get inside of it, and as he mastered it he not only possessed what Rodin did with watercolor, he also added a twist of his own that created a difference between him and Rodin. Beuys's *Beize* drawings are "earthy," engaged in material in a way that Rodin's were not; Beuys's use of stain becomes part of the ground, whereas Rodin's manipulation of watercolor is ethereal.

In Beuys's *Beize* and pencil drawings we see the stain and pencil operating as distinct systems while depicting the same object, as in Rodin. The result is a delicate movement between two aspects of representation: the interaction of body and spirit. Often Beuys's wet medium is supported or amplified by line. On occasion, watercolor or stain is used alone, as in *Woman*, of 1957 (pl. 64). In the *Beize* drawings, color is a specific function of material, as well as of light; the monochrome stain is absorbed into the paper in different densities according to the varying strengths of the medium used. Thus Beuys initially used line and color as separate systems, but ultimately effected not only a marriage of line and color but also a union of color with material. Nevertheless, linear drawing was often a component, buried beneath the material and glimpsed only at the edges, as if the meaning of body color or ground color were quite literal, and not just a metaphor for the enveloping warmth of felt or earth.

Beuys's explosion of drawing activity in the 1950s marked a period when patterns began to emerge, as he explored several directions and mediums at the same time. We can see a strong run of pencil drawings, then a concentration on watercolor or *Beize*; at the same time, various motifs and genres were picked up and developed, temporarily laid aside, and then resumed. During this period he explored all the traditional genres, including some religious themes, landscape, the nude female figure, and still life in the form of such energy-related objects as magnets, batteries, and transformers; images of animals, live and dead, return repeatedly. His interpretation of these subjects ranges from the banal—some of his female figures and almost bathetically sentimental renditions of Madonnas (see pl. 46)—to highly eccentric and particularized interpretations of landscapes as energy fields and animals being borne away on sleds. A drawing of an elk borne away on a sled, of 1955 (pl. 28), manifests Beuys's spiritualization of his Tatar experience, as he imbued the nomadic pre-Christian life of the Nordic people with religious spirit. In the 1960 drawing *Dynamis 3*, *Dynamis* (pl. 79), two very similar drawings are pasted vertically one above the other on a color mount. The pencil drawing concentrates on small motifs of what seem to be energy transmitters. This is occluded by a layer of swirling white paint pressing over it—a kind of generalized cloudy atmosphere at the top, very heavy and concrete, which can at the same time represent chaotic matter and, in the bottom drawing, the compression of time. The compression of time through layers of sedimentary rock "sitting" for eons, as it were, in the ground is an important energy concept for Beuys; in a series of later sculptures, each bearing the title *Fond* plus a number,⁴⁰ layers of felt and copper piled on one another are a three-dimensional metaphor for the compression of time in space as an energy field. All of the above-mentioned drawings are very small, many are small even by the most traditional standards, and extremely detailed in their motifs or their very active factures.



Figure 53. Paul Klee, *The Parting*, 1939. Watercolor on paper, 7 1/4 x 8 1/4" (18.5 x 20.8 cm). Private Collection, Switzerland



Figure 54. Egon Schiele, *Standing Male Nude (Self-Portrait)*, 1910. Pencil, watercolor, gouache, glue, and white body color on paper, 21 7/8 x 14 1/2" (55.7 x 36.8 cm). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

In a later group of works done over several years from 1962 to 1967 (see pls. 116, 117), Beuys again conceived of the landscape as sedimentary layers, now represented by large, cut-out, platelike forms painted with *Braunkreuz*. These were intended to form a kind of metaphysical cave, the *Braunraum*. In an extension of collage theory, the cleft or cavelike space pictured in early drawings was made concrete as these forms became metaphors for the sedimentary layers of earth and the fossils and objects from the past lodged therein. Since Beuys was never completely abstract, these apparently abstract forms were meant to be concrete realizations of the ideas represented in the more descriptive early drawings. Many drawings of the 1960s were conceived of as concrete or emotional parallels to sculptures and later to actions, or as depictions of the objects or "tools" used in them. The top motif of a 1961 double drawing, *Untitled (Horns)* (pl. 85), depicts an actual sculpture; in effect, it is a dramatization using such objects and pre-dating Beuys's actions. A gouache titled *Wooden Virgin* (pl. 90), signed and dated 1958, depicts a large teakwood sculpture of 1961, *The Virgin*,⁴¹ consisting of seven anatomical fragments dismembered and subject to reassembly in a variety of ways. The earlier date of the gouache is puzzling in that it appears to have been copied after a photograph of the sculpture in situ in Mönchengladbach in 1967. Two interesting aspects of Beuys's practice are exemplified here: his practice of inscribing dates on drawings years afterward, and the process (already seen in the drawing *Untitled [Horns]*) of extracting information both before and after his sculptures so that the interchange between sculpture and drawing is also in constant intimate evolution. Here Beuys broke up the tradition of monumental free-standing sculpture. (*The Virgin* recalls Constantin Brancusi's wood sculpture *The First Step*, of 1913, which was cut up by the artist and only one piece saved. The entire Brancusi sculpture is known only from photographs, an after-the-fact drawing in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and gouaches of his studio.) Beuys's drawing is a combination of styles; the careful silhouette of his gouache and its plasticity relate, again, to Klee; it also recalls Brancusi's depiction of his own sculpture. Its broad bands of paint and their facture are an imitation of late Klee finger painting (see fig. 53), which is, in turn, a reflection of certain gouaches by Egon Schiele (see fig. 54) in which the paint facture resembles finger-painting.⁴² In fact, besides Rodin, Schiele must be cited not only for influencing Beuys's technique, but also as a primary source for Beuys's placement of motifs (especially figures) on the support, and for their awkward angularity.

Beuys now had a full repertory of techniques at his disposal. Although all of his thinking led ultimately to sculpture, between 1956 and 1961, as he prepared to be a sculptor, drawing remained at the center of Beuys's attention. Exciting, self-generative pencil drawing was at its height in his work, producing a run of drawings that are totally new in the history of draftsmanship. A drawing of 1956, *From the Intelligence of Swans* (pl. 35), is specific in connecting the hand of Beuys with the hand of Leonardo. Here Beuys bypassed Friedrich and perhaps Dürer as well, to go back directly to the source of drawing as a language for investigating man's intuitive relationship with God. A comparison with a drawing by Leonardo of about 1490, *Five Grotesque Heads* (fig. 55), reveals what may be a close examination by Beuys of Leonardo's graphic system. He adopted the fine drawing, the intimate attention to detail, with parallel hatching indicating tone played against curving contour lines that break free of a purely descriptive function at the bottom of the sheet in order to focus attention on the main motif. *From the Intelligence of Swans* is one of a group of drawings done over a number of years in which Beuys returned to a symbol familiar from his childhood in the Lower Rhine, the pervasive image of Lohengrin's swan. This is the country of Wagner's Ring cycle, of the conflict between spiritual forces and those of scientific materialism. Here Beuys concentrated his attention on the



Figure 55. Leonardo da Vinci, *Five Grotesque Heads*, c. 1490. Pen and ink on paper, 8 1/4 x 8 1/2" (21 x 21.5 cm). Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, The Royal Library at Windsor Castle

field of tension generated by the dialectic between chaotic matter and the intellectual organizing principle; at its heart he introduced primordial myth, the intuitive principle, in the form of the swan. Something clearly emerges here from the pencil medium: an energetic synthesis between observation and inner contemplation, intuition and intellect, nature and science. But Beuys's titles are allegorical and tell very specific stories about his drawings; each motif could have a number of iconographic functions. The swans are seen in a minutely drawn landscape of a cave in a mountain; water swirls in the cave, and the swans are enmeshed in the swirling energy network composed of the freely drawn, highly charged curving lines of both their contours and the rushing water, caught and stilled by a loosely rendered grid. This grid of the overall design recalls (now very freely drawn) the old proportional system derived from Mataré and from Villard de Honnecourt, indicating that we are in the presence of Beuys's basic plastic principle. At the same time, this grid is elevated to a cosmic concept, as a kind of map. We are aware, as in all of Beuys's drawing, of a subtext: the rushing water seems apocalyptic; is there a suggestion of cataclysm, death, and resurrection? Possibly the notion of a subtext also connects Beuys conceptually with Leonardo and Michelangelo, whose work was subtended by notions of esoteric links between the pagan and the Christian, understood only by the initiated. Beuys's work, too, as he was well aware, requires initiation by the viewer. The esoteric representation, however, was part of his magic, part of his role as a shaman and a healer.



Figure 56. Joseph Beuys, *Untitled (-----?)*, 1961. Pencil on paper, 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.6 cm). Private Collection. From *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*

A drawing from 1961 (fig. 56) — an outburst of energy — reminds us that Beuys's language not only relates to Romanticism and the German tradition but has passed through Expressionism. In this tradition the line is an inherently self-expressive, emotional force; its singularity is a sign for the artist's personality: the touch denotes originality. Whereas at one end of its range it may be extremely expressive and inflected, because of its tendency toward abstraction, it also has the capability of being cool and intellectual. We see it in both of these roles — extending from one tendency to resolution in the other — in the hands of Kandinsky and Klee, two of its most important twentieth-century practitioners. Kandinsky had advanced line as an expressive and structural vehicle capable of synthesizing a number of sensations, the auditory as well as the tactile and kinesthetic. Klee used it as both an intuitive, expressive vehicle and a cool intellectual device for the exploration and invention of form. He conceived of line as abstract, yet organic, and metaphoric. Just as Klee's line has another dimension, so also does Beuys's; Beuys's drawing uses line in both ways — again it is a pastiche — adding to the linear style from Dürer, the Romantics, and Rodin: in the same drawing it represents figures in one mode, and, in another mode, it represents energy. For both Klee and Kandinsky, the movement of line was equated with the concept of growth of form and of the spirit. Art was a synthesis of spiritual and intuitive elements with the rational.

But Beuys's art is not structurally synthetic, for just as his line began by exploring disparate modes, his ideal was one that had to be constructed on the radically fractured base that he had inherited. Beuys tried to create a vastly different configuration out of the perceived breakup of modernism's aspiration toward transcendent unity: that of a unifying project constructed of even more drastically scattered and disparate fragments than modernism had ever contemplated. As he did so, the emphasis of Beuys's line shifted from being an agent of pure change to one that engendered the sensation of an extended present.⁴³ In time Beuys's line came to synthesize the past and the present; for the next few years his line was busily employed in the growth of form.

In 1959 Beuys had begun work on what would become a group of six different sketchbooks, the *Ulysses* sketchbooks (pl. 82), which would occupy him intermittently through 1961. The *Ulysses* sketchbooks mark Beuys's recovery from his long postwar depression: they began during the period Beuys described as his recovery from work in the fields (1957–60) and extended after his marriage in 1959 and his teaching appointment at the Düsseldorf Academy in 1961. Beuys said he had been "requested" by James Joyce, whom he greatly admired, to complete his novel *Ulysses* by adding two chapters.⁴⁴ How could Beuys complete *Ulysses* by drawing? And what constituted the "request"?

As we have seen, Beuys transcended the boundaries of genres by dissolving the fixed meanings of words and manipulating semantic categories. It is difficult to place precisely when Beuys became aware of this power of transgression in terms of his own work. As Beuys effected an identification with Joyce's language of flux — fragmentation, reshaping of the semantic field, stylistic jumps and switches — it became clear that he was using drawing as a form of language that exceeds the usual formal boundaries to transcend rational discourse: the drawings comprising the *Ulysses* sketchbooks can therefore be seen as a parallel to written language and Joyce's *Ulysses* a form of epiphany.

Joyce and Beuys had a mutual interest in myth. For Beuys myth had given a semblance of pattern to his private obsession; myth is encoded ritual, and like ritual it held the forces of chaos at bay. In Beuys's own personal myth (his trauma as a wounded flyer and subsequent rescue by Tatar tribesmen), the resuscitation constituted a psychic regeneration as well as a physical rehabilitation. It appears that for Beuys his fall and rescue became a rebirth, and he became, in some sense, his own father.

One of the characters in *Ulysses*, Stephen Dedalus, also appears in an earlier work by Joyce, as the main character in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. He is named after the mythical Greek architect and sculptor who fashioned wings out of feathers and wax for himself and his son Icarus in order to escape the wrath of King Minos, for whom he fashioned the labyrinth. The story of Daedalus and Icarus, one of the great myths, is often interpreted as a lesson in which Icarus, like Prometheus who gave fire to man, is both condemned and celebrated. Icarus flies too close to the sun, the wax on his wings melts, and he crashes into the sea. His hubris condemns him, but his youthful exuberance represents the overweening, optimistic ambition of humanity; he stands as a warning not to challenge the gods, a caution to which man never listens.⁴⁵

In the last paragraphs of Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, having reached the end of his youth and hearing faraway voices call to him "making ready to go, shaking the wings of their exultant and terrible youth," Stephen Dedalus writes in his diary: "26 April: Mother is putting my new secondhand clothes in order. She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it. Welcome, O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race. 27 April: Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead."⁴⁶

Joyce anthropomorphized language; it is his father and also the father of the human race. Stephen Dedalus later becomes a main character in *Ulysses*, and voyages forth on the wings of language in an exploration beyond its conventional frontiers, as does

the book itself. There is a parallel between Joyce's Dedalus who becomes a poet and Beuys himself, whose Ulysses drawings seem to grow concrete objects, as if they were poems. Beuys, too, challenged the gods as an aviator and fell to Earth; and refashioned himself as the "uncreated conscience" of his race; still later he is transformed yet again. In the early chapters of *Ulysses*, Dedalus is brought back to Dublin after the death of his mother; there Joyce seems to have transformed him into the character of Leopold Bloom. This transformation transcends a specific national identity to span culture and religion: the Jew, Bloom, looks forward and backward, beyond racial identity and yet rooted there. Applying the lesson of Joyce to drawing, Beuys, too, anthropomorphized his medium; he voyaged forth in terms of his own language, drawing. Beuys and Joyce operated on the level of an art of emotional recognition. Language and drawing are both mental processes; art is not a process of illustration but a faithful means for recording the reality of the mind,⁴⁷ and in the hands of both Joyce and Beuys the process is, in some sense, pre-logical, revelatory.

Both Beuys's subject and method are analogous to Joyce's. The greatest strength of a graphic language is its ability to produce analogies through the repetition or phrased "rhyming" of groups of marks or motifs. Joyce's writing produced constant verbal analogies through sound. Linguistic devices abound, such as onomatopoeia, which creates verbal forms whose sounds have a direct resemblance to their meaning; alliteration repeats initial letters or syllables to create chains of freely associated ideas; euphony (which relates to music) combines a harmonious succession of words having similar sounds. Words split, go back upon one another, front to back, and fuse to "capture the sense of simultaneity in space and time."⁴⁸ Joyce's prose speaks episodically in different stylistic voices from one chapter to the next, but with a coordinating intelligence. In the profoundly sexual language of *Ulysses*, language produces language; the fecundity of language itself grows language, overflowing the normal semantic boundaries, reshaping the linguistic field.⁴⁹

Beuys used the mastery of drawing he had developed through the 1950s as a graphic equivalent to Joyce's linguistic designs. The Ulysses drawings are a visual parallel, a mental combination of the real and the imagined, in which he constructed his own landscape as a parallel space to Joyce's multidimensional Dublin. The Ulysses sketchbooks show him working from sheet to sheet, sometimes employing his repertory of gestures as parallel "phonetic" elements — an "alphabet," often repeating motifs, developing each as though it were an element of speech — a vocabulary of forms, as he pushes through to new ground. The drawings move between description and a recording of active creation as they combine descriptive drawing with explosive bursts and tangles of line and sharp gesture representing sheer movement. The drawings are a combination of both realistic observation and memory of the postwar years in which the landscape was a graveyard for the shattered remains of the industrial war machine. Ruins and detritus that littered the landscape were often piled into great heaps and then covered with earth to form mounds. Some drawings move, characteristically, between death and decomposition, in images of skeletal animals, to images pregnant with hybrid sculptural forms. Beuys's line moves between nature, technological apparatus, and the ruined artifacts of European culture, combining with one another in a process of regeneration. These are drawings in which the idea of the sculpture is, for the moment, sufficient. In one sheet we see his ubiquitous mountain scene with the sun rising, and energy poles; bursting forth from the scene is a tangle of energetic line — the line seems organic, fertile — electric. The gesture recorded is fecund: it "grows" a vocabulary of linear marks and stabs and darts of the pencil that metaphorically reproduce themselves as they excavate form from the

ground. The gesticulating lines circle around each other to generate still other forms until at times even the gesture seems to create itself as an object. Five untitled drawings of 1961 (pl. 84) also manifest this organic growth of forms as gestural lines evoke forms bursting forth, growing as if from seed, the analogy growing from sheet to sheet.

In the Ulysses sketchbooks Beuys anthropomorphized drawing; and the system of the drawing informs the system of the sculpture, as he created sculpture out of motifs previously observed and re-fantasized in drawing. In these drawings the littered landscape is giving birth to sculpture; sculpture “grows” out of the ground and becomes radiant with energy, as Beuys finally emerged from his long years of preparation to become a sculptor. Beuys portrayed matter in the act of taking a new form: nature is healing matter, as the landscape brings forth a new kind of hybrid sculpture in the form of “warm-energy” machines. The Ulysses drawings are a sort of textbook of Beuys’s sculptural practice; they are filled not just with generative images, their very line is procreative — often excited to a frenzy of creativity, sometimes tense or skittering almost out of control, at other times cooler; often the route described is labyrinthine — sometimes it even attains a kind of scientific objectivity in its creative skitter. And just as Joyce’s labyrinthine language scheme is a kind of dancing floor for language,⁵⁰ it is also possible to conceive of the corpus of Beuys’s early drawings, not just the Ulysses sketchbooks, in their timeless rounding through constantly reiterated themes, styles, and gestures as a vast labyrinth: as the dancing floor on which Beuys will venture out.

In the Ulysses series the action takes place on a very small scale, as if inside the mind; it grows by the accretion of each sheet. Out of this fecund activity Beuys elaborated the concept of growth, objectifying it into the notion that the sensory apparatus for experiencing art is an organically differentiated structure within the mind, and continued use of this structure leads to the growth of new sensory receptors and the building of creativity.⁵¹ Private obsession is readied to be turned into universal meaning. Munch had provided Beuys with the key to one level of the objectification of his sexuality. As Beuys began to emerge from the weight of his private obsession, to change from the piling-up of artifacts to sign-making, he did this on the basis of sexuality as a ground of creativity by giving birth, as in myth, to his own soul. After this point in his work there are few female figures; the central figure in his later blackboard drawing *Untitled (Sun State)* (pl. 155) seems to be hermaphroditic — male and female united in one act of creation, within a labyrinthine space. Moreover, if Beuys had initially thought of culture as the creation of artifacts, as he emerged from “nature” and passed into a “cultured” state, he reconsidered the idea. Based on the evidence of his work, it seems he came to think that culture is governed not merely by the manufacture of artifacts but by a system of exchanges based on rules and articulated by signs. The principal terrain of these exchanges is sexuality, and it was to this ground of primary urges sublimated as ritual and mediated by the rules of language that he had reverted to engender his art. In the drawings of the 1960s such as *Untitled (Horns)*, 1961 (pl. 85), Beuys was still working within the tradition of personal observation of Leonardo and Dürer, and he combined the precise recording of the Romantics with imaginative invention. These drawings may well have grown out of an instruction of Leonardo’s that imagination depends upon observation, that the artist should, as he walks through the fields, observe and store observations — filling the mind with images — then copy from the images in the mind. But, as Leonardo instructed the student, the artist is a creator, not merely a scientist, and has the ability to go beyond the mere imitation of nature’s forms, to a world of

imagination and invention of creatures beyond those of nature. Beuys's Leonardo drawings and the 1960s drawings of artifacts are a culmination, in fact, of his drawings of the 1950s. *Untitled (Horns)* and the *Norn Picture* (pl. 80) are two among many drawings in which Beuys had imaginatively appropriated both the artifacts of nature and those of technology that proliferated in the German landscape (treating them as observed phenomena, even dramatic events), elaborating on them to create new and strange creatures, which finally transform themselves to grow into sculptures. (It is interesting to note that even the title of his last sculpture, *Lightning with Stag in Its Glare* [see fig. 15] is an event.) But Beuys now went a great deal further; he did not just surpass nature by appropriating nature's artifacts and elaborating on them beyond nature's ability to do so, he became "nature" himself, creating as nature creates.

And if the Romantics had first shown him the way to make psychological space seem coextensive with pictorial space, and Munch had confirmed the device, Beuys now made psychological space coextensive with "real" space in actions that communicated directly and physically on a mimetic, empathic, kinesthetic level. The aesthetic had not simply to do with art but was a way of communicating with the world.

What I speak about [is] art as astral body. This means the whole energy complex, which is much more than the rational . . . what they call in industry brainstorming; analyzing, making everything rational. This means a much [greater] insight into all the powers of humankind, nature, and all the interdependents, and even into the field of where people are either speculating or believing or asserting what one called in the past a religious energy. . . . Children have to become educated in other ways than in the universities, which are now mostly enterprises from the state or from economic foundations. It is not a real, free education; everything is imbedded in a kind of power structure. And so I ask for another education system, really free I know the state holds the education where . . . people are filled up with such materialistic understanding . . . career instincts, competition instincts. . . . So to grow through all those hindrances, I think the only thing that remains in humankind's hands is the weapon and power of art (Joseph Beuys).⁵²

In 1961 Beuys made his first contact with the artists of the Fluxus movement. With his return to the Düsseldorf Academy and his entry into the Fluxus movement, Beuys found the appropriate medium, the action, with which to play out the drama of rebirth; his first action took place in 1963. Using the parts he had "written" in the drawings, he literally took over a new space for art, and at the same time a new conceptual dimension. Fluxus extended the territory that the word aesthetic designated; it became the pivot between Beuys's early and late work. Fluxus was an intermedia movement, like Pop, but more than that, it was concerned with erasing distinctions between art and life. Fluxus embraced artists from many different countries and moved between the United States and Europe. Its affairs were conducted in festivals and meetings whose personnel was fluid and constantly changing. Its primary form was the performance. Now, for Beuys as for the artists of Fluxus, the aesthetic had not simply to do with art but was a way of communicating with the world; his art turned outward. The figure-ground relationship changed, and Beuys himself was the central motif in space; he became his own representation — a living sculpture. Peter Schjeldahl has noted with regard to postwar art that as it had turned increasingly inward, "its public aspect became the gesture — the kinesthetic expression of an invi-

olable personal energy and integrity, a last-ditch stand against chaos on the frontier of the self."⁵³ In discussing Claude Lévi-Strauss, Guy Davenport has noted that for modern man chaos is outside, but primitive man sees disorder as internal and the outer world in harmony; he disciplines himself in order not to contaminate the world.⁵⁴ Beuys, who in this sense was a "primitive" in his depression, now distanced chaos, turned it outward and formalized it in gesture, verbal mimesis, and ritual. He effected a connection between drawing gesture and body gesture, achieving a willed change in what the words *drawing* and *art* designate. Fluxus both consolidated Beuys's conception of drawing and renewed it. The fragmentary and disintegrated character of his drawings corresponded with the radically discontinuous and constantly changing structure of performance art. Fluxus, like Dada, which had similar aims, was an art of fragments and ephemera; but Fluxus (along with the Arte Povera group) legitimized the fragment as a mode, using bits and pieces; it also brought into art what was previously "outside," by the use of the most common found materials. A new use of drawing opened up for Beuys and became increasingly important as he began a total reconception of what his art was about.

We have seen Beuys as a medium; with actions he recast himself variously as shaman, priest, healer, shepherd of his flock, the "original" artist at the beginning of time. The wounded shaman, who cannot evade his chosen role, wanders through lands unseen by mortals, conjuring forth spirits as he seeks to heal his wound and the wounded spirit of mankind. Henceforth, Beuys enacted this role in his work, as he had imagined it in details in his early drawings, and as he continued to expound it in drawing. (And eventually as his work and life become more and more one, he played it out in his life, as the public was permitted to perceive it, as well.) He metaphorically wandered vast spaces, he painted himself with honey and gold, he spent days caged with a coyote enacting the interchange between man's nature and that of the animal. In Jungian fashion, uniting the inchoate, individual unconscious with the mythic, he assumed the role of one to whom the collective drive of numerous civilizations has assigned the function of executor of fantasies of power and healing.

As he had healed his own spirit, Beuys transformed the site of his 1943 plane crash, the Crimea, the small peninsula where Europe and Asia meet to form the central landmass of Eurasia, into the imaginative site for the creation of a myth of origin—the trauma of rebirth. Beuys resisted critics' interpretation that his interest in Siberian-Central Asian shamanism constituted a regression; he said he had used its themes and images to pursue a form of visual analysis—his was not a return to a mythical time in the manner of Franz Marc or Paul Gauguin. Beuys nevertheless did make use of the concept of regression, using it to dig behind the immediate past and its horrors to make a connection with the natural order of the past. The concept of the early cultural model had been prefigured in his early drawings, and he had already recovered a number of traditional motifs from their kitsch connotations as degraded decoration by locating them in his extended allegory of Stone-Age man. Myth is a recitation of ritual and ritual acknowledges the gods and natural forces; in such a constellation human behavior is a contract with the world's order. In Beuys's drawings there are scenes of huts, women with baskets at the cooking fire, portrayals of artisans, shamans, the hunter and the hunted. Often these figures are represented with magical attributes and carry implements of magical power. These are contrasted in other drawings with imaginative and concrete examples of the power symbols of empirical science that he had initially observed in the landscape, and in others with Christian symbols. In his early actions Beuys enacted allegories of symbolic regression to this archaic, somehow timeless, state using visual metaphors to make concrete allusions to these ideas.

Suddenly, through the performance medium, there was a critical expansion of physical space, which drastically altered the conceptual space of the work. The vast area of Eurasia was no longer simply the locus for depicted themes; in actions it was put into use, and he now developed the concept of this model, treating early themes as archetypes: to the stag he had allotted the power of the spirit of resurrection. Its antlers — which in their yearly cycle of renewal grow from a soft, blood-carrying system to a hardened, or crystalline state, are shed, and return again to soft, warm beginnings — represent, in Beuys's words, the life cycle and his theory of sculpture, which now connected to his actions. He had already retrieved the German tradition of the emotional link between nature and ego. Often, in an expression of empathy, Beuys had accorded to animals the capacity for human emotion, as in an early pencil drawing, *Wolf in Bleeding Nature*, of 1951 (pl. 18), in which the wolf, invested with Beuys's own depression, had been virtually a self-portrait. Now this concept is enacted. In a famous action, *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*, of 1965, at the Galerie Schmela in Düsseldorf (see fig. 10), he used the dead animal as interlocutor.

In such actions as the *Siberian Symphony, section 1*, of 1963,⁵⁵ we see Beuys actualizing myth into ritual. He had begun to connect his teaching activity (which he had considered a form of art) — his pedagogical devices, drawing and writing on the blackboard — with his private drawing, using it as a social tool. During this action, a blackboard leaned against the wall and Beuys turned to it and wrote sentences on it from time to time. In the action *Eurasia* of 1966, Beuys drew on the floor, mapping the space of the action. His activity functioned both as an expansion of concept and also as a mode of inquiry: it was as mysterious as it was illuminating. By casting his work in an eternal present he obliterated the distinction between past and present, and obliterated the difference between mediums and disciplines, between life and art. Living what he advocated even in the act of conceiving it, the artist virtually became his own sculpture, his own life a work of art in formation. In effect, the living sculpture draws.

The primitivizing strain within German Expressionism provided a legitimate context for Beuys's use of regression as a tool. But the basis of his discovery of regression; the real ground on which he had worked out his own regression — solving his personal crisis by integrating it as an artistic one — the ground on which he initially positioned his stance outside time and came to see it as a tool for his art, was premodern, nineteenth-century Romanticism with its nostalgia for medievalism and its tradition of fine drawing.

This is what made Beuys look so peculiar, so radical, while looking so puzzlingly, uncomfortably old-fashioned at the same time. While regression is not an uncommon strategy in modern art, and Beuys had chosen for the ground of his "free" zone (to the degree that conscious choice initially existed in this matter, as his depression was hardly a matter of choice) a primitive locale, he had chosen to express it in historical styles of great refinement. Moreover, by doing so he had, however inadvertently, eluded twentieth-century art with its basis in Cubist spatial construction. Around 1910 Cubism had finally shattered the space of the everyday, destroying what fixed linear perspective and Euclidean reference remained after Impressionism and Cézanne, replacing it with multifaceted, plural spaces in which objects were arranged according to a new, more conceptual, intuitive system that adjusted multiple individual points of view and extended them systematically in an all-over grid. Cubist space was an odd combination of the pragmatic, the empirical, and the con-

ceptual. Its multiple perspectives accommodated multiple sensations — auditory and tactile as well as visual. That is, what was known or sensed could be incorporated with what was available to vision. What Beuys had done in his early work was essentially to elude this space. The isolated fragment was the primary formal element in the mechanism of evasion. Initially, whether by circumstance or by design, he had escaped the net of the Cubist grid, reaching behind it to Romanticism and to Expressionism, prior to its coming under the influence of Cubism. Beuys's structural dependence on fragments, which has the effect of collapsing time as well as space even more radically than in traditional modernism — virtually suspending it — had put him in a key position to explore a new kind of space. It is also important to note that in his concomitant reversion to iconography as a central idea, Beuys also eluded the modernist aesthetic in which form alone is the privileged content. These two factors, which by the 1960s seem to have amounted to a strategy, presented him with a very important opening to the future, as he became caught up in post-Cubist space.

Beuys became very much a part of the major shift that began in Europe and America under the influence of Duchamp's universalization of the art context. The performance movement grew out of the combination of two very different sources. Duchamp's violation of the boundaries of art by his nomination of readymade objects as art was taken up in Europe and turned into an active drama using three-dimensional objects. But the international performance movement originated in Allan Kaprow's transposition to actual performance of the physical activity of Jackson Pollock at work. Pollock had begun by transforming a drawing gesture into painting. Placing his large canvases on the floor, he enlarged gesture to transform the painting surface into a field, a "dancing floor." His body can be seen in photographs and films as he "dances" about in space; he draws out his long skeins of paint, creating his lines as objects in mid-air, which then fall onto the canvas in labyrinthine skeins, forming his field. In the crossings and recrossings of the lines, the field is constructed as an enlarged form of the Cubist grid and ultimately in the limitless expansion of that field, beyond the Cubist grid into a cosmic system connecting heaven and earth. In these pictures each gesture is registered as a drama, part of an event.⁵⁶ As this notion of Pollock's work moves through the performance movement, it connects to Beuys's gesture and his cosmic labyrinthine line.

The point of contact between the Duchampian attitude and the strategy Kaprow had deduced from the photographs and films of Pollock at work was John Cage, with whom Kaprow, Robert Rauschenberg, and others worked at Black Mountain College, where the performance movement began. Cage was the link between music, Duchamp's attitude toward objects, and Kaprow's idea of performance; he and Kaprow bridged both Pop art and Fluxus. Pop was initially an art of objects in space; it used readymades, photographic images, despised materials, detritus, and the recycling of kitsch. It had begun as an intermedia movement in England, where the term Pop art was coined; it originated with such artists as Richard Hamilton, who also had an interest in Duchamp, like Beuys. In the United States it originated in performances such as the happenings of Cage, Kaprow, Rauschenberg, Jim Dine, Claes Oldenburg, and others, where there were no distinctions between mediums or disciplines. A performance could consist of a variety of things, including drawing on stage; it parodied and despised the self-sufficient art object, rejecting its form as a commodity. Thus drawing was not exempt from experimentation and expansion beyond its usual boundaries. Some of the most radical uses of drawing in the 1960s came out of its relationship to the expanded field of performance art and to sculpture. Its emergence as an independent medium was ultimately tied to its interaction

with three-dimensional work that depended upon it as a mediator between concept — notational drawing — and the spatial concerns of objects in depth. Beuys's notations for performances, his scores (*Partituren*), were in this category of work; they became mediators between concept and spatial effects of objects. Fluxus, dependent on fragments, legitimized the fragment as a mode of expression. Although its primary form was the performance, its afterlife, like that of Dada, which had similar aims, was dependent on fragments and ephemera: manifestoes, plans, diagrams, scores, hermetic and ironic communications entrusted to little bits of paper, assemblages of detritus and fragments. The ephemera were often the only concrete manifestations of the phenomenal aspects of the performance and their only remainder.

Beuys's *Hauptstrom* (*Mainstream*) drawings began as a sort of highly conceptual diagrammatic notation for the direction of forces implicit in the 1967 action; they were completed during the action by the addition of fat stains. The drawings contain the afterlife of the performance. His drawings now portrayed the artifacts that he used to make his sculptures, manipulated in actions, or placed in vitrines, similar to the display cases in natural history museums exhibiting implements from earlier cultures. Beuys's objects were often memorabilia, artifacts of destroyed European material culture re-formed, sometimes isolated sculptural objects given new, communal life, petrified energy machines (batteries that look as if they were buried for eons), fat, felt, in fact, anything he could conceive a use for, including, sometimes, drawings. And Beuys made his drawings into "tools" of his art; "objects" redesigned so as to force discourse: in performance, art is not merely a set of objects but an attitude toward objects or a cognitive stance.

As the 1960s progressed, Beuys's drawing activity had evolved into a highly conceptual discipline. He had always understood drawing as a form of genesis; by now it was certainly equated with invention, with engendering the idea or form of things. First present in the mind, drawing became the initial concrete expression of idea. It was a universal system, pre-aesthetic: that is, anterior to purely artistic concerns. It was what made art possible at all, the record of the first spark of inspiration, which grew outward as a force of nature from the mind to the hand. It also implied a transformation of the authorial gesture — a rejection of the conventional form of the signatory mark that denoted originality.

By the mid-1960s Beuys's work reflected the most important artistic and social involvements of the postwar generation. The social concerns and collaborative nature of Fluxus, combined with his teaching activity, had propelled Beuys into the world of action. The prevailing turmoil and demand for social change in the West as the 1960s unfolded into the 1970s proved to be ongoing catalysts for the socialization of his art. Beuys had come increasingly in contact with fellow-artists, and ideas and important affinities emerged with his contemporaries in a reciprocal flow of influences.

Extensions and rejections of Cubist space were commonplace, and although Beuys's nostalgia for the past had a special character, others, too, were ransacking the past for themes and motifs; the eclectic use of styles and the importance of language were shared preoccupations along with experimentation with mediums and dissolution of traditional genre barriers. Minimalism was an art of flat planes arranged in space, projected from two-dimensional diagrams. Conceptual art was heavily dependent on paper work; it was full of word games and plans. Both were based on the Cubist grid

but were projecting it into virtual space and expressing the desire of Constructivism for a truly democratic art of the people through equalization of the means of art. Under the sway of Duchamp's tenet that the distinguishing mark of the artist should be an appeal to the mind, not seduction of the eye, a number of artists conceived of a concrete spatial art, either ruled by language or expressed by linguistic means. These innovations extended into the early 1970s with an increasing emphasis on action and concept, information and language. Beuys reacted to these developments, and they formed another confirmation of his direction as he formulated the linguistic and anthropological aspects of the social sculpture.

For the source of the idea that the mind of the painter is a likeness of the divine mind, enabling the painter to create as nature creates, Beuys may have returned to Leonardo. Leonardo himself had concluded: "Whatever exists in essence, in material form or in imagination, all this the artist has first in his mind and then in the work of his hand. . . . That divine power, which lies in the knowledge of the painter, transforms the mind of the painter into the likeness of the divine mind, for with a free hand he can produce different beings, animals, plants, fruits, landscapes, open fields, abysses, terrifying and fearful places."⁵⁷ Beuys may or may not have read Leonardo directly, but Leonardo's ideas are the source for all later versions of such ideas, in particular the concept of *disegno*, which accorded to drawing the generating power of artistic representation. *Disegno* (which is both design and drawing) is equated with the ancient concept of "idea," which has a dual role; it exists both internally and externally. The "inner design," which precedes execution and is independent of it, can be engendered by man only because God has allowed him to have a spark of the divine mind. This participation in divine creation assures the artist that there is an "objective correspondence between his products and those of nature."⁵⁸ Artistic representation is the visual shape of an idea and can range from invention (as the first idea or backbone of the work) to graphological disclosure — spontaneous personal expression. But for Beuys it became even more: "Drawing for me is already in the thought, and so therefore it is the thought. . . . [If] the complete invisible means of thinking powers are not in a form, then it will never result in a good drawing. So this is my thinking on drawings as a special form of materialized thought. So it is the first beginning of changing the material condition in the world . . . throughout sculpture, throughout architectural structure, throughout machinery or engineering . . . where universals through drawing end not with the concept of drawing of the traditional artist."⁵⁹

Through the late 1960s, Beuys's drawings on paper had taken on new character and roles: some seemed to be dramatizations of sculptures, artifacts in motion, and others became plans, or scores (*Partituren*), for actions. These were as fragmentary and individual, in their way, as the earlier drawings: bits of dialogue, clues as to where to move, sketchy depictions of objects to be used, such as halved crosses, a shepherd's crook, batteries, felt, fat. Some were highly metaphoric, for example, several drawings for the action *Hauptstrom* (*Mainstream*) of 1967 (pls. 136, 137), which were also indications of energy forces at work during the performance. Some were stained with fat, indicating that the materials Beuys used in his drawings and in his sculpture were interchangeable, different states of the same substance and different aspects of the same plastic concept.

And it is Beuys's creation of metaphor through the literalization of concepts that connects his early drawings, his sculpture, and his actions into an extended allegory. He had always considered *Braunkreuz* a substance, not a color, and he had created

his sculptural objects and concepts in a substance appropriate to them. If initially *Beize* had been the substance associated with women in their changeability, women made of *Braunkreuz* were now a form of sculpture grown from the earth itself. The extraordinary run of *Braunkreuz* drawings that reaches its height in the mid-1960s makes drawing the equivalent of sculpting. The fat that stains many drawings is simply another state of the material that in its solid form inspired the creation of such objects as the *Fat Chair*, 1963 (see fig. 1), and the *Fat Corners* of the early 1960s.⁶⁰ In the drawings it is a sign for the substance itself; in the objects, although concrete, it nevertheless functions as a form of metaphor. In the action *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*, from 1965, Beuys smeared his head with honey and gold leaf and carried a dead hare, murmuring to it and touching its paws to various pictures. In this invented ritual visually representing his own code, he used a microphone — sound and hearing as the origins of creation — and felt, a protective element. The hare, which is linked to Mother Earth, represented regeneration and incarnation in the earth, as well as reestablishing the connection between the material world and overdetermined scientific thought. Gold represented culture, as in the alchemist's quest to transform base material into gold; and honey (nourishment) was to awaken "dead" intellect and organically unite intellect (form) with matter, re-creating the tie between mind and the material world. In another action, *Manresa*, 1966,⁶¹ the division of the cross represented the wound as well as the unification of Christian and pagan symbols. These are all concepts that had been dealt with in early drawings and that were now regenerated and reincarnated, as they would be again and again. For the action *Hauptstrom (Mainstream)* in 1967,⁶² Beuys created a hearing device (one of many), making concrete the concept of the auditory origins of creation. This concept is again "re-described" as lines of force in a series of highly conceptual drawings entitled *Words Which Can Hear*, of 1979 (pl. 166).

Gradually, Beuys developed a more concrete notion of the theory of sculpture. The fragmentary drawings became diagrammatic; they became the conceptual and structural backbone for a sculptural concept so multifaceted and projected over such a vast space that only parts of it could be realized as concrete sculpture or social practice. The theory of sculpture gave birth to the social sculpture as Beuys reconceptualized society as an art form — a sculptural artifact, in which no part was conceived of as fixed. He set himself the task of erecting a theoretical structure in which the irrational was indispensable to an ongoing creative process, designed to combat the excessive rationality of modern empirical scientific theory. (The prosthesis depicted in numerous drawings is a metaphor for the aesthetic as a kind of prosthesis for reason.) As the social body became the focus of his sculptural activity, drawing functioned as the "control" for this sculpture, the only medium capable of economically encompassing its drastically enlarged scope and conceptually organizing its dispersed units. Indeed, drawing became not only the means for conceptualizing and organizing the social sculpture but also the means for explaining and proselytizing, until at last drawings themselves became part of its structure.

As Beuys changed his ground, he examined his drawing "language." For a while in the late 1950s, skill had sustained him; he had produced a great rush of extraordinary images in drawing that was a wholly original invention, and led him to his sculptural language. Under the pressure of his new inventions, he seems gradually to have realized that skill, the hallmark of style, the signatory line that identifies the artist as one among many, is not an end in itself. Rather, having developed a mastery of technique to such a degree that he could rely upon his hand for vastly different expressive purposes, one expressive force began to dominate the drawings. As he

increasingly transferred meaning to a universal system in the aesthetic, for a time, he sacrificed his hand to his invention. In his diagrams and blackboards, Beuys subjugated what is sensual and personal in his hand to his idealist vision. To repudiate style as the meaning of the aesthetic meant once again, as in his early work, to repudiate linear development in time—and especially to devalue further the notion of linear progression that dominates empirical thinking.

As early as 1962 Beuys set out to rearrange his early drawings to make them into a structural part of his ultimate artifact, the social sculpture. The *Stag's Foot—Cross 2X* (pl. 73), of 1960, is an example of a drawing later marked with the motif of the small brown cross, or *Braunkreuz*. Early in the 1960s, he seems to have begun to mark a number of earlier drawings with the brown cross, signifying that they now had a privileged place in his work. A drawing so “signed” was transformed; it became another class of drawing, joined to the others of its class physically and conceptually. It was protected and given a future life as well. In effect, he began to rearrange his past, bringing it into the present by recasting the drawings as emblematic and, eventually, arranging drawings in groups or “blocks,” as in the later *secret block for a secret person in Ireland* of 1974.⁶³ He also updated the interpretations of the iconography of these drawings, translating the phenomena depicted in them from merely embryonic or metaphoric ideas of the theory of sculpture into concrete examples of it, almost as if the ideas were pre-existent in the drawings, which in some sense they were, although as yet unborn to Beuys. Now, in the existential break between early and late, the theory is “born” and takes on its full meaning, the one it was always ordained to have. Thus, interpretations of Beuys’s drawings exist in a dialogue between the past and the present, between their formal existential essence and their use, or interpretive value, for the social sculpture.

The handmade *Braunkreuz* was succeeded by a *Braunkreuz* stamp, which was multivalent in its meanings. Beuys’s sense of irony comes to the fore as the stamp was, in one sense, the stamp of approval, designed by Beuys as a parody of the official stamping that the state bureaucracy required for the validation of papers (and perhaps, too, in appreciation of Warhol’s wish that the artist be a machine that makes art). Although there was no apparent system to the selection of drawings that Beuys stamped, the stamp fundamentally changed any drawing to which it was affixed. It added a new meaning to the designated drawings. It also gave them a new life, removing the drawings to which it was affixed from linear time, causing them to move in a constant round between their original date and the date of stamping; it is as though time vibrates around them. Stamping was thus also a system in defiance of rational systems, a parody of empirical logic.

The concept of “blocking” in Beuys’s work probably had its origins in performance and may well be related to serial music as it affected the performance movement and, later, conceptual art, through the theories of Mallarmé via Duchamp, and the composers Anton von Webern, John Cage, Pierre Boulez, and Karlheinz Stockhausen. Mallarmé was, so to speak, in the air in the early 1960s. As Hans Rudolf Zeller has explained, both Mallarmé and Webern created an intimate link between lyricism in music and in language, which amounted to a kind of “language-confusion.”⁶⁴ In a now-famous dictum that poems are made not of ideas but of words, Mallarmé had declared that language alone was the subject of poetic writing. In the creation of a poem, the poet transposes everyday words, changing their function by positioning them within a new structural context. As a result, the boundaries of meaning are expanded, and the word acquires several new meanings, depending on the number

of dimensions of poetic space it is seen to occupy. A new (spatial) structure must therefore be created in which to arrange the words so as to give them meaning. In poetry the principles of the arrangement are called the line or the sentence; on the page the structure remains static until, continued by the reader, it becomes active.

What is specifically relevant to Beuys, apart from Mallarmé's general dictum, is his structure-poem of 1897, "Un Coup de dés" ("A Throw of the Dice"), especially the foreword, which instructs the reader in the "performance technique" of this "piece." Mallarmé conceived of his book as "a geometrical body whose proportions are derived from the 'books' made up of the mobile sections [of the text pages], superimposed or presented side by side. The external measurements of the volumes and of the whole complex, the length, breadth and height of the book when lying down or standing up are to correspond, inside, to the number of lines on a page, its length, and the size of the spaces between lines." As described by Zeller, "this three-dimensional spatial structure, which Mallarmé called the 'block,' is only the *visual* model for a non-visual, multidimensional, poetic space. . . . For reading no longer meant working one's way progressively through a book in one direction; it was now, rather, a question of taking in the whole by means of suddenly grasping and realising one of its possibilities. . . . The great unknown factor, the reader, had at last to be taken into account and to become a factor in the book's structure."⁶⁵ Whether or not Beuys specifically knew Mallarmé's scheme, its theoretical structure became part of the performance movement; and the structure of performance determined the conceptual structure of the social sculpture in all its ramifications.

From Mallarmé to musical performance there is a leap that goes by way of the role of the performer; it concerns the question of musical notation, which the form of Mallarmé's book influenced. In Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI* of 1956, "The actual *appearance* of the notes . . . reveals the concept of a 'directionless time-field' which underlies its structure. . . . What appears to be scattered over the page, without order or direction, must in fact contain the possibility of being co-ordinated, if one passes from the external manifestation of the composition to its 'internal' formal structure, and as a complex it must be provided with a rule if indeed its sonic realisation is to be meaningfully accomplished."⁶⁶ The formal idea provided the performer with "note-groups" of varying sizes [blocks], capable of constant rearrangement: "After the conclusion of the writing-down stage the conditions were created for the groups to be related," as Zeller summarized. For example, Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI* is based on the permutation principle, which in Mallarmé's terms "means composing a form out of structure-blocks according to rules and therefore *forming* — not just reproducing or interpreting a text with different nuances of interpretation."⁶⁷ The concept of musical performance became one in which the performer is given "possession of the keys to the work, as it were; by applying the rules of play either simultaneously or successively he opens the work up and puts together one of its possible configurations." The performer was made a collaborator, who, governed by the rules of play (which are precisely formulated although flexible), contributes his share to the realization of each project. Each project — each performance — is seen as a whole, but, in accordance with the performance principle, the rules of play are good for more than one performance.⁶⁸ Thus the performance became a transformable sculpture.

The concept of the *Hauptstrom* (*Mainstream*) action now extended concretely in space and time through the agency of the stamp, as over a period of years Beuys continued to mark his early drawings, as well as new diagrams and lists, inserting them into a number of blocks. He also chose drawings already in collections, in effect transposing them as "words," which, interspersed with unmarked drawings,

formed “sentences” (making each block a chapter). These, arranged simultaneously in space over a number of collections throughout Germany and dispersed as far north as England and Norway, created other kinds of conceptual blocks, or constellations. Like Beuys in his actions, his drawings “traveled” through Europe (and to Ireland as well). The blocks extended over the Celtic heartland, reuniting and healing not only Germany, but other “injured” parts of Europe. The concept was paradoxical—the drawings were compressed into a single dimension by stamping, while at the same time the dispersal and conceptual arrangement of the various concrete elements of the spatial structure created a multidimensional “map,” mimicking a scientific construct. Scattered geographically in blocks, these diverse elements signified Beuys’s presence as a kind of artistic pilgrim. Moreover, they played off one another in a variety of ways and could be metaphorically “seen” from different angles, in both time and space, establishing different relationships, as if in a version of a vastly extended, conceptual Cubist grid. This network might now be more accurately expressed as a “constellation” of Beuys’s key theoretical tools, binding within it his unmarked drawings and rearranging them in relation to one another and in relation to his sculptures and actions in defiance of time and space. For if “blocking” is a sculptural concept, it also entails the construction of a language that would defy time and space.

In a metaphorical sense, Beuys’s individual blocks of drawings are themselves sculptures, as well as structural elements in the social sculpture. The whole concept could be intuitively grasped through one of its aspects. As microcosms of the theory of sculpture, each project (and the blocks seem to have been conceived of as projects) represents a concise mental construct, which not only precedes external realization but also takes its place, for by his own account Beuys’s social sculpture was an ideal in the process of becoming. In addition the blocks are “batteries,” the accumulation of drawings within them storing energy, like a *Fond*, to fuel the process.

Drawing became, in part, a matter of record. It is essential to note that finally *any* notation became a form of drawing for Beuys, who declared “Even when I write my name I am drawing,”⁶⁹ because it connects his idea of the originating power of drawing with his concept of the power of language. He made it clear that the thought was the most important thing, and that the words he wrote on the blackboards—a “form of imagination”⁷⁰—were connected with concepts that had already been there in the beginning, in the early drawings. In the 1970s as Beuys’s actions became more didactic and political, drawing kept pace: the emphasis was on blackboards drawn during actions and these focused on his theory of sculpture.

To redefine society as a sculptural artifact is to put the aesthetic squarely in the arena of the political. By the early 1970s Beuys had become a politician as well as an artist. He used his most important and largest block of drawings, *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*, as a direct political statement, in which he publicly identified Ireland and Germany with each other spiritually, because of the physical division of each and their kindred Celtic mythology. Beuys circulated this block for exhibition as a kind of aesthetic prosthesis for the split society, a means of empathic healing. At this point, his blocks became social tools as well as spiritual statements. Art became not an adornment for society but the vital impulse at its center.

For Beuys, however, as for Immanuel Kant and Friedrich von Schiller, and many others before him, the aesthetic was the realm of freedom, and creativity was the science of freedom. He balanced Schiller’s “sublimely rational” and “brutely sensual,” charting a course of reconciliation between them.⁷¹ As in the *Golgotha* (pl. 14), using

his intuition, Beuys imposed order on the world outside himself, bringing form to chaos and reconciling spirit to matter. And it is the aesthetic, conceived of as a form of anthropology, that brings about the possibility of charting such a course. It is as though the whole of the German tradition commands Beuys to action, or at least commends it to him.⁷²

Beuys wished to establish a political hegemony through the aesthetic, but he did not offer the usual kind of program. He had no conventional political, legislative, practical plan for the reform of society (although the Green Party, of which he was a founder, would in fact offer a program), but rather, like a theoretical scientist, he set out an ideal form and a form of question. He wished Man to remake himself and society in a new image of himself: in the new construct, every man would be acknowledged a creator, and every man's labor reconceived of as aesthetic. Man as consumer would be reformed so that he would satisfy only his needs, not his greed; resources would be conserved and shared, and there would be a reorganization of economics toward human needs. For Beuys there was a manifest assimilation of art and life: the life course itself is a work of art, an extended act of empathic healing.

The conceptual form of the social sculpture embodied a radical change of value. If Beuys had solved his personal crisis of the 1950s by internalizing and integrating it as an artistic one, eventually creating himself as a critical figure in a move into a new mode of representation in the 1960s, it is now clear that in this move, by imposing upon representation itself a radically different set of terms, Beuys had hoped to change completely the context in which art receives its value. In the 1970s the focus of his drawing changed radically, as did the space in which it took place, as Beuys concentrated on drawing on blackboards as a form of action. His intent remained the same, but, in a larger sense, the space of his drawings did not change at all; it had simply extended its scope, expanding on a cosmic scale.

Beuys's time, like all messianic time, is an eternal present; like Joyce, for whom he felt such a psychic affinity, he insisted upon the present as the only real location of experience. This had been the motive behind his constant co-option of the past by the present. Beuys is like Joyce, whose "action takes place in a plurality of spaces, in a consciousness that leaps about the universe and mixes here and there in defiance of the ordered diagramming of cartographers."⁷³ But Beuys's space is not merely one of multiple perspectives; he moved from a pictorial space into a virtual space. On the formal level, he compressed the fragmentary space of modernism since Cubism into one cosmic space by means of his line, which now operated both as an image of pure change and as an extended present, while the sense of ideas refracting across that space remained.

If there is now a kind of necessity to draw it is about structures, like they are on blackboards, sometimes written sentences, ideas, sometimes a symbol of forms, a little form. . . . Any blackboard which exists is done in a kind of performance or dialogue with many people. . . . The drawing I do principally in public constellation, never when I am alone. I never work with a blackboard with me alone (Joseph Beuys).⁷⁴

It is important to remember that the blackboard drawings were executed in public, in actions: Beuys drew as he talked. He called this kind of drawing "auditive," in effect making sound sculptural.⁷⁵ In his actions he extended the teacher's usual

performance to a work of art, one that takes place on a different ground. The blackboard drawings clarified the concept beyond the capacity of words to do so, recovering the occult value of gesture; and as drawing connected from the first utterance to the living pulse of the artist, and thence as a pure signal to the metaphoric heart of the drawing, it became part of the living sculpture — it again became numinous. This is drawing itself, as a means of transmitting ideas, transformed into an act that insures freedom. Several of the blackboard drawings condense actions to their essence — they diagram the theories driving the actions and thus become archetypes. The blackboard drawings represent a culmination in Beuys's drawing, not as autonomous aesthetic artifacts, but as artifacts incarnating a concept. If originally they were mere pedagogical devices, not much valued, but erased, later they became more important and were preserved. Beuys's ethical and political resistance to the unique art object makes the question of originality irrelevant so far as the blackboards are concerned. They were probably never intended to be experienced as unique works of art; they were social tools. Perhaps their importance lay in the very lack of permanence, their capability of being erased and reused, and their extreme familiarity to everyone as a pedagogical device — and thus their power to communicate. In any case, Beuys regarded his activity as a teacher as an important artwork and continued to conceive the pedagogical actions from which the blackboard drawings resulted, as well as the structures elaborated on them, as social artworks of the first importance.

Blackboards functioned not only as channels of communication, but, in an extension of his earlier thinking, as mental constructs. The blackboards mediated between the two genres of drawing and sculpture. In 1974–77 he created an enormous sculptural assemblage of them, *Directional Forces (Richtkräfte)* (pl. 156),⁷⁶ which manifests blackboards' power as channels of communication and therefore of social power. *Directional Forces* demonstrated the transition of drawing in action from a sculptural concept to sculpture. *Directional Forces* started as an action in 1974, made over the course of several weeks during the exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London. There it gradually became an environment as Beuys drew and added new boards to it every day. From that exhibition it was subsequently shown as an environment and then reinstalled as a free-standing sculpture.

The blackboard drawings are the outcome of one of Beuys's most striking appropriations, one in which the influence of Steiner is both theoretical and visual, and puts Steiner's influence into yet another key position, this time with regard to drawing itself. And it is important to note that Steiner's philosophy had its basis in the mainstream philosophical tradition, of which Beuys was aware. Many mainstream philosophical ideas were reinterpreted alchemically by Steiner and found their way into Beuys's imagery through Steiner's more pictorial representations. The use of a blackboard as a teaching device belongs more to science and philosophy than to the visual arts. Just as Steiner taught his philosophy — a "scientific" discipline — by drawing diagrams with chalk on sheets of black paper pinned to the wall at the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland, from 1919 to 1924, so, too, did Beuys use blackboards to illustrate his "anthropological" construct. And Beuys not only appropriated the method; once again, he also copied the structure in its detail and the "hand." The large looping line, and the detail played against it, are present in Steiner's work. It is another example of Beuys's recognition of connections among apparently disparate elements, as the concepts of alchemy, constellations, and astrological, anthropological, and sociological charts come together with landscape drawing. The plastic, formal qualities of the work are expressive — at one, as it were, with Beuys's overtly social and political (anthropological) intentions, which had evolved into the core meaning of his work. By now, he had thoroughly radicalized drawing; equating

drawing as a spiritual exercise with social mapping put him in complete accord with earlier radical notions that reconceived the aesthetic as the study of man, thus constituting it as an anthropological category and reconciling art and science.

The blackboard *Untitled (Sun State)*, of 1974 (pl. 155), charts such a structure. In Beuys's words: "[It is] a kind of reproduction of the action from the point of view of . . . what was going on with ideas, and structures, proposals, and . . . provocations."⁷⁷ Each motif is a metaphor, emblematic of concepts similar to those enunciated above, or a version of them. We are, in fact, back to a type of proportional drawing, except that here the measure being taken is of the "ground of becoming"—the world in its most general, cosmic sense. *Untitled (Sun State)* is a kind of astrological chart transformed into the description of a political or civic landscape. *Untitled (Sun State)* represents freedom. It charts the universal state as a special form of spatialization, in contrast to national states, whose areas are defined by borders. It unites the cosmic and the terrestrial as it maps an ideal state in which the social order is conceived of as a living, evolving organism, intimately linked to the natural order, in an ideally balanced ecological cycle. The sun creates energy, which is circulated through the labyrinthine system; chaos and myth as primal energy are, as is usual in the bipolar system, at the left. As the energetic matter of creation is alchemically converted and circulates through the looping line, it takes form in a threefold system of culture—art, science, and religion—and goes toward the ideal state in which the key democratic questions govern: "Cultural Life—(Freedom) Law—(Equality) Economics—(Fraternity)."⁷⁸ The death principle appears as a counterbalance to the life principle. The earth principle—the rule of law—is to the right. Firmly attached to it, as the primary actor in the drawing, is Man portrayed as a figure that seems both androgynous (woman is reconciled to a higher state of humanity, and man to his animal nature) and animalistic. The antlers indicate heightened spirituality: initiation into gnosis (immediate knowledge of spiritual truth). Gifted with intuition, the figure presides over the annihilation of space by time; with his beating heart as the vital pulse, drawing energy from the sun on which he stands, he is the original artist, sharing in God's divine idea. As Caroline Tisdall explained Beuys's view of the artist, he is the "producer of time and space"; he generates the line of creation, and he is the "coordinator . . . the impeller . . . who knows how to respect individuality, but at the same time, how to play a social role."⁷⁹ The aesthetic intervenes here to reconcile disparate forces, to intimately tie individuals together without sacrificing their distinctness, and to put the flesh-and-blood reality of the individual being into the context of abstraction's totalizing vision.⁸⁰ The stag itself, which is designated as a representation of soul, is now also emblematic of a form of civic virtue. Empathic imagination has its roots in nature. If we can leave behind our own identities to identify with the other—the suffering of the animal in nature—then we have sensitized ourselves so that we can be social beings. So the aesthetic—the ability to imagine something other or to imagine how it is to be someone other—is at the root of socialization, making it possible for the lonely individual to unite and bond with others to form an ideal society. This concept was acted out, in part, in Beuys's action *Coyote: I Like America and America Likes Me* at the René Block Gallery, New York, where he lived with a coyote for three days in May 1974.⁸¹ But in the social order more is needed, and feeling precedes knowledge. Conscience tells us that what we feel to be right is right (again, intuition is the guide). But feeling alone is for a state of nature; civilization, social harmony, requires such feeling to be formulated in law. Thus the aesthetic inscribes itself in the law as part of the social contract.⁸²

Beuys wished his drawings to be taken not as referring to personal emotion but as forming a world as self-consistent as that of abstract logic, mathematics, or philosophy, with the same internal coherence and representational relation to phenomena as those disciplines. In a 1974 lecture Beuys said:

I will begin at the end: from the drawings concepts have evolved, a plastic theory that returns to the drawings. These drawings show an infinite number of aspects of the world, they show an infinite number of aspects of topics, but I have tried to arrange them so that those concepts (that is, shamanistic concepts) that harken back, all these backward harkening constellations, are arranged so that formally they can awaken interest in the current consciousness of the viewer so that he becomes interested in a general view of man in time, not only presently, not only looking back historically, anthropologically, but also offering aspects for the future, offering solutions by way of an opening of problems. Opened thus, that interest orients itself toward a central point: the organization of human life evolving out of the future, happening through the present, and formulating new creative models for the formation of the present. Or, one could say, to sculpt new models for the entirety of life.⁸³

The idea of the constellation articulated here probably relates to Walter Benjamin's concept (although Mallarmé had used the term); for Beuys it seemed a logical new structural model, which can be seen to supplement the model of Mallarmé's book. The blackboard drawing *Untitled (Sun State)*, for example, is one form of constellation, a representation of a labyrinthine cosmic gestalt, the universe as a form of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. And it establishes the constellation as both a spiritual model and a concrete object: spiritual because the belief in the cosmic vision implies that all things share a common soul but concrete in the sense that, according to Benjamin, in the constellation "ideas are not represented in themselves, but solely and exclusively in an arrangement of concrete elements in the concept: as the configuration. . . . Ideas are to objects as constellations are to stars. . . . It is the function of concepts to group phenomena together, and the division which is brought about within them thanks to the distinguishing power of the intellect is all the more significant in that it brings about two things at a single stroke: the salvation of phenomena and the representation of ideas."⁸⁴

Nevertheless the meaning and the value of the thing adheres to it throughout. "Phenomena" do not enter the realm of ideas whole, but "divested of their false unity so that, thus divided, they might partake of the genuine unity of truth."⁸⁵ And divided, deployed in clusters, Cubist-style, they refract across time and space.⁸⁶ Concepts function by grouping phenomena, dividing them up according to minute particular distinctions that the intellect is busily providing. Thanks to that distinguishing power of the intellect (and here we are back to Idea, as it relates to *disegno*), we can reproduce the shape of matter, create a concrete representation: a form.

As Beuys described the constellation represented in such blackboard drawings as *Untitled (Sun State)*, the individual ego is distanced (the figure is not intended as an egoistic representation): "It goes away from the ego or the egoistic drives and urges, and it is a kind of technique which is circular, which runs through the community or through the environment or through the social body. So, hence all of a sudden even the social body, which was in the past in the mind of the people, an abstract thing becomes a living being, since then under this constellation the social order is a living being and needs ecological treatment."⁸⁷ This then led to ecological actions in which the entire social being would be cured of its ills.

Beuys's blocks weave his drawings (fragments that now can be conceived of as fully within the tradition of the anti-aesthetic) together in a set of "estranged" correspondences, in a form of constellation. And this is what makes Beuys's entire enterprise sculptural in its essence: this is the idea implicit in the random structure of the stamping, in the deployment of the blocks of drawings, and finally in his turning to multiples. In the constellation, the detail must submit to the organizational principle of the whole; thus the hierarchy of genres is broken down, and equality is established within the aesthetic (now conceived of as the social). The social sculpture comes to be envisaged as a universe of constellations: not just blocks of drawings, but all the other elements of his work as well.

In performing his drawing in public on blackboards, Beuys inducted it into the arena of the social. Previously thought of as a private, intuitive discipline, spontaneous in its essence, drawing was now offered as an open act of empathic communication. The blackboard drawings were "nomad's" drawings; his idea was to use what he could carry with him, like the tools of the nomadic people from early times he had admired. In talking of style Beuys said that he did not wish to create a tradition of his own, that it was the nomadic aspect of drawing that interested him.⁸⁸ Although he still believed in the worth of the artist's intimate contact with pencil and paper, private drawings became fewer and fewer.

Although with his social sculpture Beuys had expanded the idea of art beyond the exhibition and well beyond the museum, the exhibition form, which had long been one of his primary mediums and a formidable instrument for his art, remained extremely important for him as a means for making the relationships between the elements of his art into meaningful structures. He had created installations of "tools" in vitrines; the vitrines and larger assemblage pieces, as well as drawings, were further grouped in museums and private collections in semipermanent, environmental installations that were movable and could be changed and added to. He installed his own exhibitions in galleries and museums as total environments, arranging assemblages of individual pieces, using other installations, and creating other large pieces specifically for the sites. For his exhibition at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York in 1979, he turned the interior of the museum into a metaphor for a giant beehive. Its various cells, conceived of as stations, formed a constellation in a representation of the social sculpture with a giant, sexual "warm-energy" machine at its center. As he created drawings specifically for exhibitions, he brought his drawing practice into conformity with his working method for sculpture and for actions. To work under a kind of "extraterritorial situation, . . . to make whole cycles, whole books, like a kind of literature"⁸⁹ interested him. His blocks must also be seen as chapters in these books. In the 1980s Beuys thought about finding a way to make very big drawings on paper, but he did not want them to be like blackboard drawings nor did he want them to be decorative. The blackboard drawings had grown out of an organic necessity, out of performance and public dialogue. To make new, large drawings, he needed a new necessity, a specific stimulus.⁹⁰

Beuys preferred his new work to be serial — systematic. Earlier, he had created quasi-series — several drawings on one theme — returning a number of times over the years to the same motif: for instance, a group of drawings on the theme of the life of bees, initially inspired by Maurice Maeterlinck's *Life of the Bee* (1901), which was an important influence in the development of his respect for natural structures, which, in turn, informed his theory of sculpture. *Words Which Can Hear*, of 1979 (pl. 166), is one result of this activity. The cycle consists of several framed blocks of varying

sizes. Drawn on diary pages, they are indeed “nomadic” and could be toted along and added to anywhere from day to day. The image remains constant: its form is in constant process of change, opening and closing, suggesting both a receptor and an amplifier as lines of energy radiate around a hearing hole while currents of words flow along as parallel elements to the lines. These drawings are noisy, filled with the clamor of daily events. The word is clearly given as the key to all formative and organizing processes, with drawing as a parallel, as Beuys expressed the concrete nature of linguistic utterance by using words to construct the images. These drawings relate to Webern’s musical concepts — his intervals of two-, three-, and four-note motifs, composed from the twelve notes of the tempered scale — and to Mallarmé’s transposition of monosyllabic words, which “transform[ed] the significance of the sound of the words into musical relationships,”⁹¹ and to his transformation of the word into an object. By putting aside their “poetic content,” Beuys created an objective structure. The drawings, on lined diary paper, are like scores. But they are scores for a perpetual expansion of the word, an evolution, from the beginning, as a thought, into the world as a concrete form. These drawings are a prime example of Beuys’s use of language, not only as he pushed the edges of writing to move so close to drawing as a form of coded marking that the words are in danger of losing denotative meaning, but as he removed the boundaries between the conceptual and the concrete, making forms, even whole structures, of ideas. In these drawings time is extended in space; it is organized as an expanding field in the form of movement from leaf to leaf of a book, contained within the serial structure of a diary. But the dates are not serial, opening the possibility, despite the serial nature of the enterprise, of their existence in a directionless, constantly expanding time field. The actual appearance of the words as well as the form of the drawing and the serial structure of the cycle express a world that is perpetually expanding. But the format is very small, compressing the passage of time into short intervals. Perhaps these drawings represent a counting off of remaining time and the hope of continuance as Beuys felt time pressing in on him. These drawings are the visual model for a nonvisual concept that underlies all of Beuys’s art: the structure of thought as an evolutionary principle. In 1985 Beuys explained:

The expanded concept of art is not a theory but a way of proceeding which says that the inner eye is very much more crucial than the external images that develop anyway. The precondition for good outward pictures, which can also be hung in museums, is that the inner image, the thought-form, the structure of thought, imagination, and feeling, has the quality required of a corresponding picture. I therefore shift the picture back to its place of origin. I go back to the sentence: In the beginning was the word. The word is a form. That is the evolutionary principle as such. This principle of evolution must spring out of man.⁹²

These drawings are conceptually remarkable in the concision with which they encapsulate the evidence of an artist living a completely aesthetic mode of existence, totally immersed in the imminence of his own death. (Beuys, by this time, was terminally ill with heart-lung disease.) Beuys also placed groups of earlier drawings of differing dates in framed arrangements. Over and over in different ways, the compression of time and space, and thus, the healing of breaches, was rehearsed.

Almost the last drawings that Beuys made were for a cycle of dried plants mounted on paper, the *Ombelico di Venere — Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris*, of 1985 (pl. 172). Traditionally, the florilegium is a collection of drawings that classifies plants and examines their structures; it is both a scientific and an artistic pursuit that goes back

beyond medieval to classical times. Beuys's arranging of his drawings into blocks probably originated in this classifying tendency that began with *Herb Robert* of 1941 (pl. 2). Twice Beuys returned to the florilegium concept, as he became involved with ecology when he helped to found the Green Movement in the 1970s and then when he worked on his project *7000 Oaks* from 1982. The *Ombelico* drawings enact Beuys's historical construct as allegories, palimpsests. They refer to the *Beize* drawings, to a reverence for each thing in its particularity, to fertility. At the core of Beuys's art, there had always been a strongly sexual as well as an ethical component. The concept of the navel from which the umbilical cord springs indicates a reverence for the life principle, in both its sensuous and its material aspects. But the dried plants are dead: they evoke time immemorial and death; death is associated with the Venus principle, with the sensuous aspect of life and woman. It seems possible that they were conceived of as a form of poetic elegy. Each plant is a word — a name — a specific entity with a life cycle. And each work is thus a separate form in nature: a poem as a form of sculpture with a specific story; but as the general is implicit in the specific, they synopsise that life-line in his work, the reverence for nature and for life, the *Mainstream* concept, the concept that signified the end in the beginning and the beginning in the end. The estrangement from nature and the need to heal the breach between culture and nature are expressed in Beuys's last great mega-constellation, the *7000 Oaks* project, conceived of as an extended action to restore nature. The basalt rock placed next to each tree expresses Beuys's theory of the concentration of energy in a conjunction of opposites and the moral force that came to drive his reconciliation of these oppositions as a healing process. With this last constellation Beuys not only completed the movement from art into life, but found a concrete, socially constructive means of reconciling art and science to his life as a healing mission between nature and culture.

In *Untitled (Sun State)*, Beuys portrayed himself standing as the creative mediator between two stages of twentieth-century art: as the fulcrum between the modern and the postmodern. He arrives at just the moment when even the forms of modernism, which had initially set out to destroy the old time-honored forms, and with them, their outworn meanings, had all but run out of meaning themselves. By initially depending on representation and content — by his very reliance on old-fashioned drawing and his placement of iconography at the center of his work — he displaced the modernist aesthetic in which form alone is the privileged content. Beuys's subsequent reconceptualization of his individual fragments, his single drawings, into sculptural constellations within the social sculpture gave new meaning to the centuries-old conception attached to drawing that the form is first in the thought. The radical realignment of modes initiated by this reconceptualization of form was responsible for a change within the spatial and structural configuration of modernism, which fundamentally transformed its very premises. Assuming an ethical stance, Beuys inducted modernism's radical aesthetic into the social sphere, which is now conceived of as aesthetic in its totality — itself a work of art. In 1984 Beuys explained:

But then you have to widen the understanding of art. . . . We have to develop and go on, to bring up all those methodologies and instruments to result in some changing of the social body, to bring it up as an artwork. . . . I am really convinced that humankind will not survive without having realized the social body, the social order, into a kind of artwork. They will not survive (Joseph Beuys).²³

1. Joseph Beuys, remarks during an interview with the author, June 18, 1984, Düsseldorf (transcript in the archives of the Study Center for Drawings, The Museum of Modern Art, New York).
 2. Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford, 1990), p. 13. Aesthetics, from the Greek *aisthētikos*, perceptive, especially by feeling, is defined by *Webster's New International Dictionary* as "the branch of philosophy dealing with beauty or the beautiful, especially in the fine arts; a theory or the theories of beauty, its essential character, the tests by which it may be recognized or judged, and its characteristic relation to or effect upon the human mind; also, the scientific study of taste; the psychology of the sensations and emotions that have the fine arts for their stimulus. The word *aesthetic*, in the Latin form *aesthetica*, was first used by Baumgarten about 1750 to designate the science of sensuous knowledge, whose goal is beauty, in contrast with logic, whose goal is truth. Kant objected to this use of the term, and used *transcendental aesthetic* to denote the a priori principles of sensible experience, namely, time and space. Hegel elaborated (1820–30) a science of the fine arts which he called *Ästhetik*, and won so much approval for his work that since his time the word in his sense is generally adopted."
 3. Beuys, interview with Martin Kunz, in Kunstmuseum Luzern, *Joseph Beuys: Spuren in Italien* (Lucerne, 1979), n.p. (author's translation).
 4. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984; see also Eagleton 1990, p. 43.
 5. Thomas McEvilley, "Art in the Dark," *Artforum*, vol. 21 (Summer 1983), p. 62.
 6. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
 7. Dieter Koepplin, *Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*, edited by Heiner Bastian (Munich, 1988), *passim*.
 8. In a lecture of 1985, "Talking about One's Own Country: Germany," Beuys said: "When I speak here about my own country, I cannot base what I say on anything more recent and primal than our language. My path, strange as it is, took me by way of the language rather than my so-called visual ability being the starting point. As many people know, I started to study the natural sciences, and then came to the conclusion that my possibility perhaps lay in a sphere demanding something completely different from the ability to become a good specialist in some scientific occupation, and that my talent lay in exerting an all-embracing impact on the task facing the nation. The concept of a people is elementally coupled with its language. Mind you, a people is not a race. The fact that this was also the only way of overcoming all the surviving racist machinations, terrible sins, and indescribable darkness without losing sight of them for even a moment led me to decide in favour of art, albeit of an art that took me to a concept of sculpture which starts with speaking and thinking, thereby learning to construct concepts which can and will bring feeling and willing into form if I do not slacken and keep rigorously going, so that forward-looking images will present themselves and ideas take shape. The precondition for a successful sculpture was thus that an inner form first came into being in thought and understanding which could then be expressed in the shape of the material used in the work" (lecture given at the Kammerspiele, Munich, 1985); reprinted in Wilfried Wiegand et al., *Joseph Beuys: In Memoriam Joseph Beuys; Obituaries, Essays, Speeches*, translated by Timothy Nevill (Bonn, 1986), pp. 35–38.
 9. For a discussion, see George Steiner, *Martin Heidegger* (Chicago, 1978), p. 9.
 10. Eagleton 1990, pp. 295–96.
 11. See note 8.
 12. Joseph Meder, *The Mastery of Drawing*, translated and revised by Winslow Ames (New York, 1978), vol. 1, p. 183.
 13. The architectural text of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio found its way into Renaissance theory and thence into modern history when a tenth-century copy surfaced in the monastery of St. Gall in 1415.
 14. See Meder 1978, p. 183.
 15. See Götz Adriani, Winfried Konnertz, and Karin Thomas, *Joseph Beuys: Life and Works*, translated by Patricia Lech (1973; Woodbury, N.Y., 1979), p. 25.
 16. See John Updike, "Innerlichkeit and Eigentümlichkeit," *New York Review of Books*, March 7, 1991, p. 11.
 17. The sun became a pervasive motif in Beuys's art and was central to his theory of sculpture. Sun worship, an important element in any number of early societies, was, in fact, a cult in German Expressionism and appears in Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. The myth was connected with nudism and the worship of the body, and was embraced by various youth movements, especially the *Wandervogel* (groups of students who wandered the countryside, and were among the models for the Hitler *Jugend*).
 18. See Helmuth James von Moltke, *Letters to Freya, 1939–1945*, translated by Beate Ruhm von Oppen (New York, 1990), p. 206, letter of February 4, 1942.
 19. For a recent discussion, see Updike 1991.
 20. See Eagleton 1990, p. 292.
 21. Quoted in Updike 1991, p. 11.
 22. Steiner 1978, p. 9.
 23. *Dasein* is a difficult concept in Heidegger; it is part of his structure of "being." As Hubert Dreyfus explained it: "*being* (with a lower-case *b*) . . . is 'that on the basis of which beings are already understood.' Being is not a substance, a process, an event, or anything that we normally come across; rather, it is a fundamental aspect of entities, viz. their intelligibility. . . . There are two basic ways of being. Being-human, which Heidegger calls *Dasein*, and nonhuman being" (Hubert L. Dreyfus, *Being-in-the-World: A Commentary on Heidegger's "Being and Time"* [Cambridge, Mass., 1991], p. xi).
- Although Beuys may have received this sort of imagery through Romantic poetry (and Heidegger is nowhere mentioned by him or any of his

- friends, critics, or historians), he was an important intellectual figure in Germany during the period of Beuys's education from 1933 onward, when he read philosophy and such Romantic poets as Novalis extensively. It seems probable that Beuys was aware of the ideas of Heidegger, who is considered by many to be a seminal figure in the whole philosophical examination of language. "Language," as Heidegger expressed in his *Introduction to Metaphysics* ([New Haven, 1959], p. 171), "is the primordial poetry in which a people speaks 'being'" (quoted in Eagleton 1990, p. 301).
24. Dieter Koeplin, "Museumkunst und 'Soziale Plastik': Joseph Beuys," in Monika Wagner, ed., *Moderne Kunst* (Hamburg, 1991), pp. 621-22.
25. See Françoise Forster-Hahn, "No Day Without a Line": Menzel's Construction of Authenticity," *Drawing*, vol. 13 (September-October 1991), p. 51.
26. Peter Schjeldahl, "Edvard Munch: The Missing Master," in *The Hydrogen Jukebox: Selected Writings of Peter Schjeldahl*, edited by Malin Wilson (Berkeley, 1991), p. 28.
27. The word *Norn* refers to the ancient giantesses of Anglo-Saxon and Norse mythology. Originally there was but one, Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon, Urth in Norse, who was Doom or Death; later in Norse myth there were three: Urth, Verthandi, and Skuld—Past, Present, and Future, represented in Scotland by the Weird Sisters of *Macbeth*.
28. Quoted in Koeplin 1988, p. 11 (author's translation).
29. Charles W. Talbot, "Baldung and the Female Nude," in James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack, *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings* (New Haven, 1981), p. 33.
30. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Introduction to the Lectures on Physics," Weimar, October 2, 1805; in *Goethe's Color Theory*, edited by Rupprecht Matthaei, translated by Herb Aach (New York, 1971), p. 68.
31. Talbot 1981, p. 31.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
33. See note 30.
34. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
35. Matthaei, ed., 1971, p. 155.
36. Cited in Claire Van Damme, "Joseph Beuys and the Multiple Problematics of His Work," in *Joseph Beuys: Tekeningen, Aquarellen, Gouaches, Collages, Olieverven* (Ghent, 1977), p. 75.
37. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
38. Musée Rodin, Paris, inv. nos. D.4340 and D.5657; illustrated in *Auguste Rodin: Drawings and Watercolors*, edited by Ernst Gerhard Güse (New York, 1985), pp. 207, 241. For example, Rodin's *Vase Woman* (inv. no. D.4771; Güse 1985, p. 247) seems to be a source for Beuys's *Untitled (Amphorae)*, 1949 (pl. 9).
39. Musée Rodin, Paris, inv. nos. D.4511, 4498, 4450, 5077, 4429; illustrated in Güse 1985, pp. 161, 278, 279, 281, 283. The Berlin dancer is thought not to be by Rodin.
40. For *Fond II* and *Fond III*, see Heiner Bastian, ed., *Joseph Beuys: Skulpturen und Objekte* (Munich, 1988), pp. 268-71.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 143. A photograph of the sculpture in situ at Darmstadt appears in Adriani, Konnertz, and Thomas, 1979, pp. 77-78, pl. 51.
42. Schiele's medium is white body color, watercolor, gouache, "syndetikon" glue, and pencil.
43. See Philip S. Rawson, *Drawing*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 93.
44. See *Life Course/Work Course*, p. 10.
45. Daedalus is translated literally as "cunningly wrought"; he was commonly thought to have been the maker of the archaic wooden cult images (which are often found in archaeological digs and which Beuys's early sculpture emulates), and to have created the first sculpture with open eyes.
46. James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916; New York, 1976), pp. 252-53.
47. See Peter Schjeldahl, "Dubuffet, 1980," in Schjeldahl 1991, p. 57.
48. McEvilley 1983, p. 62.
49. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989), p. 267.
50. See "Ariadne's Dancing Floor," in Guy Davenport, *Every Force Evolves a Form* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 53.
51. "Rede von Joseph Beuys zur Eröffnung seiner Ausstellung 'Zeichnungen 1946-1971' im Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, am 19. Mai 1974"; reprinted in Armin Zweite, ed., *Beuys zu Ehren* (Munich, 1986), pp. 83-84.
52. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
53. "Terror, Narcissism, and Art," in Schjeldahl 1991, p. 2.
54. "The Champollion of Table Manners," in Davenport 1987, p. 8.
55. See Caroline Tisdall, *Joseph Beuys* (New York, 1979), pp. 106-8.
56. See Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, translated by John Osborne (London, 1977), esp. pp. 159-235, "Allegory and Traverspiel."
57. Quoted in Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 36-37.
58. See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, translated by Joseph J. S. Peake (Columbia, S.C., 1968), pp. 71-99, esp. p. 89. Beuys is also in step with many of his contemporaries in the late 1960s who turned to a more conceptual notion of drawing and of art, in Europe, with such figures as Stanley Brouwn and Manzoni, and America. For America, see Lawrence Alloway,

- "Sol LeWitt: Modules, Walls, Books," *Artforum*, vol. 13 (April 1975), pp. 38-44.
59. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
60. See Tisdall 1979, pp. 72-76.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-12.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-47.
63. See Bastian, ed., 1988.
64. Hans Rudolf Zeller, "Mallarmé and Serialist Thought," translated by Margaret Shenfield, in *Die Reihe, 6: Speech and Music*, edited by Herbert Eimert and Karlheinz Stockhausen (Bryn Mawr, 1964), p. 9.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
69. See *Joseph Beuys: Auch wenn ich meinen Namen schreibe zeichne ich*, with an introduction by Eva Beuys and Werner Krüger (Zurich, 1990).
70. Beuys, interview with the author, July 18, 1984.
71. As Eagleton (1990, pp. 103-4) explained, for Schiller the aesthetic was the realm of play; it was the "hinge or transitional stage between the brutally sensual and the sublimely rational. . . . [It] reconciles the sense drive . . . with the formal drive, the active, shaping, immutable force of Kantian reason. 'The [sense drive],' writes Schiller, 'insists upon absolute reality: [man] is to turn everything which is mere form into world, and make all his potentialities fully manifest. The [formal drive] insists upon absolute formality: he is to destroy everything in himself which is mere world, and bring harmony into all his changes. In other words, he is to externalize all that is within him, and give form to all that is outside him.' What brings about this resolution of sense and spirit, matter and form, change and permanence, finitude and infinity, is the aesthetic, an epistemological category which Schiller has now thoroughly anthropologized" (from Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, edited by Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby [Oxford, 1967], p. 77).
72. As Eagleton (1990) traced it in *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, the German tradition begins with Alexander Baumgarten and includes, among others, Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Friedrich von Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor Adorno, as well as Søren Kierkegaard in Denmark.
73. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), p. 149.
74. Beuys, interview with the author, July 18, 1984.
75. *Ibid.*
76. See Christos M. Joachimides, *Joseph Beuys: Richtkräfte* (Berlin, 1977).
77. Beuys, interview with the author, July 18, 1984.
78. See Tisdall 1979, p. 211.
79. Caroline Tisdall, quoted by Demosthenes Davvetas, "Joseph Beuys — Man Is Sculpture," in *German Art Now* (London and New York, 1989), p. 19.
80. See *ibid.*
81. Tisdall 1979, pp. 228-35.
82. See Eagleton 1990, pp. 24-25.
83. See note 51; reprinted in Zweite, ed., 1986, p. 83 (author's translation).
84. Benjamin 1977, p. 34; quoted in Eagleton 1990, p. 328.
85. Benjamin 1977, p. 33; quoted in Eagleton 1990, p. 328.
86. For a discussion, see *ibid.*
87. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Zeller 1964, p. 11.
92. Nevill, trans., 1986, p. 34.
93. Beuys, interview with the author, June 18, 1984.

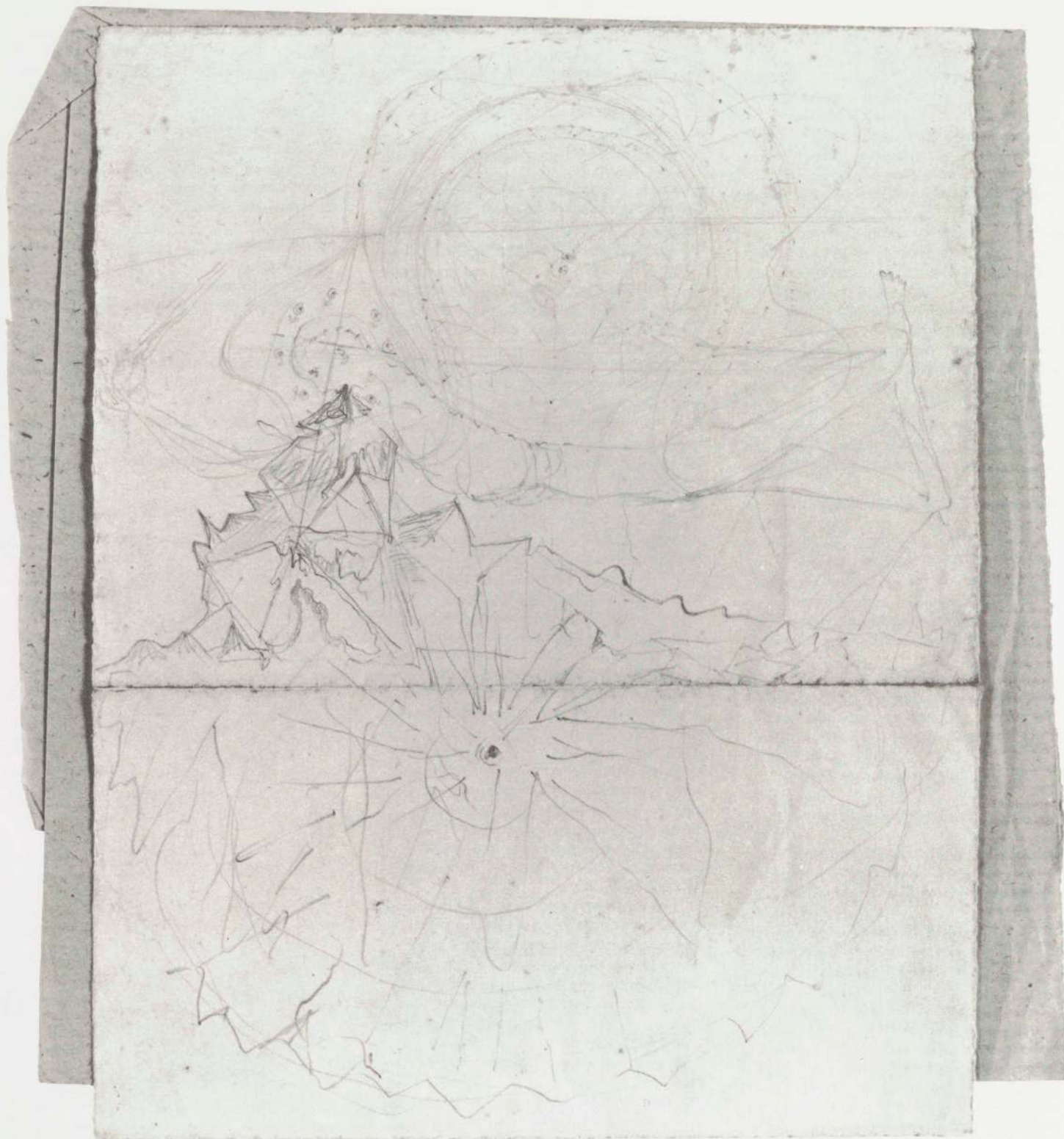


Figure 57. Joseph Beuys, *Kadmon*, 1948–49.
Pencil with traces of colored ink or watercolor on
creased paper, pasted on folded packing paper.
11 5/8 x 11" (29.5 x 28 cm) overall, irregular.
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection
van der Grinten, Kranenburg (cat. no. 8, pl. 13)

Kadmon: An Early Drawing by Joseph Beuys

Dieter Koepplin

One of Beuys's most demanding drawings is *Kadmon* (fig. 57). In the early 1960s the van der Grinten brothers exhibited the work as part of their collection, at which time Beuys titled, dated, and even mounted it with his own hands. Beuys gave it the date he himself estimated, 1948–49. One could certainly begin by discussing the name *Kadmon* and the medieval cabalistic tradition in which this name frequently appears.¹ But here we are faced with Kadmon not only as a name and concept, but rather as a work of art by Joseph Beuys, who emphasized that one should develop the ability to “see” ideas, such as the idea of social sculpture or the idea of evolution. Beuys counseled further with respect to such ideas that one should concentrate on evaluating the degree of reality of the ideas rather than ask “Where has that already occurred in intellectual history?” Correspondingly, it must be possible to evaluate the content of truth of a drawing.

In his 1974 telephone interview with art critic Caroline Tisdall, Beuys said, in speaking of his earlier drawings in *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*: “For me these drawings are closer to reality than are other forms of so-called reality.”² If one accepts this, there can hardly be any more discussion of symbolism in Beuys's work, even if one establishes, as the brothers Franz Joseph and Hans van der Grinten describe, that Beuys was an enthusiastic reader of the books of the French symbolist Joséphin Peladan.³ It is typical of Beuys that such interest, even if it lies far in the past, never dies out and can manifest itself at any time, although occasionally in strange abstrusity. Thus Beuys's enameled plate with the inscription “C'est la fin de la fin des latins, 1982, 20 mars 11.59” (a minute before twelve), calls to mind Peladan's book title *Finis latinorum* (the end of the Latins and also “the end of our Latin”). Beuys's inscription evokes the need to form fundamental new concepts in this exhausted evolution — a need that was the sole task of mankind as Beuys saw it. One can imagine that Beuys recognized something emotionally right (though perhaps conceptually lacking) in the anti-naturalistic stance of Peladan, the promoter of such artists as Puvis de Chavannes, Jan Toorop, Fernand Khnopff, Emile Bernard, and Antoine Bourdelle.⁴ For Beuys it was more than a matter of simple reference to Rosicrucianism or to the androgyny concept, and had just as little to do with the neo-Freemasonry of someone like Beuys's early teacher Ewald Mataré.⁵ The extremely artificial placard that Carlos Schwabe designed for the first “Salon de la Rose + Croix,” organized by Peladan in 1892, or the title page (fig. 58) drawn in 1890 by Aléxandre Séon for the 1891 Peladan book *L'androgynie* (the eighth novel in the “Ethopée” series, titled *La décadence latine*), illustrates certain yearnings,⁶ but the artistic sparsity reflects an avoidance both of reality and of the steps necessary to achieve relevance. In contrast, the quality of the art of Beuys is essentially suited to an exemplary connection of pragmatism and clarity of ideas, concepts, and images.

One perceives that what Séon gracefully illustrated, namely the idea of an ongoing manifestation of the underlying unity in the separate sexes, Beuys portrayed in a unique mixture of concrete vision, thought, and creativity: that is, in a casually modest and at the same time fresh and monumental Mars-Venus double figure encircled by planetary orbits, with crystals under their feet and flames shooting up next to them (a flame is also carried as a torch).⁷ In his 1970 conversation with Hagen Lieberknecht, Beuys spoke of such constellations of forces as: “two principles come together. The figure of the androgynie with the polarity of Mars-Venus.”⁸ The 1974 work *Hearth*, in Basel, is filled with the same Mars-Venus tension, but brought into context with the polarities of the social organism.



Figure 58. Aléxandre Séon, *L'androgyné* (cover of Joséphin Peladan's eighth novel of the "Ethopée" series titled *La décadence latine*). Paris, 1891. Lithograph, 1890. Image 5 x 3 1/2" (12.8 x 8.8 cm) (page 7 1/4 x 4 1/2" [18.5 x 11.5 cm]). Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Lausanne



Figure 59. South German illuminator (active c. 1230), *The Revelation of Cosmic Man by the Nun Hildegard von Bingen* (second vision in her *Revelationes*). Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS. 1942, fol. 9 r.

World views like the surely well-intentioned 1890 illustration by Aléxandre Séon, in contrast with Beuys's *Kadmon*, can be of interest only if they have been motivated by understanding and insight and if this motivating force is carried through artistically. The anonymous medieval illuminator of the revelations of the Rhenish nun Hildegard von Bingen, active around 1230 (fig. 59), had an easier job of painting a convincing, interesting, and good world view insofar as he found support in an intellectual, religious, artistic, and societal collective conviction that was not forced into dissolution or conversion into something entirely different. He could visualize on such a basis of belief a vision, the vision experienced by Hildegard von Bingen as she sat in her cell and looked up to heaven. Although her vision is sufficiently anchored in an historical, intellectual structure, as the authoress emphasized, it was not derived from another existing doctrine (*de alia doctrina*), but rather gained "by way of the living light" (*per viam viventis luminis*), that is, by means of direct enlightenment.⁹ This is a transcendental vision of the human being in the cosmos, of the cosmic human being behind whom stands, metaphorically and actually, the divine creative force.

Beuys, who no longer felt himself to be part of a hierarchical structure, could not be concerned with receiving and relating a vision, or even with depicting the vision of another person. He was consciously concerned, on the basis of his own liberal view and responsibility and on the solid foundation of modern materialistic and commercial culture, with "training inspiration or intuition in order to reach higher levels of thinking . . . Inspiration and intuition are better concepts than vision, because the concept of the vision has something compulsory and pathological about it; St. Paul had a vision . . . [Trained inspiration and intuition] are not vague things, but rather higher forms of knowing and thinking."¹⁰ Thus one should not wait for the gift of vision, but should instead exercise a sober clarity of sight in knowledge and imagination, in thinking and in drawing—and drawing was for Beuys, as he told Hans van der Grinten, an extension of the realm of speech and thought. It was the attempt to approach the evolutionary forces using the malleable abilities of the human being.¹¹

This is precisely what Beuys exercised in *Kadmon*. He set the sheet apart from the mass of his drawings through its unusual mounting (done by Beuys himself) on folded packing paper, which is fastened to a larger paper backing. The drawing paper itself measures 11 5/8 by 11 inches. Beuys drew on it in pencil with varying pressure, so that what stands out most strongly is a central mountainlike zone rising upward to the left, while the remainder of the drawing seems paler, hardly visible. The mountain zone divides the upper and lower parts of the image. The lower region has a central point from which rays emanate—rays of a type similar to those appearing in one of the diagrammatic drawings on the blackboards of the 1974–77 work *Directional Forces* (*Richtkräfte*) (pl. 156), which are accompanied by the droll-serious words "The Truth as Sparkler."¹²

A special emphasis seems to radiate from this very active, beaming center beneath the mountainous strip. This is not lessened by the strange figure above it. Even in the many places where the lines of the drawing fade into invisibility (Beuys was, as he once told Ludwig Rinn, very interested in this sort of boundary quality),¹³ one finds again a center, but it is not the middle of an emanation, but instead the middle of a spherical circling—a circling that takes place on the back of a human figure that appears to be stretched to gigantic proportions against the scale of the mountains or even the cosmos. The figure's legs do not stand on the earth. On the contrary, they are angled upward. The one thigh and knee rest on pointed pyramids that hardly convey the solidity of stone, but are oriented heavenward in their structure.



Figure 60. Joseph Beuys, *The Truth as Sparkler* (*Die Wahrheit als Wunderkerze*). One of one hundred blackboards in *Directional Forces* (*Richtkräfte*), 1974–77. Chalk on composition board. 43 3/8 x 59" (110 x 150 cm). Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

The elements that harden and crystallize toward the left side of the drawing stream out of the mouth of the giant human as language or as crystalline formative thought, perhaps in the sense described by Nietzsche, which Christa Lichtenstern found to be compatible with basic Beuysian concepts: "an execution of forms as in the case of the crystal" (*Will to Power*, aphorism 499).¹⁴ This human being sinking down into the material world—obviously the Adam Kadmon named in the title—expresses himself in stony or crystal-like "words." One can say that he creates this mountain range that inserts itself like a barrier between the spherical circling above and the emanation below. The dramatic process between spiritual life and rigid form originates in the mouth or in the head.

The head of Kadmon is surrounded by seven small spirals or, more precisely, seven tiny forms with stems; beneath them are tiny paired leaves growing out of the stems, and above them flowers also in spiral formation. These living entities, whose number, seven, has a dynamic of its own, orbit a cross drawn through the head of the human. The vertical axis of the cross extends quite a distance downward. Cross, spirals, the number seven: these are certainly old symbols.¹⁵ They are, however, concrete, especially so in the context of this drawing and the "evolutionary forces" (to use Beuys's term) that become visible in it. The face of this human head does not appear fully formed; it is almost embryonic and rather delicately encompassed by a bell shape whose tip joins the upper spheres.

Of hardly more substantial structure than the bell shape that arches overhead are the arms, which stretch out far to the left and hold a heart, one might perhaps say *the* heart. Blood drips out of the heart. A special significance is attached to blood and to the heart in the incarnation of the human being and of Christ (to which clear reference is being made here), and in this original word formation, perhaps also in this act of sacrifice. It seems that the emphasis of the work as a whole lies on the emanation out of the mountain, or thought-cavern in the lower portion, no matter how strange and significant the actual Kadmon-incarnation appears. The "sparkler" below may be the most mysterious thing about this cosmic figure of the human being, with which Beuys sought imaginatively and intuitively to expand and sharpen his thinking. Even this emanation beneath the mountain barrier appears to have been created by Kadmon or with Kadmon. And the mountain range, along with the light that unfolds within it and extends to the outer edges of the drawing, seems to belong intrinsically.

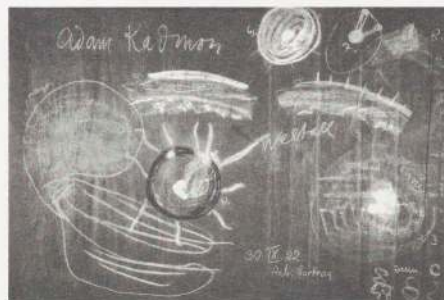


Figure 61. Rudolf Steiner, *Adam Kadmon*, 1922. Drawing on black paper on wood (made during the talk "Adam Kadmon in Lemurien," addressed to the workers of the Goetheanum building on September 30, 1922). 39 3/8 x 59" (100 x 150 cm). Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach

The whole is, as is so often the case with Beuys, given as a sort of slice of the world and yet is of inexpressible breadth. This spatial quality also pertains to the explicitly diagrammatical later drawings and installations by Beuys, for example, *Tramstop*, installed in 1976 at the Venice Biennale (Marx Collection, Berlin), which once again, although in a different manner, is an image of human incarnation and deals with the subject of the underlying unity, separation, and unification of the sexes and of related forces.

Much could be said about the image of the macrocosmic Adam Kadmon, the creative "first Adam," or golem, or giant Ymir, from which the microcosmic human being was formed—an image found in the Jewish cabala of the Middle Ages, in Gnosticism, and later in the work of Rudolf Steiner, with which Beuys was certainly familiar. In a lecture in Dornach on September 30, 1922, Steiner spoke about Adam Kadmon. Specifically, he discussed the experience of human-awareness development, which he understood as a necessarily painful process of dying off, and the radical reduction of the once thoroughly vital, creative, cosmic giant Kadmon to a

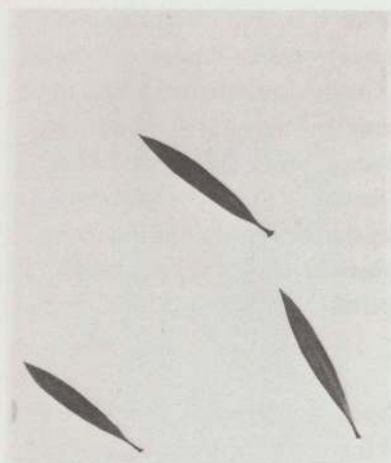


Figure 62. Joseph Beuys, *Kadmon's Sacrificial Substance* (*Kadmons Opferstoff*), c. 1955. Collage with oleander leaves. 13 x 10 1/2" (32.8 x 26.7 cm). Private Collection

limited but mentally able being, in Steiner's word an *Erdenwurm* ("earthworm"). Steiner elucidated his talk by making diagrams on black paper mounted on a board (fig. 61), just as Beuys later did.¹⁶ Beuys was aware of the analogy, but he saw clearly that he had a new message to transmit in changing times, a message that demanded a new language—both visual and in new terms—to produce the desired impact on people. It is tempting, although not possible here, to discuss Steiner's Kadmon lecture and the cognizant relationship between Beuys and Steiner.¹⁷ Certainly this relationship is a central theme in understanding Beuys. However, it does not seem to be obligatory to investigate this affinity, as the art of Beuys itself seems to have its own direct expression. In all these images of Kadmon, the original human being, living at first in a transfigured body, is seen as androgynous. This dual-gendered character is thoroughly reflected in Beuys's *Kadmon* drawing, which imagines and contemplates not only a primitive past, but at the same time a human future. Beuys always attempted to see both origin and goal together.

I have mentioned the possibly intended procedure of sacrifice, for which the bleeding heart provides evidence. In a collage by Beuys from around 1955 there are three lance-shaped oleander leaves, positioned diagonally and falling freely within the space of the sheet (fig. 62).¹⁸ Beuys drew a connection between such leaves and the lance point with which the side of the crucified Christ was pierced; on the back of this collage he wrote: "Joseph Beuys, fallen for the sake of Kadmon, Kadmon's Indian companion, sacrifice for Kadmon, Kadmon's sacrificial substance." Bold and, for Beuys, thoroughly characteristic words. One can understand them in the context of his overall work: Every human being is an artist, every one fallen for Kadmon, for the cosmic incarnation of man.

1. In Hebrew *Adam Kadmon* means, according to the Jewish cabala, "first Adam" (*adamah* = earth). Rabbinical Judaism depicts Adam Kadmon as androgynous and gigantic, reaching from the earth to the dome of heaven. As a golem, this figure lay stretched out and filled the whole world. Rudolf Steiner spoke variously of Adam Kadmon the pure human of the pre-Lemurian time, Adam Kadmon in Lemuria, or the cosmic Adam as the giant Ymir: "Think of the giant Ymir stretched out in the great cosmos, for the microcosmic human being is formed from this giant. He is everywhere, this great macrocosmic human, who is the creator, who manifests externally what the human being possesses internally. For a great truth lies at the root of such representations"; a wisdom that "goes back as ancient Hebrew teaching to the esoteric doctrine that is the basis of the Old Testament: in the Adam Kadmon of the cabala" (Rudolf Steiner, Düsseldorf lecture series, April 1909, ninth lecture, in *Collected Works*, no. 110, pp. 140ff.). Werner Schade has pointed out to me that even James Joyce in *Ulysses* (which Beuys, as is well known, wanted to "expand" by two more chapters) mentions Adam Kadmon in apparent reference to the cabalistic tradition, which Beuys undoubtedly encountered elsewhere as well.
2. Caroline Tisdall and Nicholas Serota, eds., *Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland* (Oxford, 1974), n.p.; and Dieter Koepplin, *Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*, edited by Heiner Bastian (Munich, 1988), p. 48.
3. Heiner Stachelhaus, *Joseph Beuys* (Düsseldorf, 1987), pp. 51ff. In the Beuys catalogue Haus van der Grinten, Kranenburg, *Stallausstellung [Stable Exhibition], Josef Beuys Fluxus: Aus der Sammlung van der Grinten* (Kranenburg, 1963), Peladan is cited, apparently at the suggestion of Beuys (I am grateful to Theodora Vischer for this connection): "A cause is not small that has a great effect; coincidence would be God if it were the cause of everything that man ascribes to it." Beuys read the works of Peladan in the translation by Emil Schering, who also translated Strindberg (who said of Peladan: "[He] has introduced Wagner in France, in spite of the resistance of patriots; and hardly any German has made his Wagner so gigantic as Peladan has made his").
4. Robert Pincus-Witten, *Occult Symbolism in France: Joséphin Peladan and the Salons de la Rose-Croix* (New York and London, 1976). The composer Eric Satie, highly esteemed by Beuys, also belonged to the Peladan circle (Pincus-Witten 1976, pp. 142, 209). *Finis latinorum*, a novel published by Peladan in 1896, was part of a series begun under the rubric *La décadence latine*; Peladan felt himself to be the "dernier latin" (Pincus-Witten 1976, p. 88). On the inscription "C'est la fin de la fin des latins . . .," Beuys commented decisively: "I would not like to believe it true that Latin culture is declining so infamously simply because it is no longer capable of ideas." See Jacqueline Burckhardt, ed., *Ein Gespräch/Una discussione: Joseph Beuys, Jannis Kounellis, Anselm Kiefer, Enzo Cucchi* (Zurich, 1986), p. 136.
5. Peladan published the novel *L'androgynie* in 1891 and *Le Gynandre* in 1892. As one general source for Peladan's *Androgynie* novel, Pincus-Witten (1976, p. 16) established Charles Paravey's *De la création de l'homme comme androgyne et de la femme* (Paris, 1864), as well as Plato, Nicolaus von Cues, and, somewhat more removed, the cabala. On Beuys and Mataré, see Kunstmuseum Basel, Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung, *Joseph Beuys: Werke aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher* (Basel, 1969), p. 34; and Hans van der Grinten and Franz Joseph van der Grinten, *Mataré und seine Schüler: Beuys, Haese, Heerich, Meistermann* (Berlin, 1979).
6. Pincus-Witten 1976, p. 102 and fig. 8, pp. 81, 87 and fig. 4; see also Dario Gamboni, "Le 'Symbolisme en peinture' et la littérature," *Revue de l'art*, vol. 96 (1992), pp. 13-23.
7. Ministerium für Bundesangelegenheiten des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bonn, *Beuys vor Beuys: Frühe Arbeiten aus der Sammlung van der Grinten* (Cologne, 1987), no. 91, pl. 103. Closely related is the drawing *Hermaphrodite (Mars)* (in Beuys's handwritten list "Hermaphrodith [Mars]") in *The secret block for a secret person in Ireland* (Koepplin 1988, no. 22).
8. Joseph Beuys in conversation with Hagen Lieberknecht, in *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen 1947-1959, I* (Cologne, 1972), pl. 3 and p. 10.
9. Otto Pächt, *Buchmalerei des Mittelalters: Eine Einführung*, 3rd ed. (1984; Munich, 1989), p. 158, pl. XXIV and p. 158: "... [T]he image is here no crutch, it is as a visionary inspiration the original form of the thought complex; the painted image is the attempt to make accessible to the physical eye what has been seen by the inner eye."
10. Burckhardt, ed., 1986, p. 135. The terms *inspiration* and *intuition* were used by Beuys in the same way as Rudolf Steiner had — without saying it, because it was not necessary.
11. See Koepplin 1988, pp. 9ff.
12. Christos M. Joachimides, *Joseph Beuys: Richtkräfte* (Berlin, 1977), p. 90. Beuys himself did the mounting of the *Kadmon* drawing, according to Hans van der Grinten. The actual drawing paper is glued onto packing paper, and the whole is mounted again on a sheet measuring 30 x 20 1/8" (76.3 x 51 cm).
13. Kunstverein Bremerhaven, *Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Objekte* (Bremerhaven, 1978), p. 4: "ultraviolet drawings" (Beuys).
14. Christa Lichtenstern, "Universität und Atelier — Chancen produktiver Verständigung" in Marburger Universitätsbund, *Alma mater Philippina*, 1988-89, p. 11.
15. See Koepplin 1988, p. 27.
16. Walter Kugler, ed., Walter Dahn, and Johannes Stüttgen, *Rudolf Steiner: Wenn die Erde Mond wird: Wandtafel-Zeichnungen zu Vorträgen 1919-1924. Mit ausgewählten Texten* (Cologne, 1992), pl. 45 and pp. 114, 143.
17. *Joseph Beuys: Plastische Bilder 1947-1970* (Kornwestheim and Stuttgart, 1990), p. 30, n.23 (letter of Beuys, 1971, about Steiner).
18. Heiner Bastian, ed., *Joseph Beuys: Dibujos/ Drawings* (Madrid, 1985), fig. 4, "Joseph Beuys, gefallen für Kadmon, Kadmons indischer Begleiter, Opfer für Kadmon, Kadmons Opferstoff."





Plate 1. *Landscape near Rindern*, 1936
Watercolor and pencil on paper
6 1/4 x 4 3/4" (16 x 12.2 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 1)

Plate 2. *Herb Robert*, 1941
 Dried and pressed flowers with pencil on
 paper
 9 1/2 x 6 1/8" (24.2 x 15.5 cm)
 Edwin C. Cohen Collection, New York
 (cat. no. 2)

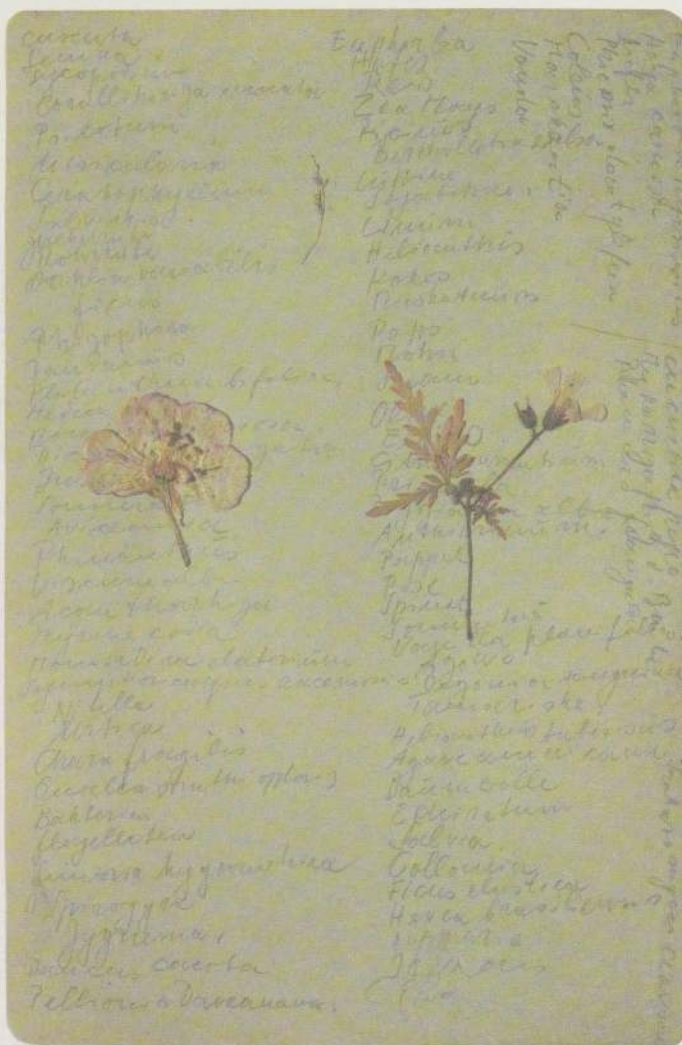


Plate 3. *Lučko (Croatia)*, 1943
 Pencil on graph paper
 5 7/8 x 8 1/4" (14.8 x 20.9 cm)
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
 Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
 (cat. no. 3)

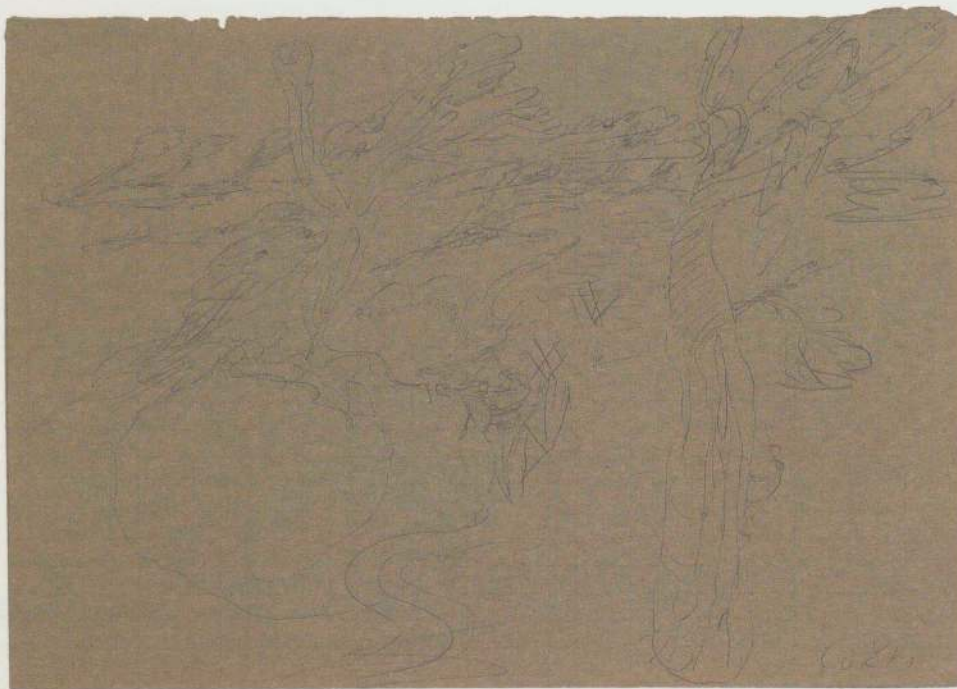


Plate 4. *Tree in a Croatian Swamp Lučko*,
1944
Oil and pen and ink on military stationery,
mounted on cardboard
6 3/4 x 9 1/2" (17 x 24 cm), irregular
Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
(cat. no. 4)

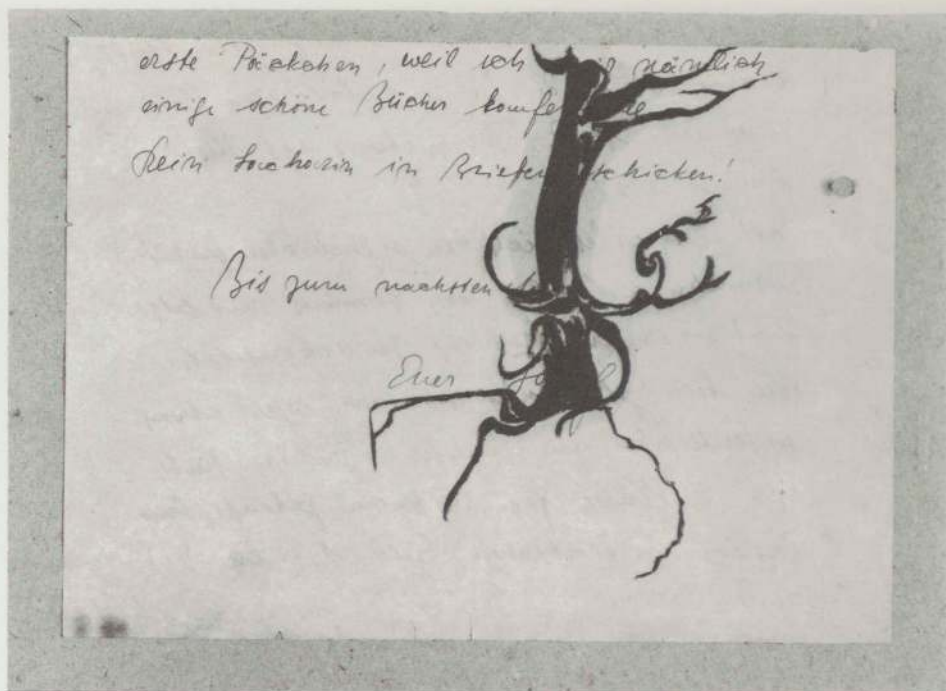


Plate 5. *Untitled*, 1947
Four-part drawing: pencil on four sheets of paper,
mounted on painted wood panel
11 7/8 x 38 3/4" (30 x 98.2 cm) overall, irregular
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of
Agnes Gund and Ronald S. Lauder (cat. no. 5)

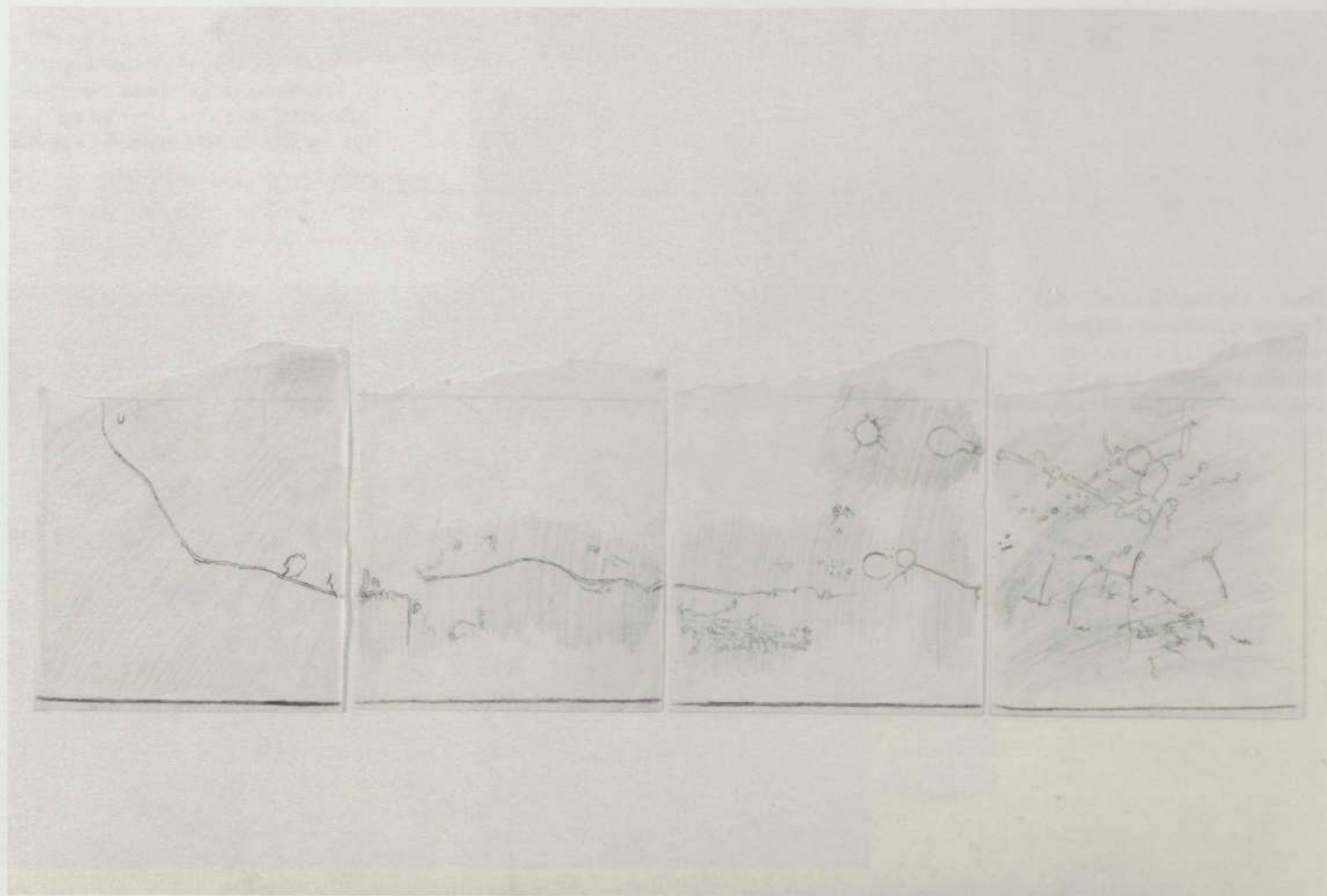


Plate 6. *Boom*, 1948
Watercolor and pencil on paper
13 3/8 x 9 7/8" (34 x 25 cm)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
New York (cat. no. 6)

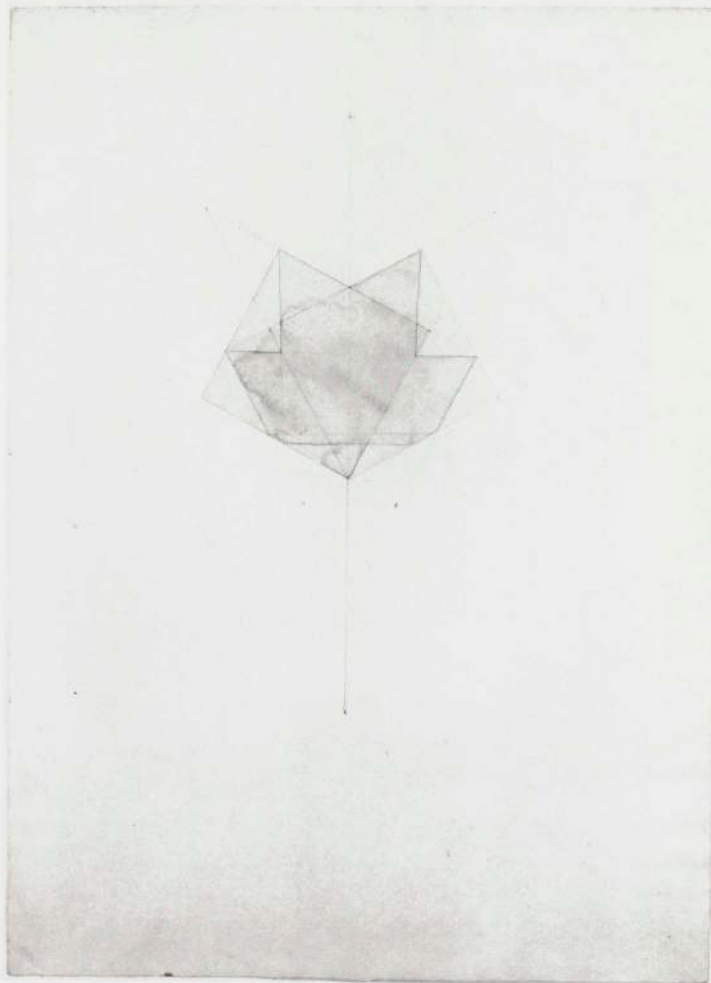


Plate 7. *Untitled (Studies)*, 1948
Pencil and watercolor on paper
9 7/8 x 14 7/8" (25.1 x 37.8 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 7)



Plate 8. *Two Girls Observing Volcano and
Geyser*, 1949
Watercolor and pencil on paper
10 7/8 x 12 1/4" (27.5 x 31 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 12)



Plate 9. *Untitled (Amphorae)*, 1949
Watercolor and pencil on cardboard
6 3/4 x 4 7/8" (17.1 x 12.5 cm), irregular
Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 11)

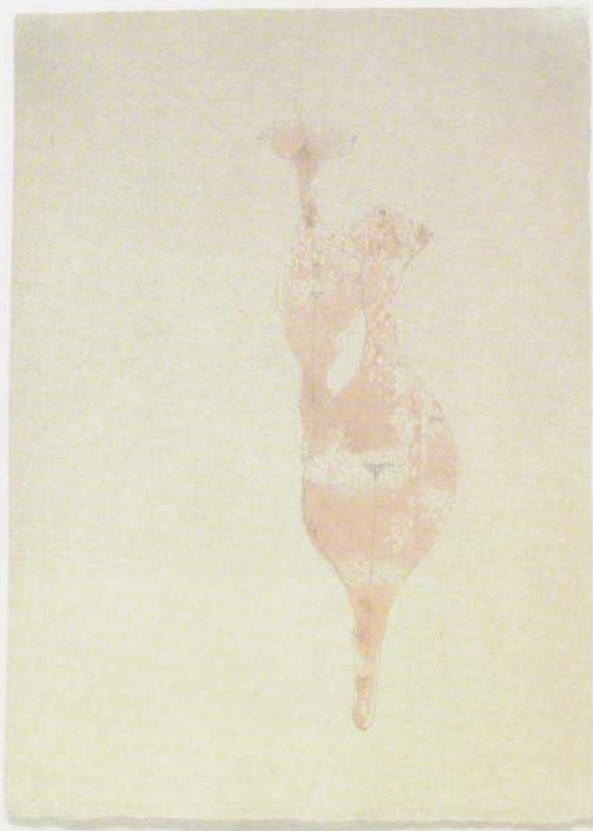


Plate 10. *Pietà*, 1949
Pencil and oil on cut and pasted paper
14 ⁷/₈ x 15 ¹/₄" (37.7 x 38.4 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of Hans and Franz
Joseph van der Grinten (cat. no. 9)



Plate 11. *Sheep Skeleton*, 1949
Body color, watercolor, and pencil on
cardboard, mounted on paper
3 ⁷/₈ x 6 ⁷/₈" (9.8 x 17.5 cm), irregular
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 10)

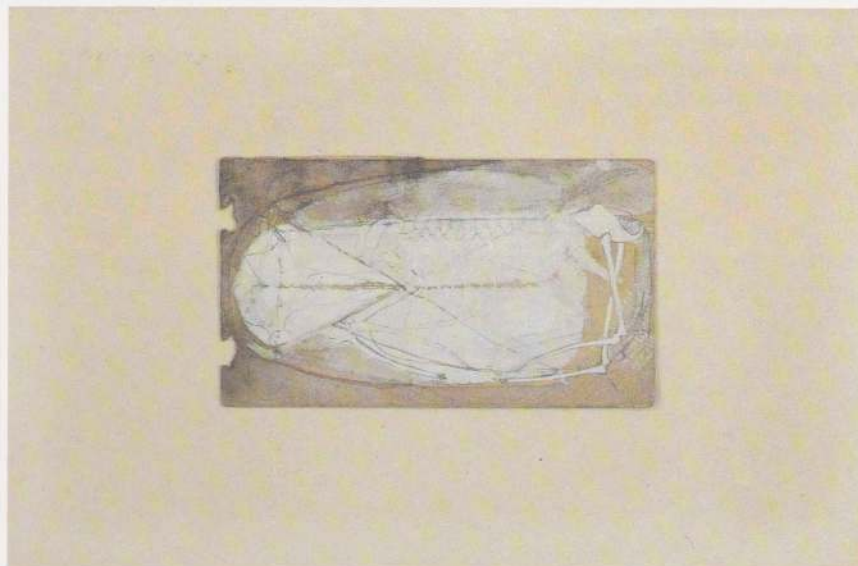




Plate 12. *Cross*, 1950

Pencil frottage and pencil on transparent paper, with printed numbers, mounted on vellum, both with traces of oil, mounted on cardboard

11 1/4 x 7 5/8" (28.5 x 19.4 cm)

Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (cat. no. 14)

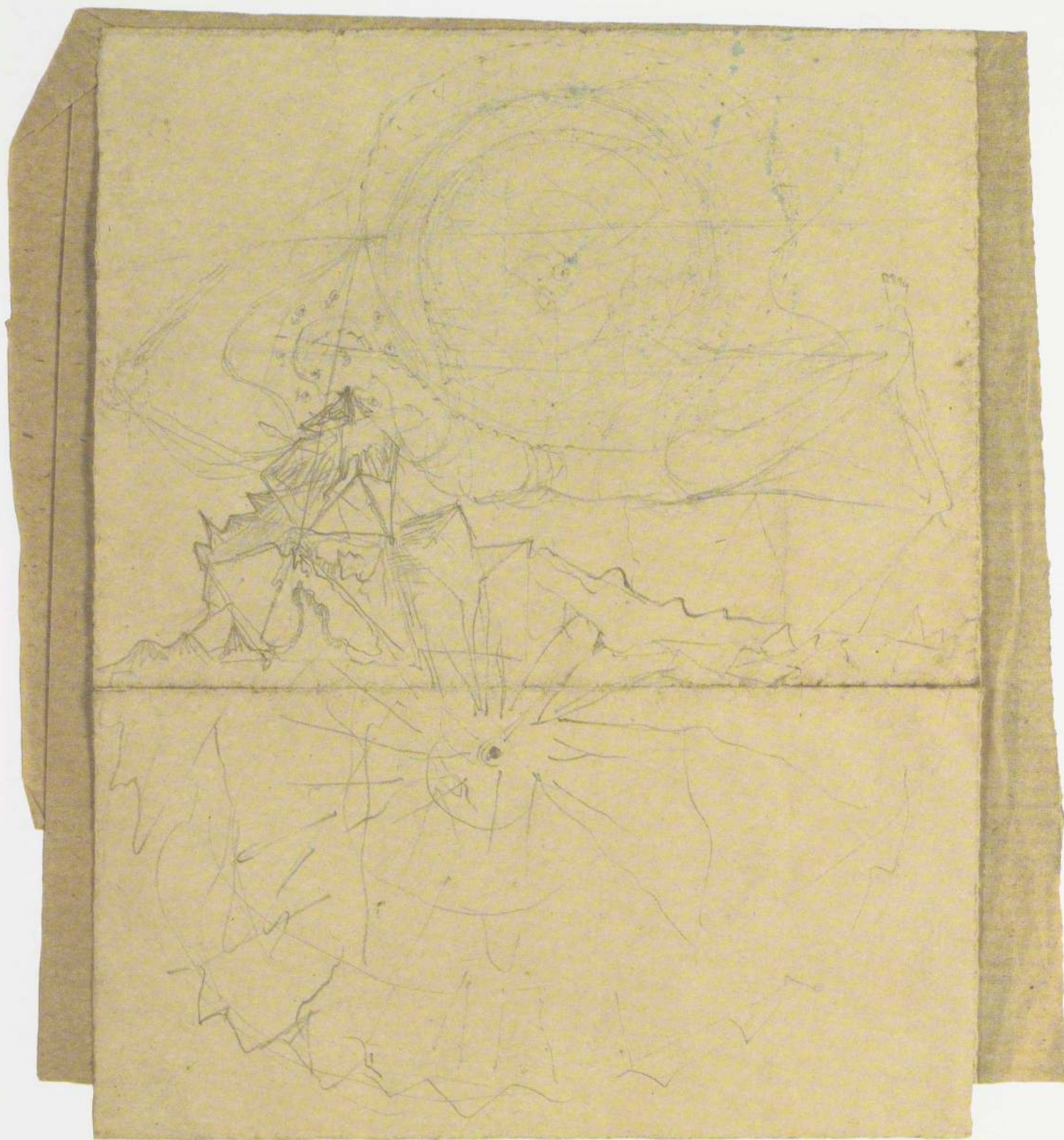


Plate 13. *Kadmon*, 1948-49
Pencil with traces of colored ink or watercolor on creased paper,
pasted on folded packing paper
11 5/8 x 11" (29.5 x 28 cm) overall, irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 8)

Plate 14. *Golgotha*, 1951
Pencil and traces of pigment on paper
12 7/8 x 9 7/8" (32.8 x 25.2 cm), irregular
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett (cat. no. 18)



Plate 15. *Death and Life*, 1952
Pencil on paper
8 1/8 x 11 1/4" (20.5 x 28.5 cm)
Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 22)





Plate 16. *Girl*, 1951
Pencil on paper
9 3/4 x 5 3/4" (24.9 x 14.6 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 16)



Plate 17. *Stag, Woman, Child*, 1951
Pencil and touches of watercolor on paper
8 1/4 x 5 7/8" (21 x 14.8 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 17)

Plate 18. *Wolf in Bleeding Nature*, 1951
Pencil on paper
9 1/8 x 13 3/8" (23.3 x 34 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 15)

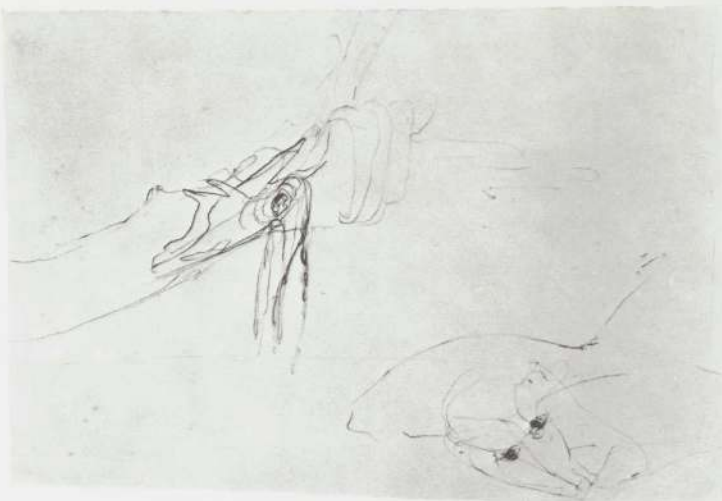


Plate 19. *Woman Warding Off*, 1952
Pencil on paper
12 5/8 x 17 1/2" (32 x 44.6 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 23)



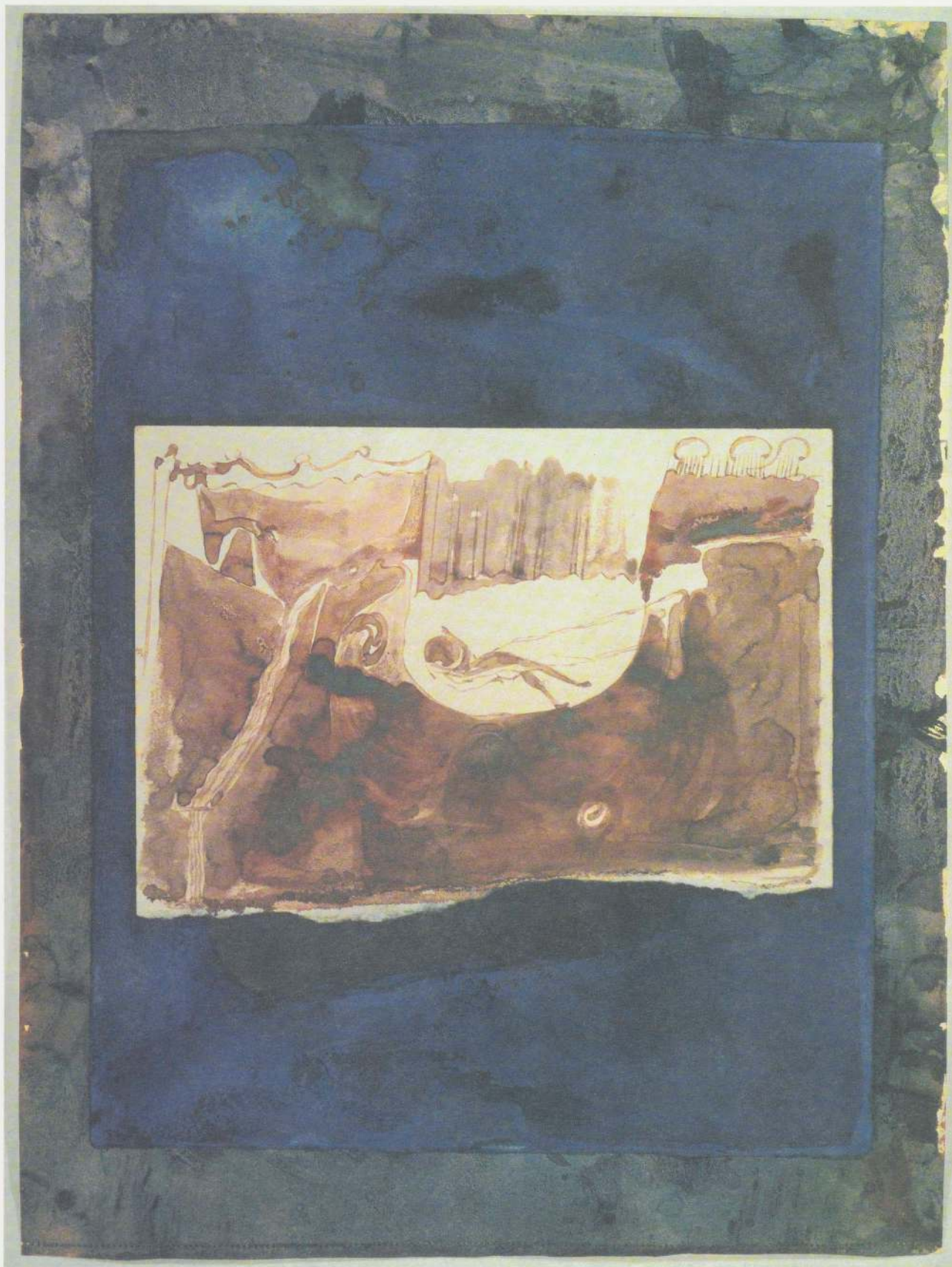


Plate 20. *Before Birth*, 1950
Watercolor, body color, and ink on three sheets of pasted paper,
one torn, one perforated
15 3/4 x 11 3/4" (40 x 29.8 cm) overall
Edwin C. Cohen Collection, New York (cat. no. 13)

Plate 21. *Woman Sitting on the Ground*, 1952
Beize and pencil on torn paper, mounted on perforated paper
9 ¹/₄ x 13 ¹/₈" (23.6 x 33.3 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 20)

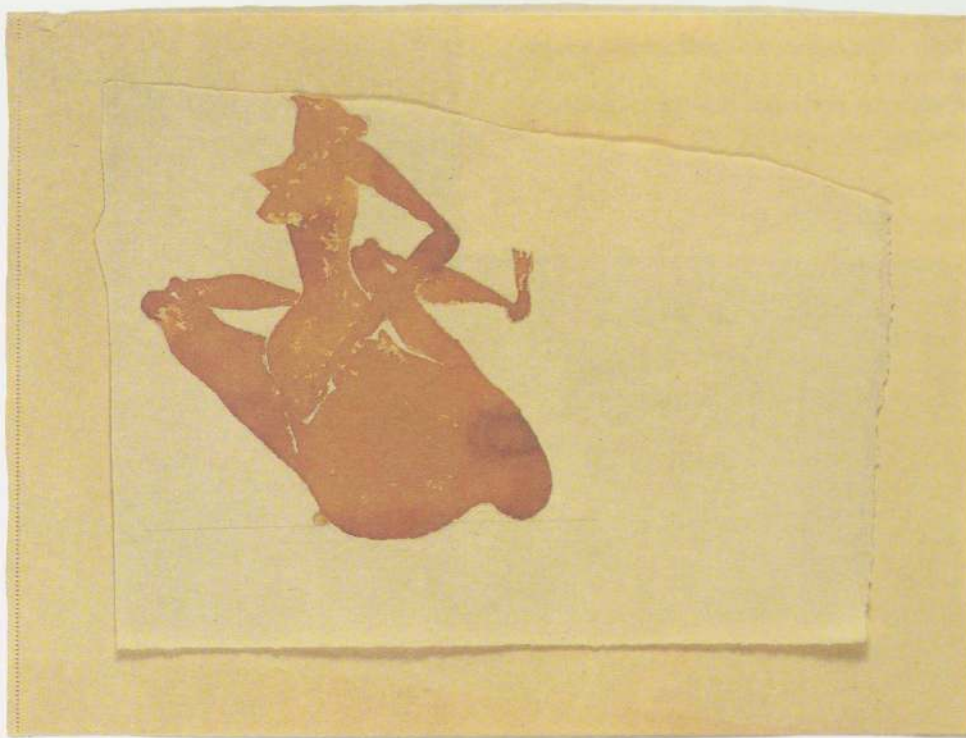


Plate 22. *Untitled (Hare Woman)*, 1952
Beize and pencil on transparent paper
26 ³/₄ x 19 ⁵/₈" (68 x 49.8 cm) overall
Dr. Reiner Speck Collection, Cologne
(cat. no. 21)



Plate 23. *Untitled*, 1952
Body color, watercolor, and pencil on paper
9 7/8 x 12 5/8" (25 x 32 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart (cat. no. 19)



Plate 24. *Amazon*, 1953
Body color and pencil on paper,
pasted on paper
6 1/4 x 5 1/8" (15.8 x 13 cm), irregular
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart (cat. no. 24)





Plate 25. *Skull Physiology*, 1959
Pencil on folded, ruled paper, pasted on colored cardboard
10 ⁵/₈ x 14 ³/₄" (27 x 37.5 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich (cat. no. 72)

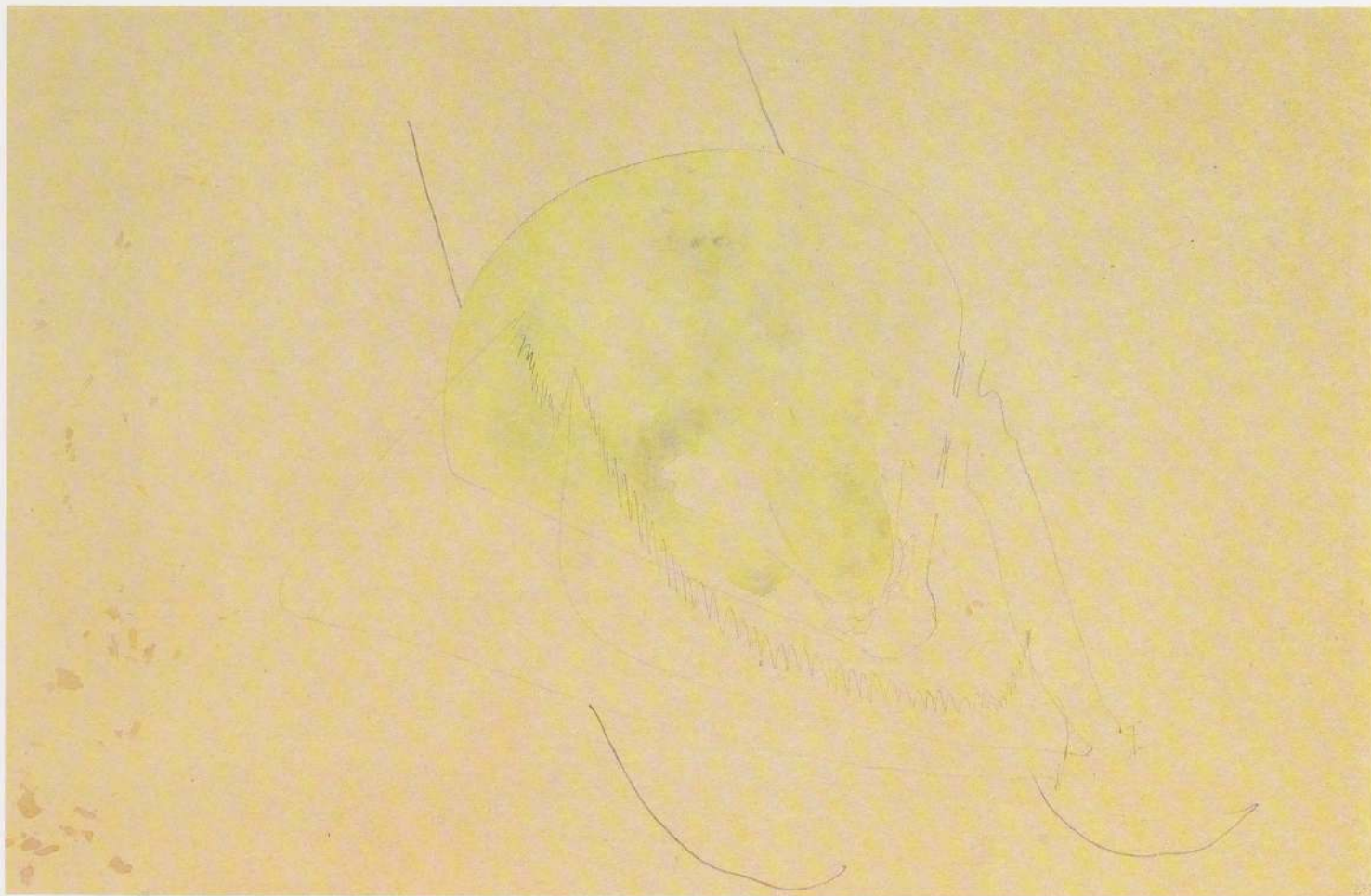


Plate 26. *Skull on Ur-Sled*, 1954
Watercolor and pencil on paper
10 1/4 x 15 5/8" (26 x 39.6 cm)
Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main
(cat. no. 26)

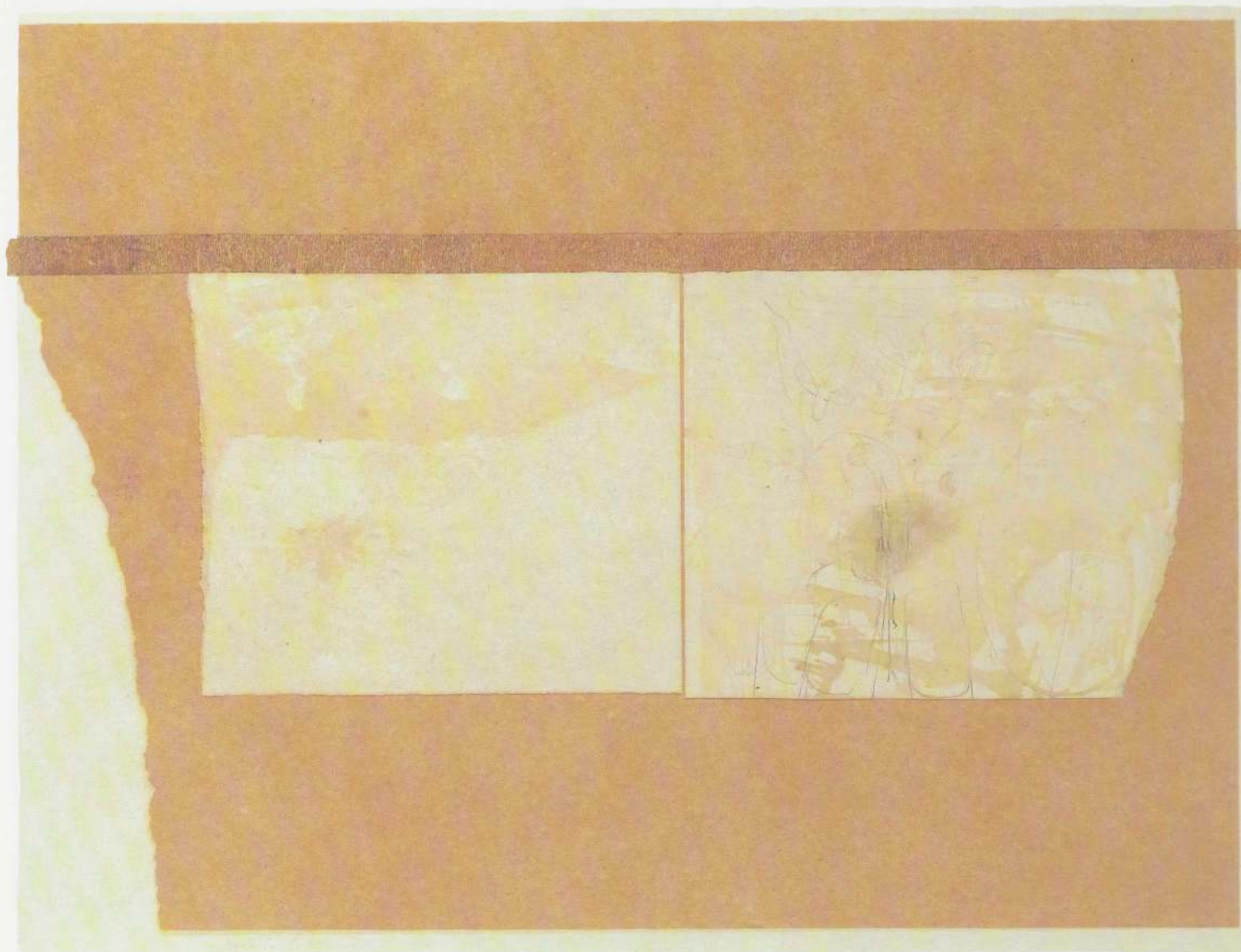


Plate 27. *From the Life of the Bees*, 1954
Watercolor and pencil on two sheets of drawing board,
taped to newsprint paper
19 ⁵/₈ x 25 ⁵/₈" (50 x 65 cm) overall, irregular
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 25)

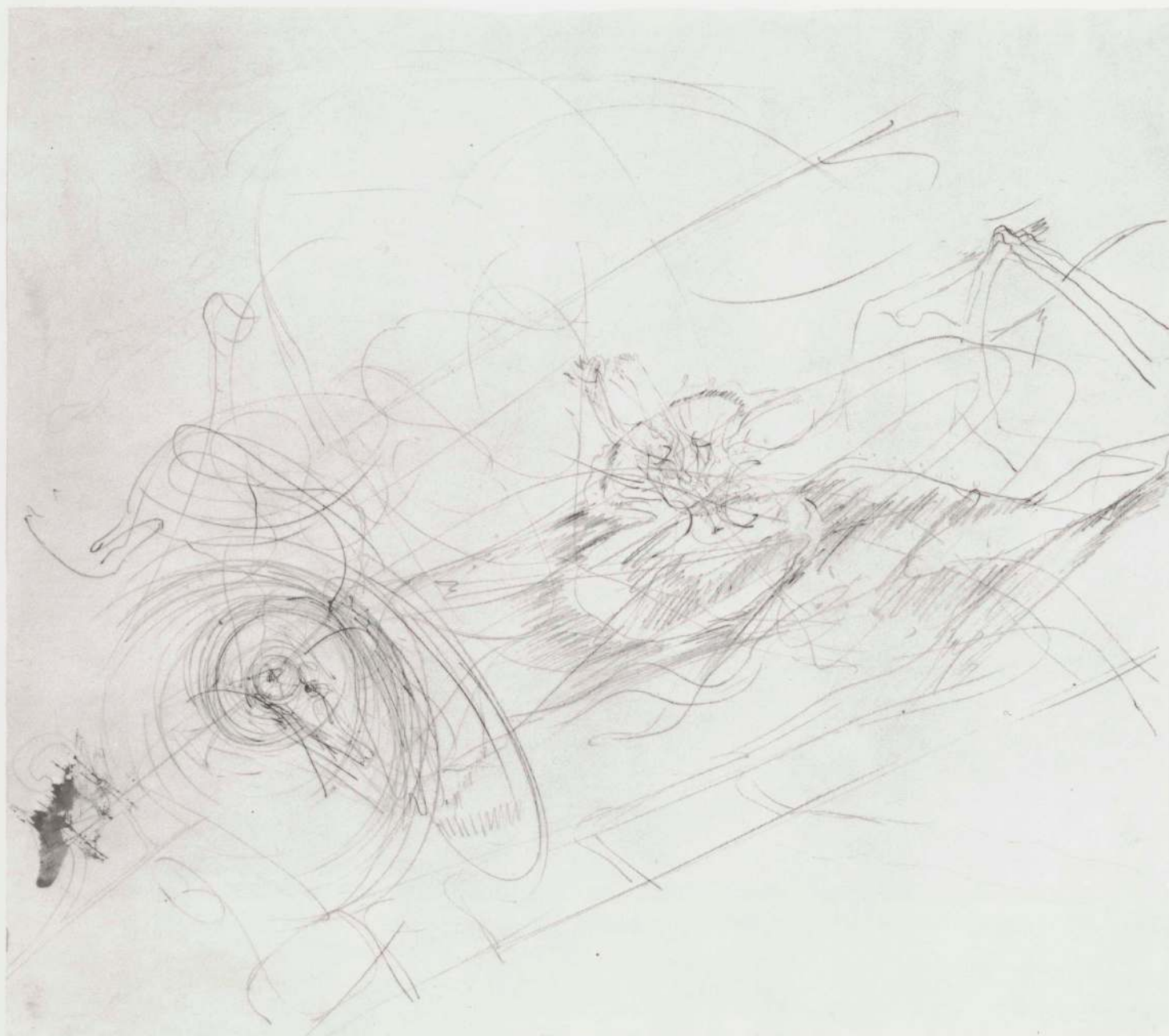


Plate 28. *Dead Elk on Ur-Sled*, 1955
Pencil with touches of watercolor on paper
17 ³/₈ x 19 ⁵/₈" (44 x 50 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart (cat. no. 31)

Plate 29. *Stag*, 1955
Pencil on paper
8 5/8 x 11 5/8" (21.9 x 29.6 cm)
Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 32)

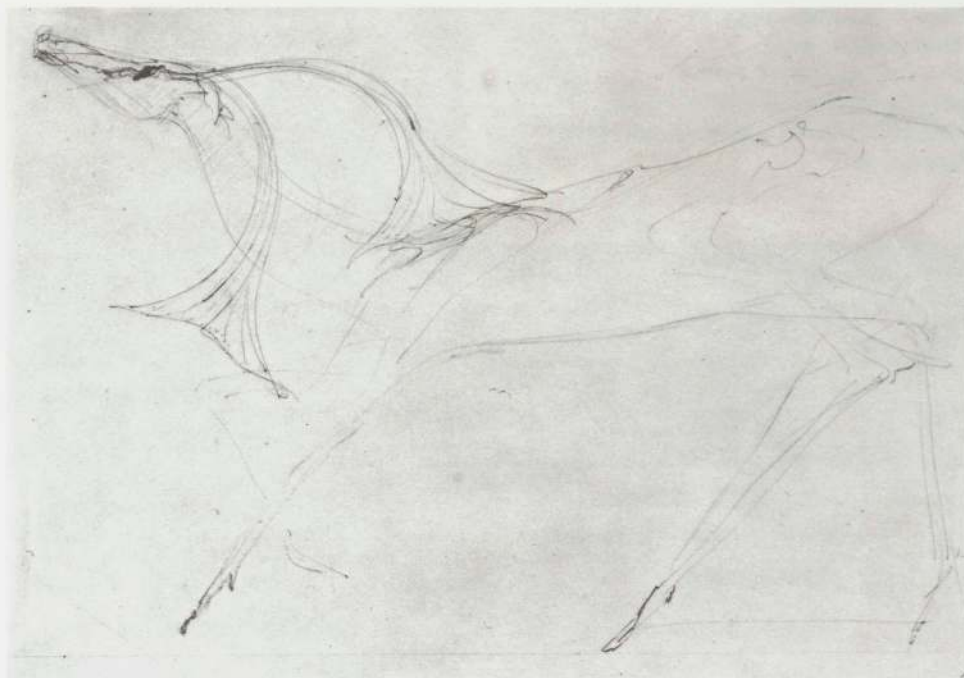


Plate 30. *Striding Woman*, 1955-56
Pencil on paper
16 1/4 x 16 7/8" (41.3 x 43 cm), irregular
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of the Karl August
Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 33)



Plate 31. *Untitled*, 1955
Watercolor on paper
9 1/2 x 13" (24.2 x 33.2 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 29)



Plate 32. *From the Life of the Bees*, 1955
Watercolor and pencil on perforated paper
4 3/4 x 6 5/8" (12 x 16.9 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 30)



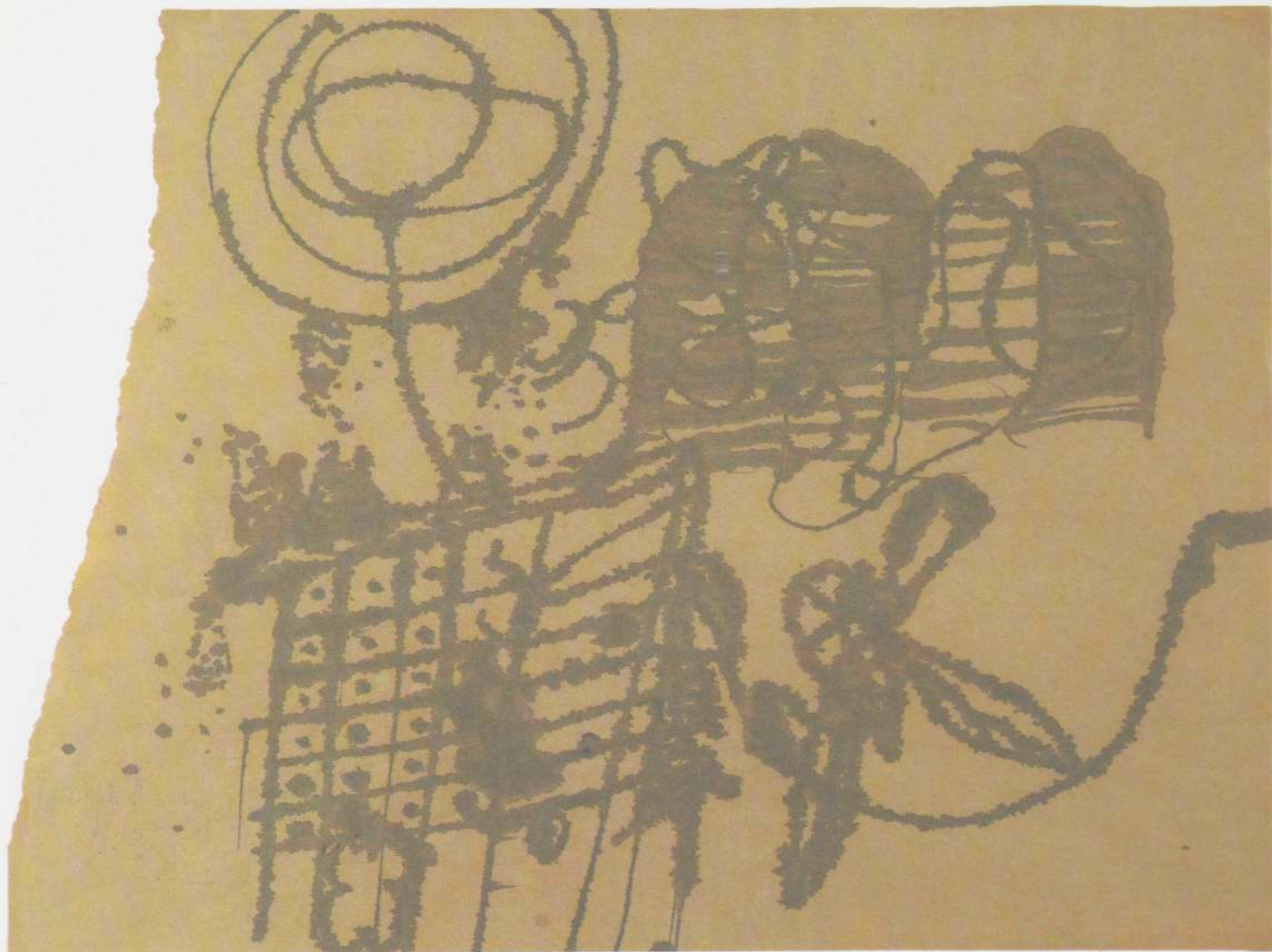


Plate 33. *From the Life of the Bees*, 1956
Beize on paper
18 ⁷/₈ x 25 ³/₈" (48 x 64.5 cm), irregular
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart (cat. no. 38)

Plate 34. *Alarm Installation*, 1956
Pencil and crayon on paper
10 ⁷/₈ x 14" (27.6 x 35.4 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett (cat. no. 41)

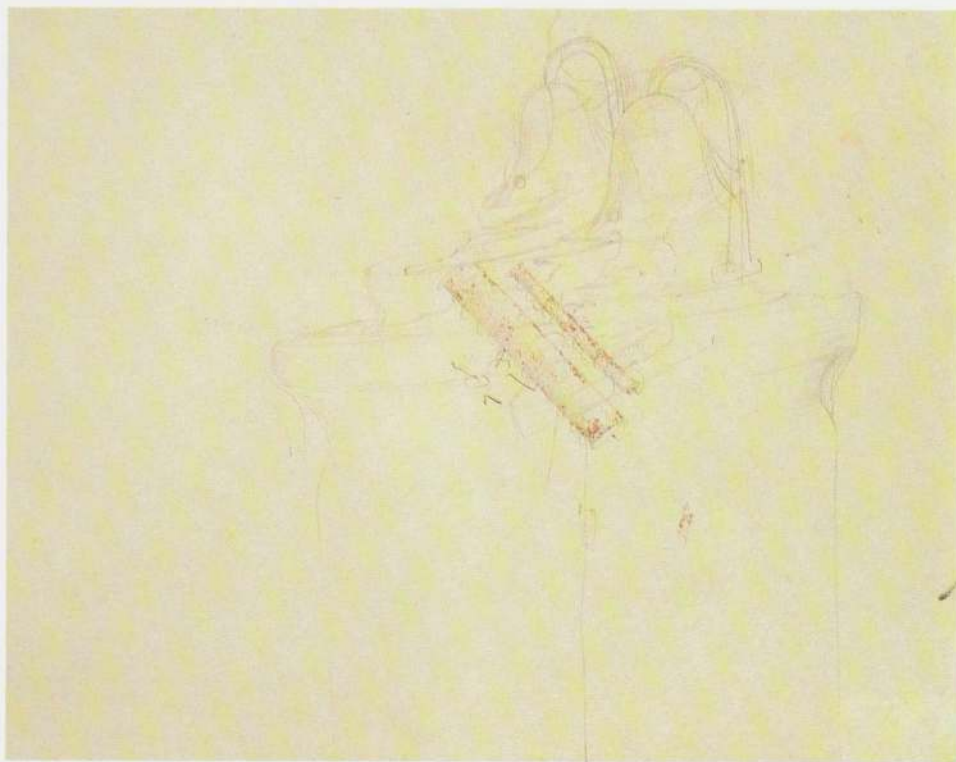


Plate 35. *From the Intelligence of Swans*,
1956
Pencil on paper
17 ¹/₂ x 20" (44.5 x 50.8 cm)
Private Collection (cat. no. 42)

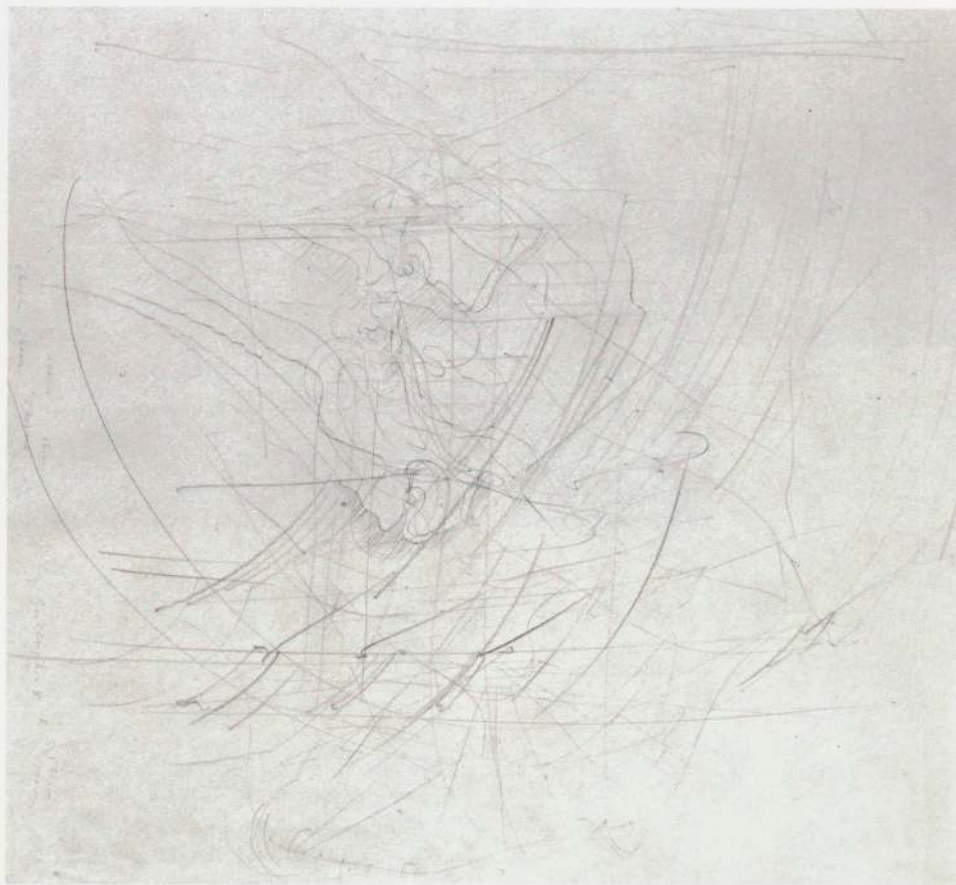




Plate 36. *Gorges*, 1956
Pencil on transparent paper
9 3/4 x 13 3/4" (24.7 x 34.8 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 43)



Plate 37. *First Idea for Earth Piano, 1956*
Beize and pencil on transparent paper, pasted on paper
16 3/4 x 12 1/4" (42.6 x 31.1 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 40)

Plate 38. *Sculpture*, 1955
Beize and pencil on transparent paper,
pasted on transparent paper
13 ⁵/₈ x 9 ⁵/₈" (34.7 x 24.5 cm) overall
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
(cat. no. 28)



Plate 39. *Nude*, 1954-55
Beize and pencil on transparent paper
8 ¹/₄ x 5 ⁷/₈" (21.1 x 14.9 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 27)



Plate 40. *Death and the Maiden*, 1957
Watercolor and ink on envelope with
stamped lettering
6 7/8 x 9 7/8" (17.6 x 25.2 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 50)



Plate 41. *Half-Length Nude (Halbakt)*,
1955-56
Watercolor, Beize, and pencil on paper,
pasted on paper
6 7/8 x 6" (17.4 x 15.3 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 37)





Plate 42. *Hogan in Spring*, 1957
Watercolor, body color, dirt, and metallic paint on paper
9 ⁵/₈ x 12 ⁷/₈" (24.5 x 32.8 cm), irregular
The Museum of Modern Art, New York,
Gift of Barbara Pine and Purchase (cat. no. 51)

Plate 43. *Untitled*, 1956
Watercolor on paper
14 1/2 x 8 7/8" (36.8 x 22.4 cm)
Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main
(cat. no. 35)



Plate 44. *Red Stag*, 1956
Watercolor on paper
13 x 17 3/4" (33 x 45 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 36)



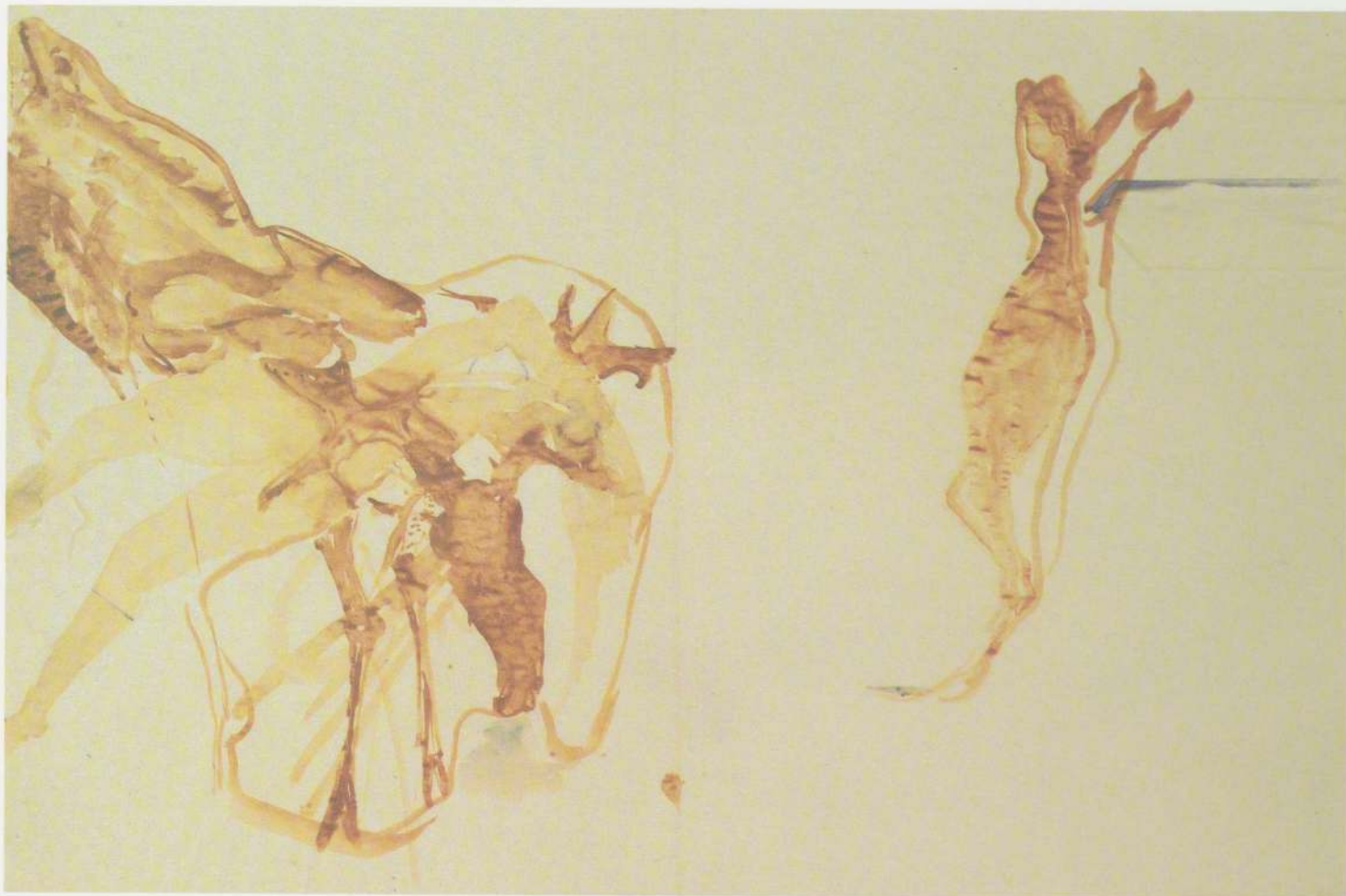


Plate 45. *Elk with Woman and Fauness*, 1957
Watercolor on transparent paper
19 1/2 x 29 1/8" (49.5 x 74 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett,
Gift of K.A. Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 49)

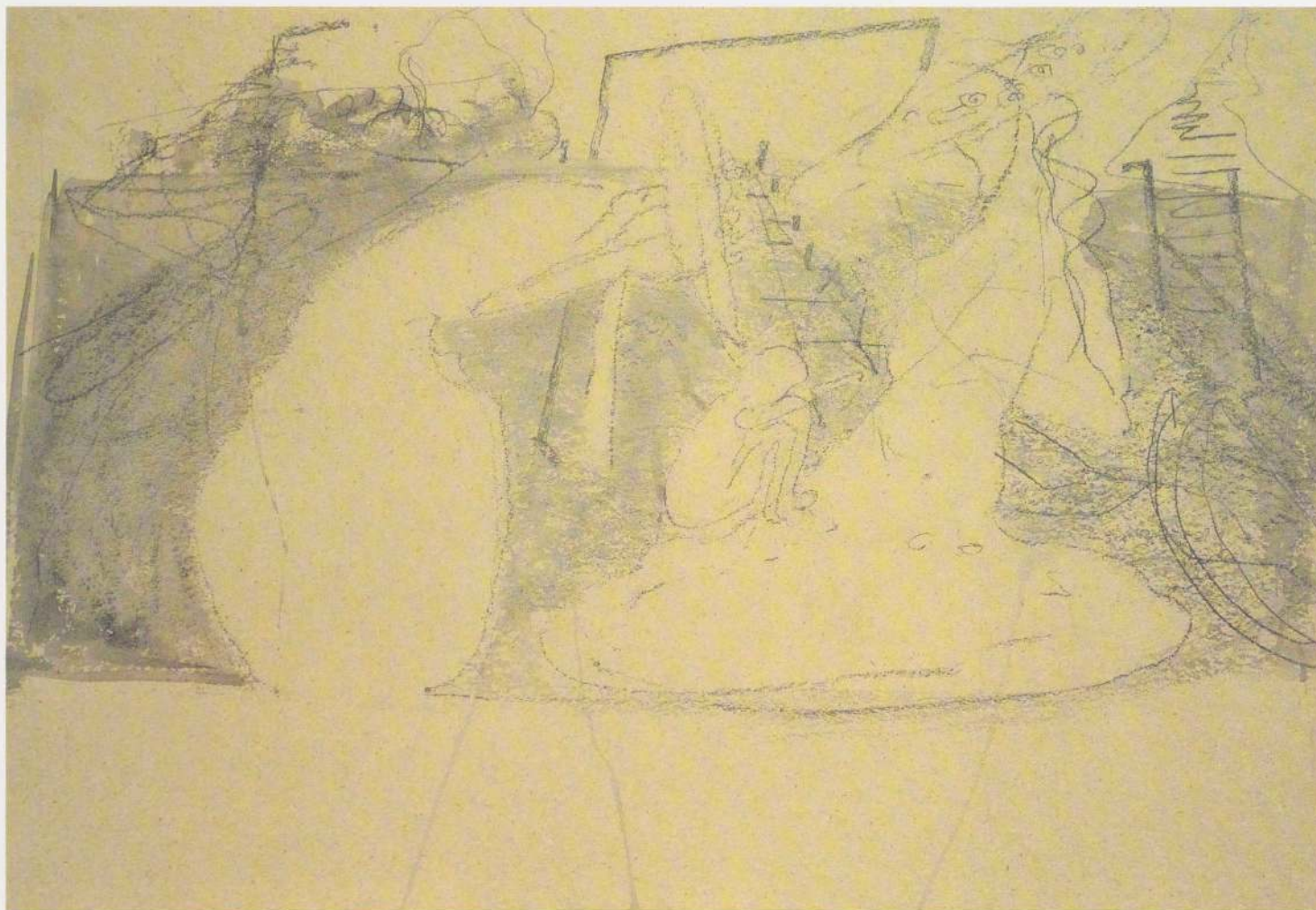


Plate 46. *Mother with Child (Two Mothers with Child on Railway Track)*, 1957
Charcoal and watercolor on paper
17 x 24 1/4" (43.2 x 61.5 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett,
Gift of K.A. Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 52)

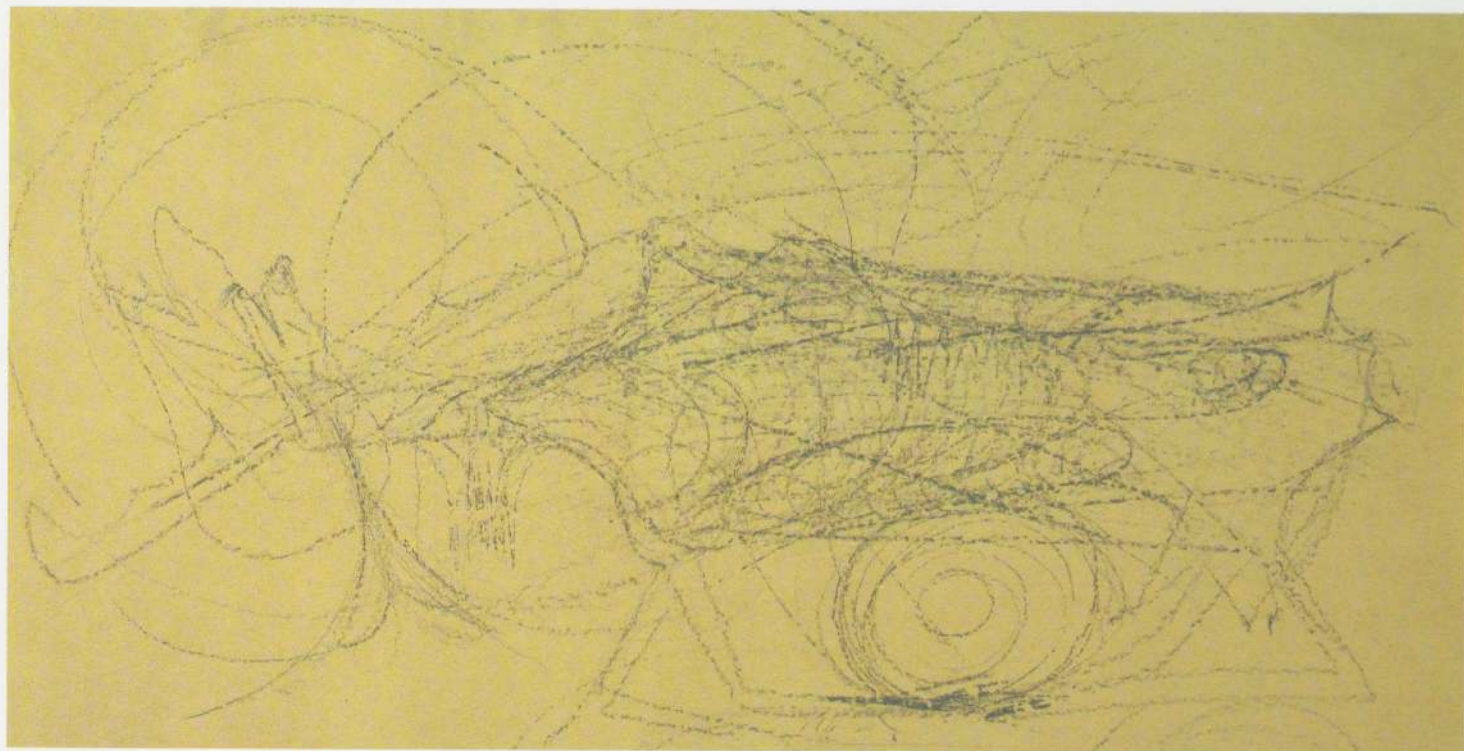


Plate 47. *Elk with Sun*, 1957
Pencil on paper
13 ³/₈ x 26" (34 x 66 cm), irregular
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart
(cat. no. 54)



Plate 48. *Granite*, 1957
Watercolor on paper
12 x 16 7/8" (30.6 x 43 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 48)



Plate 49. *Two Reflections on the Water*, 1957
Double drawing: watercolor and crayon on two sheets of
perforated paper
Each $8 \frac{5}{8} \times 13 \frac{1}{8}$ " (21.9 x 33.3 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 44)



Plate 50. *Incubator (Solar)*, 1957/58
Watercolor on paper
9 x 12 1/4" (22.8 x 31.1 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart
(cat. no. 58)



Plate 51. *Untitled*, 1958
Watercolor, pencil, string, and metallic particles on cut and
pasted paper, mounted on paper with pencil
12 ¹/₄ x 13" (31.1 x 33 cm)
Private Collection, Basel (cat. no. 67)



Plate 52. *Warmth-Sculpture in the Mountains (Double)*, 1956
Double drawing: pen and ink on two sheets of paper
Each 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.6 cm)
Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof (cat. no. 34)

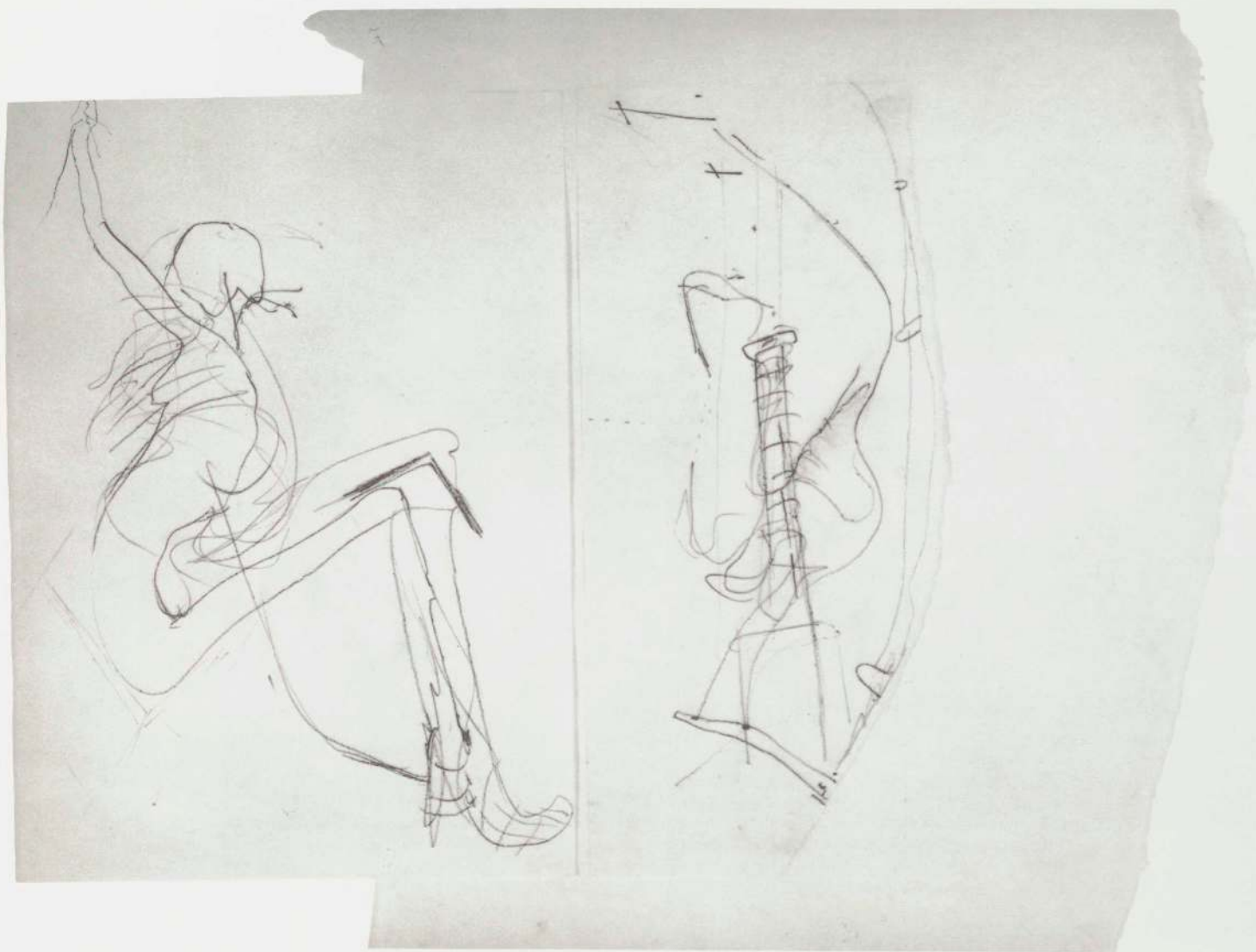


Plate 53. *Female Astronaut*, 1957
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper,
one torn, pasted to a third torn sheet
14 x 18 1/8" (35.5 x 46 cm) overall
Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main (cat. no. 45)



Plate 54. *Object 1, Object 2, Object 3 (Actress)*, 1957
Pencil on paper
9 1/4 x 7 5/8" (23.6 x 19.5 cm), irregular
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (cat. no. 55)



Plate 55. *Untitled*, 1957
Pencil on paper
7 7/8 x 6" (20.1 x 15.1 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 57)

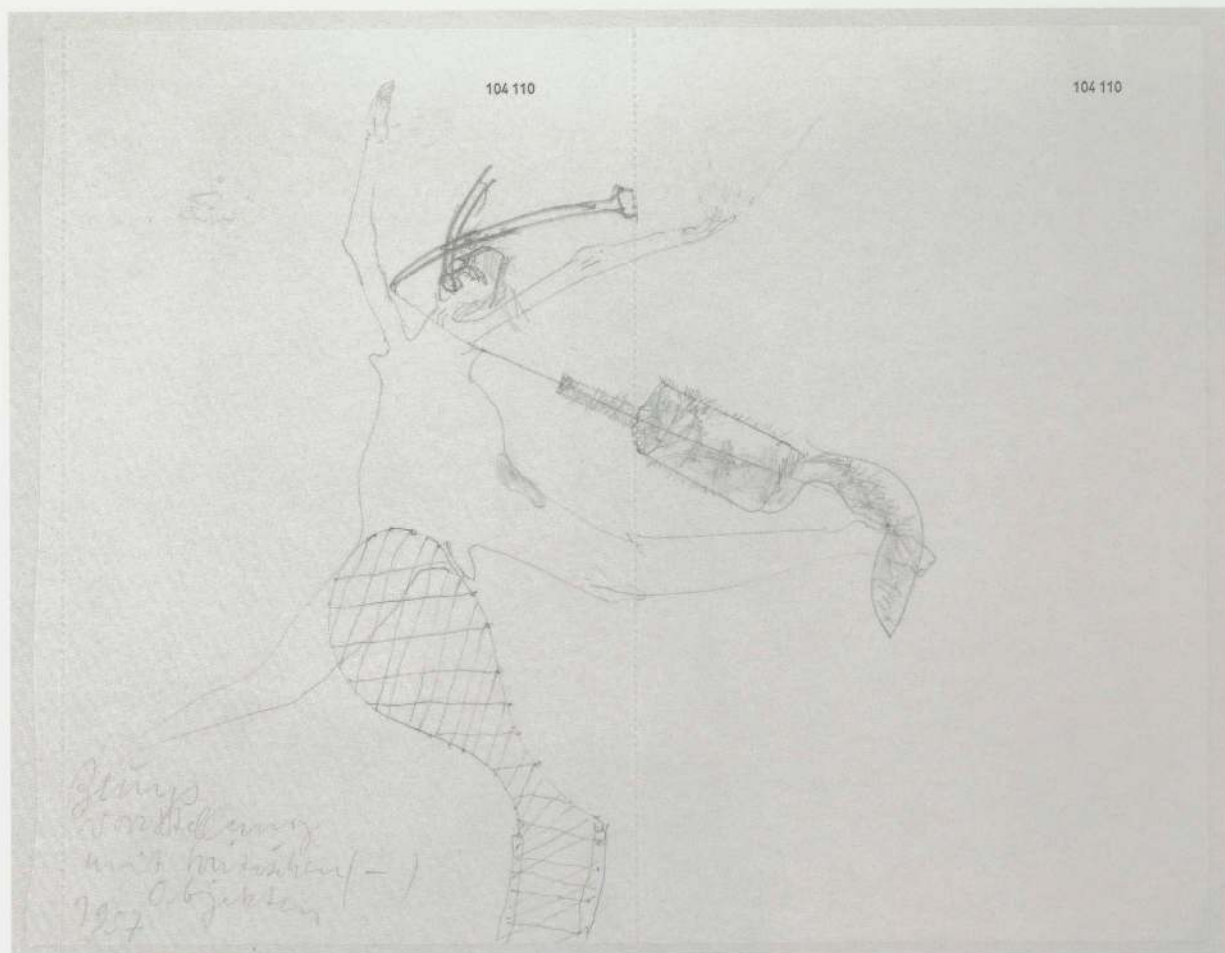


Plate 56. *Representation with Critical (-) Objects*, 1957
Pencil on double sheet of paper, perforated at left margin and
center, with printed numbers
8 1/8 x 10 5/8" (20.8 x 26.9 cm), irregular
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 56)



Plate 57. *Untitled*, 1957
Pen and ink on graph paper, *Beize*, burns and
transfer marks on cut and pasted papers,
and insulation tape, on paper with traces of oil
17 x 24" (43 x 61 cm)
Kunstmuseum Bonn (cat. no. 46)

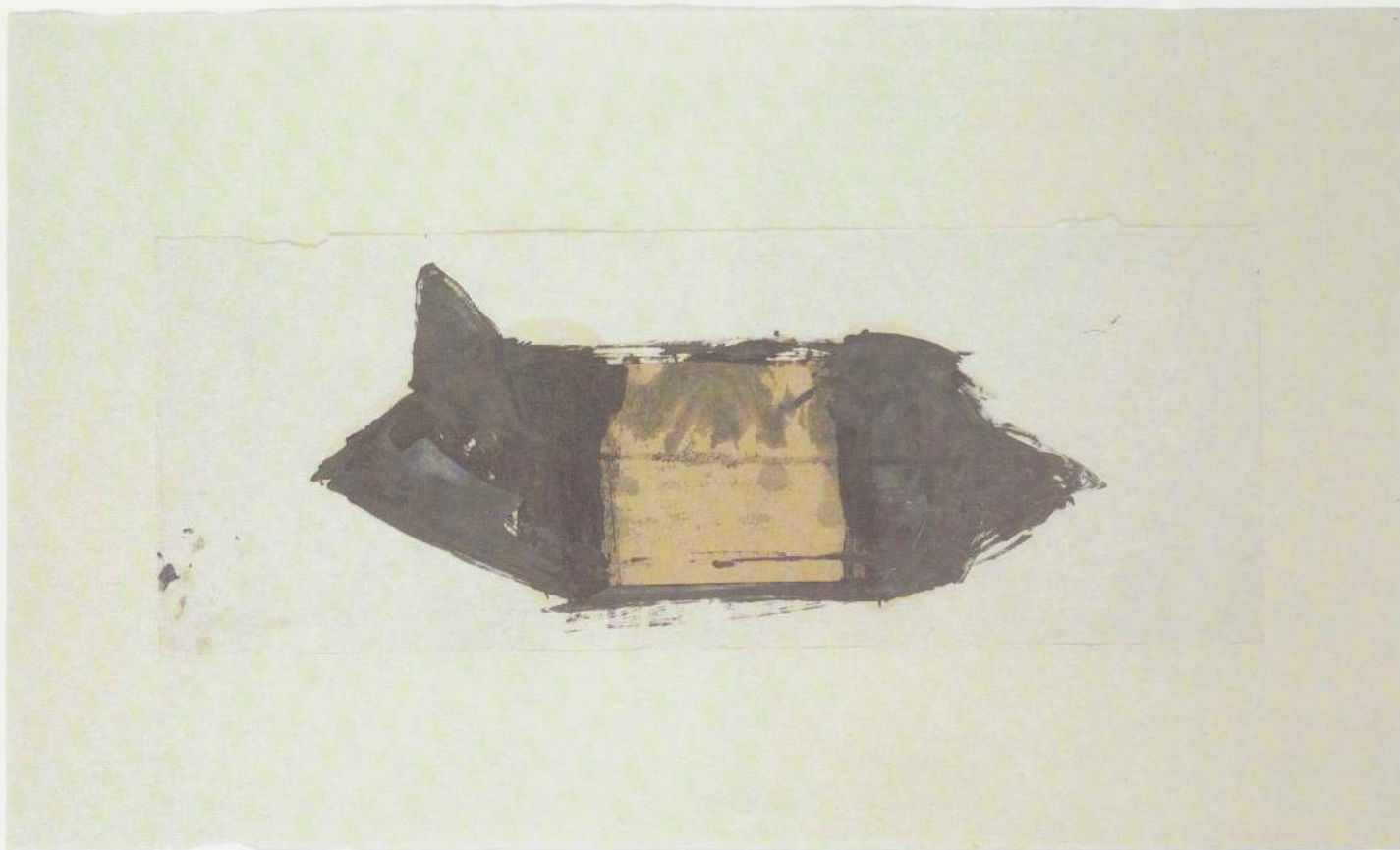


Plate 58. *Untitled (Felt Elements)*, 1958
Oil on cut and pasted papers
7 1/2 x 19 7/8" (19 x 50.4 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of K.A.
Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 62)

Plate 59. *Untitled (Salamander I)*, 1958
Hare's blood, Beize, and pencil on
cardboard
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm)
Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 64)



Plate 60. *Bat*, 1958
Beize on double sheet of perforated paper,
with printed numbers
8 1/4 x 10 5/8" (21 x 27 cm)
Private Collection, New York (cat. no. 68)

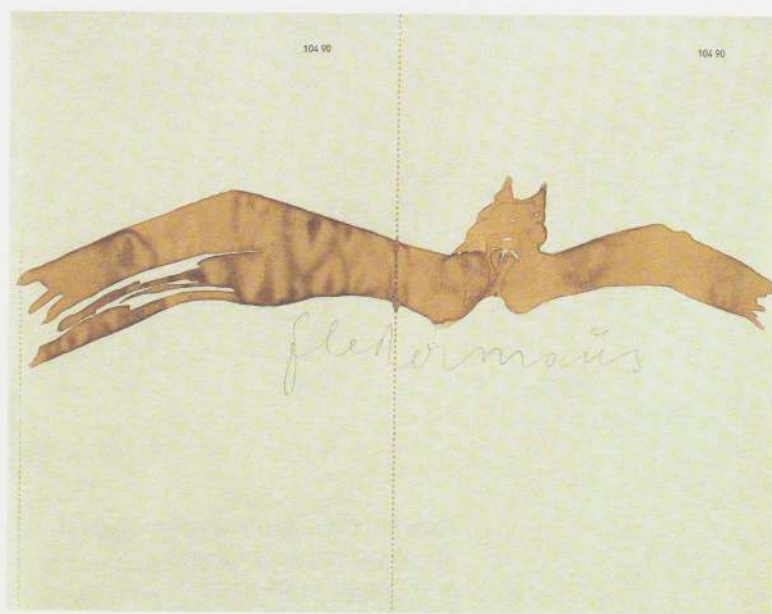




Plate 61. *Freckled Frogs*, 1958
Double drawing: *Beize* and pencil on two
sheets of transparent paper
Each $13 \frac{11}{16} \times 9 \frac{11}{16}$ " (34.8 x 24.6 cm)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
New York (cat. no. 59)

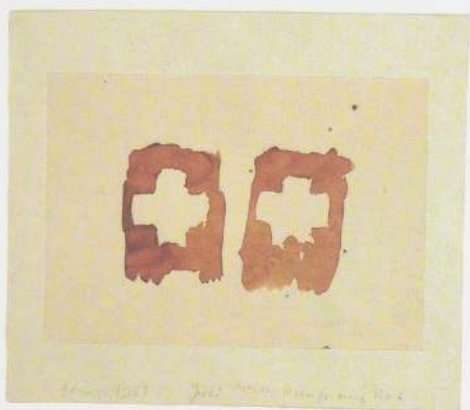


Plate 62. *Two White Crosses on Red*, 1958
 Watercolor on envelope
 4 1/2 x 6 3/8" (11.5 x 16.2 cm)
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
 Kupferstichkabinett (cat. no. 69)

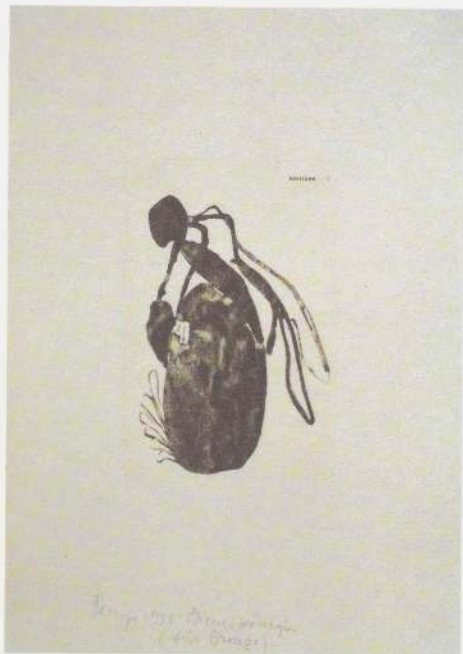


Plate 63. *Queenbee (For Bronze-Sculpture)*,
 1958
 Metallic paint on perforated paper
 5 5/8 x 3 3/4" (14.4 x 9.6 cm)
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
 Kupferstichkabinett (cat. no. 65)

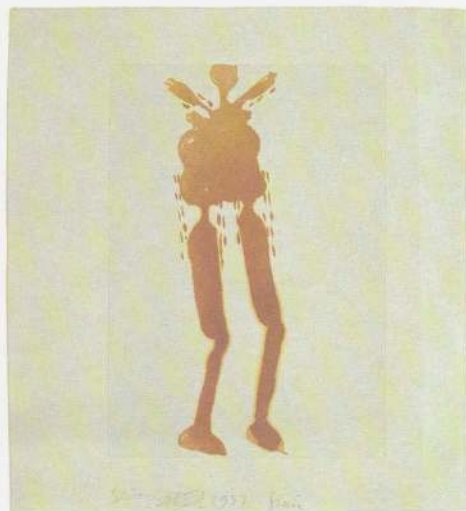


Plate 64. *Woman*, 1957
 Beize on envelope
 6 1/8 x 4 1/4" (15.6 x 10.9 cm)
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
 Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of K. A.
 Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 53)

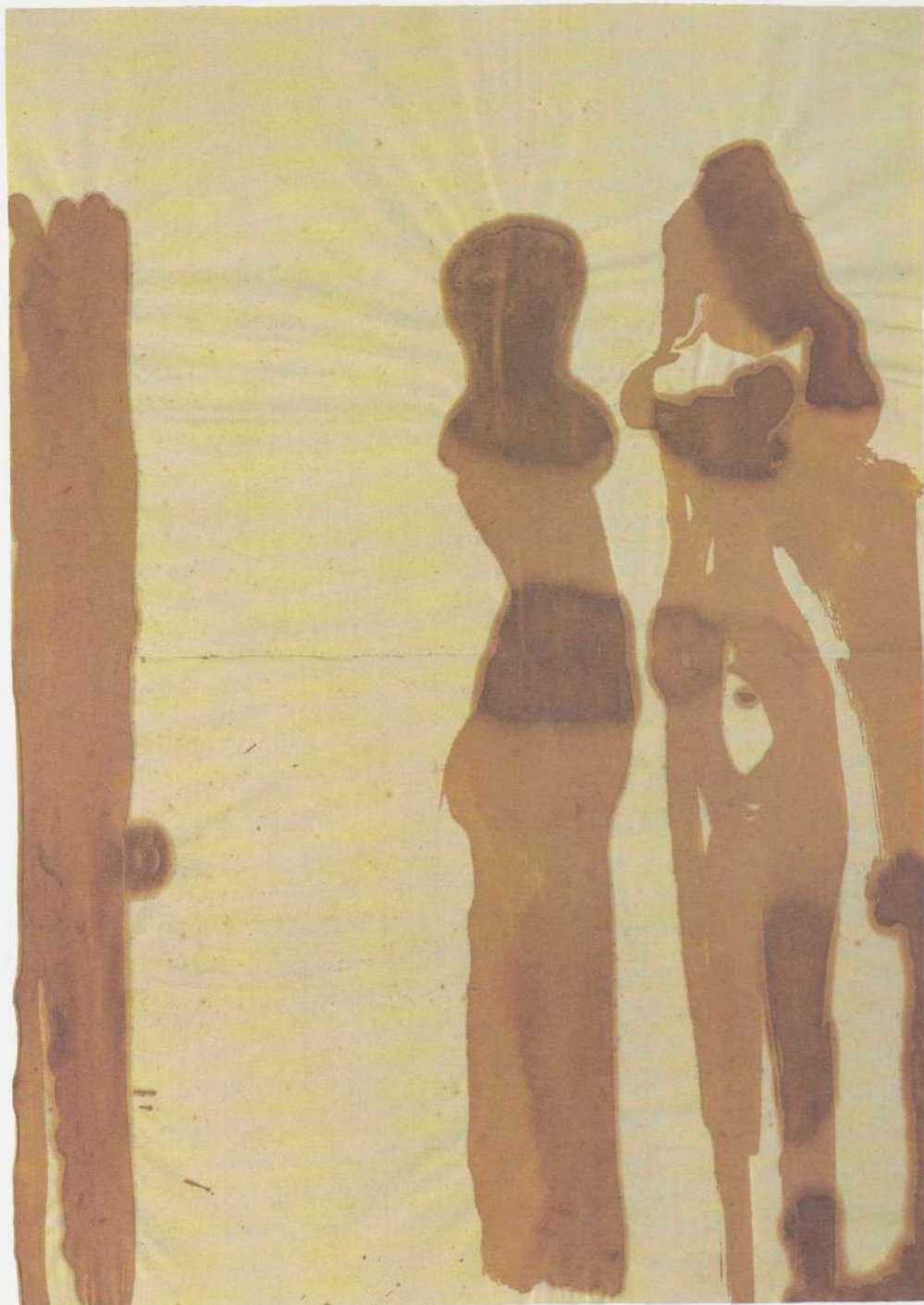


Plate 65. *Two Women*, 1958
Beize on transparent paper
16 ³/₈ x 11 ¹/₂" (41.6 x 29.2 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 60)

Plate 66. *Animal Kingdom of the
Mediterranean Sea, III, Sponge, Mussel,*
1958-59
Watercolor, oil, transfer, and pencil on ruled
paper, mounted on construction paper
8 1/4 x 11 3/4" (21 x 29.7 cm), irregular
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich
(cat. no. 66)

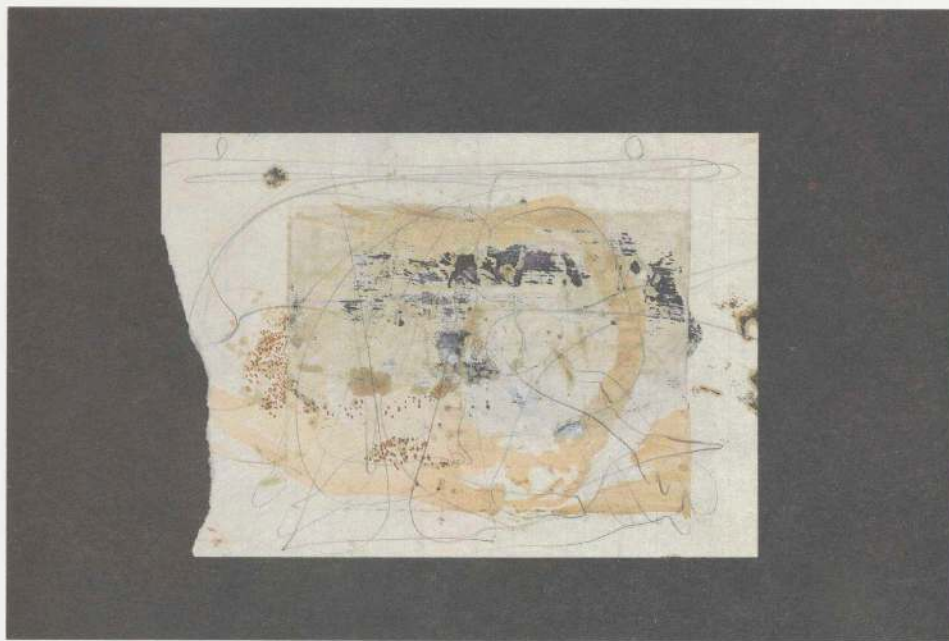


Plate 67. *Untitled*, 1957
Pencil on paper, pasted on paper, mounted
on construction paper
6 7/8 x 10 5/8" (17.4 x 27 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York,
Gift of Walter Bareiss (cat. no. 47)

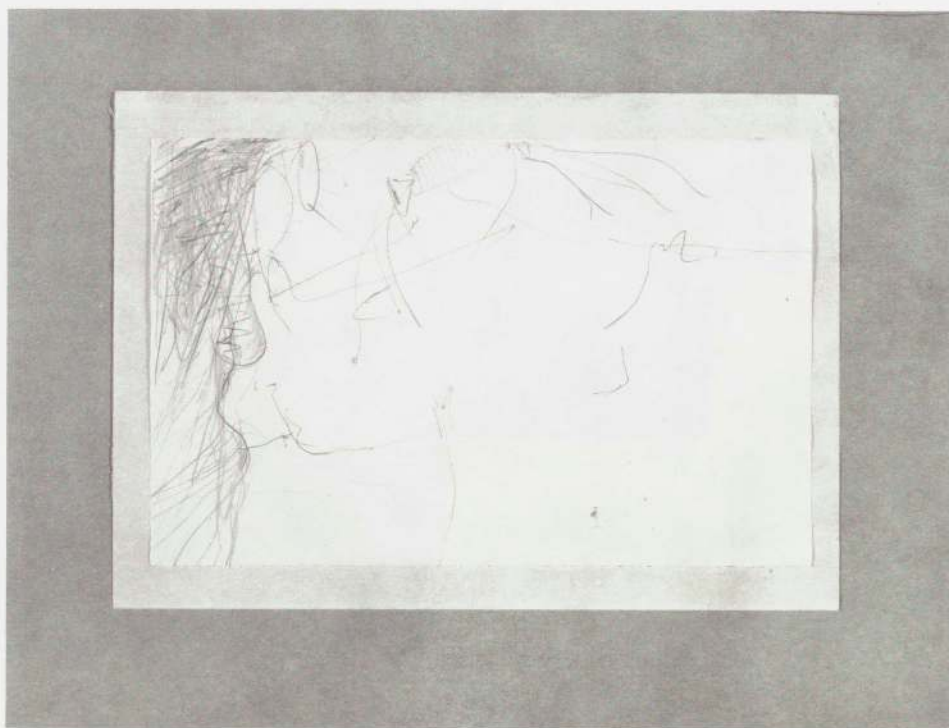




Plate 68. *Double Gouache*, 1959–60

Double drawing: body color, watercolor, and pencil on two sheets of paper, mounted on two sheets of paper

Upper 15 3/4 x 19 1/8" (40 x 48.5 cm); lower 14 3/8 x 19 1/8" (36.5 x 48.5 cm)

Museum Ludwig, Cologne (cat. no. 75)

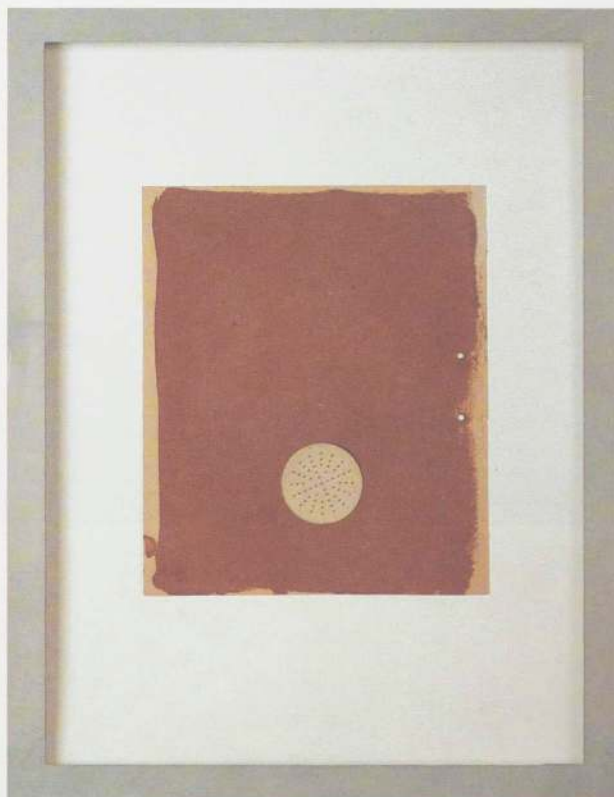


Plate 69. *Color Picture*, 1958
Blood on linen, mounted on paper
9 5/8 x 8 1/2" (24.5 x 21.4 cm), irregular
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Collection Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung
(cat. no. 61)

Plate 70. *Tents in the Himalayas*, 1959
Two pieces of felt and stained gauze on
paper, mounted on cardboard
9 5/8 x 15 3/8" (24.5 x 39 cm), overall
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Collection Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung
(cat. no. 70)



Plate 71. *Drain*, 1960
Perforated cardboard pasted to cardboard
with oil (*Braunkreuz*)
13 1/4 x 11 1/4" (33.5 x 28.5 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Collection Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung
(cat. no. 76)



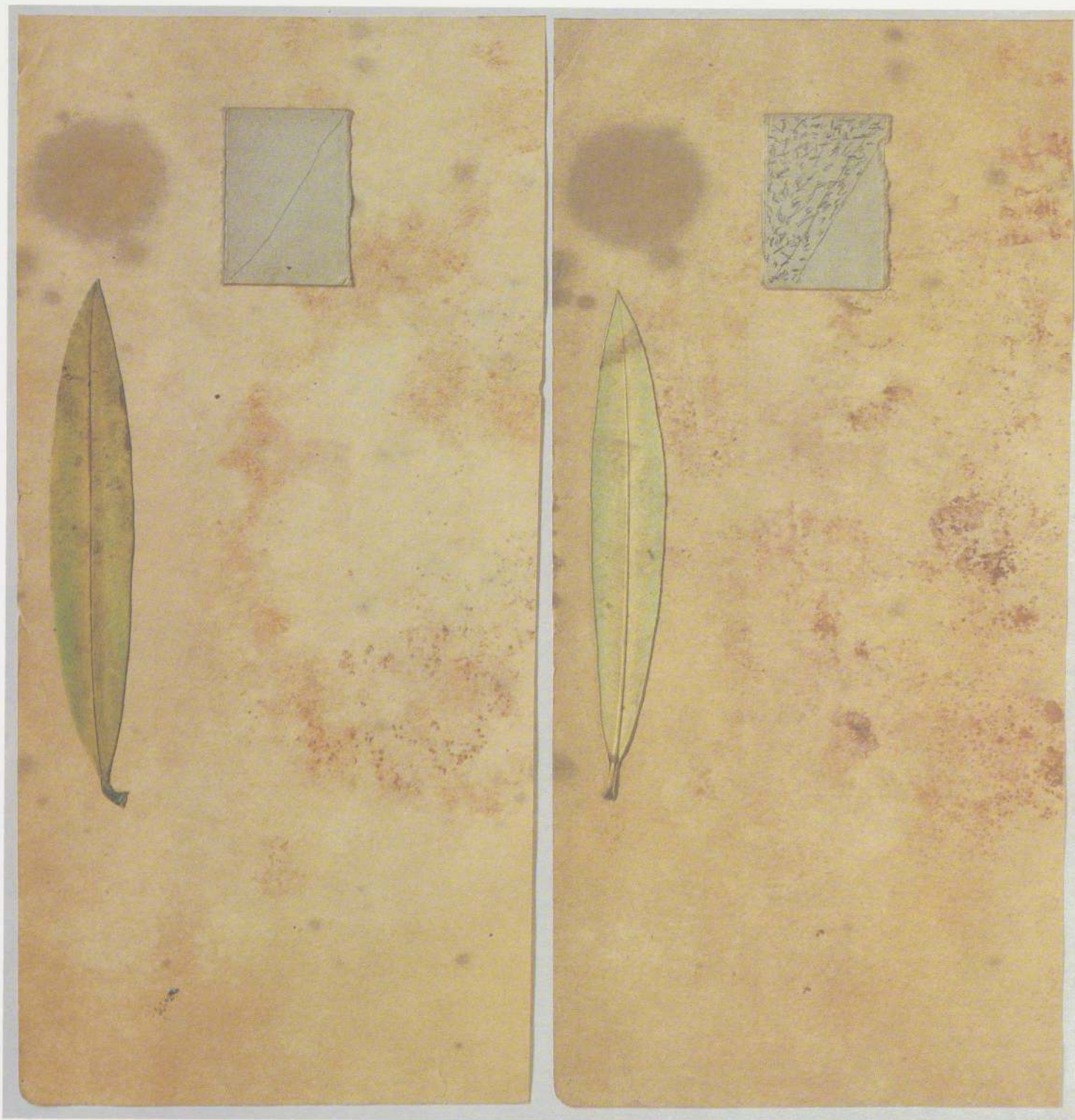


Plate 72. *Oleander*, 1960

Double drawing: dried leaves and cardboard with pencil pasted to two sheets of cardboard, with metallic paint, body color, and oil or fat stain

Left $12 \frac{5}{8} \times 6''$ (32 x 15 cm); right $12 \frac{5}{8} \times 6''$ (32 x 15.3 cm)

Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 77)



Plate 73. *Stag's Foot—Cross 2X*, 1960
Double drawing: oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of paper,
mounted on cardboard
15 3/4 x 20" (40 x 51 cm) overall
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett
(cat. no. 78)



Plate 74. *Rubber Doll*, 1959
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), lampblack and watercolor and pencil
on newsprint paper
22 x 16 ³/₈" (58.3 x 41.7 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 71)



Plate 75. *The Horns II*, 1960
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and watercolor on paper
14 x 22 1/2" (35.5 x 57.2 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 83)

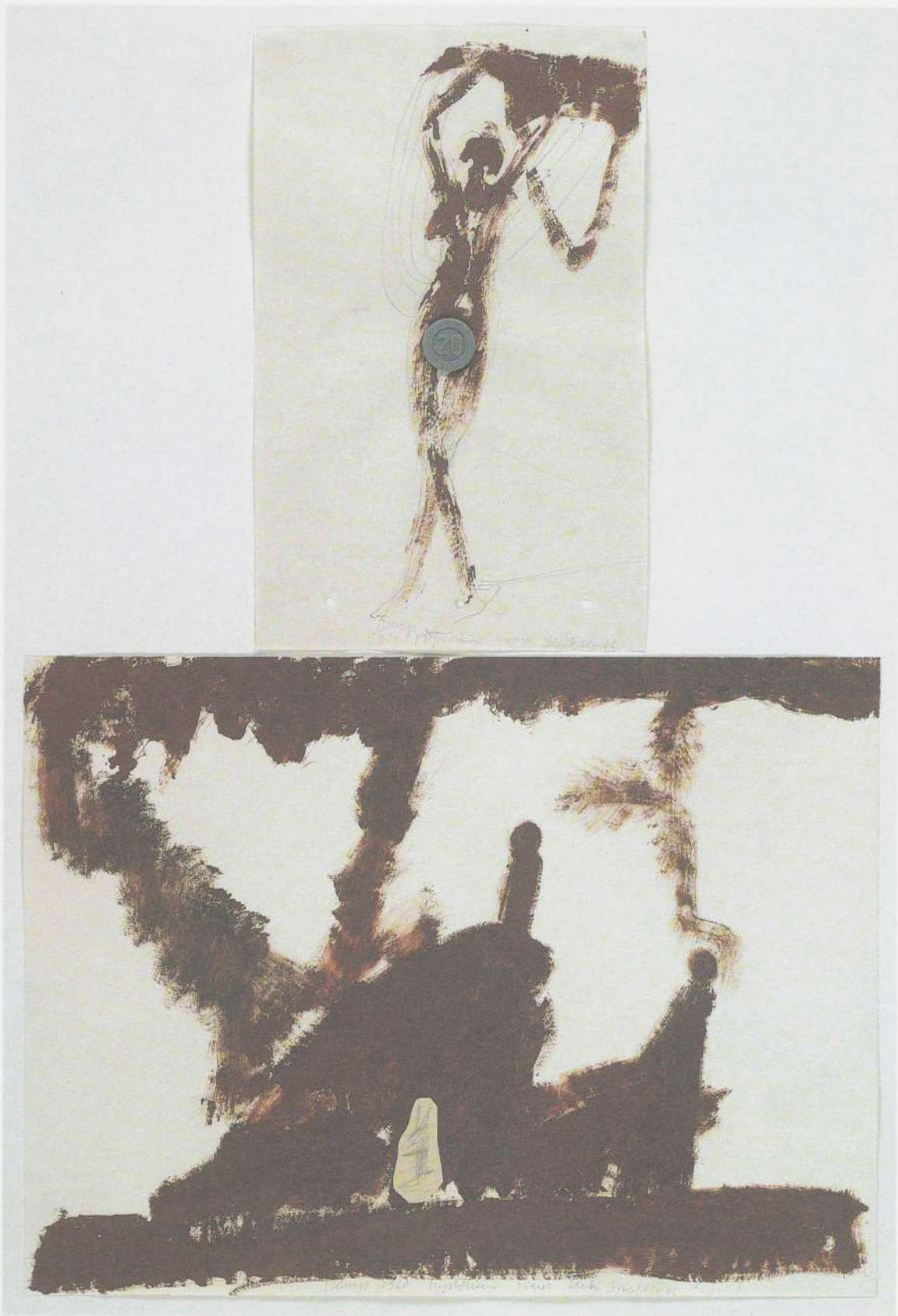


Plate 76. *Mystery of a Love*, 1960
Double drawing: oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of paper, one
with gamechip, one with pencil on cut and pasted paper
Upper 11 ³/₈ x 7 ¹/₄" (29 x 18.3 cm);
lower 11 ³/₄ x 15 ³/₄" (29.8 x 40 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 79)



Plate 77. *Untitled (Sphere, Corners)*, 1960
 Oil, body color, and pencil on cut and pasted papers
 11 ⁵/₈ x 8 ¹/₄" (29.6 x 21 cm)
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett
 (cat. no. 81)

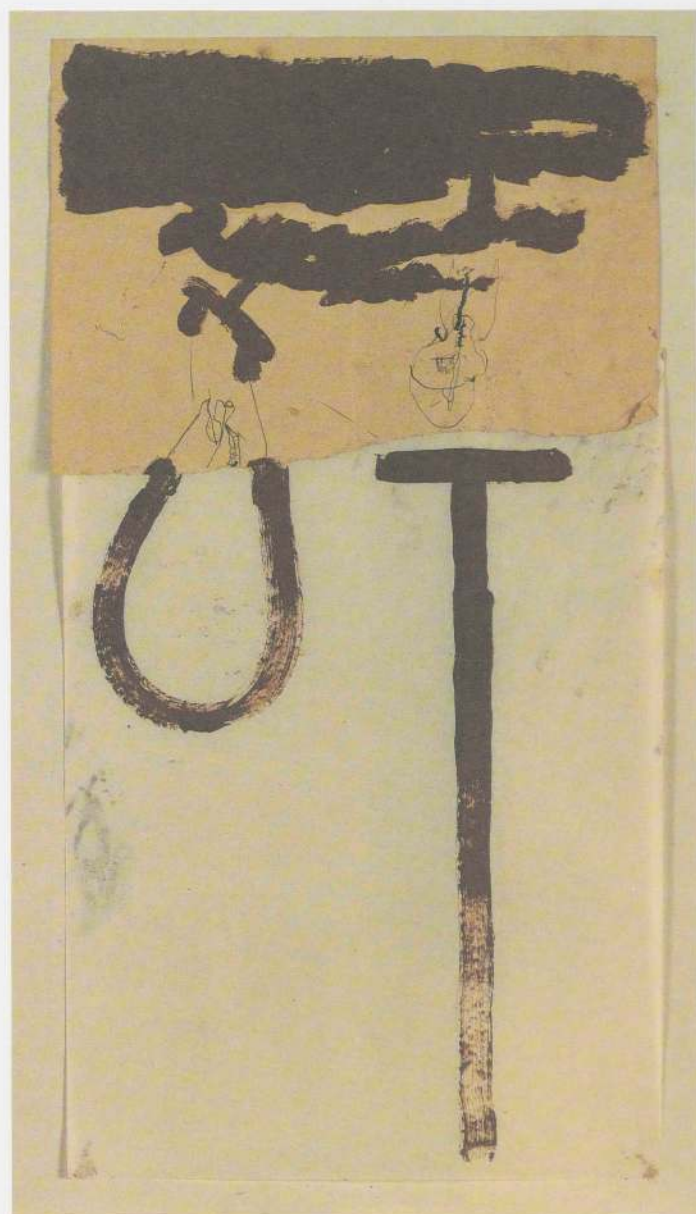


Plate 78. *The Two Principal Earth Forces*, 1960
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and pen and ink on cut and pasted papers
 15 ⁵/₈ x 8 ³/₈" (39.7 x 21.2 cm)
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
 Kranenburg (cat. no. 82)



Plate 79. *Dynamis 3, Dynamis*, 1960
Double drawing: enamel, glue, pen and ink, and pencil on two
sheets of paper, one ruled, mounted on construction paper
Upper 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (21 x 29.6 cm);
lower 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (21.1 x 29.7 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase (cat. no. 80)

Plate 80. *Norn Picture*, 1959

Pencil on paper

8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (20.8 x 29.6 cm)

Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of Dieter Koeplin
(cat. no. 73)

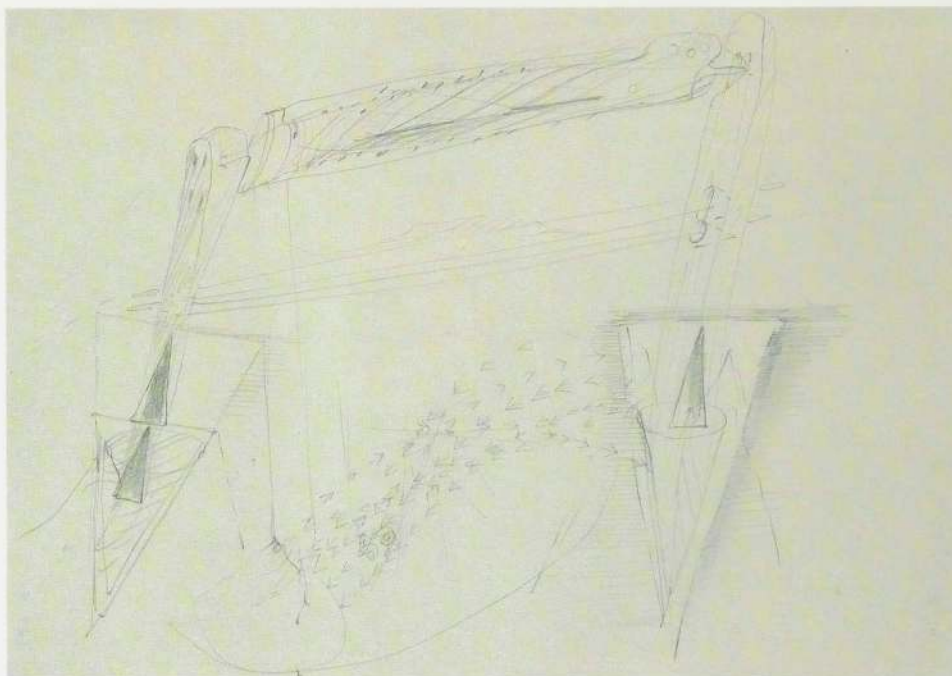


Plate 81. *Braunkreuz/with Transmission*,
1961

Oils (including *Braunkreuz*) and pencil
on paper

11 5/8 x 11 3/4" (29.4 x 29.7 cm)

Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 93)

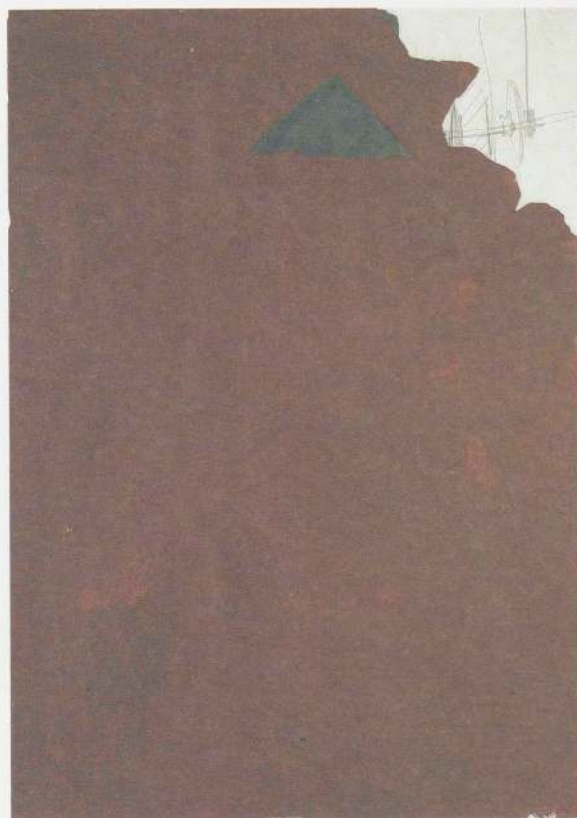
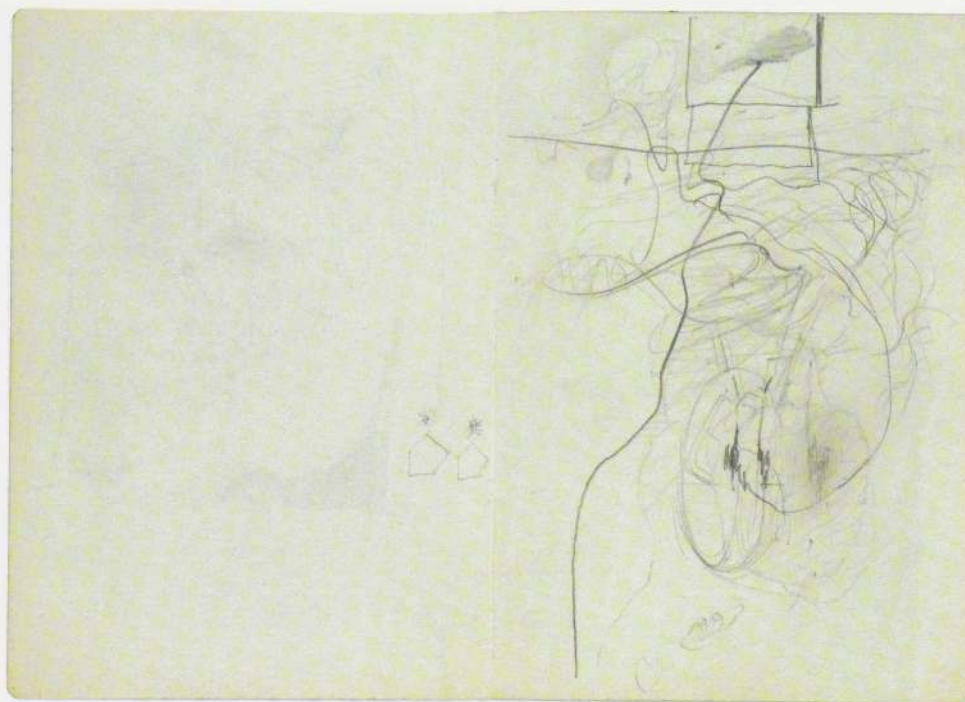
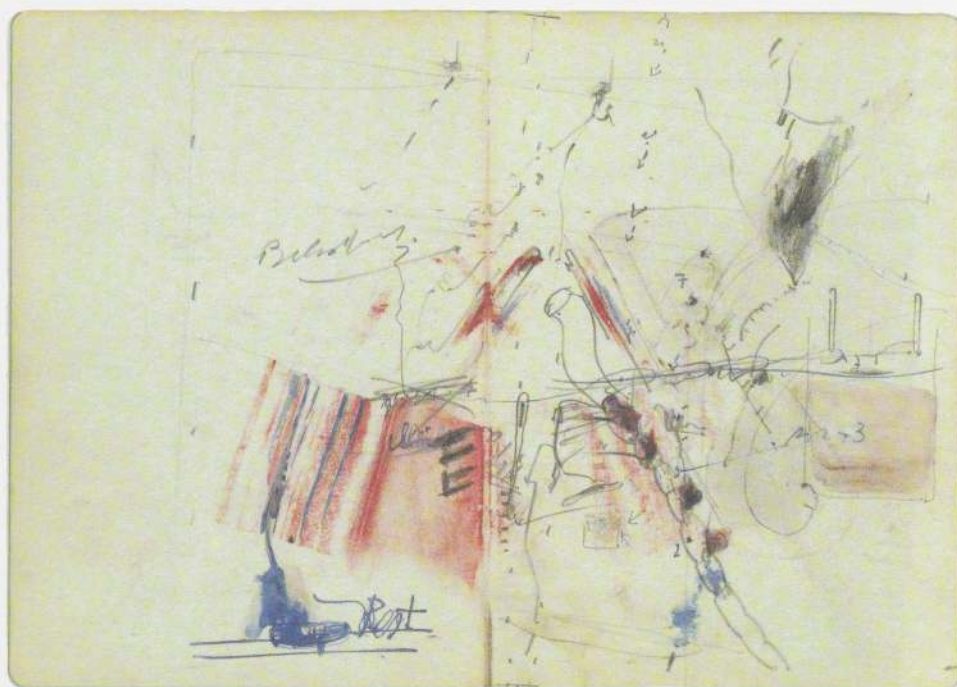


Plate 82. *Ulysses* (Book 2, pages 10–11),
1959–61
Pencil, pen, and crayon on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 5 3/4" (21 x 14.8 cm)
Marx Collection, Berlin (cat. no. 84)



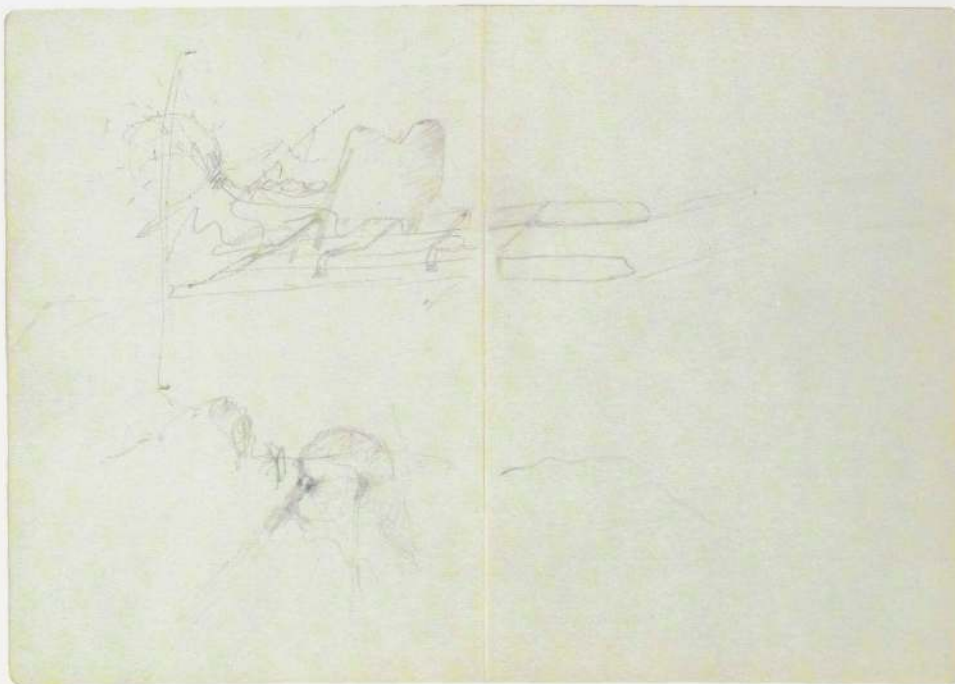
Ulysses (Book 3, pages 26–27), 1959–61
Pencil, pen, and crayon on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 5 3/4" (21 x 14.8 cm)
Marx Collection, Berlin (cat. no. 84)



Ulysses (Book 4, pages 86–87), 1959–61
Pencil, pen, and crayon on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 5 3/4" (21 x 14.8 cm)
Marx Collection, Berlin (cat. no. 84)



Ulysses (Book 6, pages 32–33), 1959–61
Pencil, pen, and crayon on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 5 3/4" (21 x 14.8 cm)
Marx Collection, Berlin (cat. no. 84)



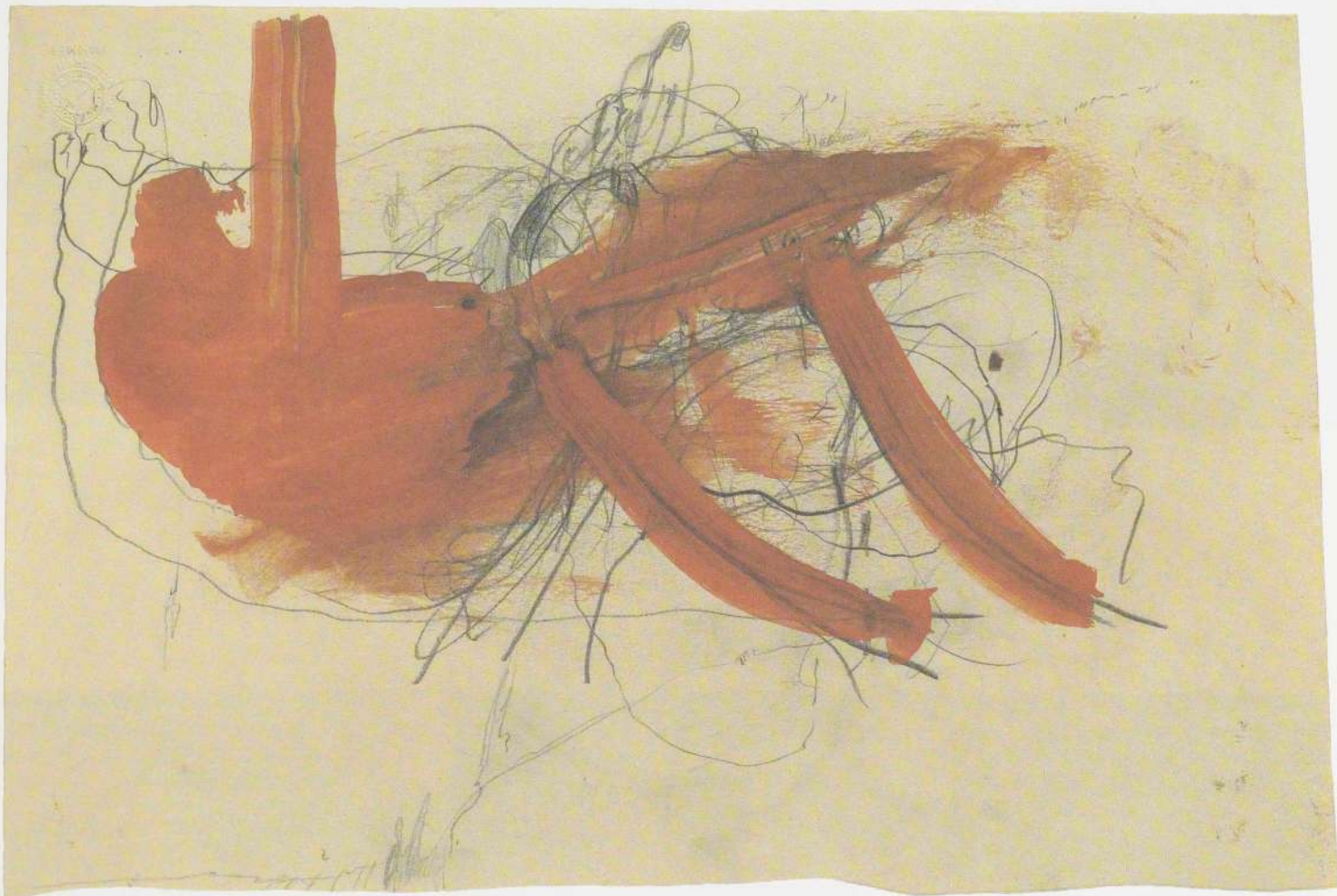


Plate 83. *Mass Resulting from an Explosion*, 1961
Oil and pencil on paper
8 7/8 x 13 1/8" (22.4 x 33.3 cm), irregular
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 92)



Plate 84. *Untitled*, 1961
Five drawings: pencil on paper
Each 8 ¹/₄ x 5 ³/₄" (21 x 14.6 cm)
Collection of Molly and Walter Bareiss,
Greenwich (cat. no. 95)

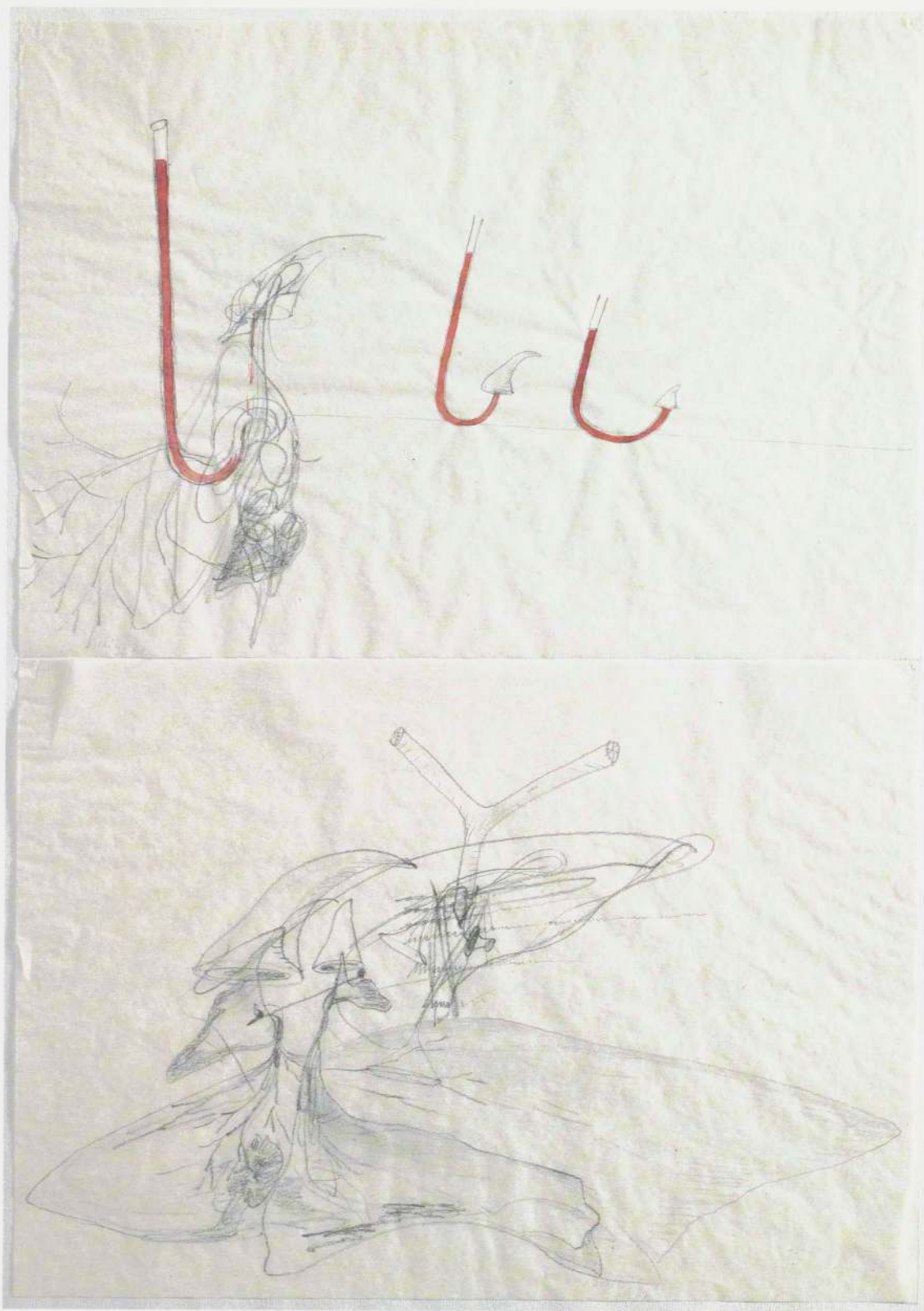


Plate 85. *Untitled (Horns)*, 1961
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper, with touches of
watercolor on upper sheet
Each 8 ¹/₄ x 11 ³/₄" (21 x 29.8 cm)
A. and C. von Ribbentrop, A.C.R. Galerie, Eltville (cat. no. 86)

Plate 86. *Currents*, 1961
Pencil on transparent paper
29 x 13" (73.6 x 33 cm)
Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie
Stuttgart (cat. no. 96)



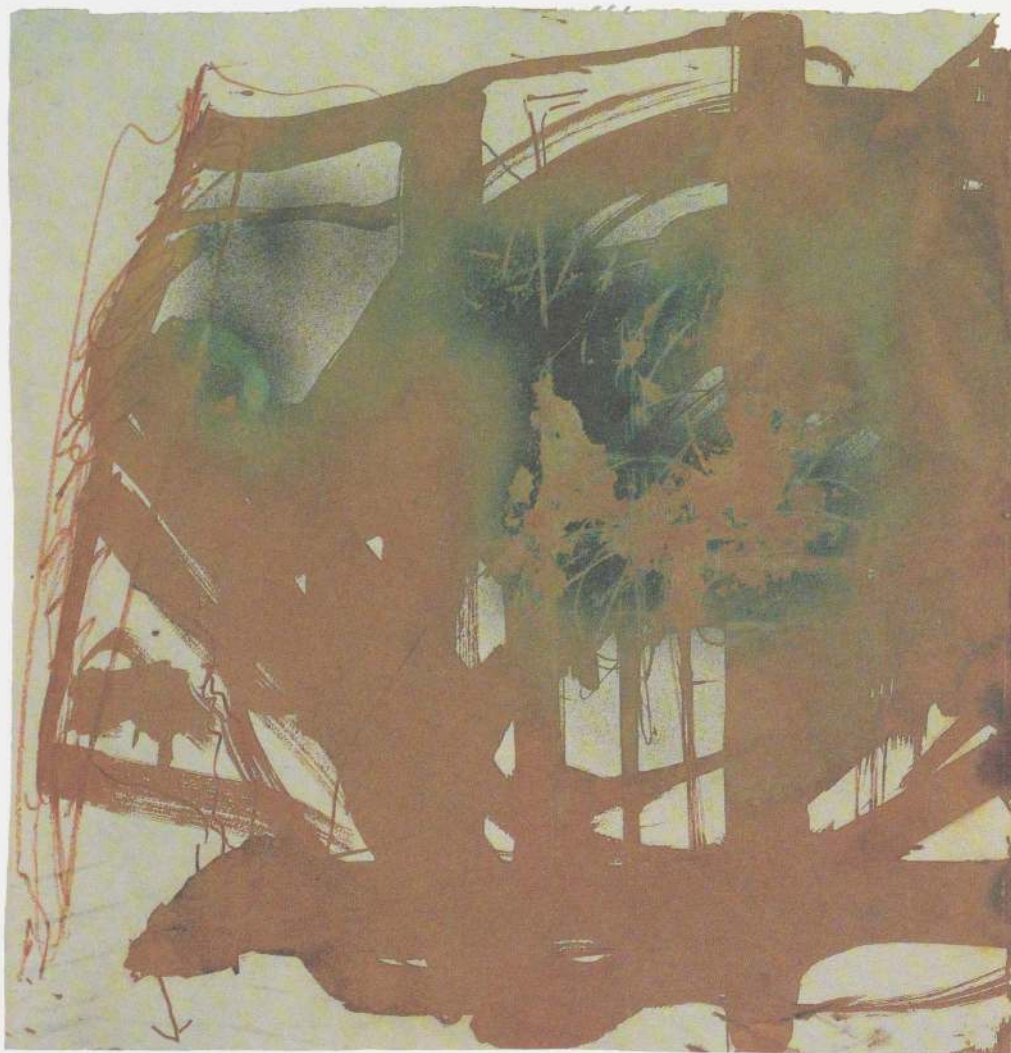


Plate 87. *Explosion*, 1956
Beize, sprayed metallic paints, and oil crayon on paper
16 ⁷/₈ x 16 ¹/₂" (43 x 42 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart (cat. no. 39)

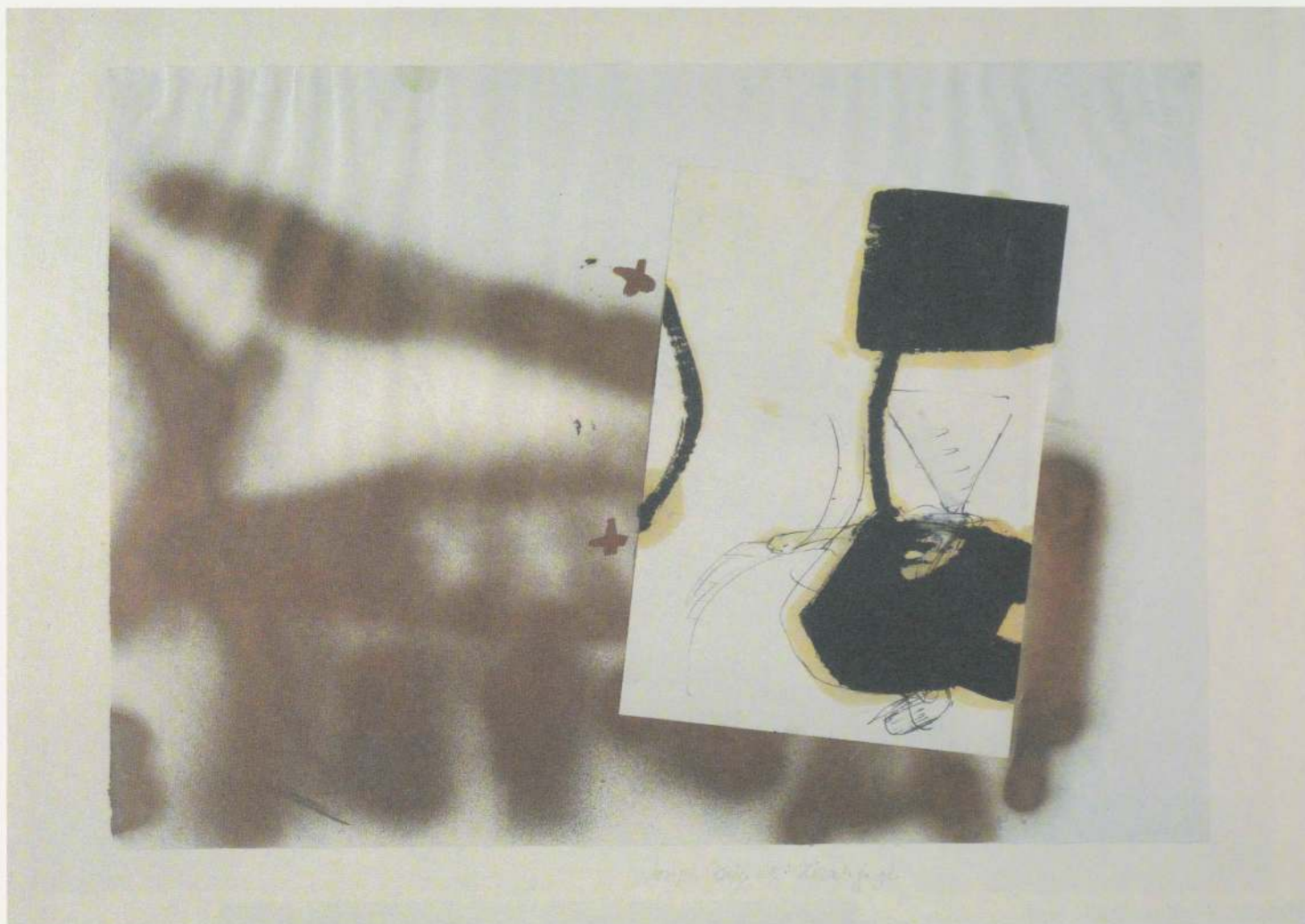


Plate 88. *Staghunt*, 1961
Oil and pen and ink on paper, pasted on paper, with sprayed metallic paints
16 1/2 x 23 1/8" (41.8 x 58.6 cm)
Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (cat. no. 87)

Plate 89. *Academic Demonstration*, 1961
Oil on perforated paper
15 7/8 x 11 5/8" (40.3 x 29.6 cm), irregular
Private Collection, Switzerland (cat. no. 89)



Plate 90. *Wooden Virgin*, 1958
Oil and ink stamp on paper
7 1/8 x 9 1/2" (18 x 24 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland (cat. no. 63)





Plate 91. *Hornet's Hogan*, 1961
Oil and cocoa powder on paper
24 ⁷/₈ x 35" (63.2 x 89 cm)
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 90)



Plate 92. *Untitled (Nudes)*, 1961
 Pencil, fat, *Beize*, and stain on graph paper
 16 1/2 x 11 5/8" (42 x 29.5 cm)
 Kunstmuseum Bonn (cat. no. 88)



Plate 93. *Shamaness*, 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper
 16 7/8 x 12" (43 x 30.4 cm)
 Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 105)



Plate 94. *Eurasia*, 1961
Pencil and oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper
15 3/4 x 31 1/2" (40 x 80 cm)
Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie
Stuttgart (cat. no. 91)

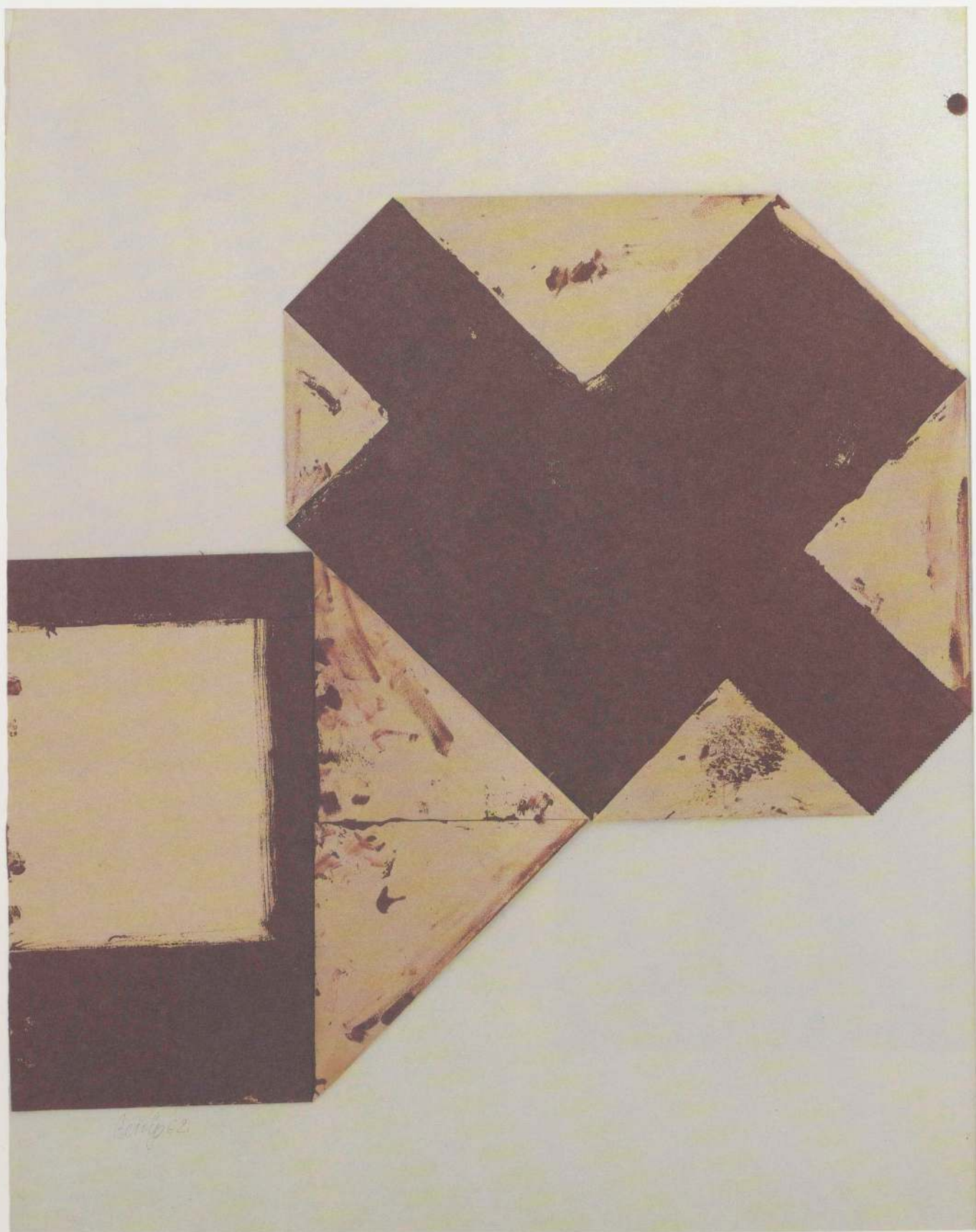


Plate 95. *Untitled (Braunkreuz)*, 1962
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on cut, folded, and pasted paper,
mounted on paper
25 ³/₄ x 19 ³/₄" (65.5 x 50 cm), irregular
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart (cat. no. 99)

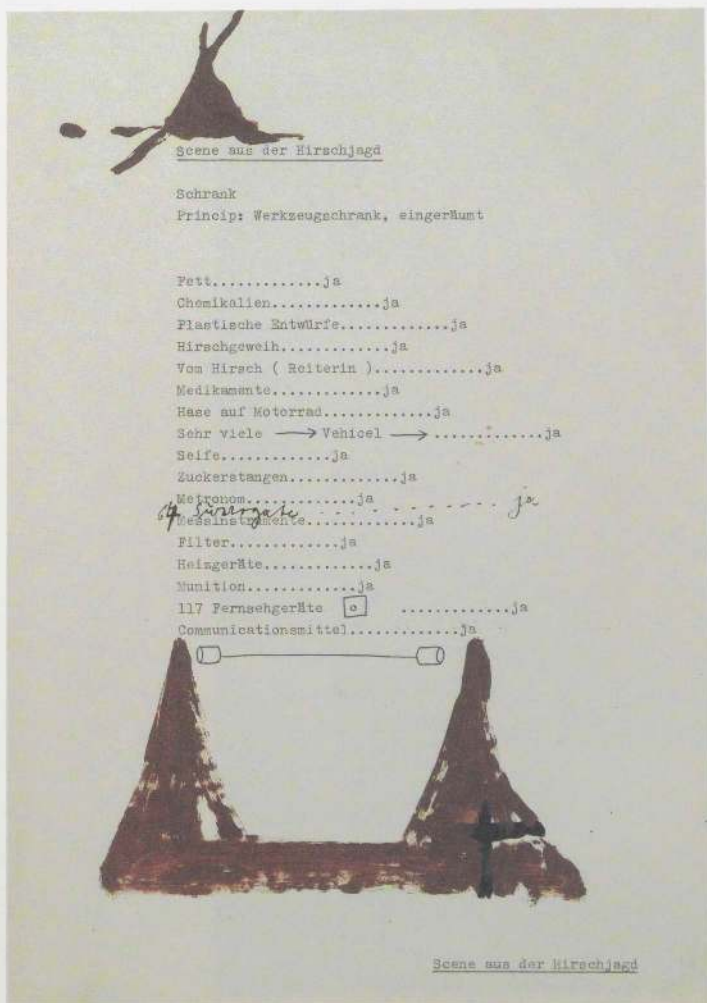


Plate 96. *Scene from the Stag Hunt*, 1961
Oils (including *Braunkreuz*), ballpoint pen, pen and ink, pencil,
and typewritten text on paper
11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 94)

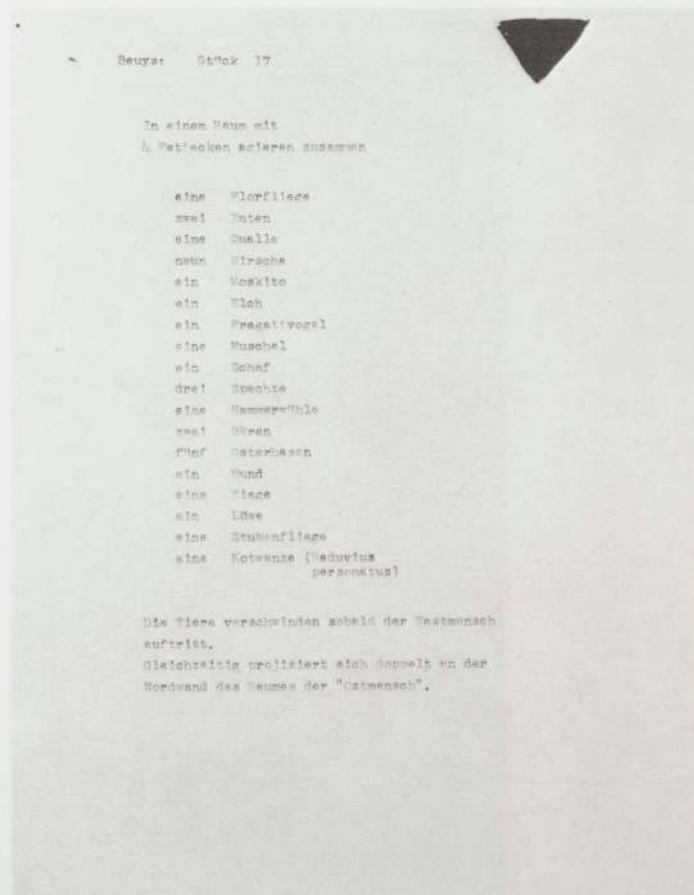


Plate 97. *Play 17*, 1963
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and typewritten text on paper
11 x 8 1/2" (28 x 21.6 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London (cat. no. 111)



Plate 98. *Listening Man from Behind*, 1961
Cut, torn, and pasted colored papers
14 ⁷/₈ x 11" (37.8 x 27.8 cm), irregular
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 85)

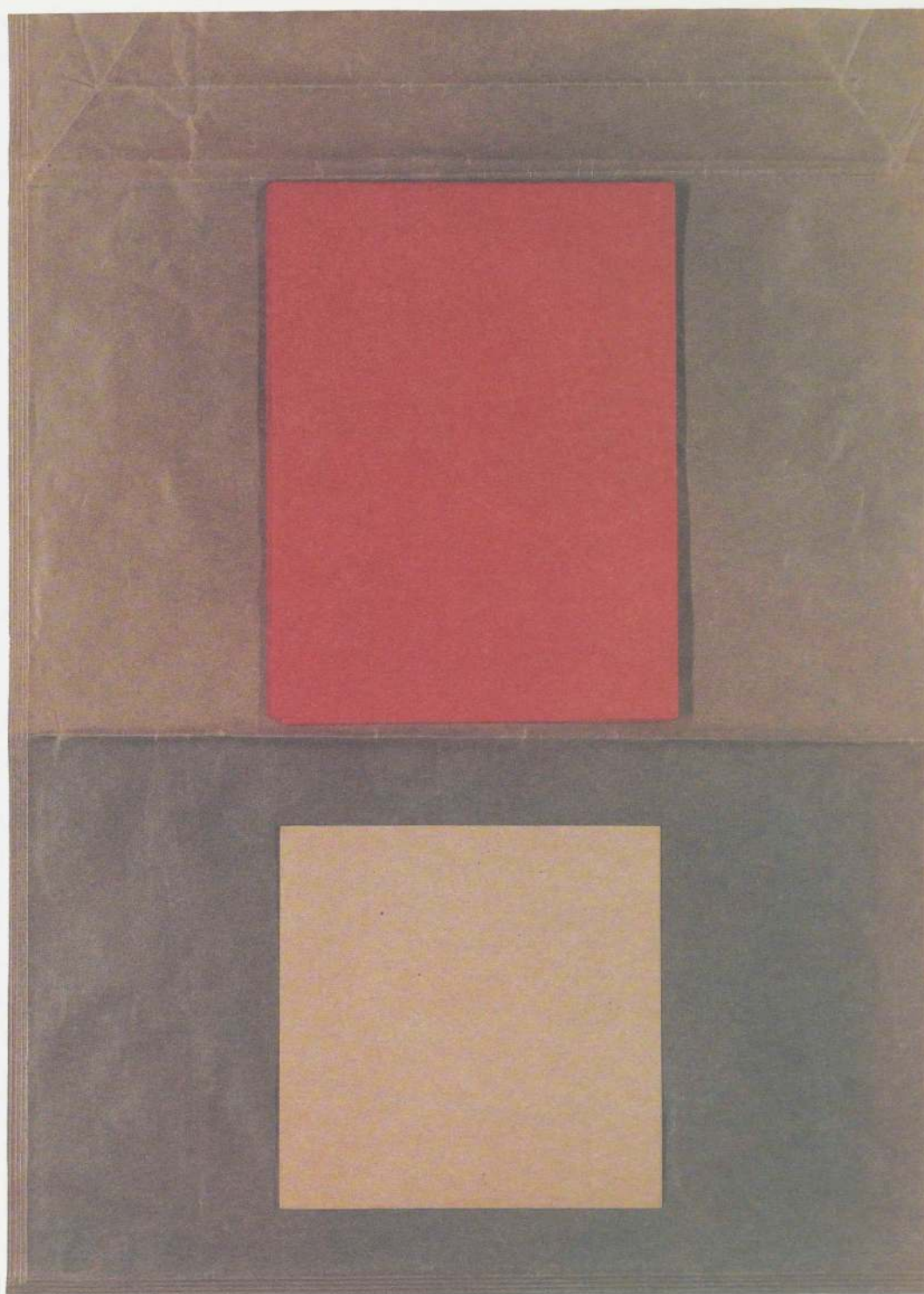


Plate 99. *Untitled*, 1963
Cut, folded, and pasted papers, and cardboard on
chemically treated paper
23 ⁵/₈ x 17 ¹/₈" (60.1 x 43.5 cm)
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 101)

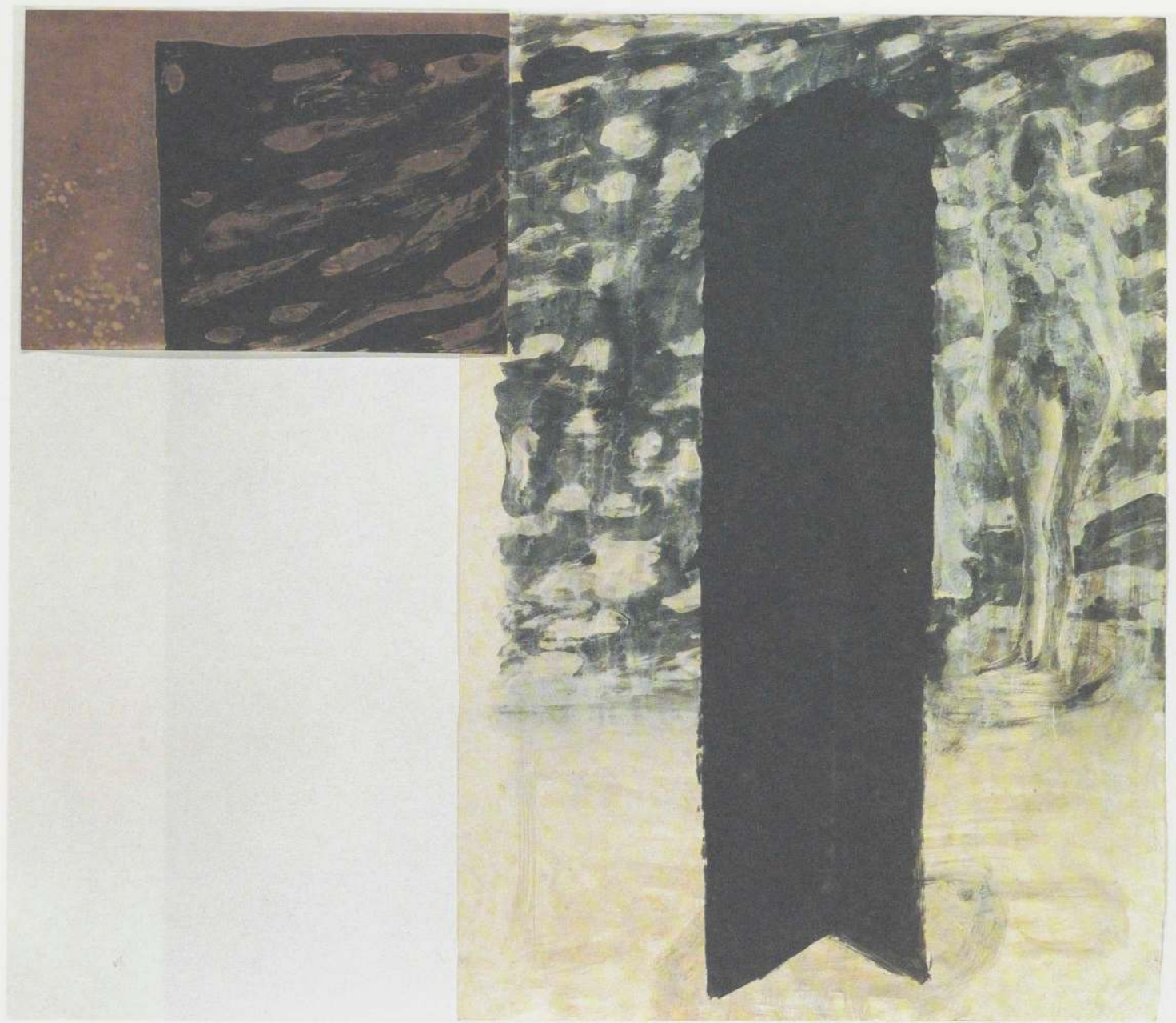
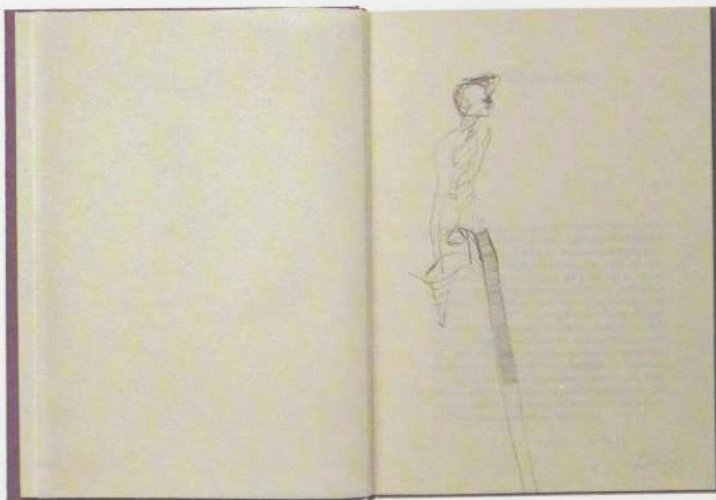


Plate 100. *Felt Angle and Nude*, 1963
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), casein, and hare's blood on cut and pasted
exposed photographic film and paper
24 x 27 1/2" (61.2 x 69.8 cm) overall, irregular
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett,
Gift of K.A. Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 102)

Plate 101. *Felt-Action*, 1963
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and cut and pasted felt
and paper on paper
25 ³/₈ x 17 ¹/₈" (65 x 43.5 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
(cat. no. 104)



Plate 102. *Untitled (Man with Felt Sculptures)*, c. 1965
Pencil and tracing pencil on paper, bound
into *von Tod zu Tod*, by Richard Schaukal
(Munich, 1965)
7 ³/₈ x 5 ¹/₄" (18.7 x 13.2 cm)
Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 119)



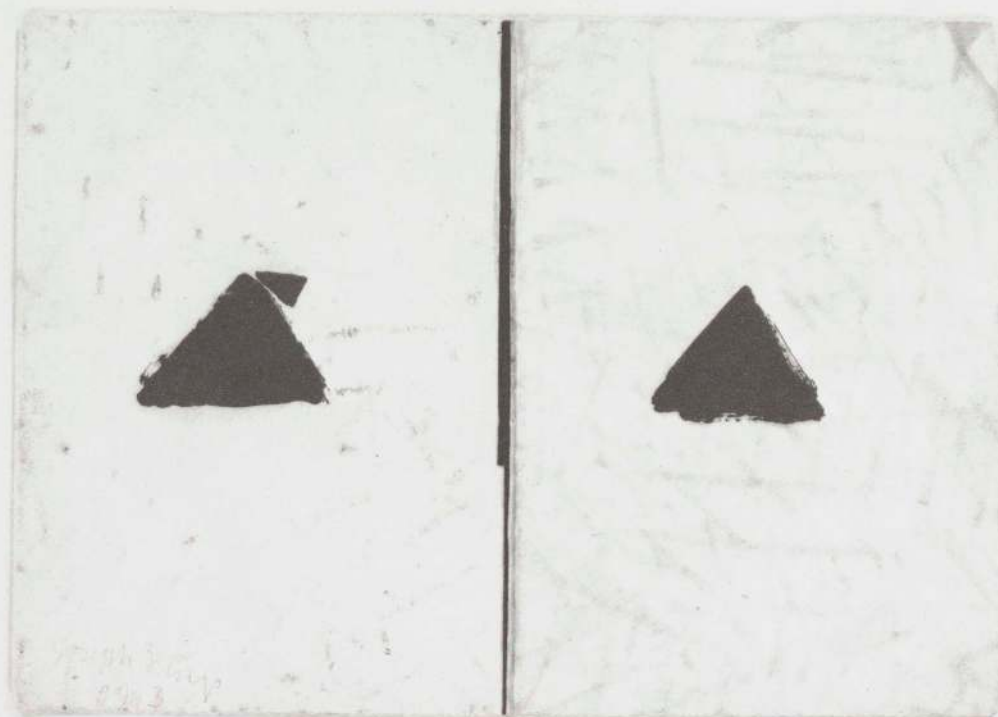


Plate 103. *For Felt Corners*, 1963
Oil and dirt transfer on facing inside covers of a sketchbook,
mounted on cardboard
19 ⁷/₈ x 14 ¹/₂" (50.6 x 36.7 cm) overall
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 103)

Plate 104. *Untitled (With Walking Stick)*,
1963
Oil and pen and ink on creased paper
8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.7 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of K.A.
Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds (cat. no. 108)

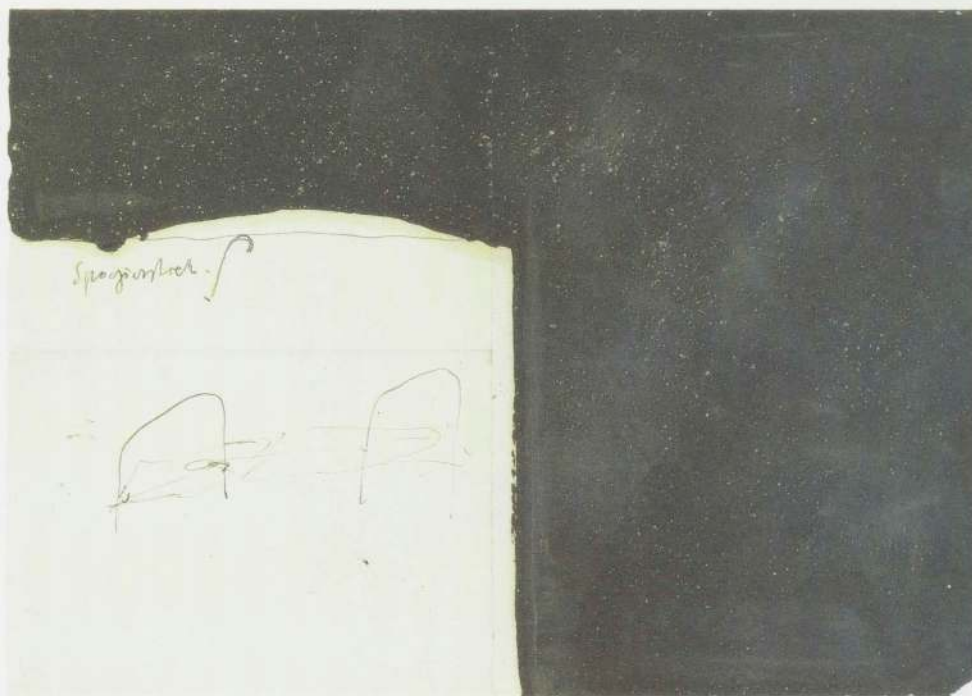
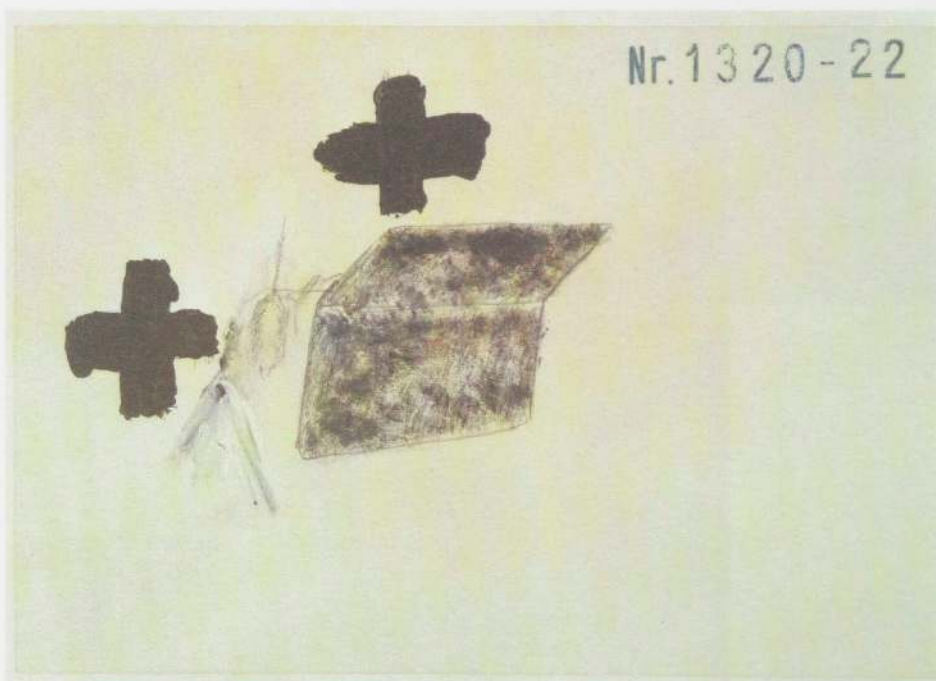


Plate 105. *Dead Rat, Felt Ridge, Two Black Felt Crosses, Felt Angle*, 1963
Oil and pencil on paper
5 7/8 x 8 1/4" (14.9 x 21 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 109)



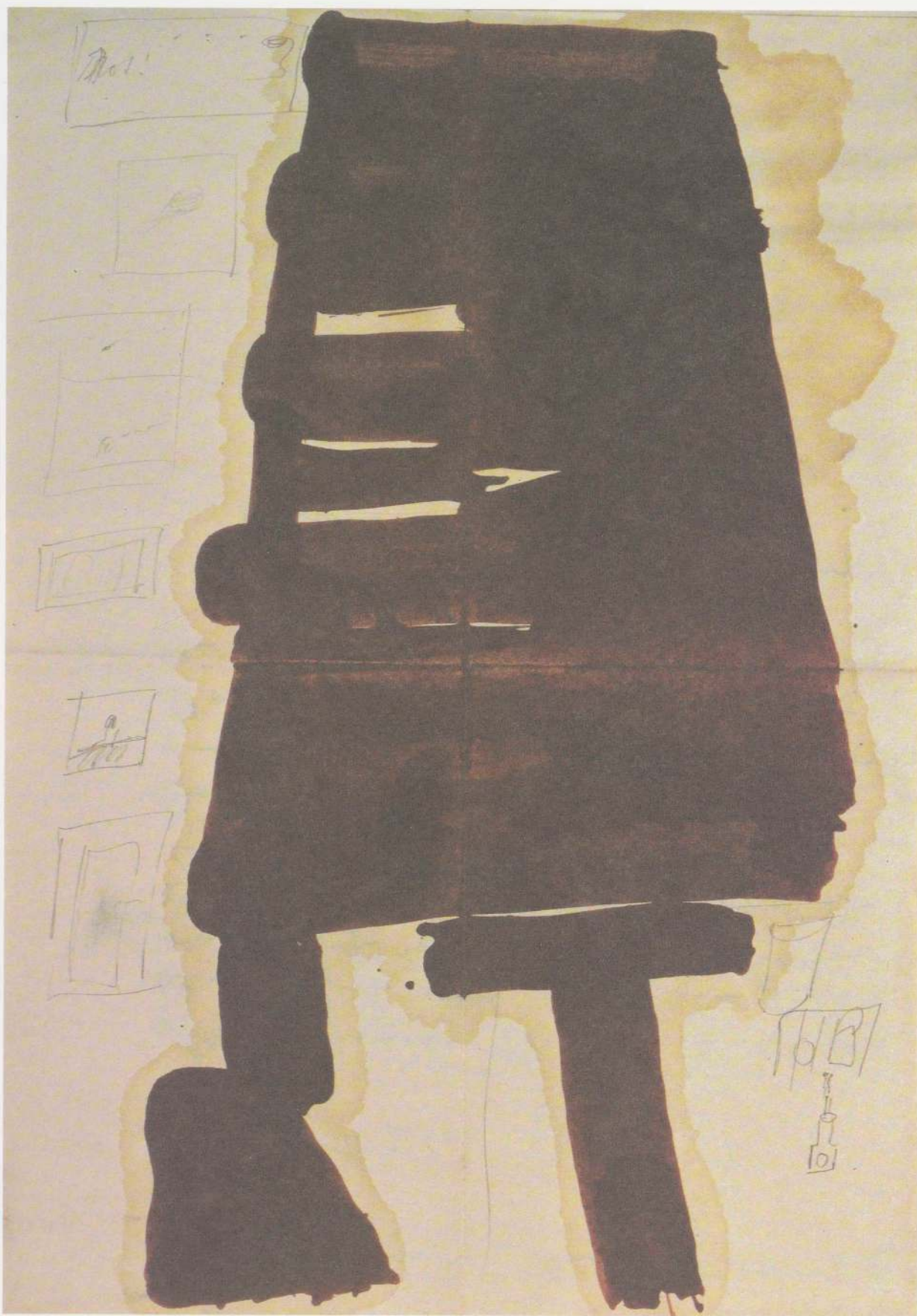


Plate 106. *Wooden Sculpture*, 1962
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and pencil on creased paper
11 ⁵/₈ x 8 ¹/₄" (29.6 x 21 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten,
Kranenburg (cat. no. 98)



Plate 107. *Demonstration—Felt*, 1964
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and pencil on double sheet
7 7/8 X 11 1/2" (20 X 29 cm)
Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main (cat. no. 115)



Plate 108. *Sediment*, 1959

Three-part drawing: oil, pen and ink, and pencil on three sheets of paper

Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.6 x 21 cm)

Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York (cat. no. 74)

Plate 109. *QGG Land Procedures Crossed Four Times*, 1941/63

Pencil, pen and ink, and oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper

8 1/4 x 11 1/2" (21 x 29.7 cm)

Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg (cat. no. 100)

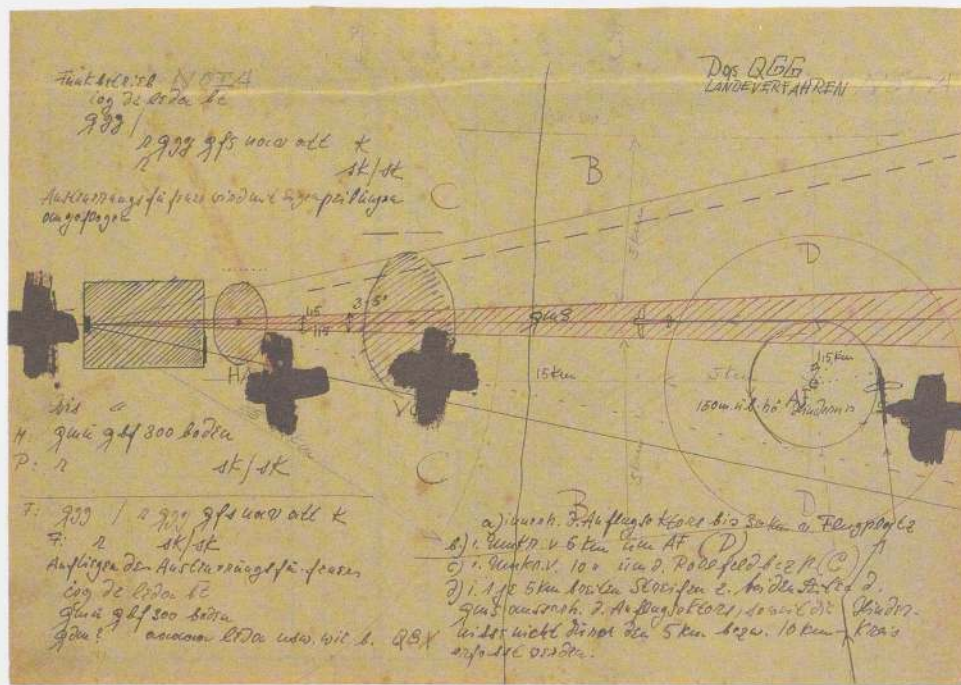


Plate 110. List with Wolf, 1962

Oil (Braunkreuz), watercolor, pen and ink,
and pencil on paper
8 1/4 x 11 3/4" (20.9 x 29.8 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 97)

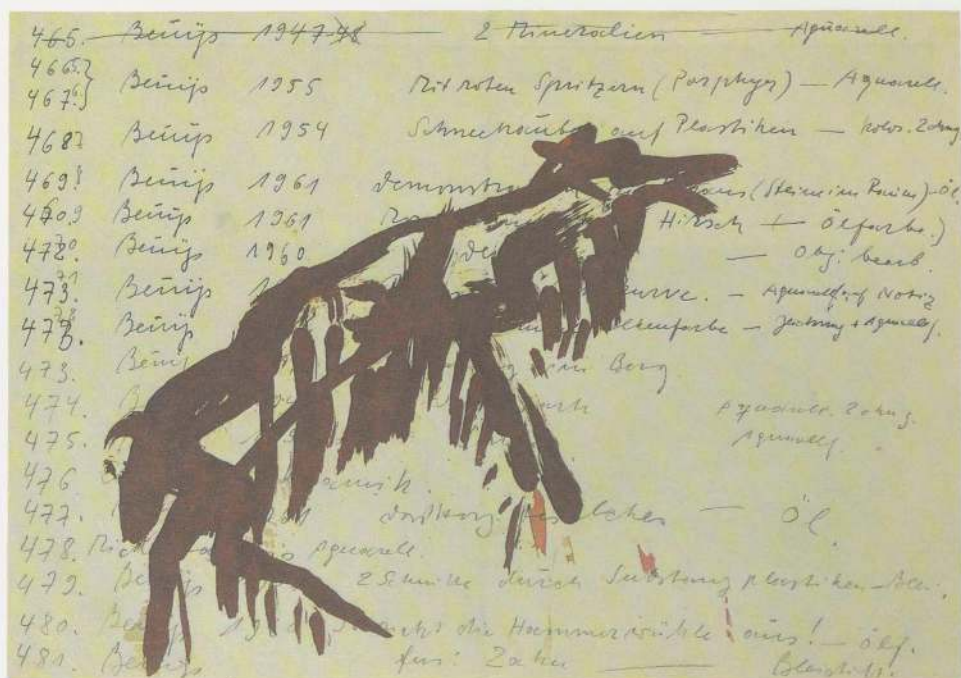


Plate 111. Washed-Out List, Double

Crossed, 1963

Oil (Braunkreuz), pen and ink, and wash on
paper
8 1/4 x 11 1/2" (21.1 x 29.6 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland,
Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
(cat. no. 110)

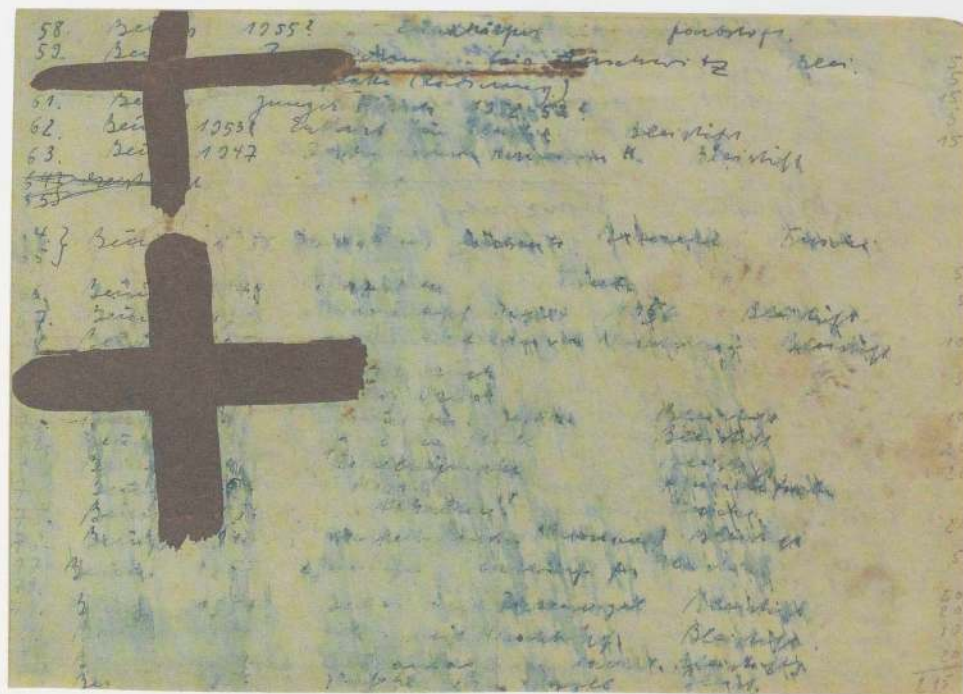




Plate 112. *Untitled (Braunkreuz)*, 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on newspaper
 11 1/2 x 8" (29.3 x 20.4 cm)
 Collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow
 (cat. no. 106)



Plate 113. *Untitled (Braunkreuz)*, 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on newspaper
 10 3/4 x 7 7/8" (27.2 x 20 cm)
 Collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow
 (cat. no. 107)

Plate 114. *Untitled (Braunkreuz)*, 1967
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on newspaper
 11 3/8 x 16" (29 x 40.7 cm)
 Collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow
 (cat. no. 138)

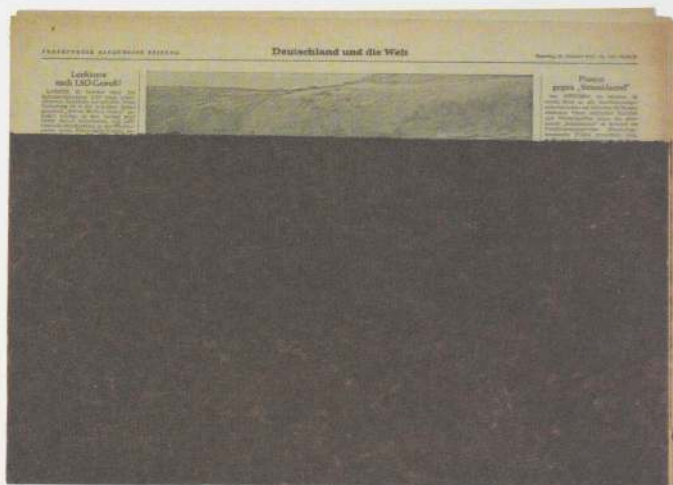


Plate 115. *Atomic Power-Station*, 1960-64
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and silver-nitrate on perforated paper and newspaper
 22 7/8 x 19 7/8" (58 x 50.5 cm)
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
 Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
 (cat. no. 116)



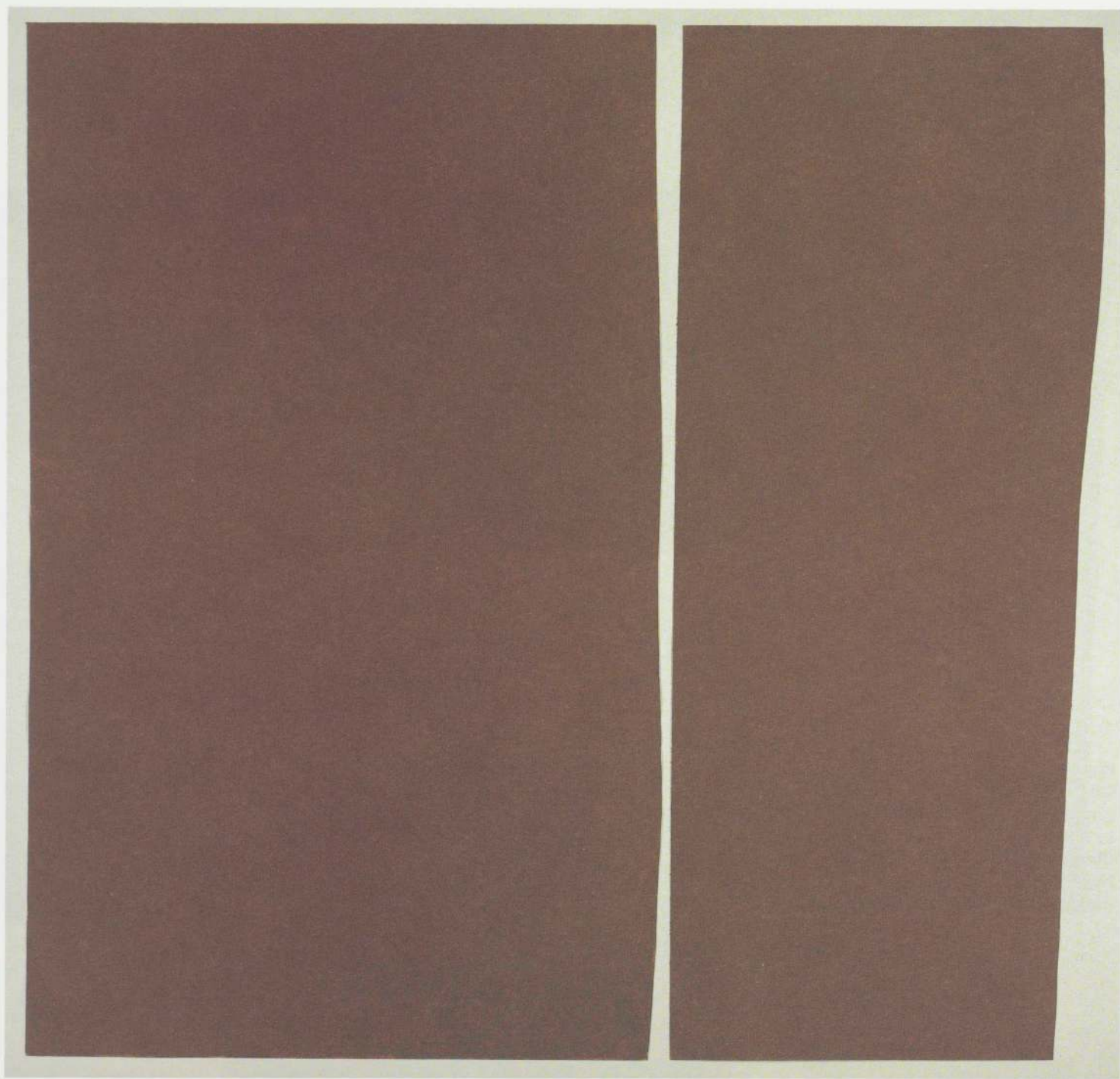


Plate 116. *For Brown Environment*, 1964
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of heavy cardboard
Left 31 1/2 x 19 1/2" (80 x 49.5 cm); right 31 1/2 x 15 3/8"
(80 x 39 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London (cat. no. 113)

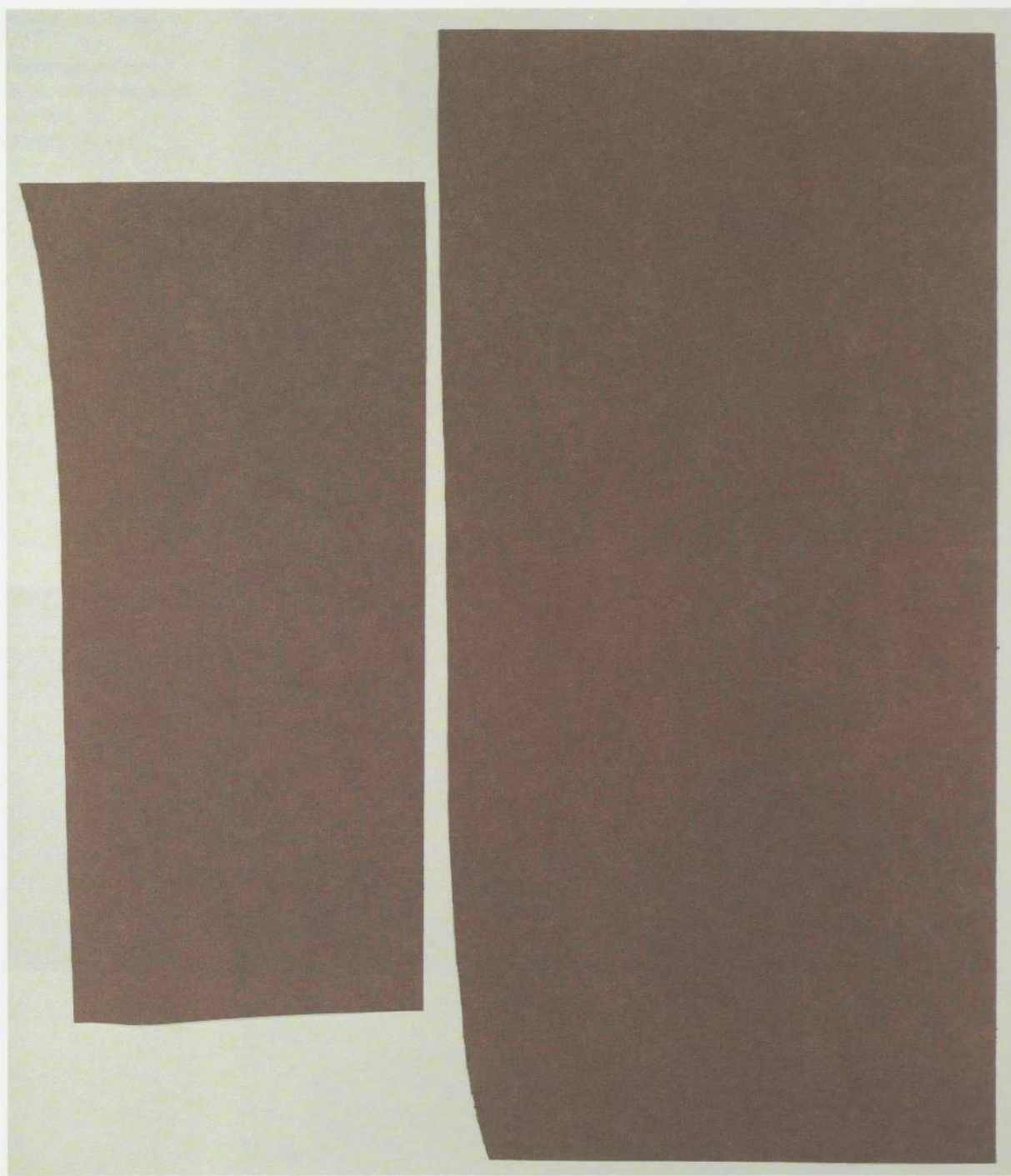


Plate 117. *For Brown Environment*, 1964
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of heavy cardboard
Left $23 \frac{1}{8} \times 11 \frac{1}{4}$ " (58.7 x 28.6 cm); right $31 \frac{1}{2} \times 19 \frac{1}{4}$ "
(80 x 48.9 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London (cat. no. 114)

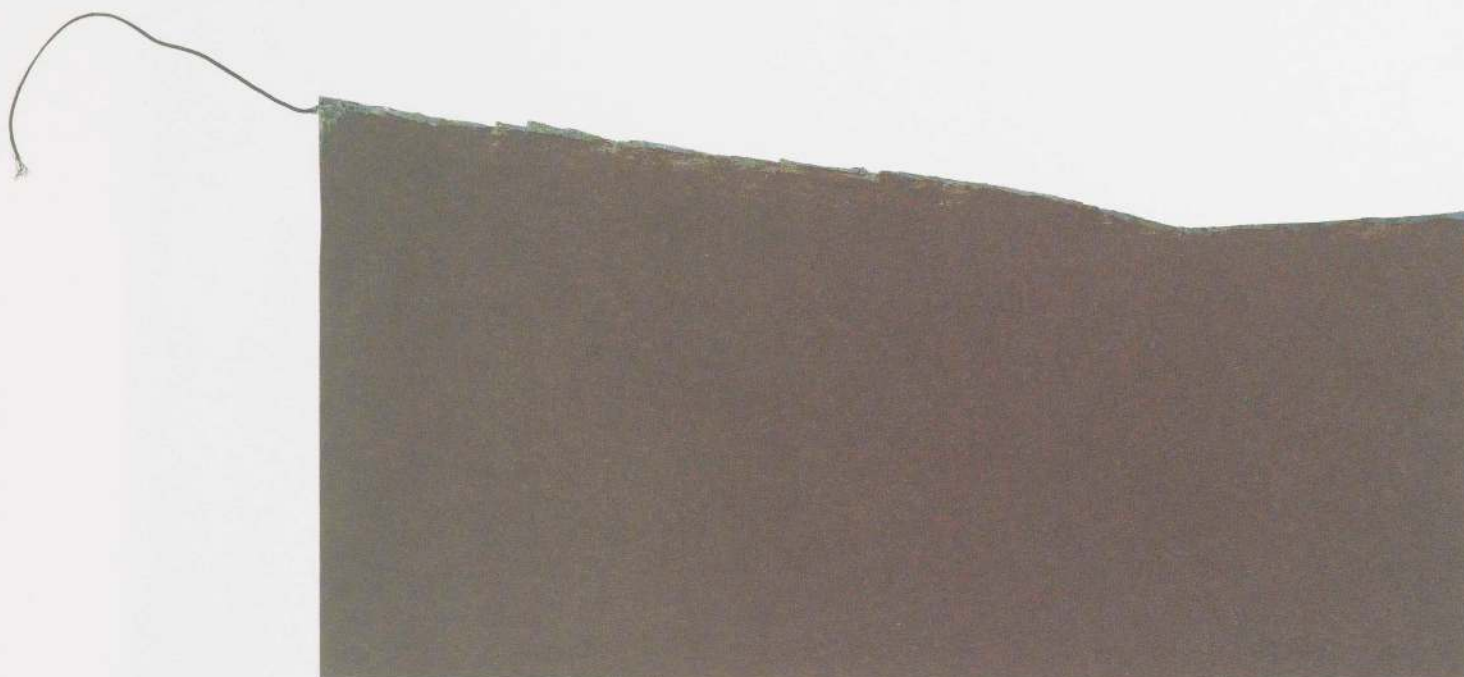


Plate 118. *Ground*, 1964
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on heavy cardboard with copper thread
14 x 27 ⁵/₈" (35.7 x 70.1 cm)
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 112)

Plate 119. *Action in the Magnetic Space*,
1964
Ballpoint pen, pencil, and magnetic metal
plates on photo-cardboard, cut out in center
13 3/4 x 9 3/8" (34.9 x 23.9 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 117)

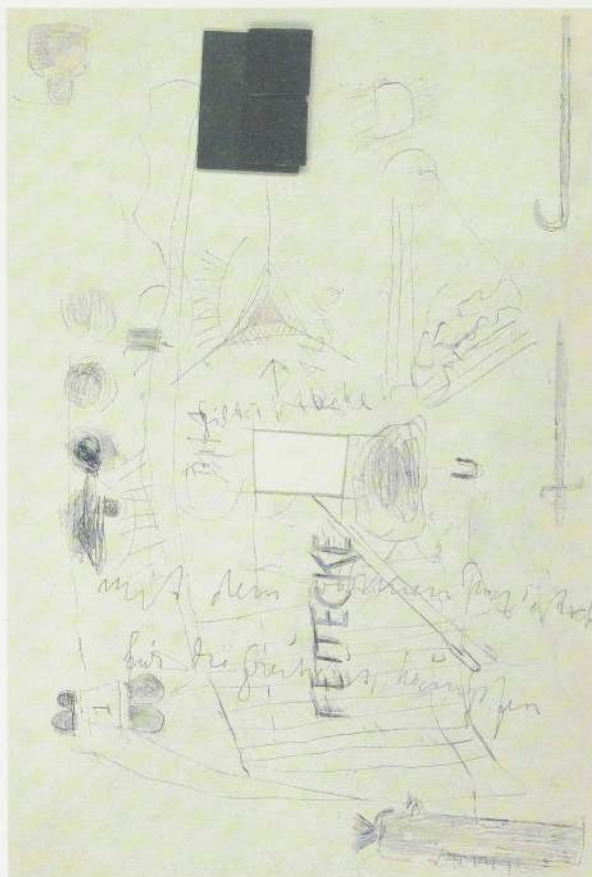


Plate 120. *Action Plan*, 1964
Double drawing: pencil and ink stamp on
two sheets of linen paper
Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
(cat. no. 118)

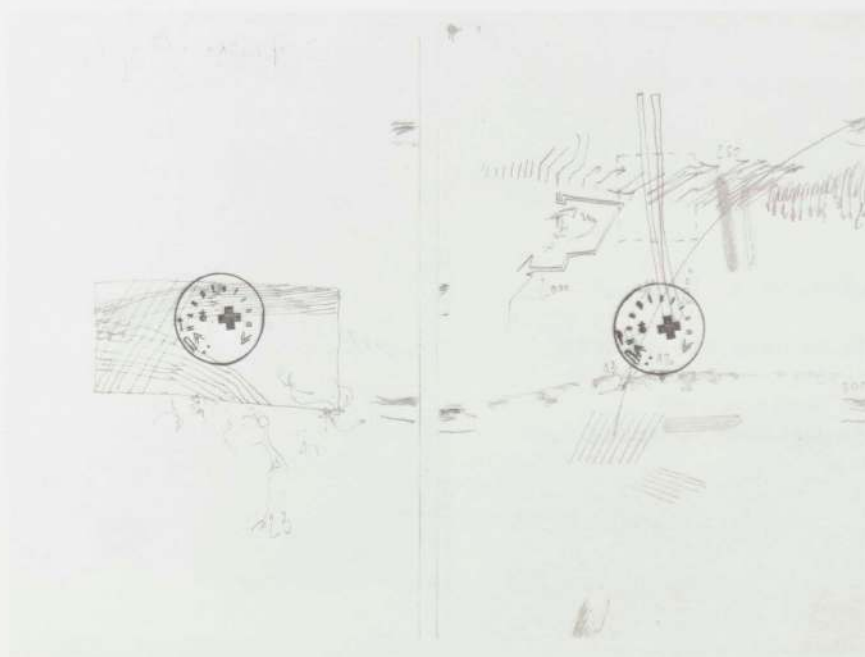


Plate 121. Score for "24 Hours . . .,"
1965-67
Pen and ink and ink stamp on paper
10 7/8 x 8 1/4" (27.5 x 20.7 cm), irregular
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 120)

Plate 122. Score for "24 Hours . . .,"
1965-67
Pen and ink and clear plastic pill on paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/8" (29.4 x 20.5 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 121)

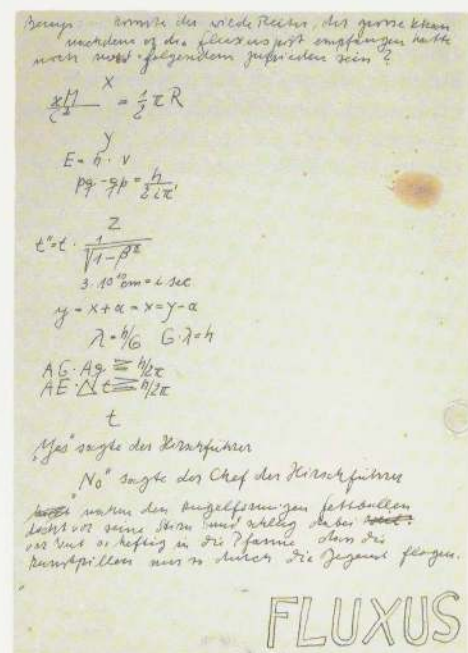
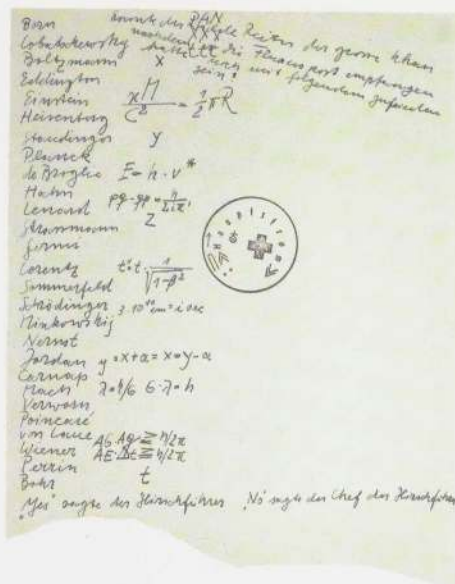
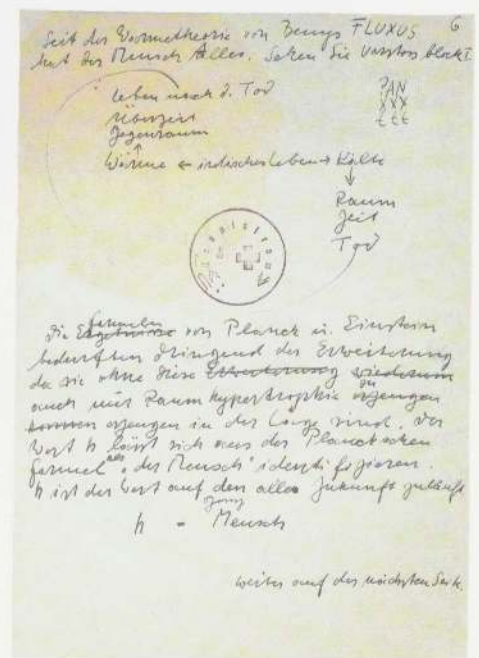
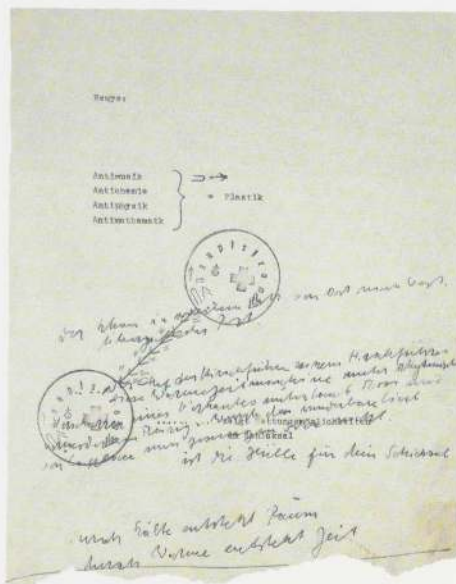


Plate 123. Score for "24 Hours . . .,"
1965-67
Pencil, pen and ink, typewritten text, and
ink stamp on paper
10 1/2 x 8 1/4" (26.5 x 20.8 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 122)

Plate 124. Score for "24 Hours . . .,"
1965-67
Pen and ink, ink stamp, and fat stain on
paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.7 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
(cat. no. 123)



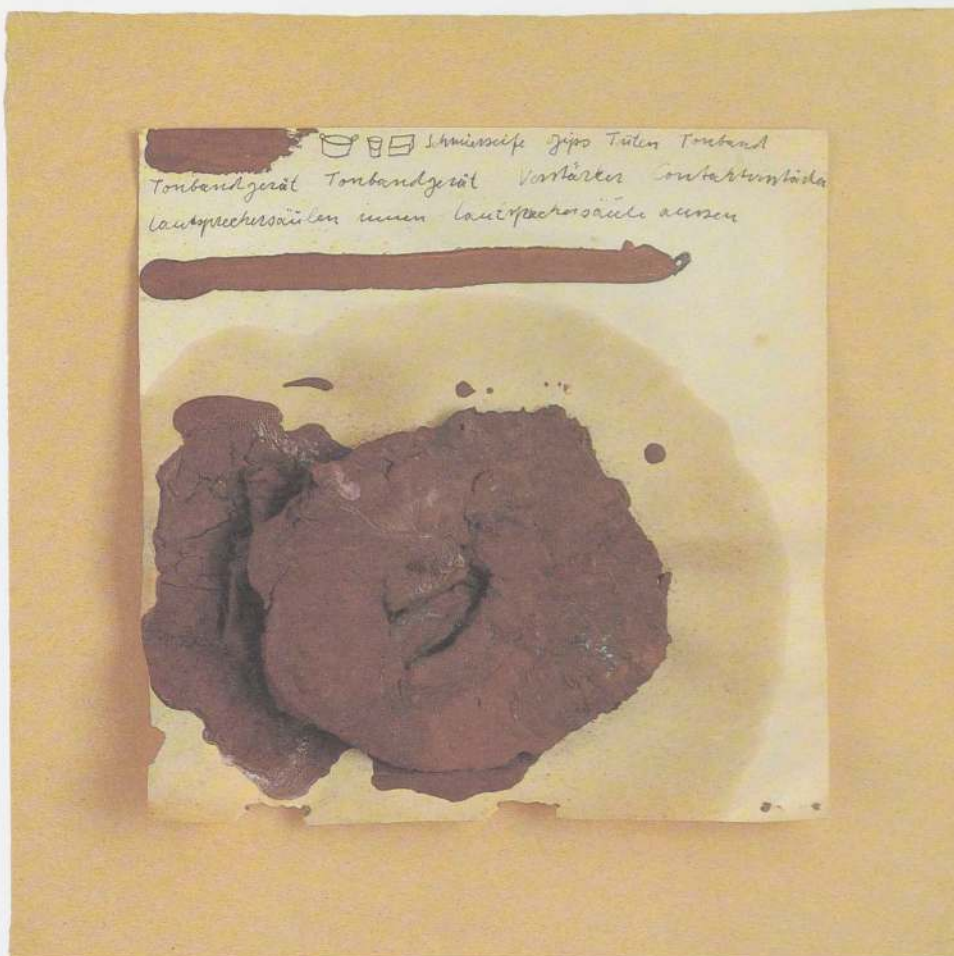


Plate 125. Score for "Manresa," 1966
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), plaster or soap, cocoa
powder, fat stain, and pen and ink on paper
8 x 8" (20.3 x 20.3 cm)
Private Collection, New York (cat. no. 124)

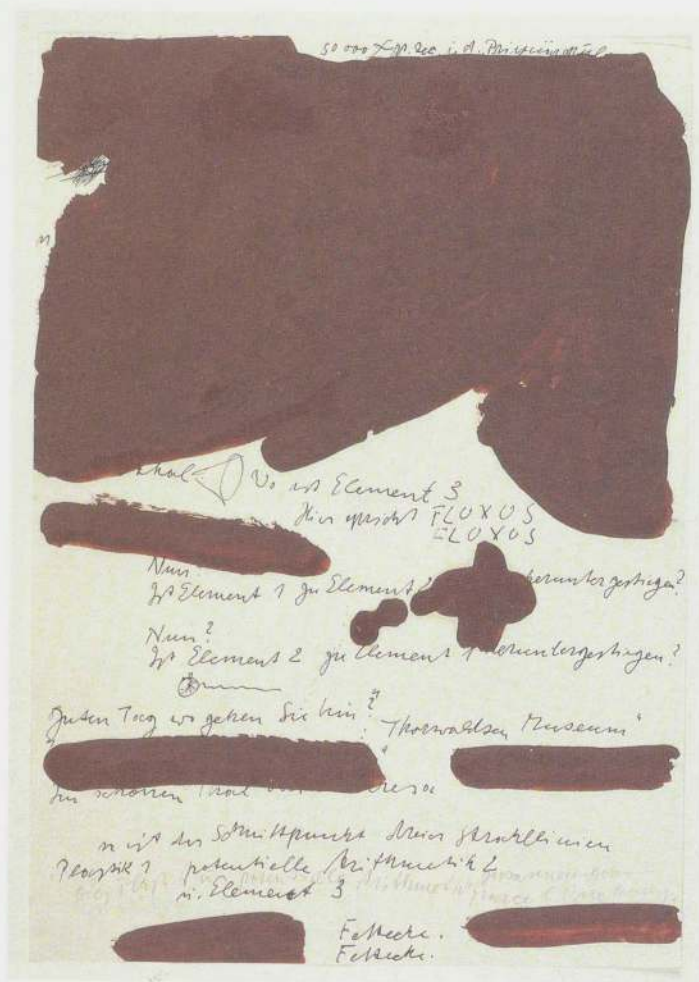


Plate 126. To: "Manresa," 1966
 Oil (Braunkreuz), pencil, and pen and ink on paper
 II 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm)
 Private Collection, Switzerland (cat. no. 125)

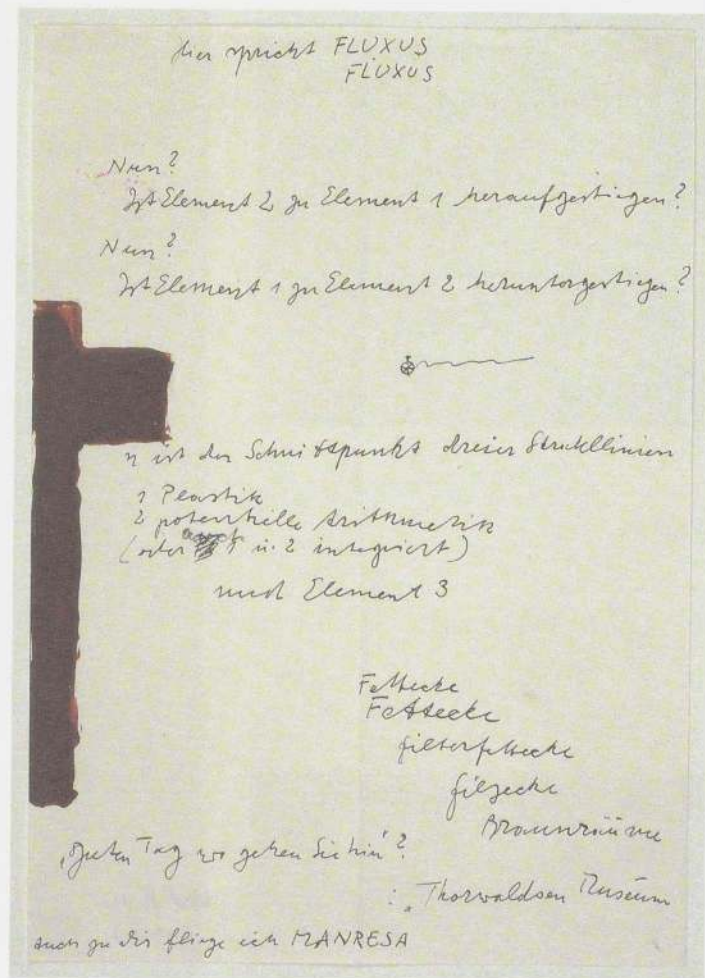


Plate 127. To: "Manresa," 1966
 Oil (Braunkreuz), pencil, and pen and ink on paper
 II 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm)
 Private Collection, Switzerland (cat. no. 126)

Plate 128. *Fluxus-Demonstration:*
"Manresa," 1966
 Oil, pencil, and pen and ink on cardboard
 with printed numbers
 8 1/4 x 7 5/8" (20.8 x 19.5 cm), irregular
 Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 127)

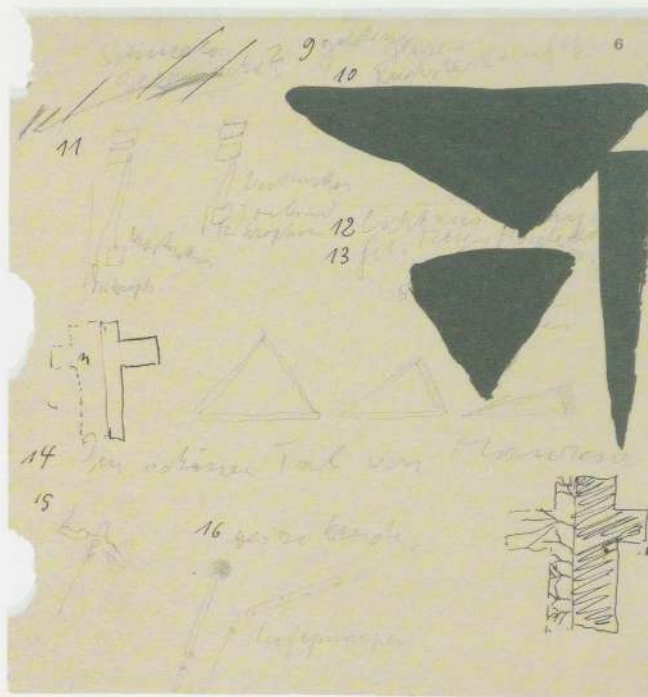
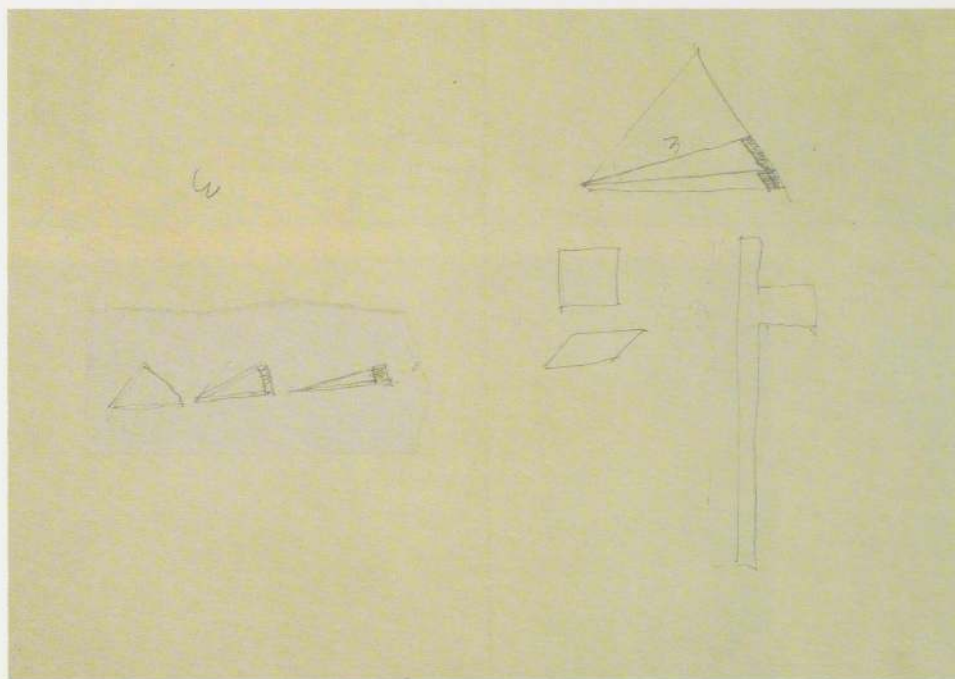


Plate 129. *Score for "Manresa,"* 1966
 Pencil on torn and pasted paper, and pencil
 on double sheet
 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (20.8 x 29.6 cm)
 Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
 (cat. no. 128)



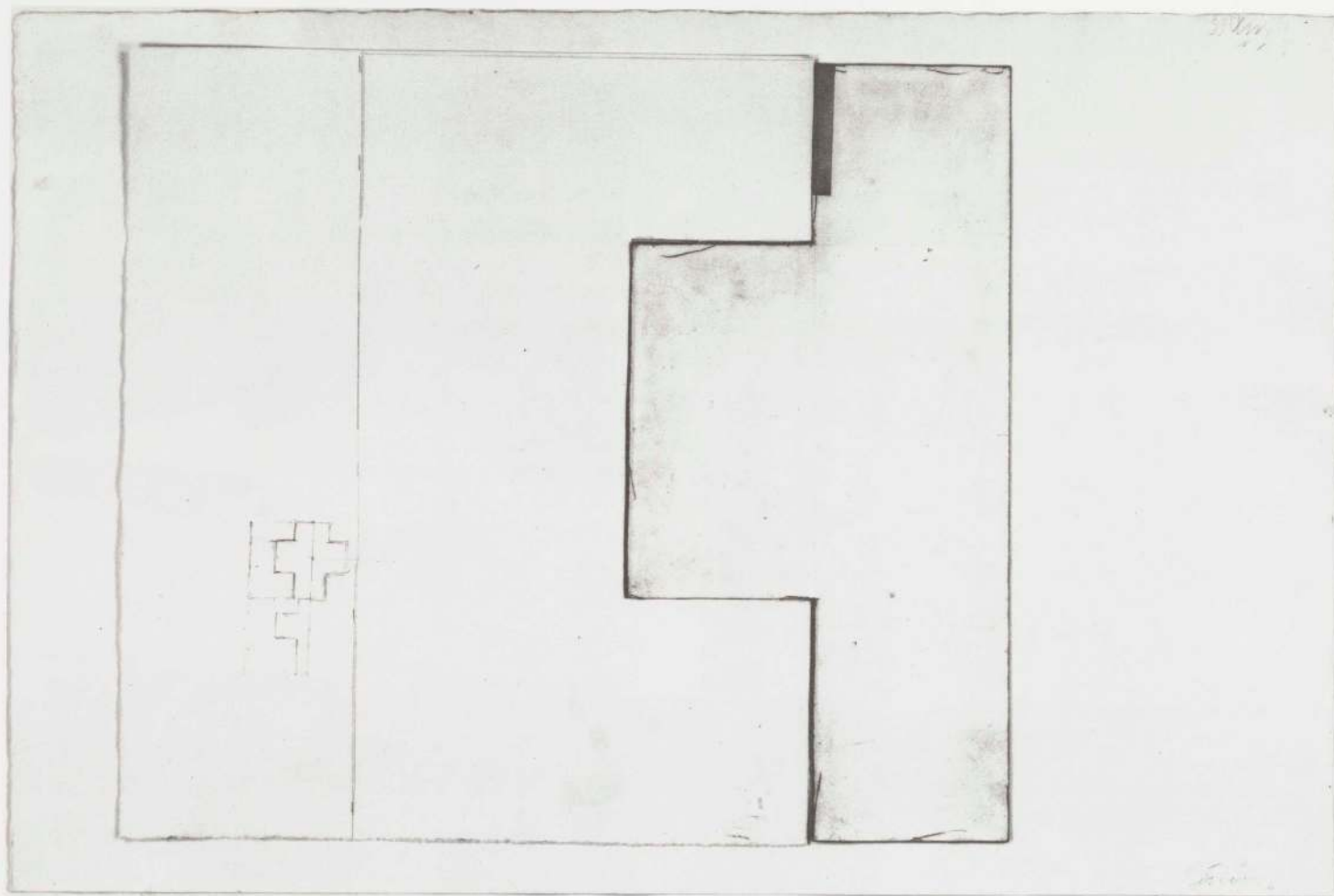


Plate 130. *Study for Felt Cross, 1966*
Tape, ballpoint pen, pencil and cardboard on paper
20 ⁷/₈ x 31 ¹/₈" (53 x 79 cm)
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich (cat. no. 129)

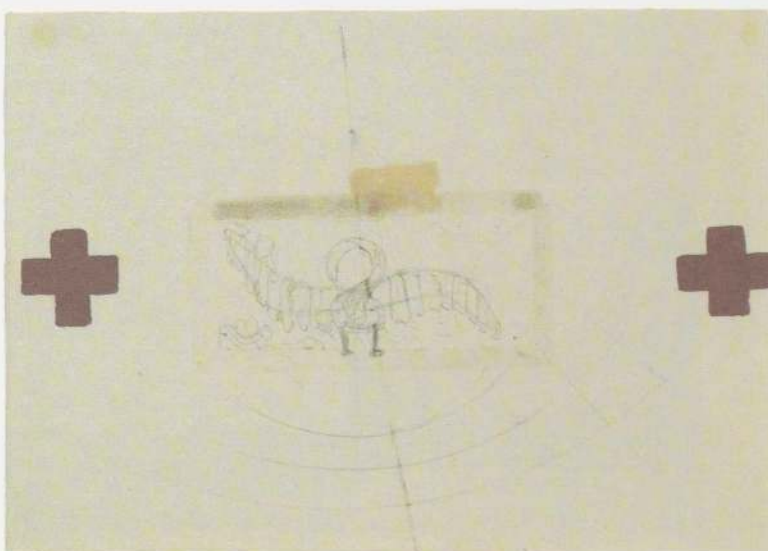
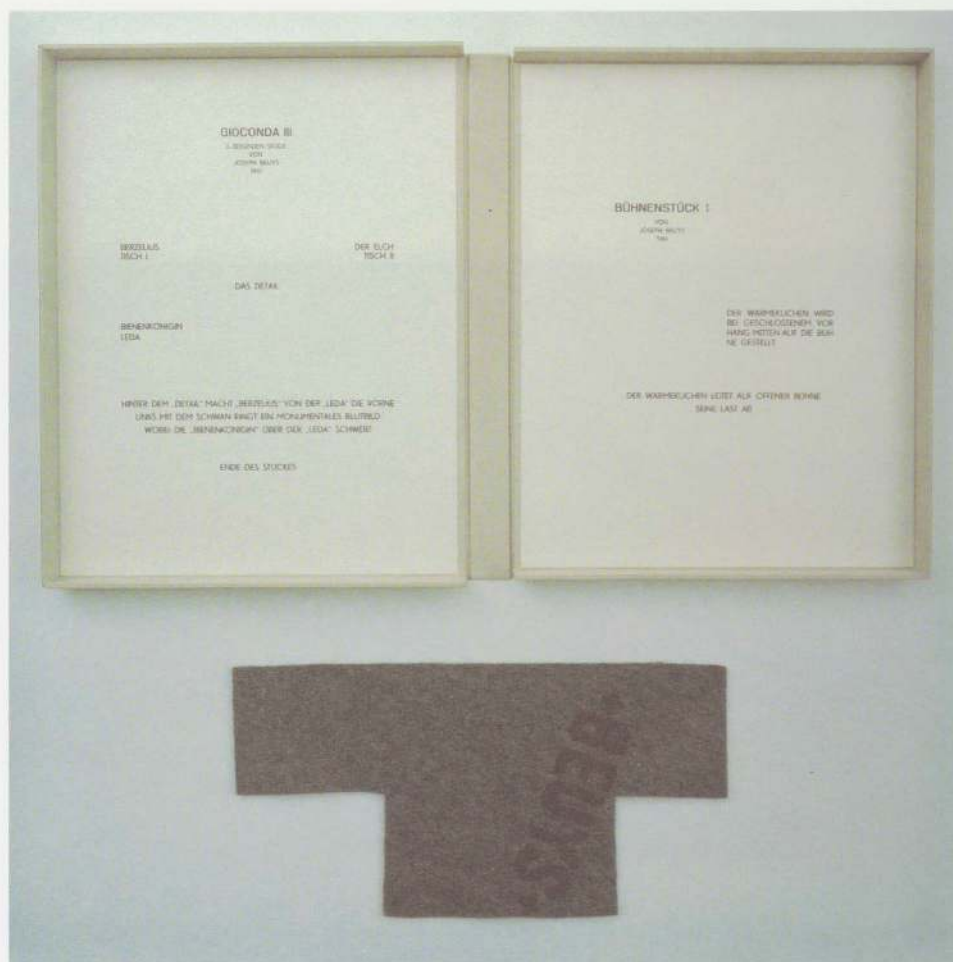
Plate 131. . . . with Braunkreuz, 1966,
including *The Swan*, 1961

Linen box with two printed texts on paper,
felt piece with oil, and drawing: pencil and
oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper

Box: 18 1/2 x 15 3/8 x 1 1/8" (47 x 39 x 3 cm)

Sheet: 4 1/8 x 5 7/8" (10.5 x 14.8 cm)

Dr. Reiner Speck Collection, Cologne
(cat. no. 130)



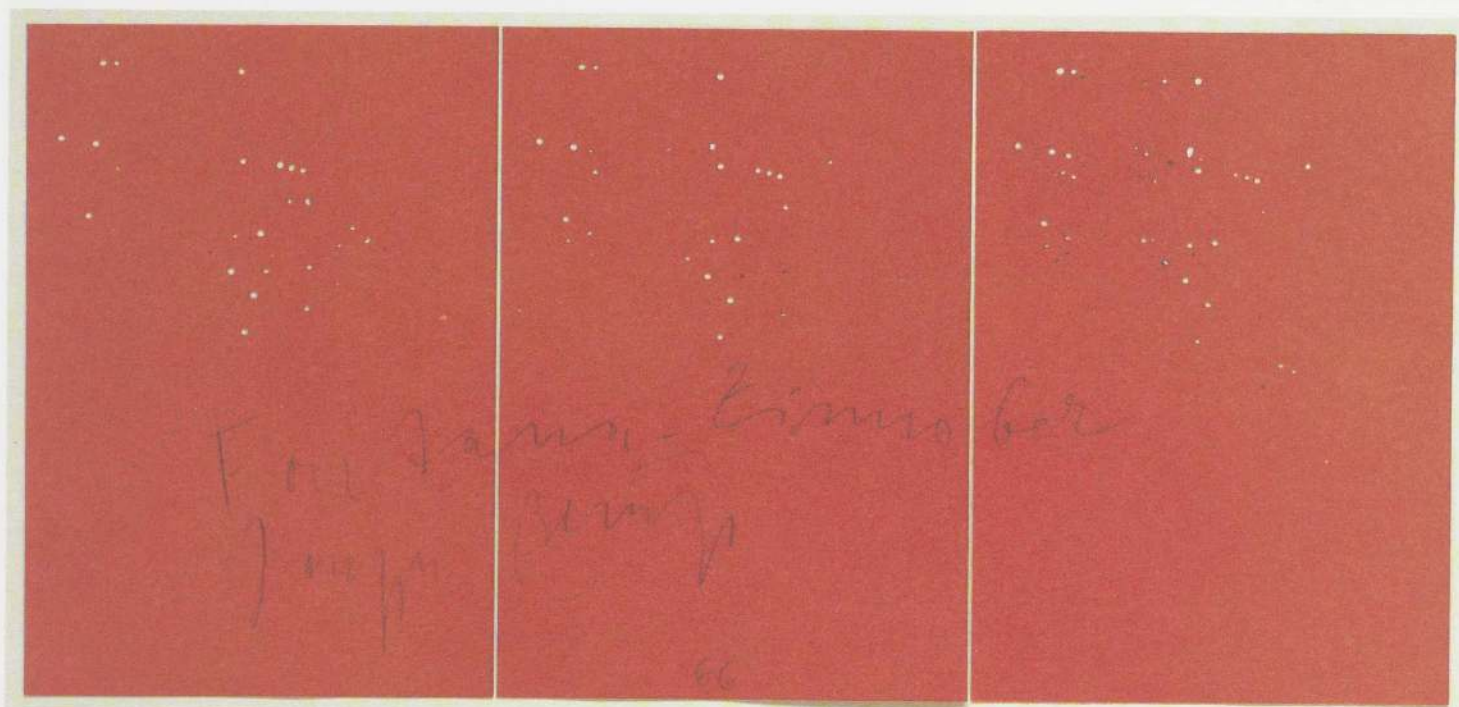


Plate 132. *Fontana Cinnabar*, 1966
Three-part drawing: pencil on three sheets
of colored, hand-perforated paper
5 3/4 x 12 1/2" (14.8 x 31.9 cm) overall
Klüser Collection, Munich (cat. no. 131)

Plate 133. *Cascade*, 1966
 Oil stamp on printed paper
 7 7/8 x 6 1/4" (20 x 16 cm)
 Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 132)



Plate 134. *Gray Object*, 1966
 Cardboard on two sheets of printed cardboard
 7 3/8 x 10" (18.6 x 25.4 cm)
 Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 133)



Plate 135. *Eurasian Staff Against a
Clandestine American Alliance for Aims of
Political Power*, 1967
Pencil, oil, and fat stain on graph paper
8 1/4 x 11 1/2" (20.8 x 29.3 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
(cat. no. 135)

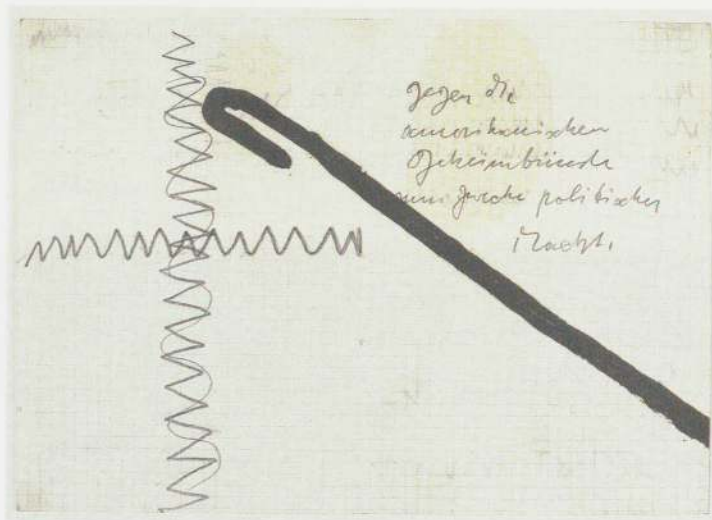
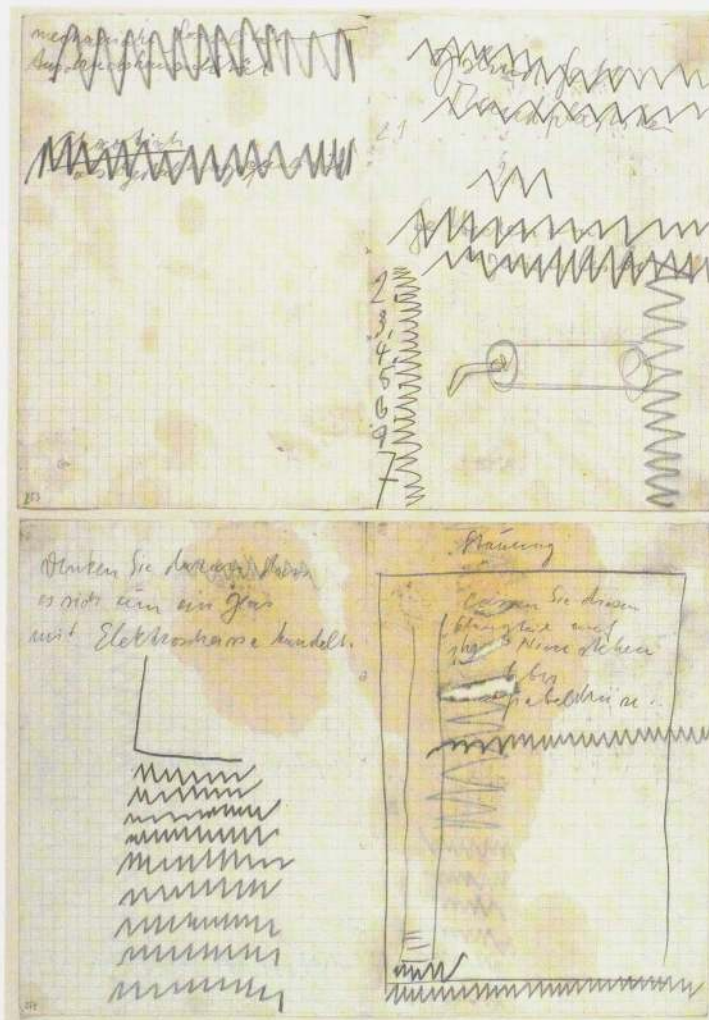


Plate 136. *To: "Mainstream,"* 1967
Double drawing: pencil and fat stain on two
double sheets of graph paper
Each 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.5 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
(cat. no. 137)



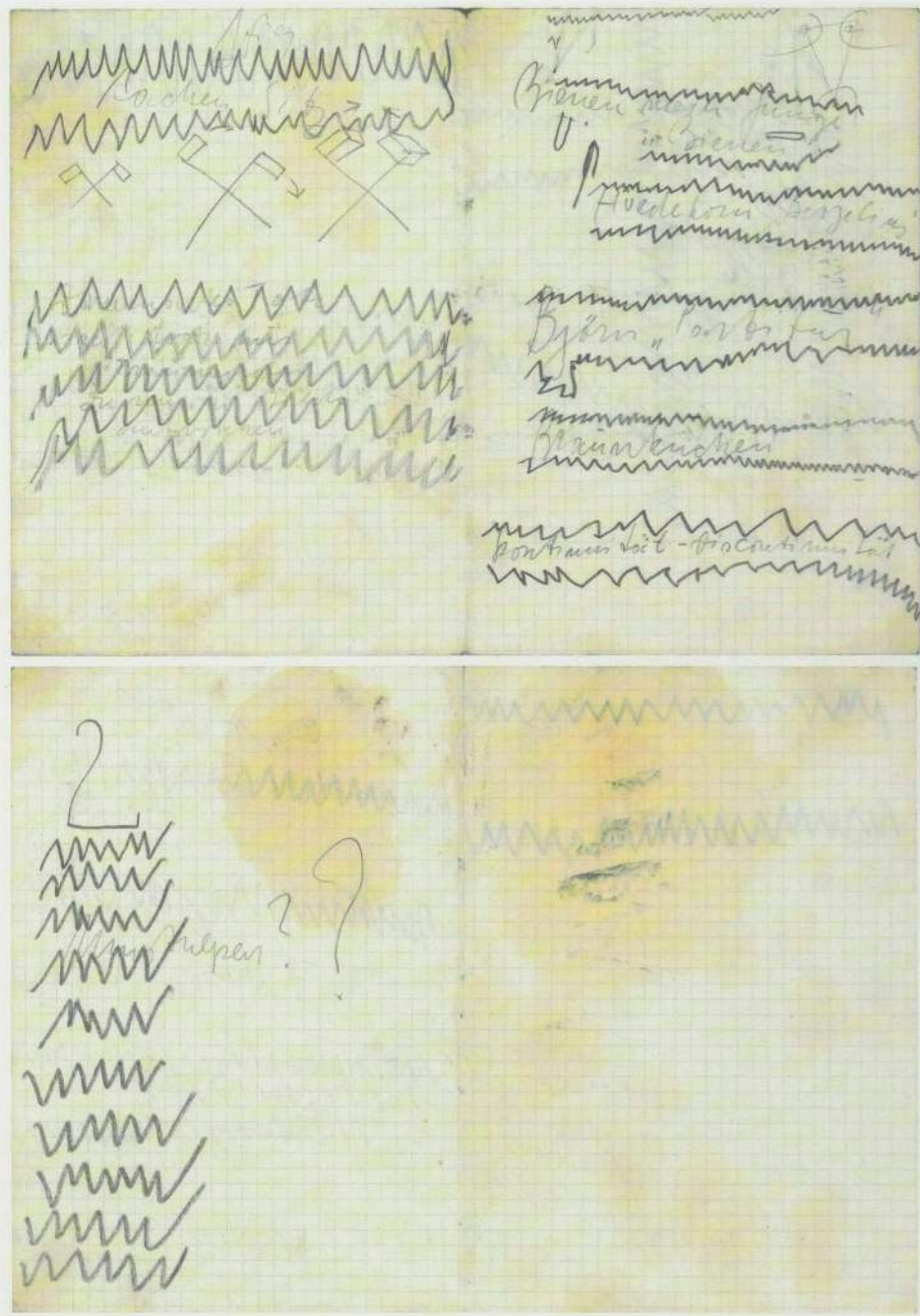


Plate 137. From: "Mainstream," 1967
Double drawing: pencil and fat stain on two
double sheets of graph paper, folded
Each 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (20.9 x 29.5 cm)
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 136)

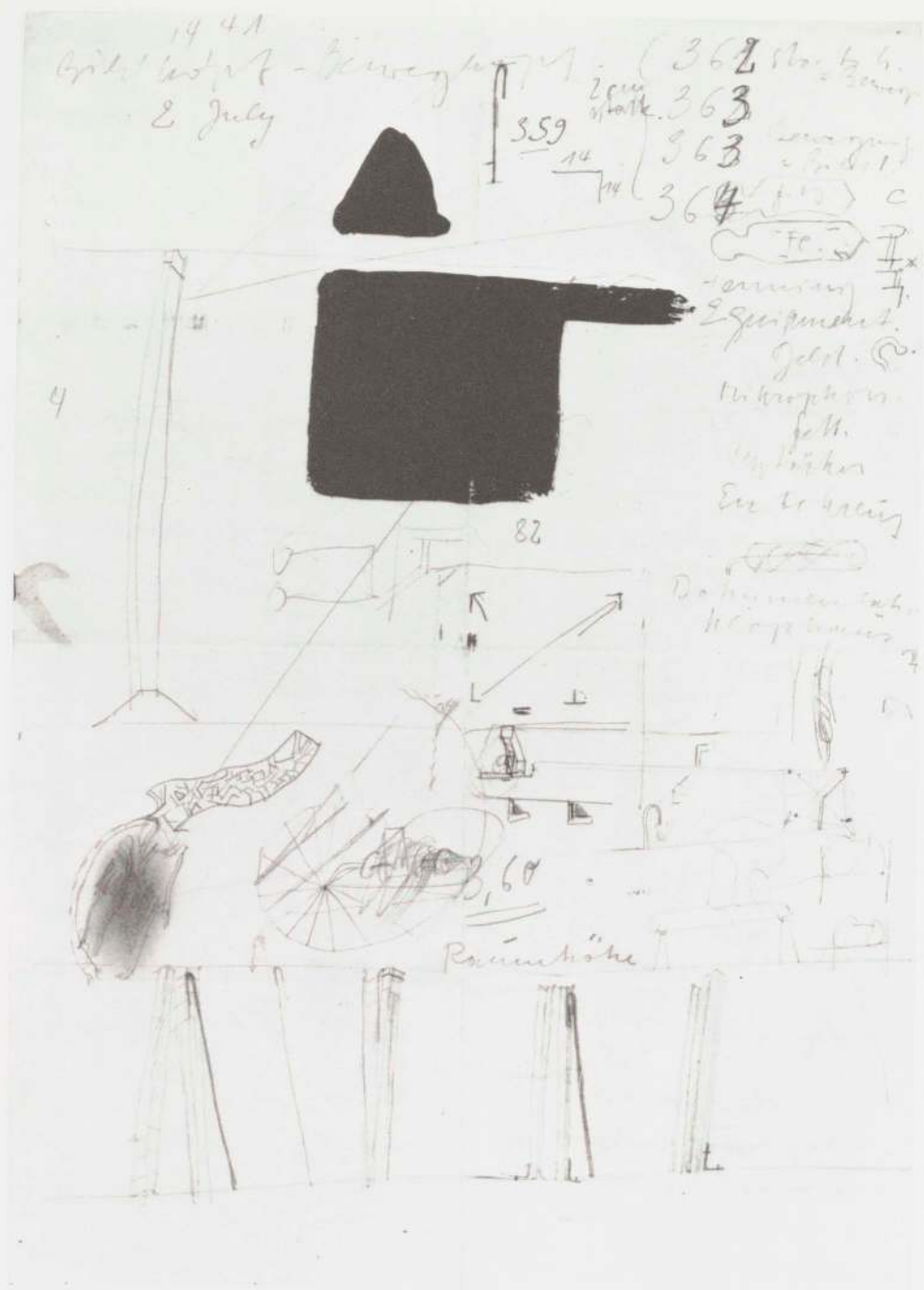


Plate 138. *Notes for an Action*, 1967
 Pencil and oil on paper
 11 3/4 x 8 1/4" (29.8 x 21 cm)
 Private Collection, Switzerland (cat. no. 134)

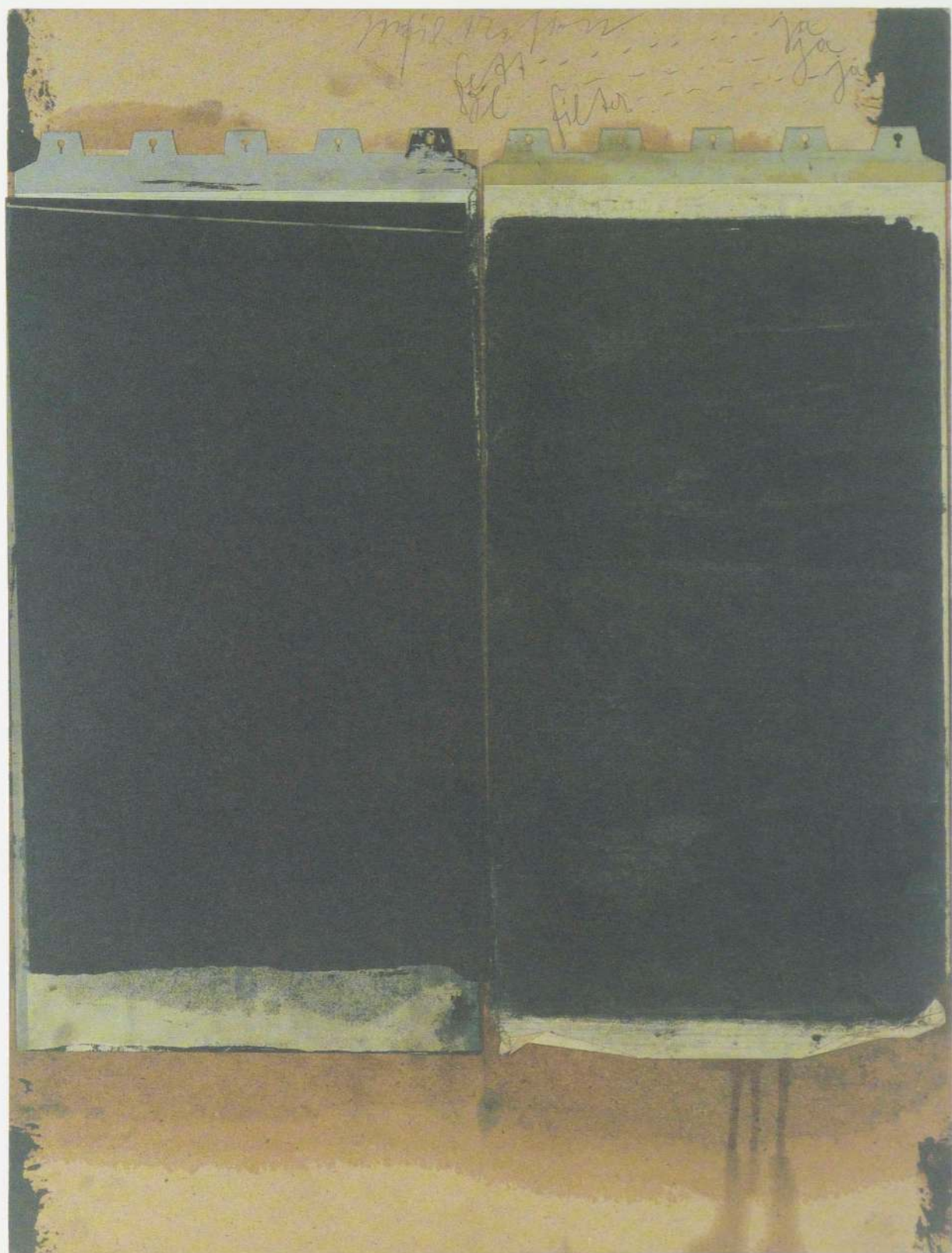


Plate 139. *Infiltration Fat Oil Filter*-----yes, 1968
Double drawing: printer's ink on two printer's stencils mounted
on cardboard with ink and fat stains
24 1/2 x 18 1/2" (62.1 x 47 cm) overall
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 139)

Plate 140. *To Plastic and Elastic Foot*, 1969
Pencil and colored pencil and ink stamp on
paper
8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.5 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
(cat. no. 140)

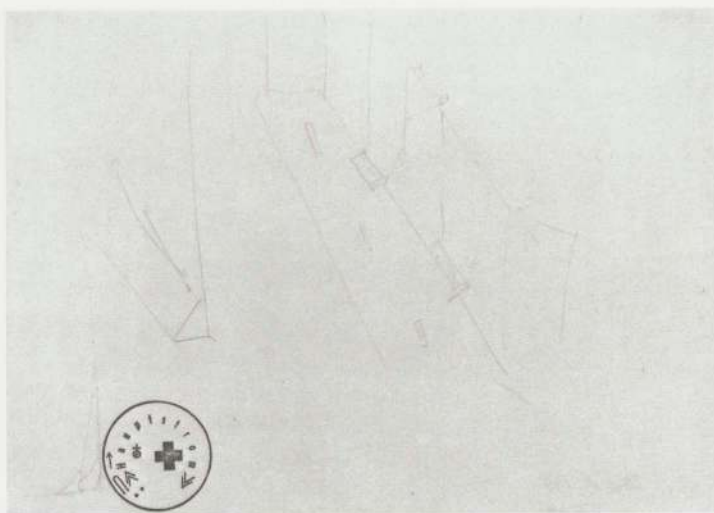


Plate 141. *Diagram*, 1970
Pencil and ink stamp on paper
11 5/8 x 16 1/8" (29.5 x 41 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
(cat. no. 141)

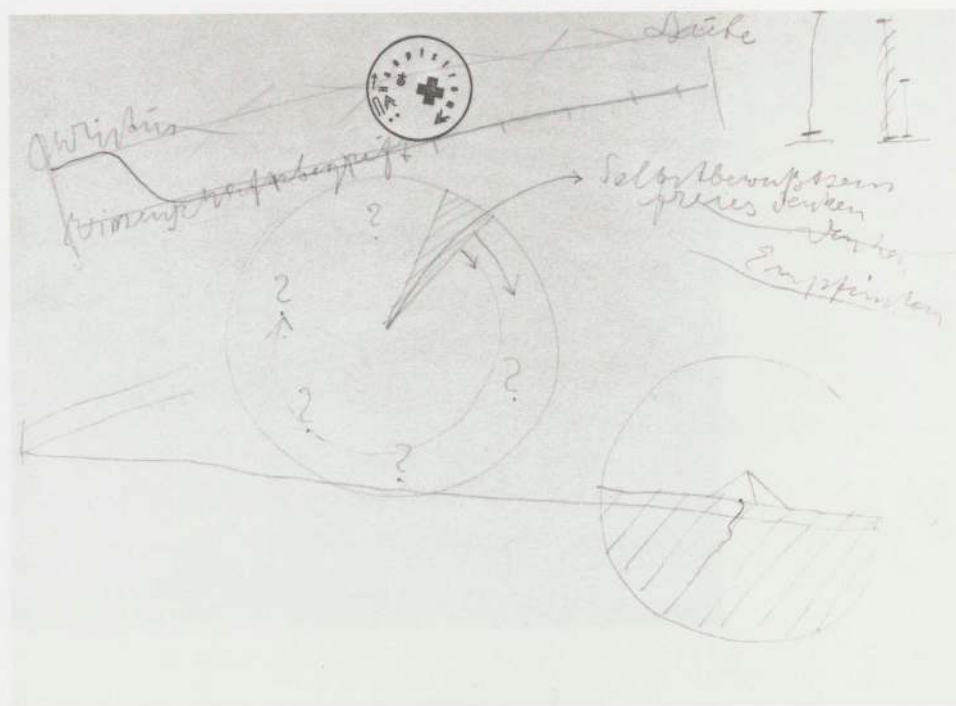


Plate 142. *Seeing—Hearing*, 1971
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper
 11 5/8 x 8 5/8" (29.5 x 22 cm)
 Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
 (cat. no. 142)

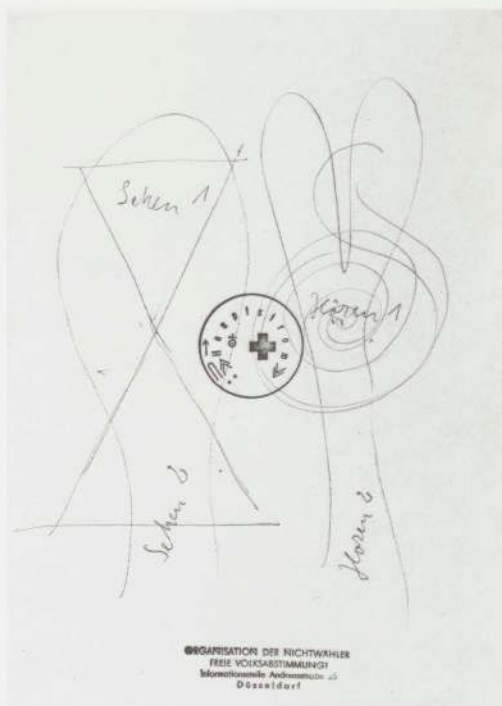


Plate 143. *Untitled*, 1971
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper
 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.5 cm)
 Private Collection, Switzerland
 (cat. no. 143)

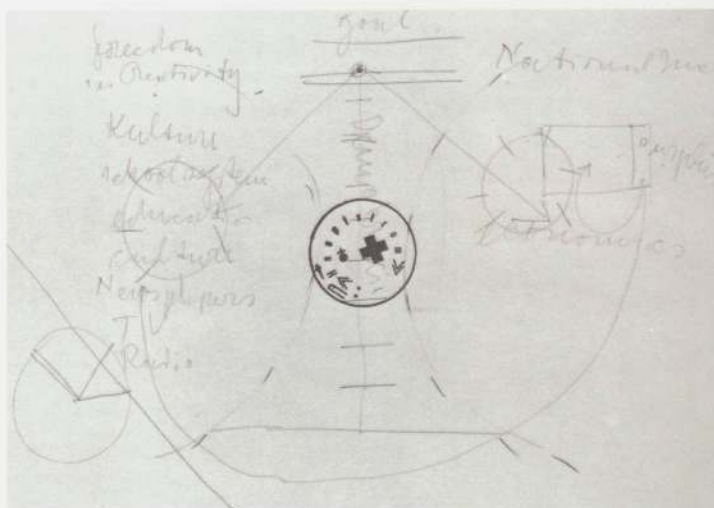


Plate 144. *Score*, 1971
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of
paper
Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
(cat. no. 145)



Plate 145. *For Felt-Demonstration*, 1971
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of
paper
Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
(cat. no. 148)



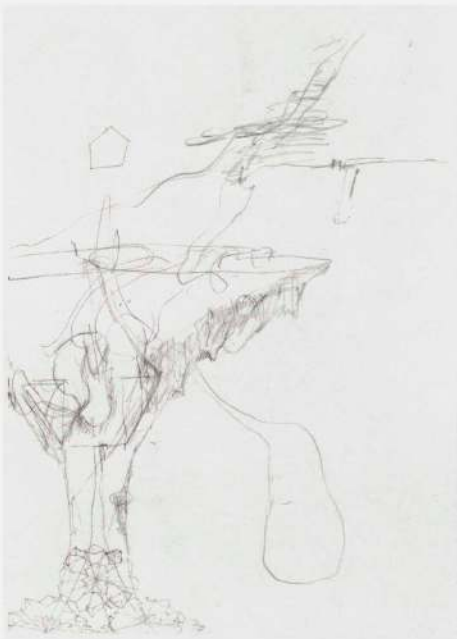


Plate 146. *Rock Crystal (Dwarf Monument)*, 1971
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
 Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
 (cat. no. 146)



Plate 147. *Mechanical Machine and Felt-Machine with Sheep's Head*, 1971
 Pencil on paper
 11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.8 x 21 cm)
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
 Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
 (cat. no. 147)



Plate 148. *Bird-Creature*, 1971
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung
 Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
 (cat. no. 149)

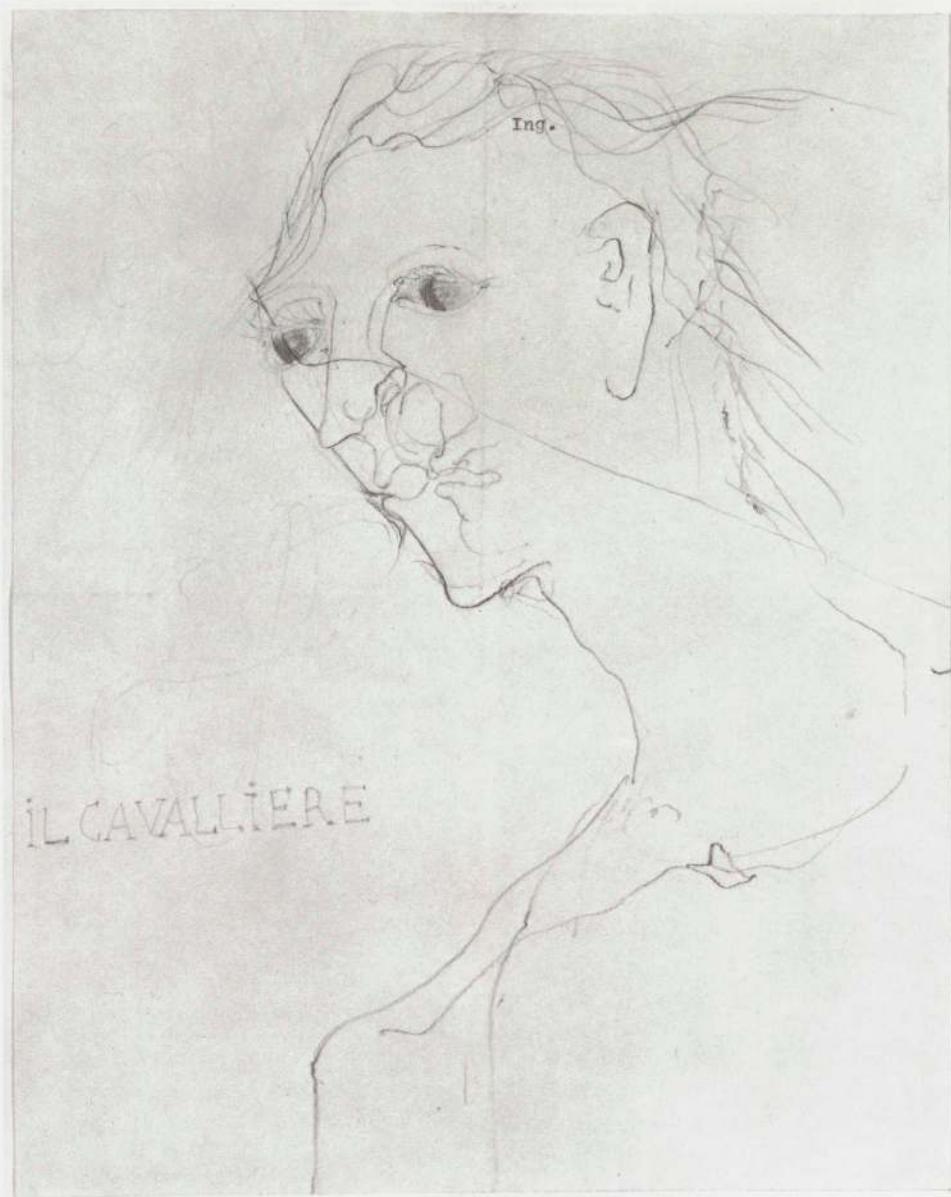


Plate 149. *Il Cavaliere*, 1971
Pencil on paper with typewritten text
10 ³/₈ x 8 ¹/₄" (26.5 x 21 cm)
Private Collection (cat. no. 150)



Plate 150. *Experience: From the Mountains*, 1972
Three-part drawing: pencil on three sheets of paper
9 5/8 x 13 5/8" (24.5 x 34.6 cm); 9 5/8 x 6 3/4" (24.5 x 17.3 cm);
9 5/8 x 6 3/4" (24.5 x 17.3 cm)
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 153)

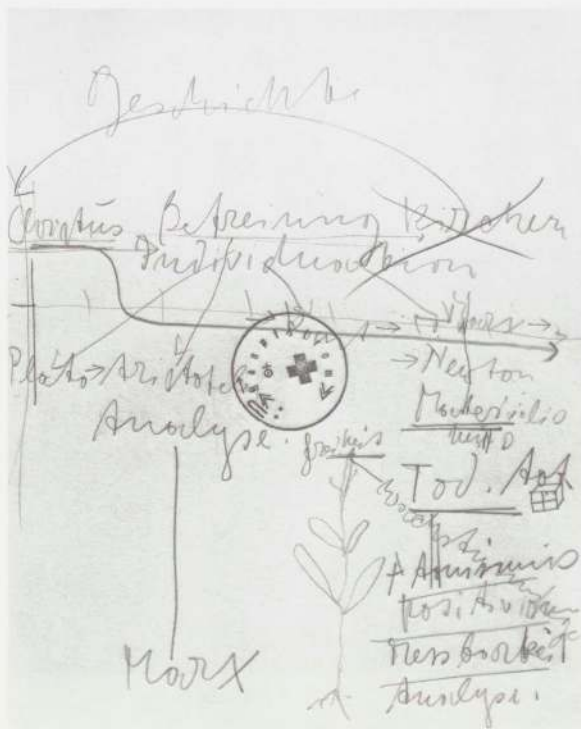
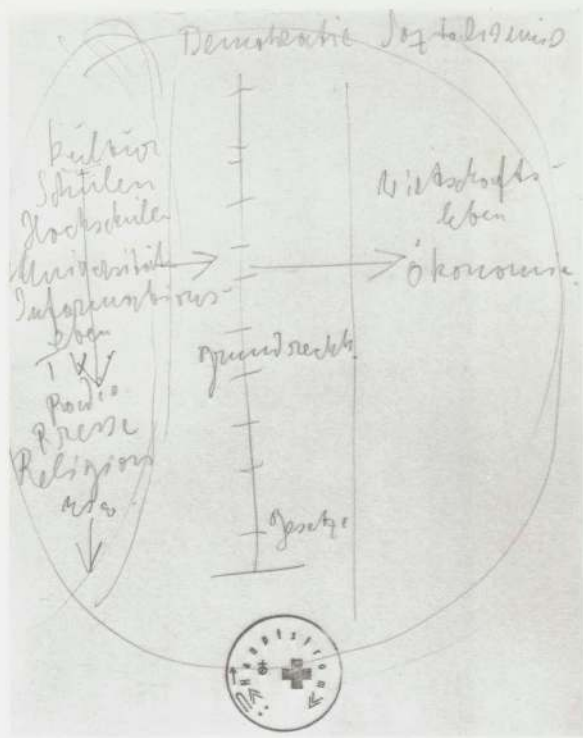
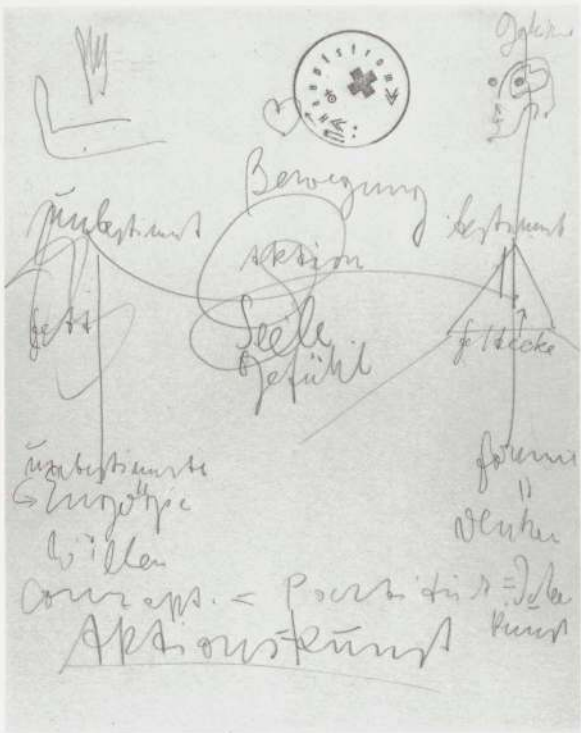


Plate 151. *Untitled*, 1972
 Series of seven drawings: pencil and ink stamp on paper
 Each 22 5/8 x 17 1/8" (57.5 x 43.5 cm)
 Private Collection, Basel (cat. no. 152)

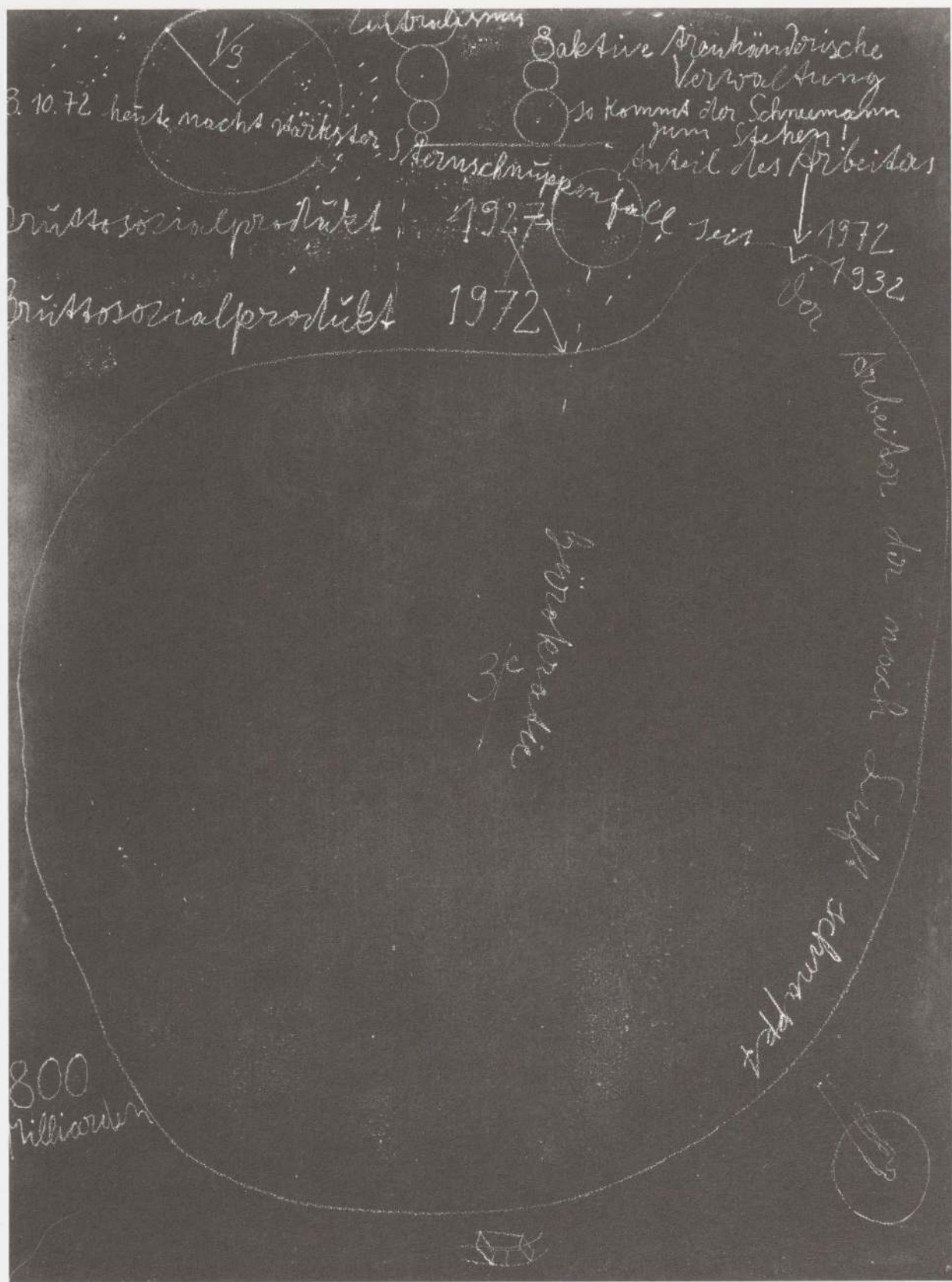


Plate 152. *Untitled (Dokumenta Blackboard)*, 1972
 Chalk on composition board
 78 1/8 x 59" (198.5 x 150 cm)
 Collection of Udo and Anette Brandhorst, Cologne (cat. no. 154)

Plate 153. *Untitled (Score: Aesthetics = Man)*, 1971
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper
 11 x 8 1/4" (28 x 21 cm)
 Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich
 (cat. no. 144)

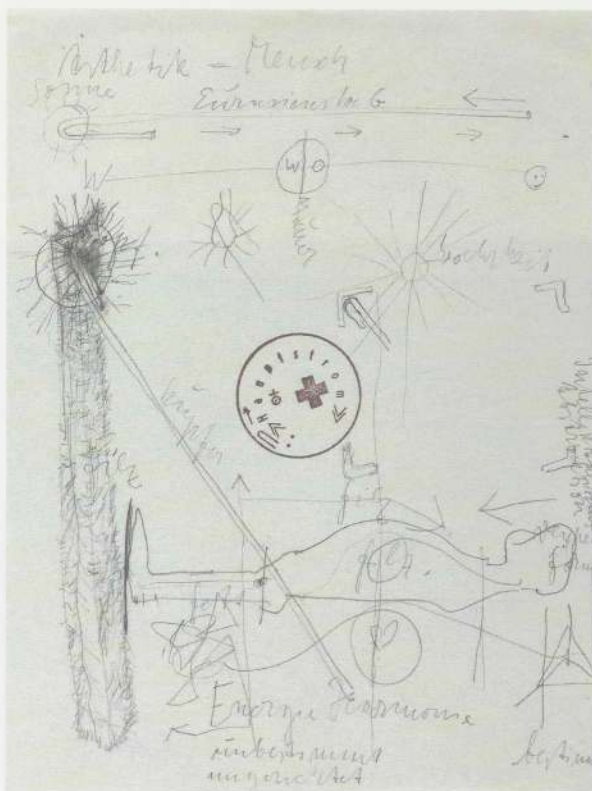
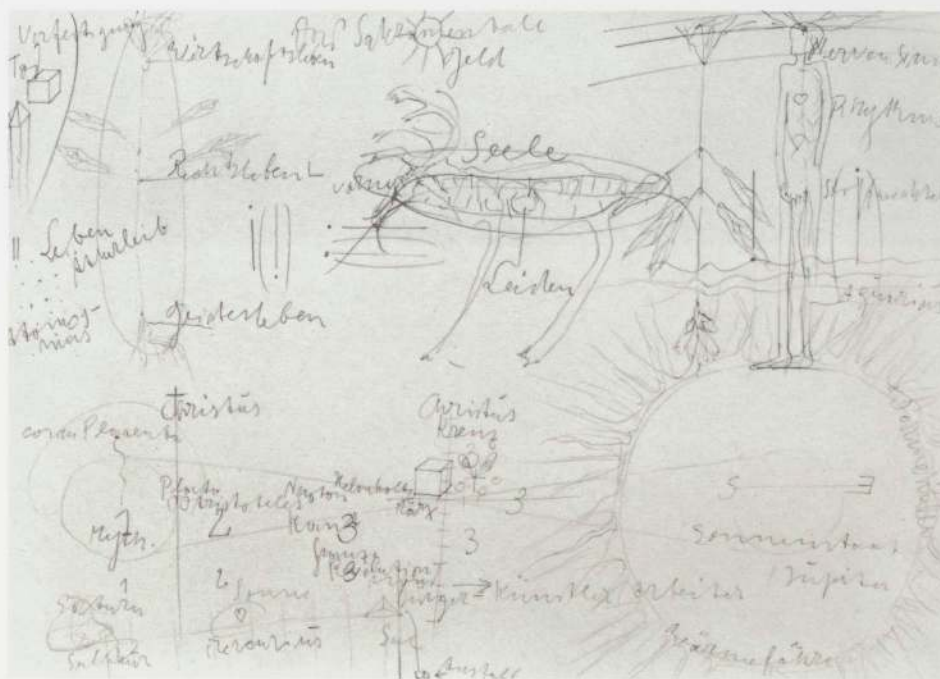


Plate 154. *Untitled (Evolution)*, 1974
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 16 1/2" (29.7 x 42 cm)
 Volker Harlan Collection, Bochum
 (cat. no. 155)



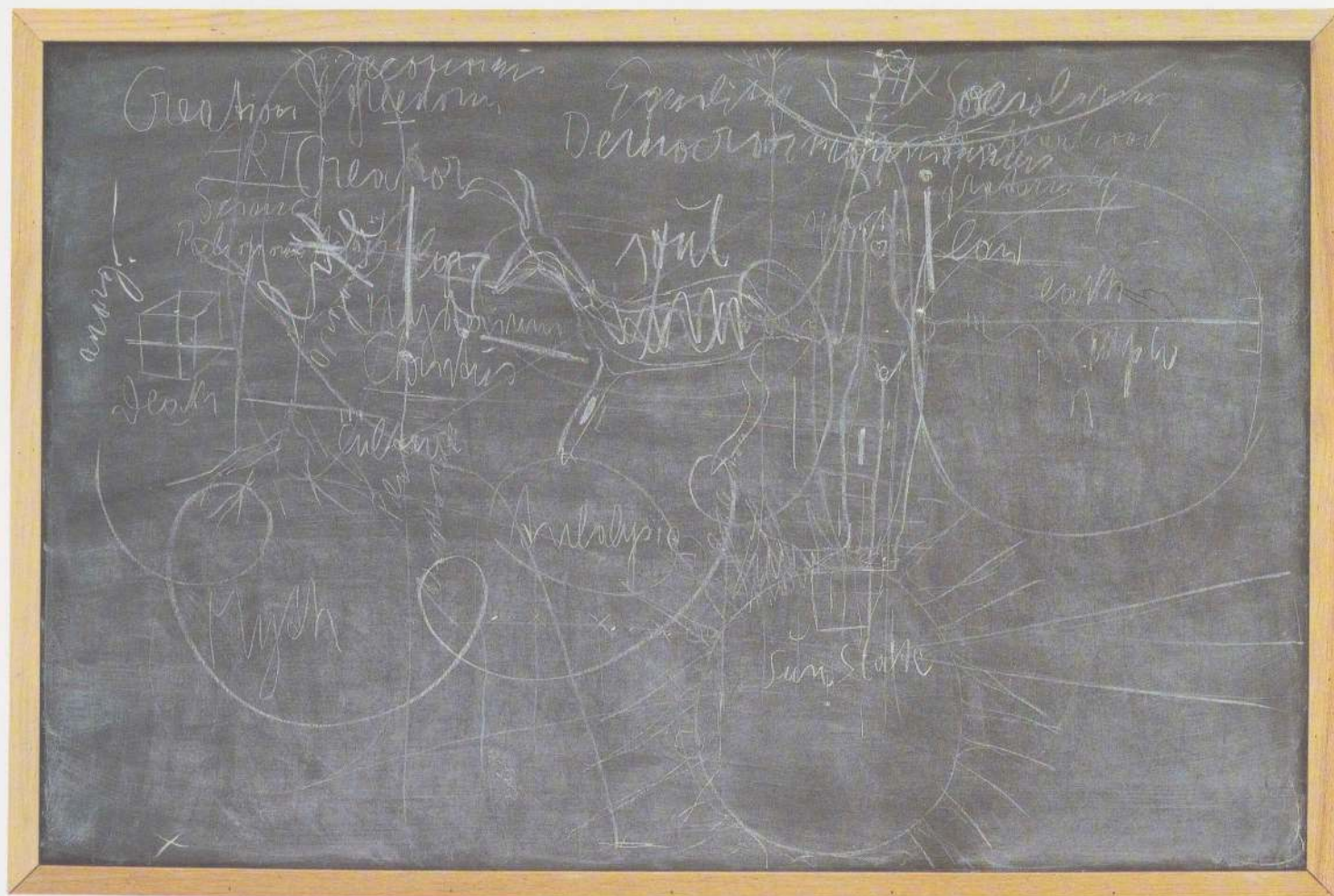


Plate 155. *Untitled (Sun State)*, 1974
Chalk on slate, wood frame
47 1/2 x 72" (120.7 x 183 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Abby Aldrich
Rockefeller and acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest
(by exchange) (cat. no. 158)

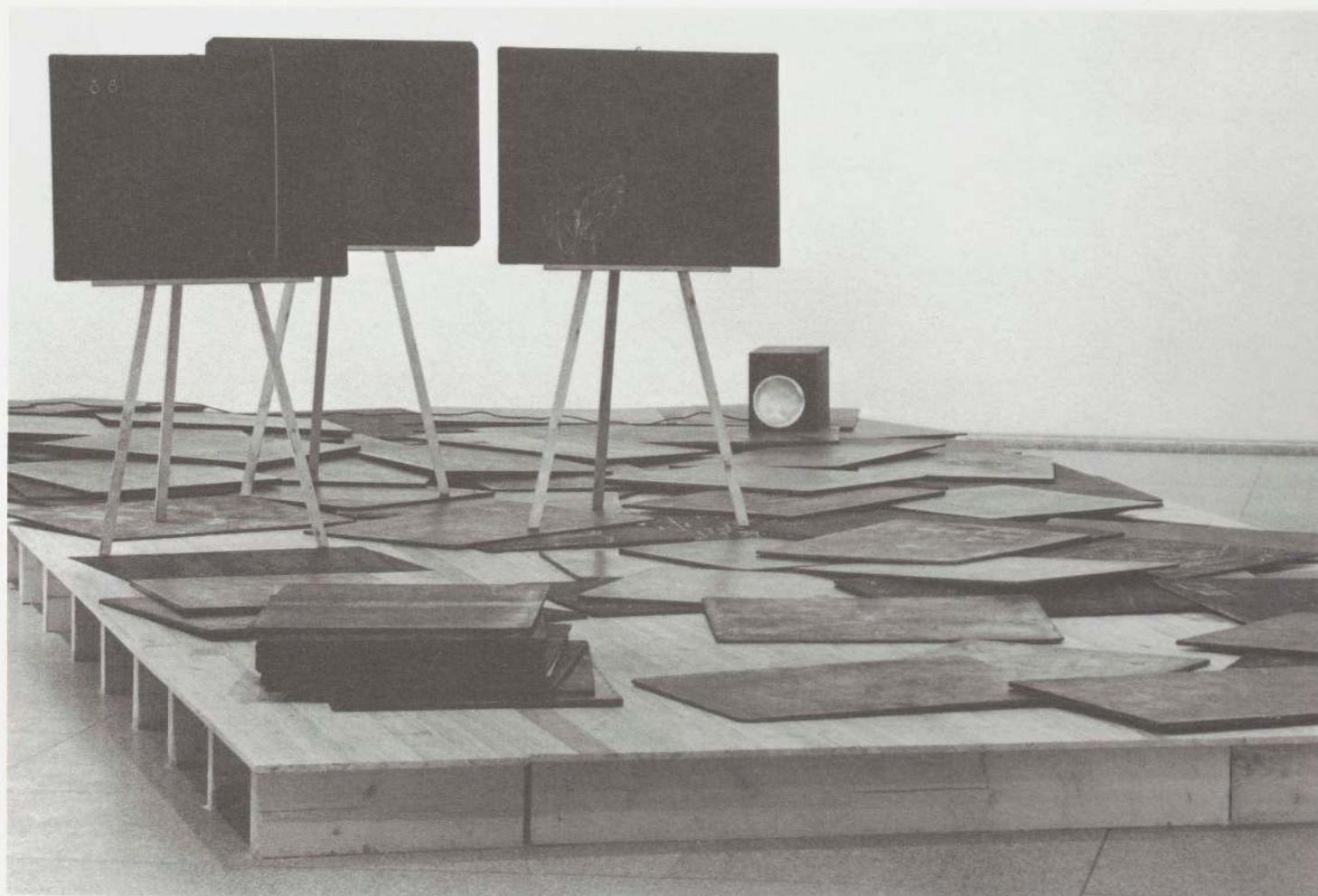


Plate 156. *Directional Forces (Richtkräfte)*, 1974-77
Installation of one hundred panels, three on easels: chalk on
composition board, and electric light, installed on wood platform
30 1/2 x 17 3/4' (9.3 x 5.4 m)
Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (cat. no. 159)

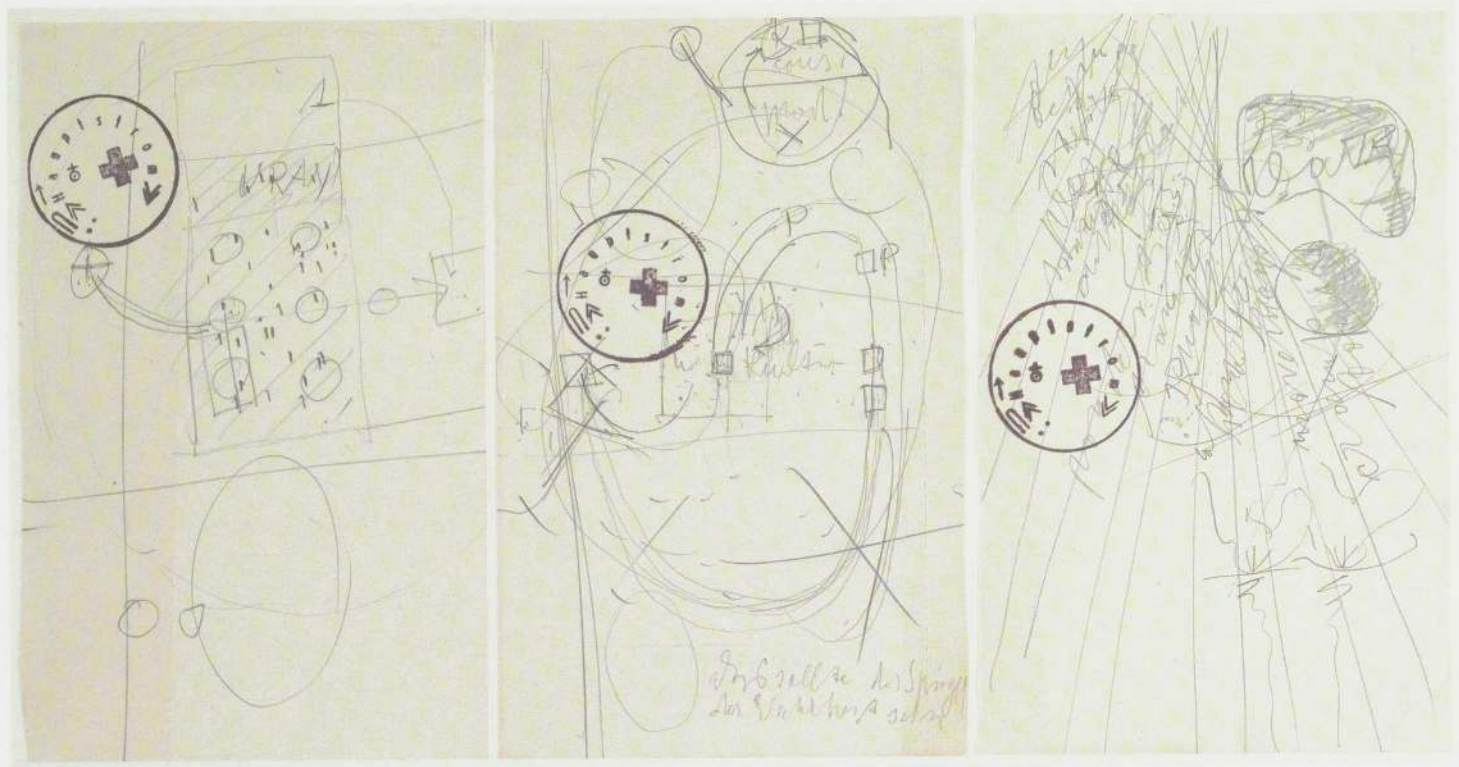


Plate 157. *To: Capital*, 1974
Three-part drawing: pencil and ink stamp on three sheets of
perforated paper
8 1/2 x 16 3/8" (21.6 x 41.7 cm) overall
Ludwig Rinn Collection (cat. no. 156)

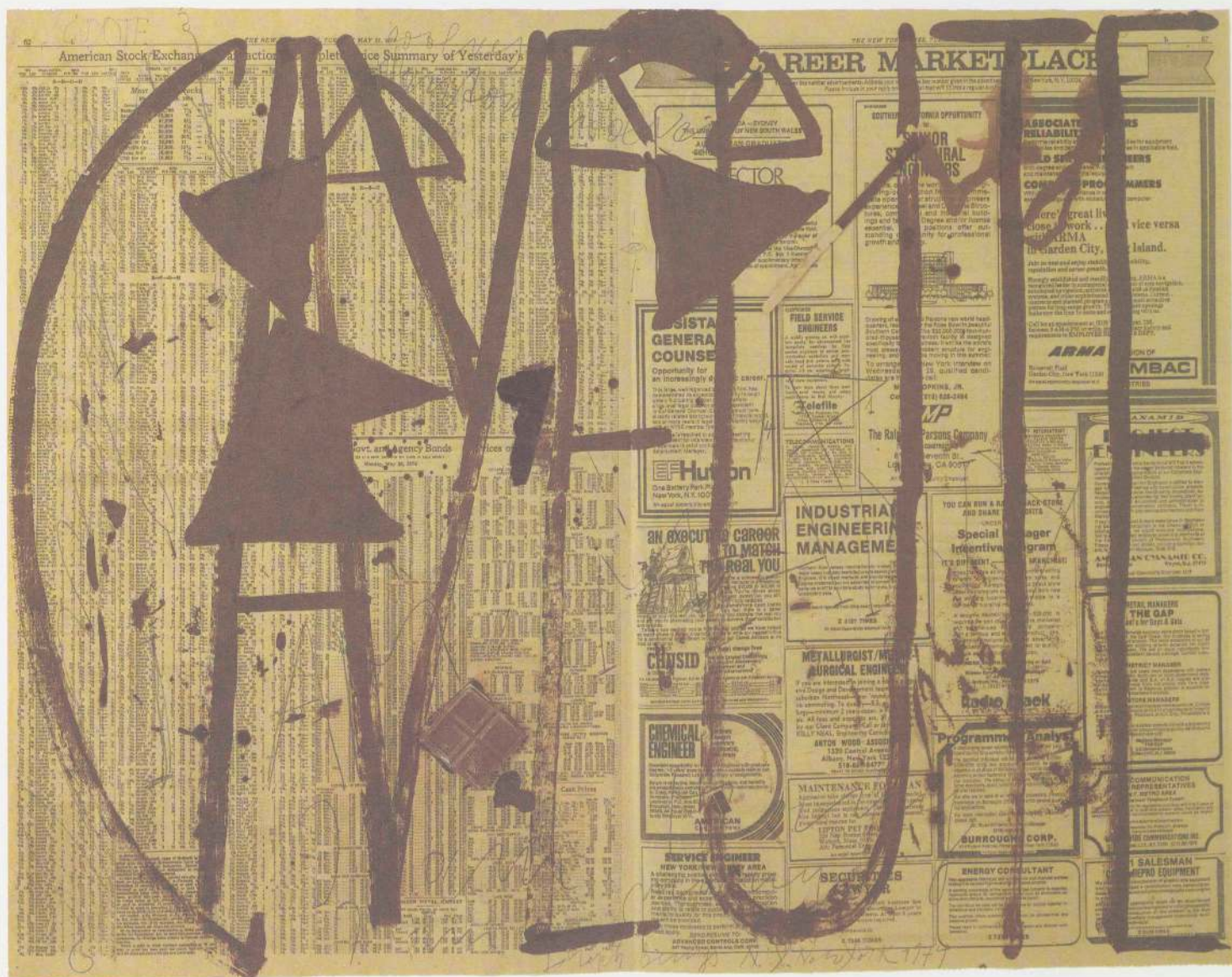


Plate 158. *Coyote*, 1974
 Oil (Braunkreuz) and pencil on newsprint, with chocolate
 22 1/2 x 28 3/4" (57.2 x 73 cm)
 Mrs. Andrew Fuller Collection (cat. no. 157)

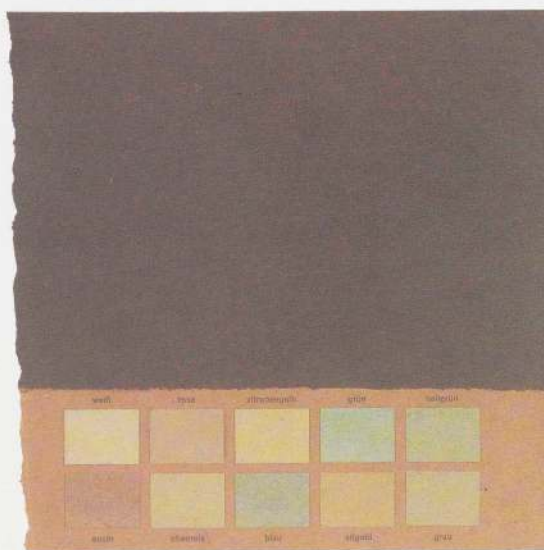
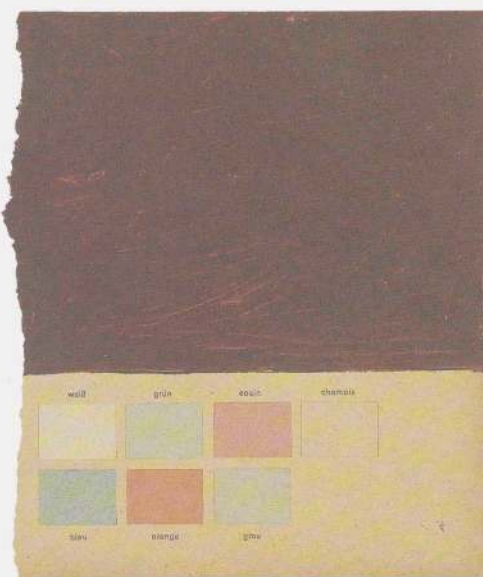
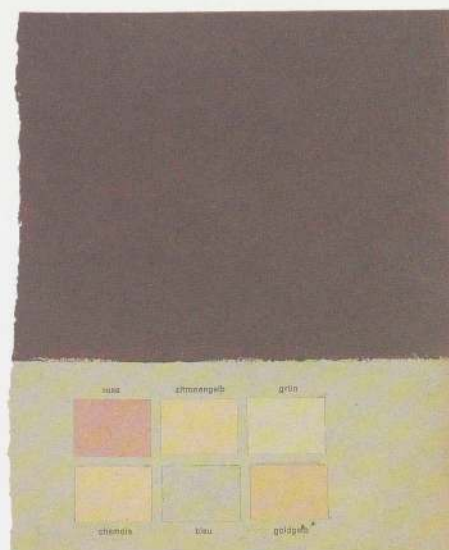


Plate 159. Runrig, 1962/72

Three-part drawing: oil (*Braunkreuz*) on three sheets of color-printed cardboard

7 3/4 x 6 3/8" (19.7 x 16.3 cm); 7 3/4 x 7" (19.7 x 17.6 cm);

7 3/4 x 7 7/8" (19.7 x 19.9 cm), all irregular

Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 151)

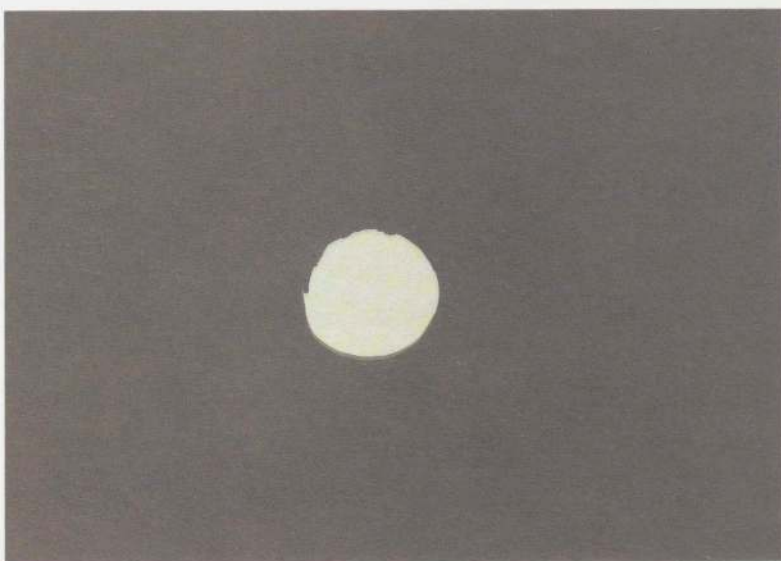
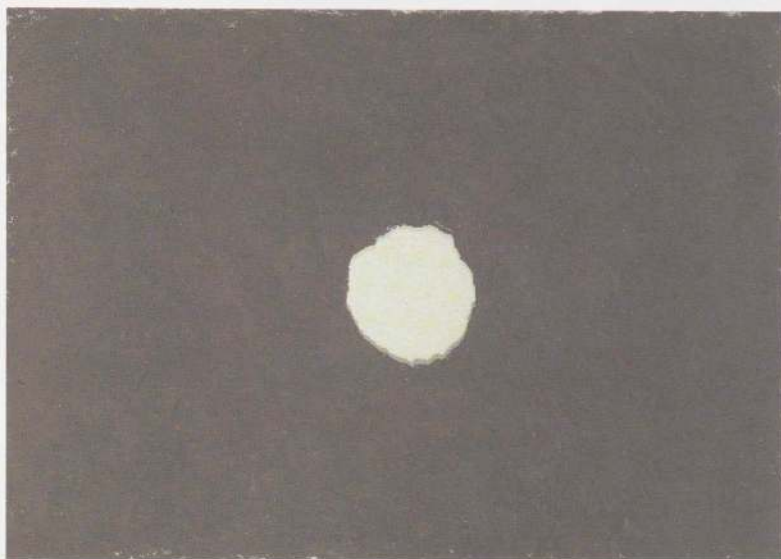
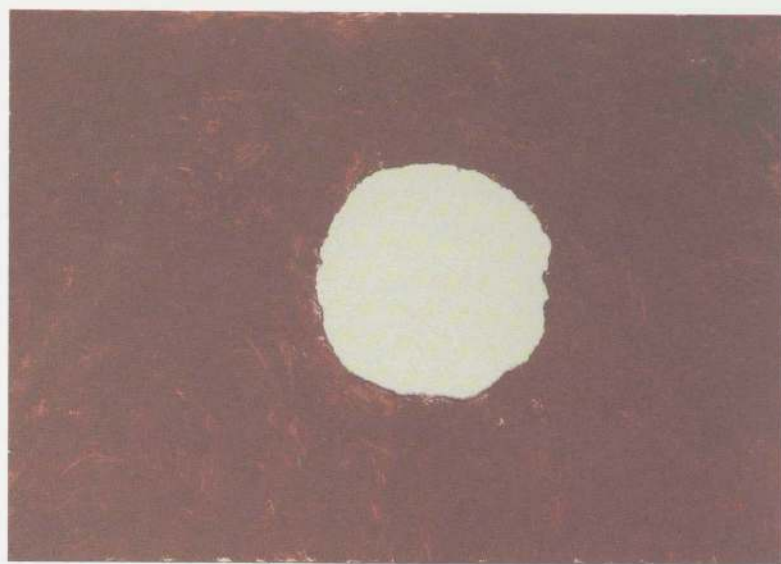


Plate 160. *Untitled*, 1964-76

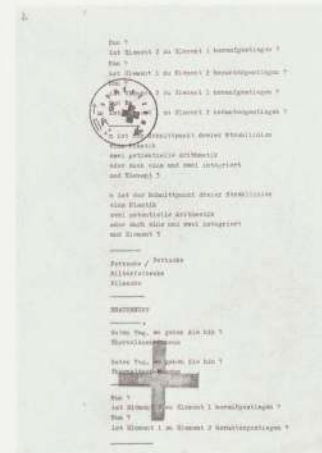
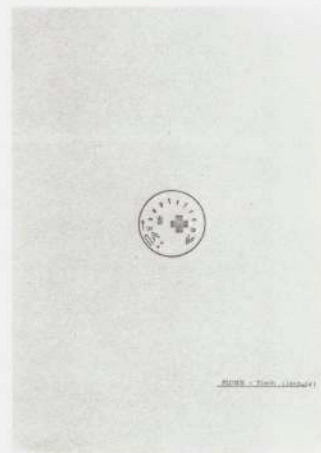
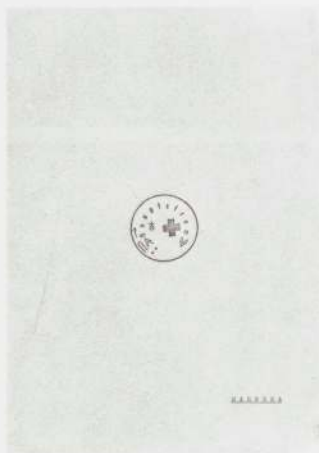
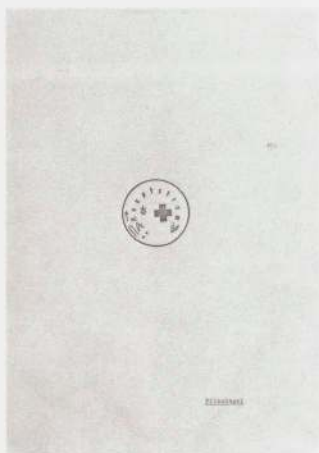
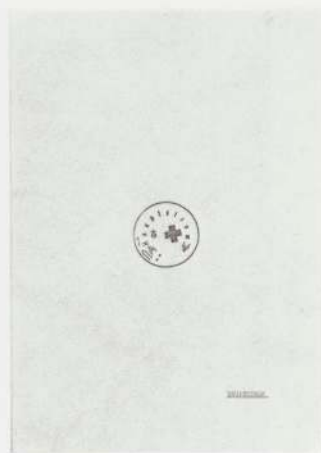
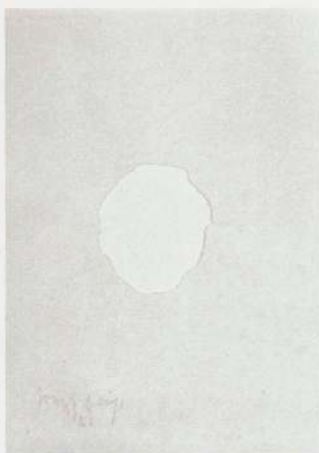
Three-part drawing: oils (including *Braunkreuz*) on three sheets of torn paper

II $5/8 \times 8 \frac{1}{4}$ " (29.5 x 21); II $5/8 \times 8 \frac{3}{16}$ " (29.5 x 20.8 cm);

II $5/8 \times 8 \frac{1}{4}$ " (29.5 x 20.9 cm)

Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York (cat. no. 162)

Plate 161. *Democracy Sings*,
 1963-75
 Block of twenty-five drawings:
 typewritten text, ink stamps,
 and pencil on paper
 3/8 x 4 3/4" (1 x 12 cm)
 to 11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
 Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller,
 Otterlo, Netherlands (former
 Visser Collection) (cat. no. 160)



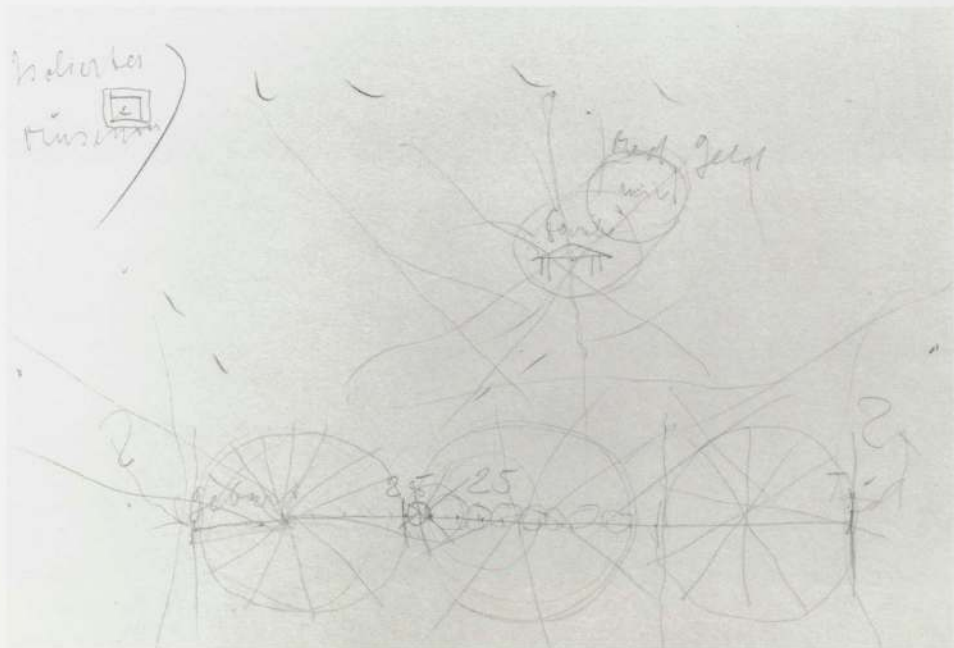
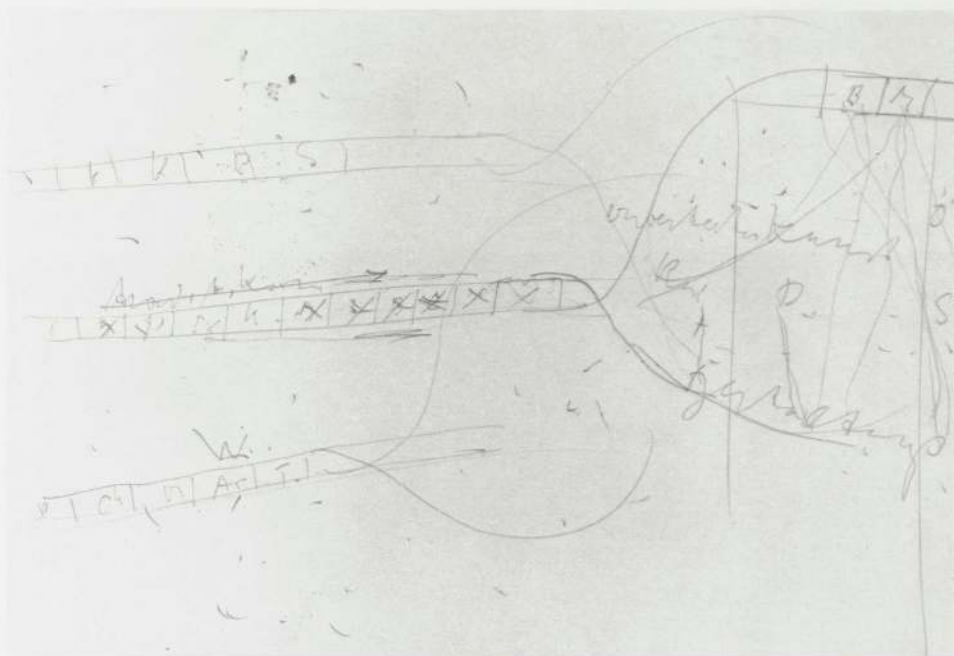




Plate 163. *Untitled (Datebook, March–December 1974)*, 1975
Block of thirty-five sheets: ink, pencil, and ink stamp on datebook
pages, mounted on cardboard
29 x 48 3/4" (73.7 x 123.8 cm) overall
Private Collection, Switzerland (cat. no. 161)

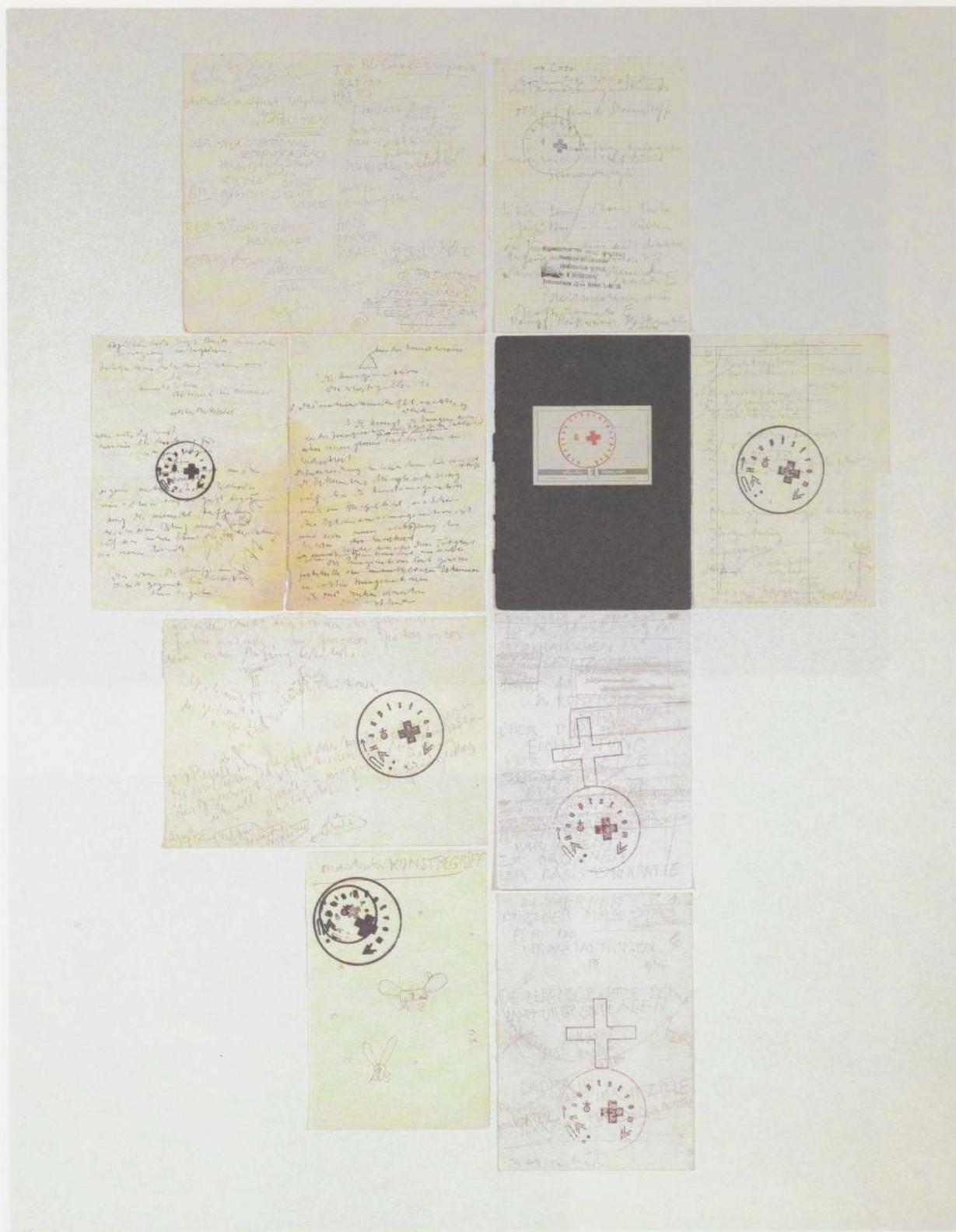
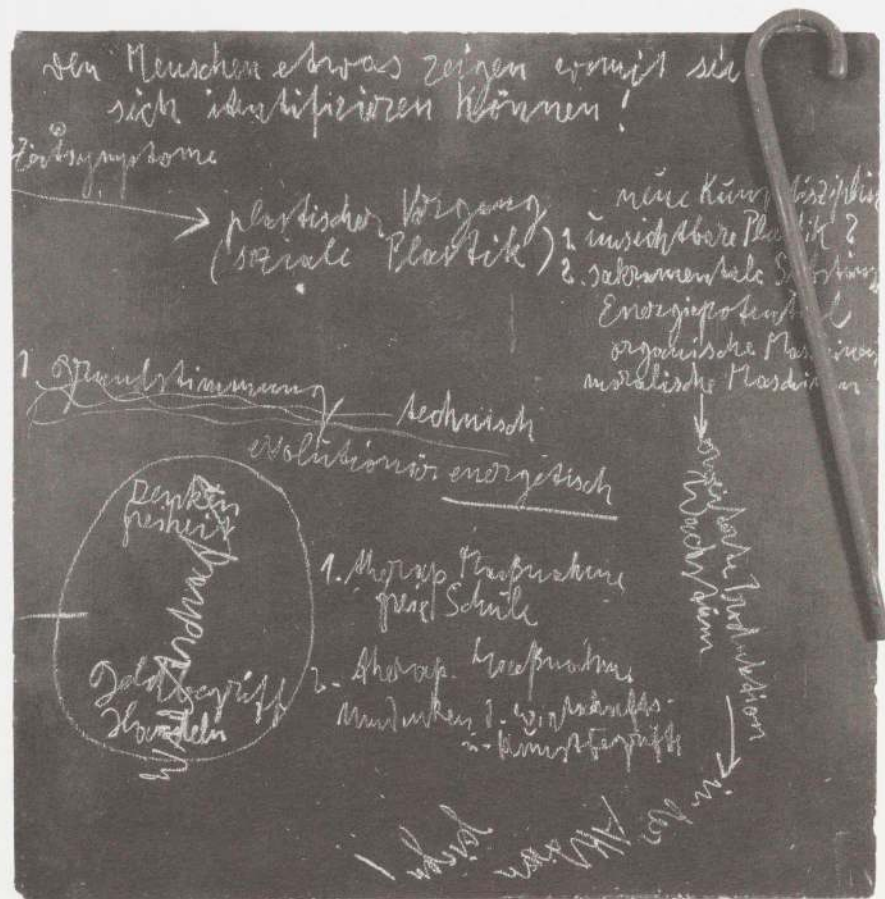
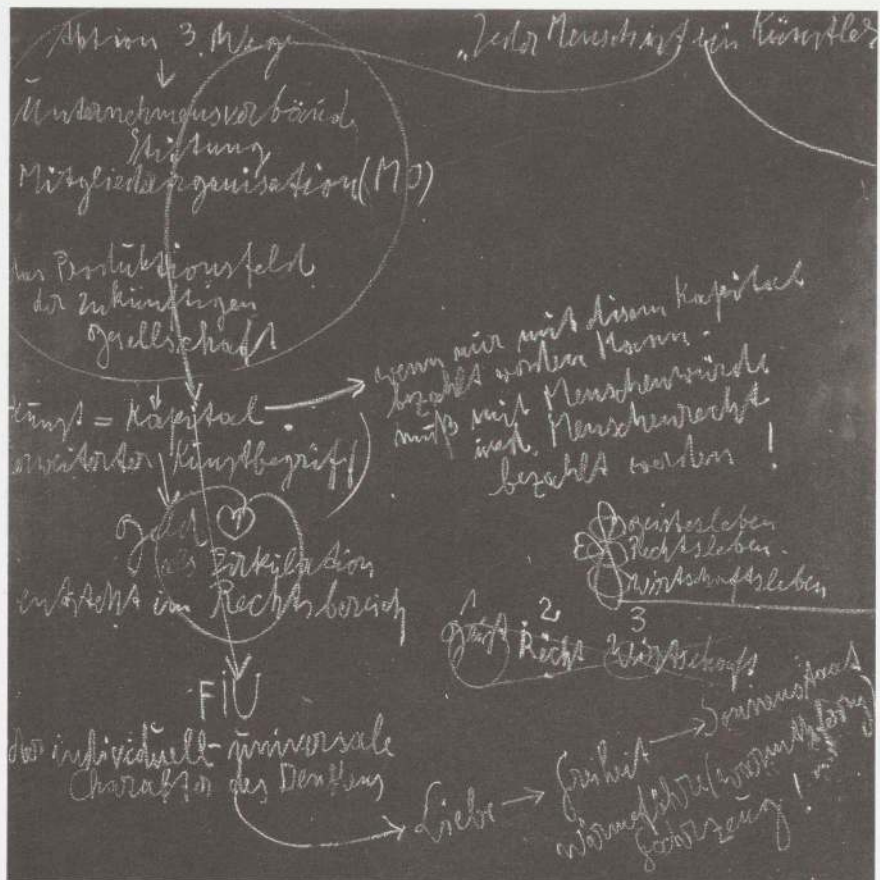


Plate 164. Scores for a Widened Concept of Art, 1958–78

Block of twelve sheets: pencil, pen and ink, ink stamps, and fat stains on paper

7 x 9 3/4" (17.8 x 24.6 cm) to 8 3/8 x 9" (21.2 x 23 cm)

Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian (cat. no. 164)



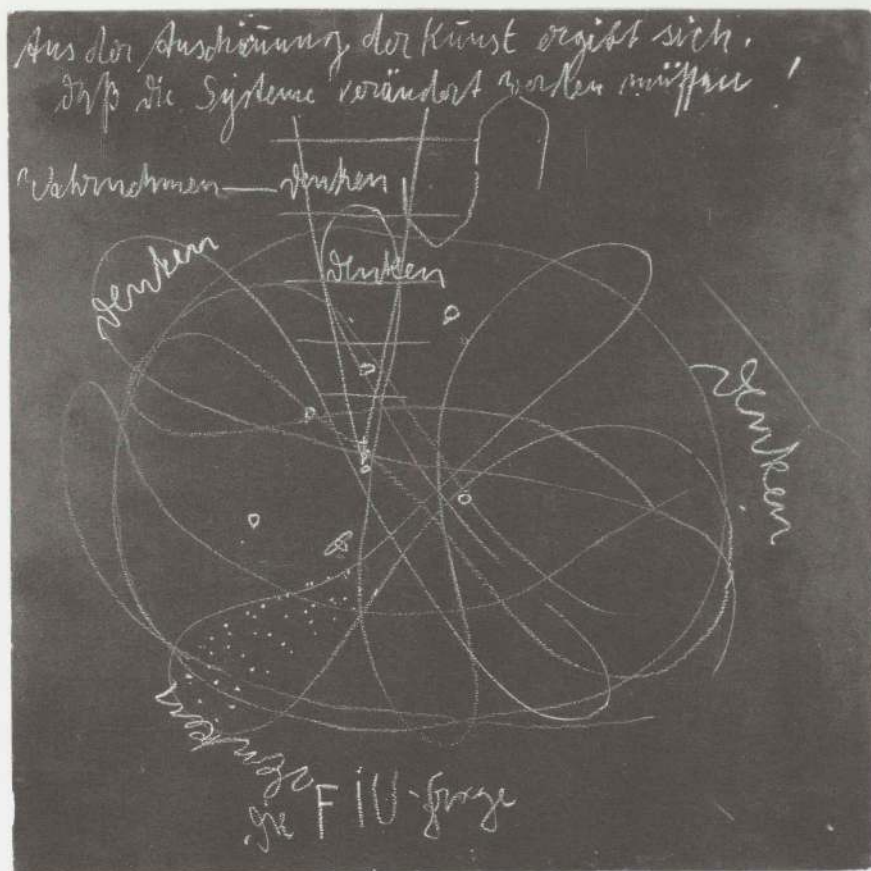


Plate 165. *Action Third Way*, 1978
Three panels, one with a walking stick:
chalk on composition board, wood frame
Each 52 3/8 x 52 3/8" (133 x 133 cm)
Helge Achenbach Collection, Düsseldorf
(cat. no. 165)

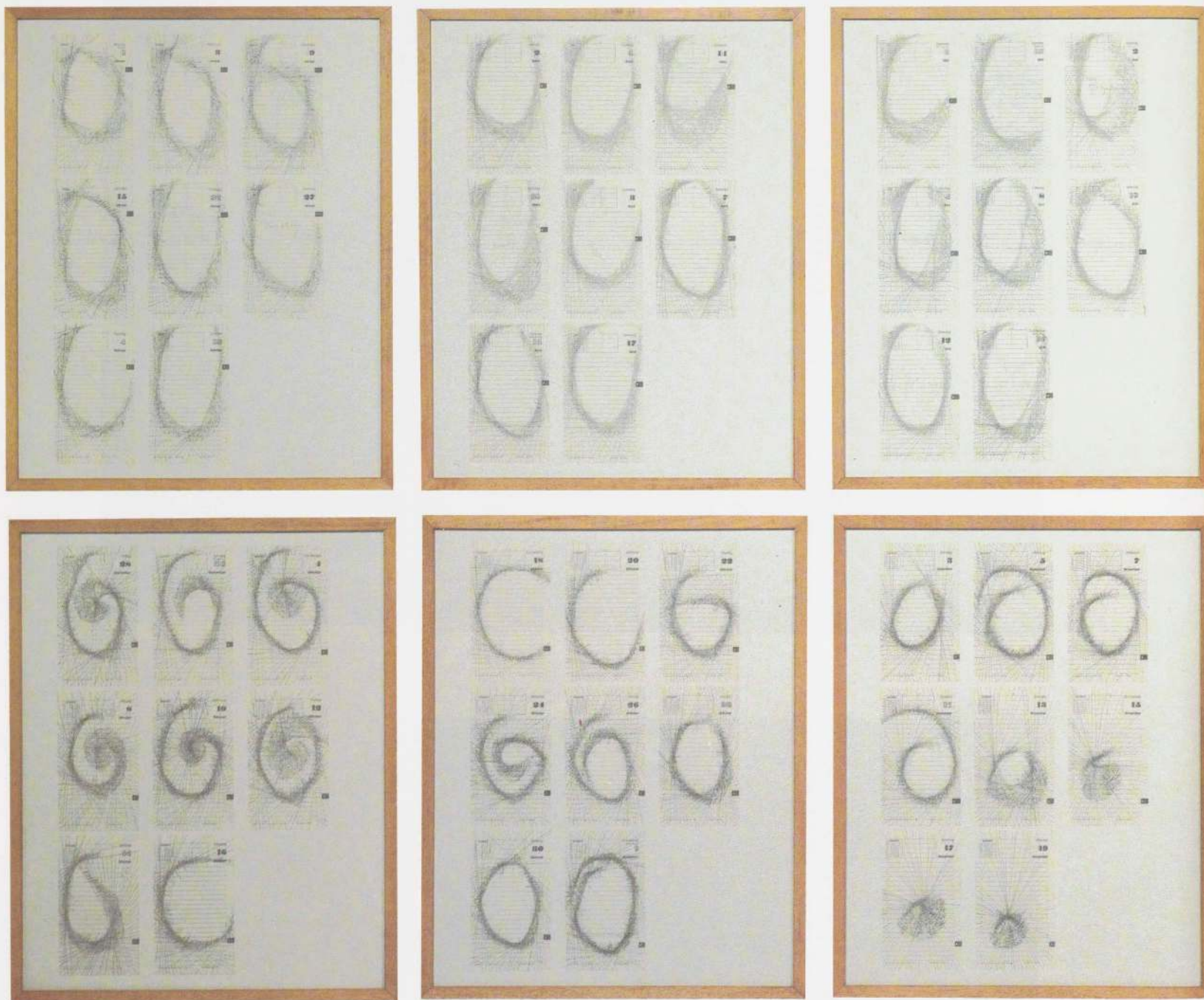


Plate 166. *Words Which Can Hear*, 1979
Block of ninety-two sheets in twelve frames: pencil on paper
Each $7 \frac{5}{8} \times 4 \frac{3}{8}$ " (19.4 x 11.1 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London (cat. no. 166)

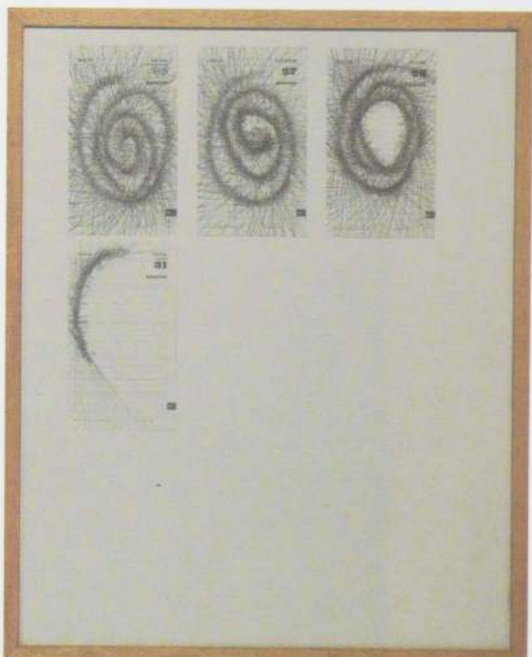
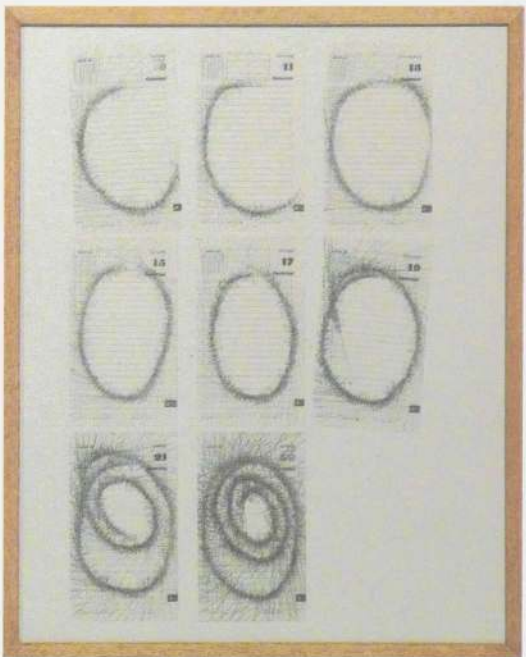
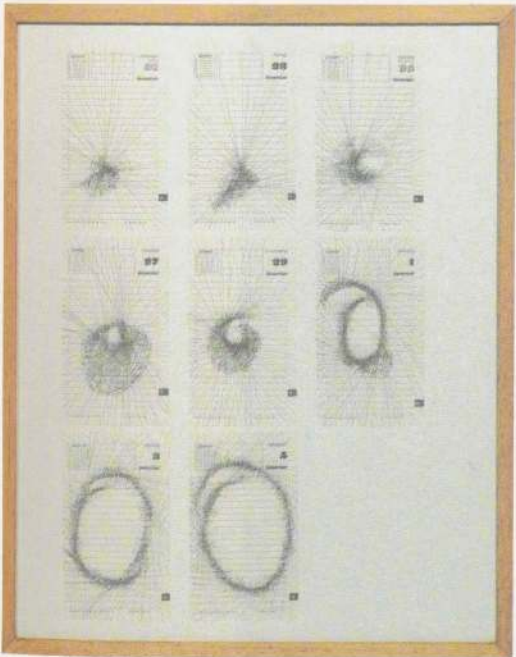
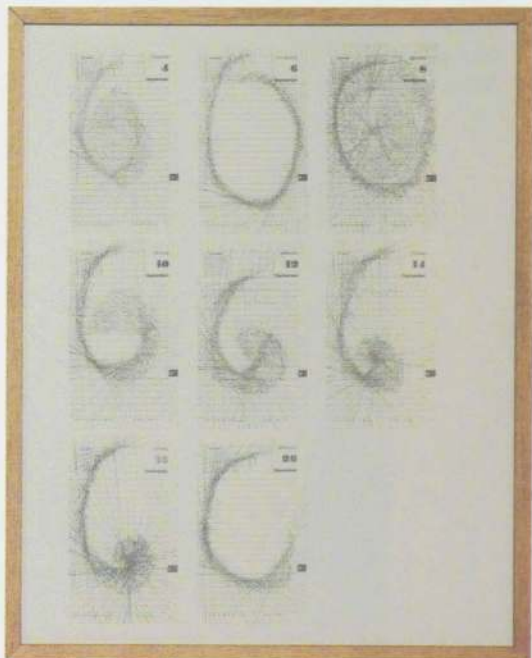
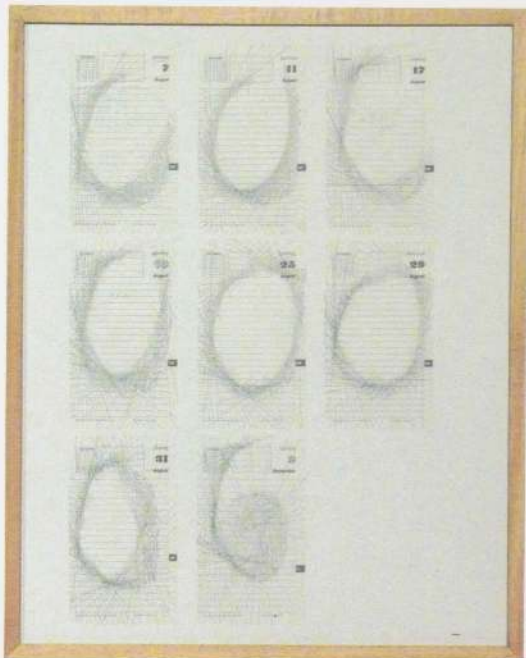
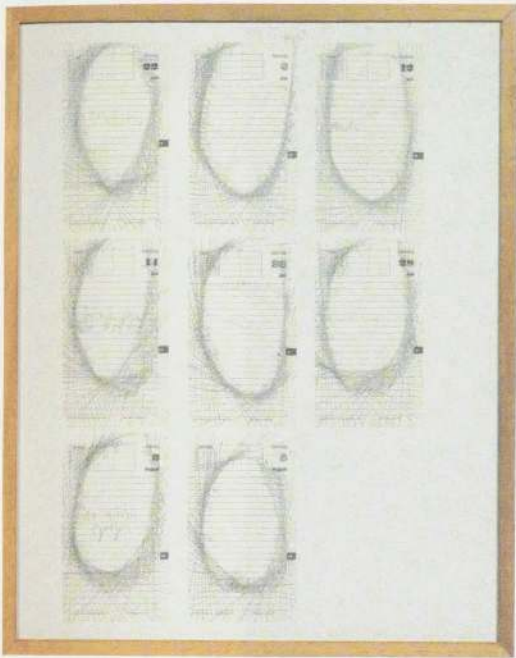


Plate 167. *Neutralized Capital*, 1980
 Chalk on painted wood panel, iron frame
 96 x 48" (244 x 122 cm)
 Marx Collection, Berlin (cat. no. 167)

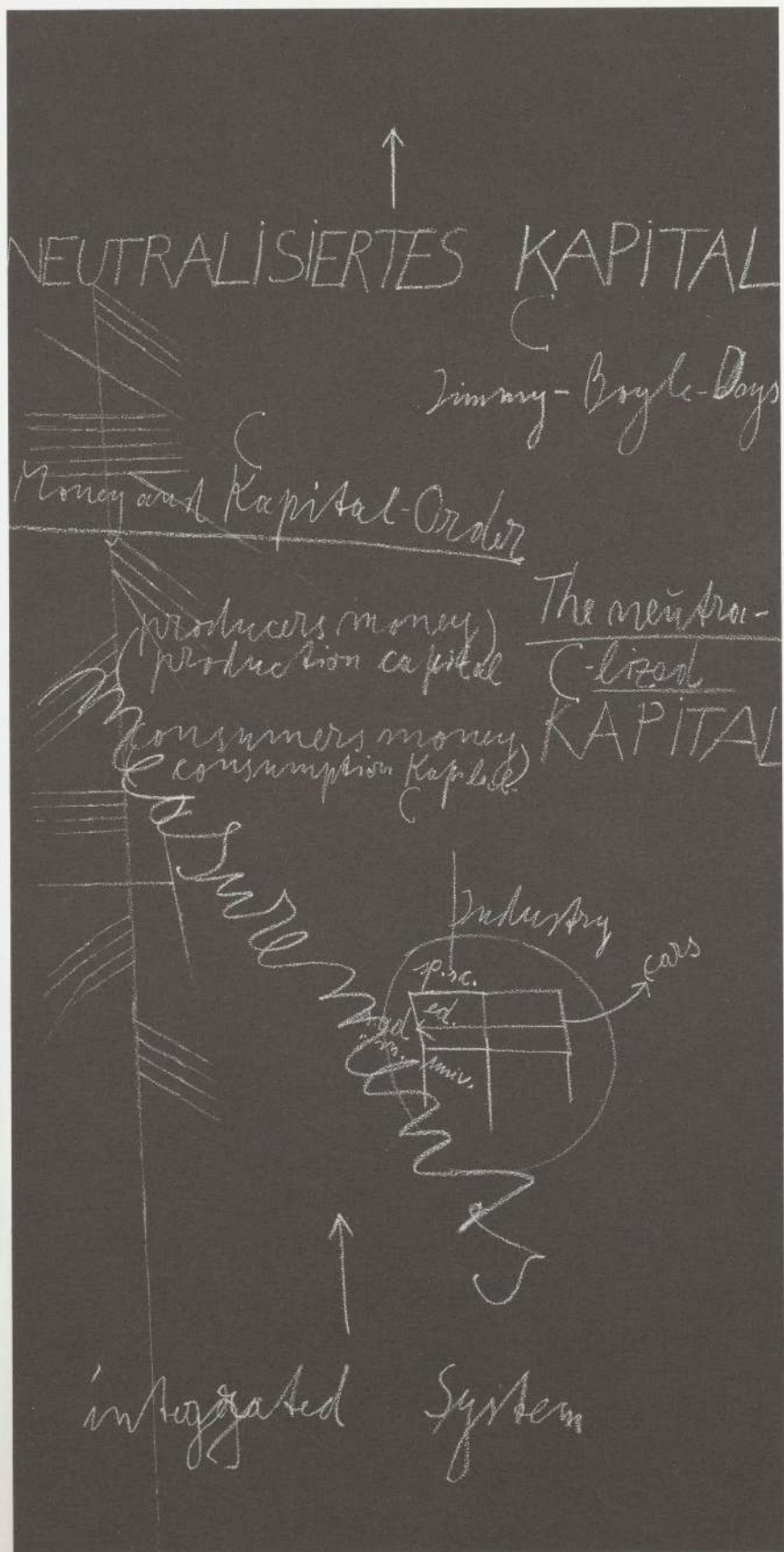


Plate 168. *Art = Capital*, 1980
 Chalk on painted wood panel, iron frame
 96 x 48" (244 x 122 cm)
 Marx Collection, Berlin (cat. no. 168)

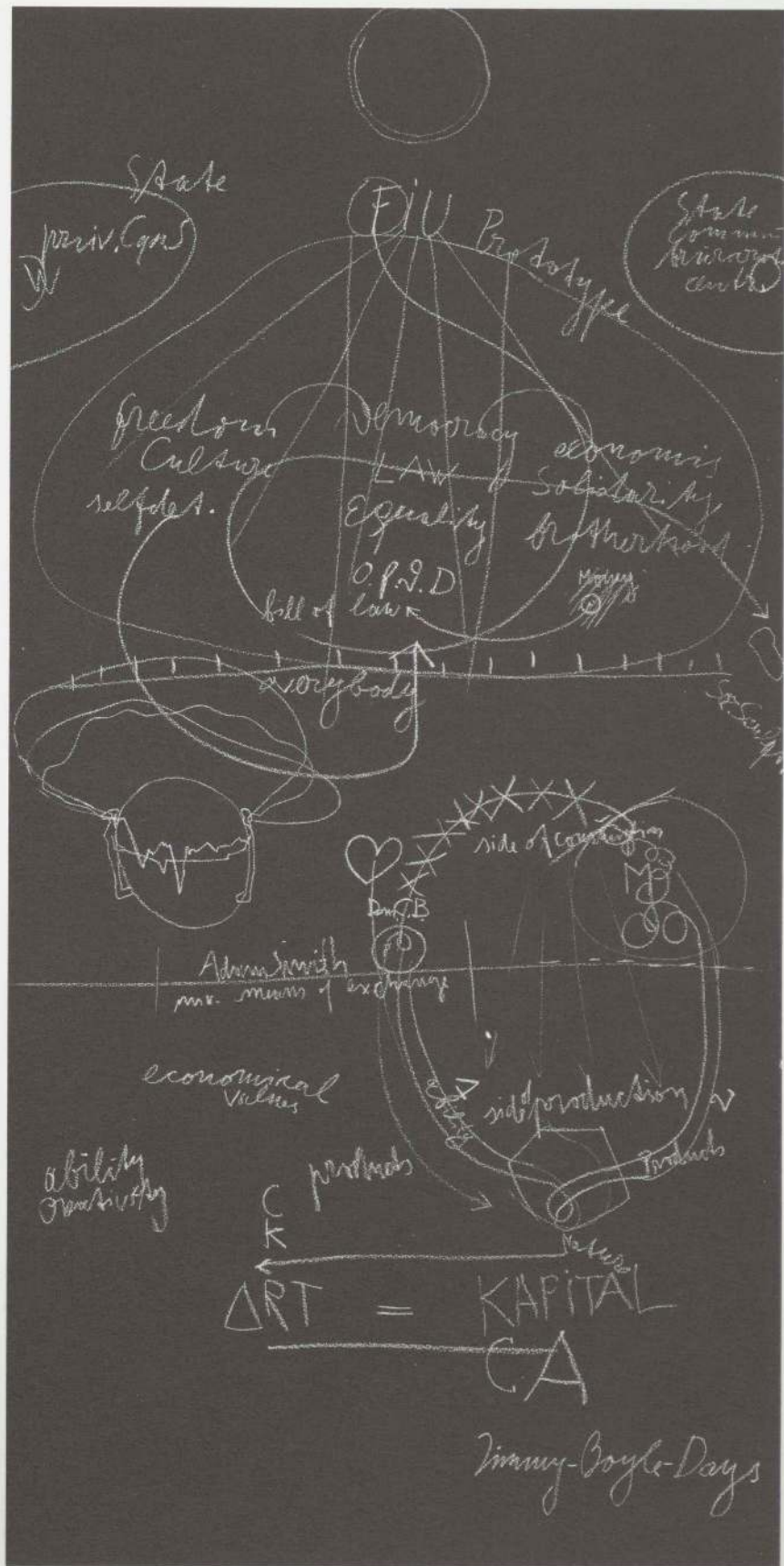


Plate 169. *Core for Grond*, 1980
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets
of paper
Each 8 1/4 x 5 1/4" (20.8 x 14.8 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
(cat. no. 169)

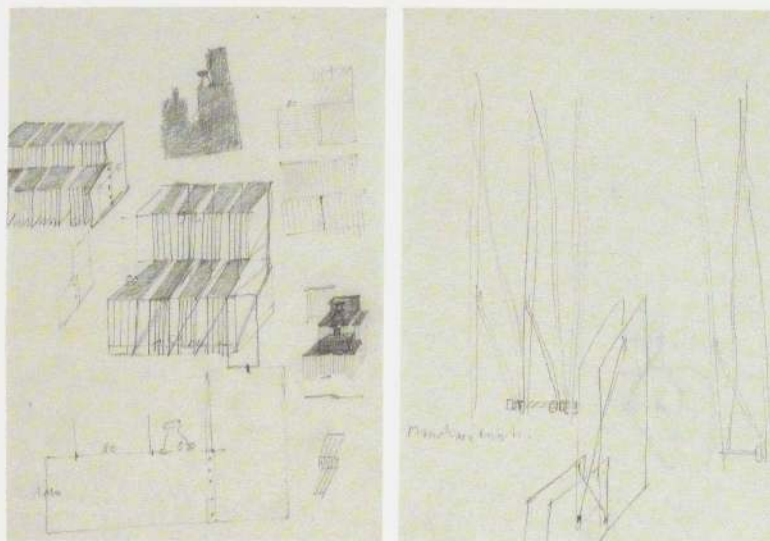


Plate 170. *Earthquake in the Palace*, 1981
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of
paper, one perforated
8 7/16 x 10 13/16" (21.5 x 27.5 cm); 9 3/16 x 7"
(23.3 x 17.8 cm)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
New York (cat. no. 170)

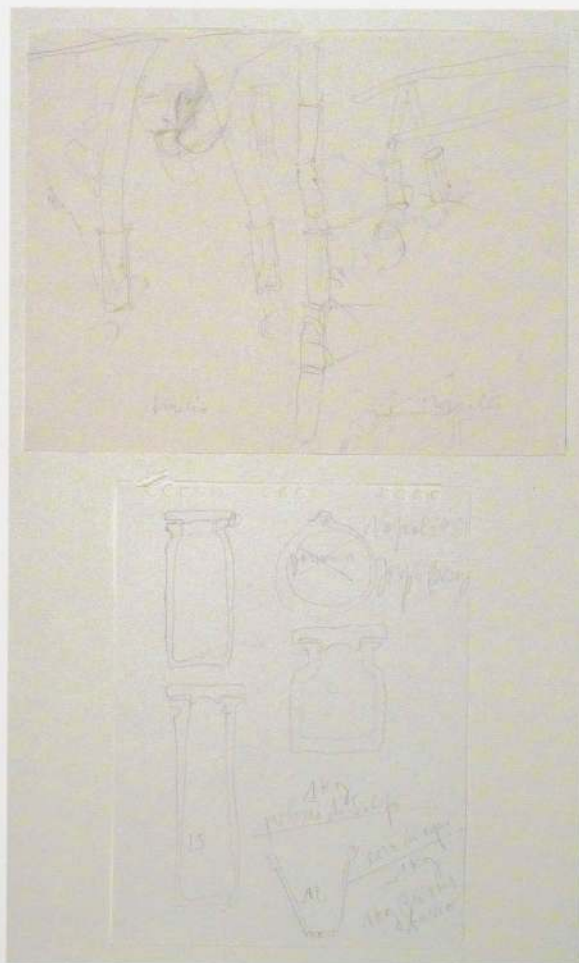


Plate 171. *The End of the Twentieth Century*, 1983
Three-part drawing: pencil on three sheets of paper
Each 8 1/4 x 11 1/4" (21 x 29.8 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
(cat. no. 171)

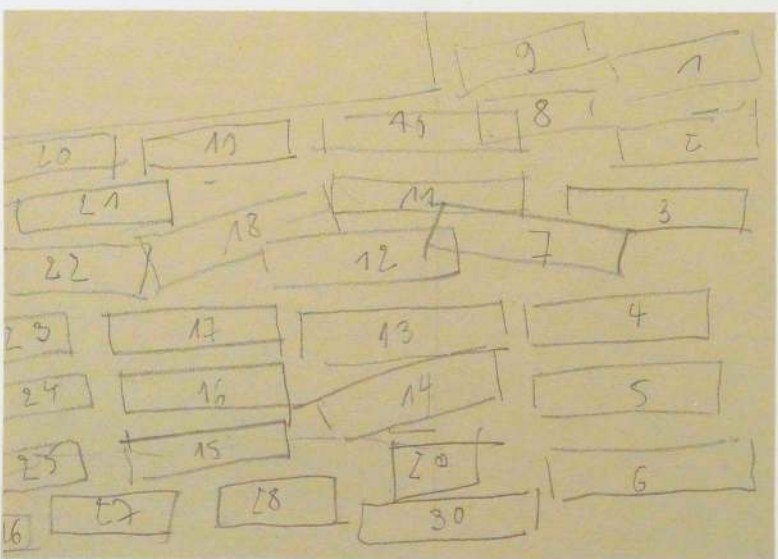
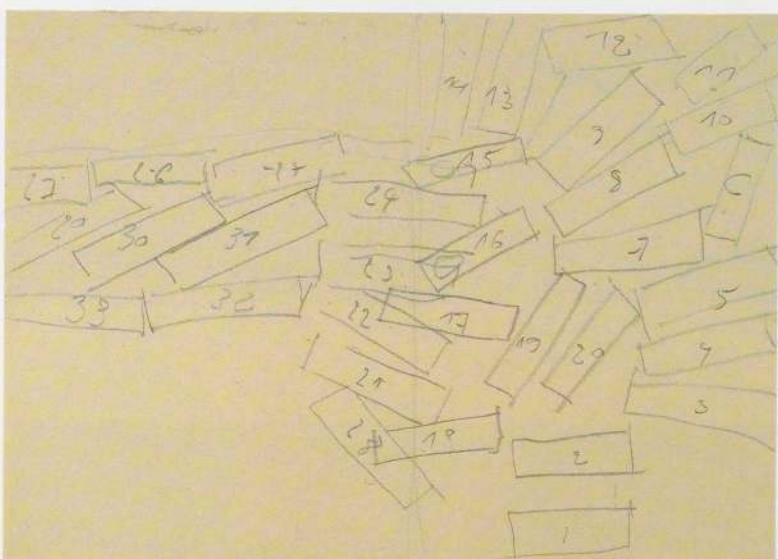
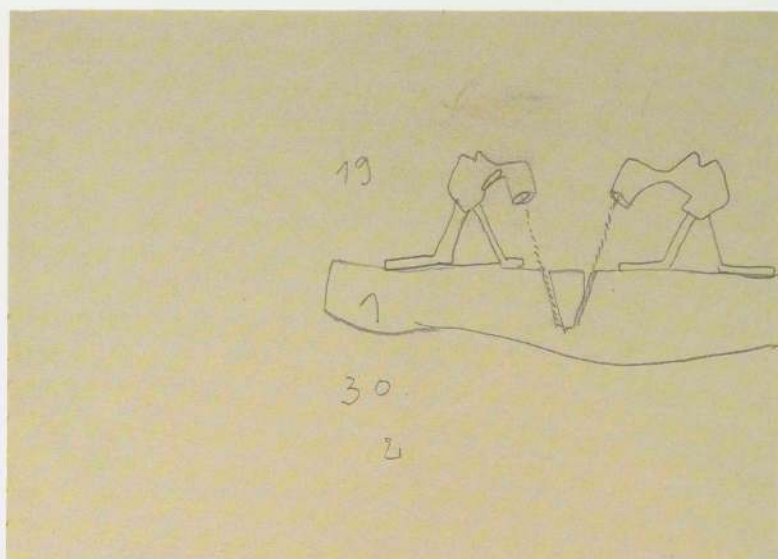
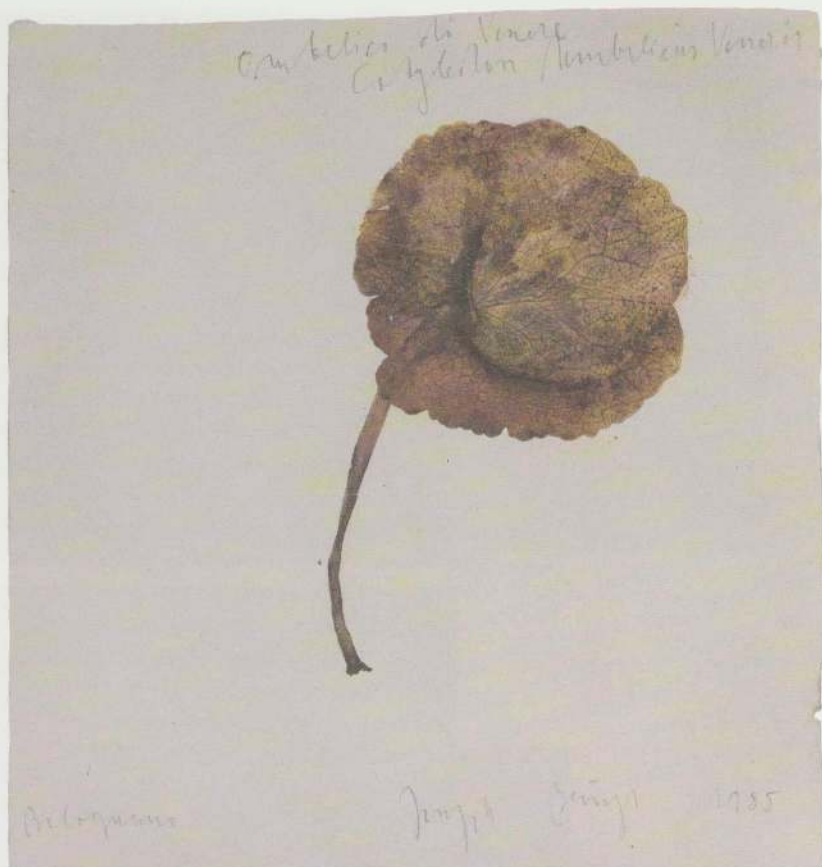
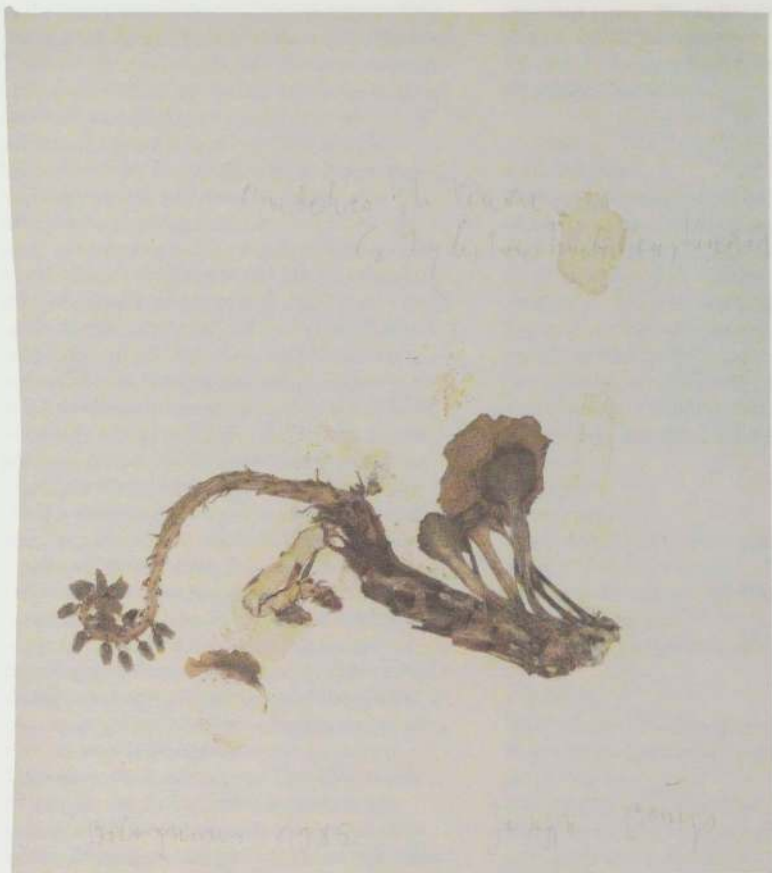


Plate 172. *Ombelico di Venere* — Cotyledon
Umbilicus Veneris, 1985
Pressed plants with pencil on paper
(four from a block of ten drawings)
8 1/4 x 9" (20.8 x 23 cm) to 9 3/4 x 14 5/8"
(24.7 x 37.3 cm), irregular
Collection of Christine and Isy Brachot,
Brussels (cat. no. 172)







Checklist of the Exhibition

In the listing below, the English translation of the title is given first, followed by the original German. Titles are given as inscribed on the work, as previously published, or are descriptive. Dates as given are either inscribed on the work or as previously published; however, even inscribed and published dates may be approximate as Beuys often mounted, signed, and dated drawings later. The term *double drawing* designates two drawings made as variations on one another and mounted by the artist to form one work. Medium descriptions rely on previously published information and on the information provided by owners. Beuys used a number of substances, traditional and nontraditional, and often mixed mediums; he also relied on chemical interactions, thus it is difficult to identify a substance precisely. For this reason generic descriptions are sometimes given. In German *Beize* is a type of common wood stain with either a water or a solvent base; Beuys adopted the term for a medium or mediums that result in a transparent brown stain. In the Beuys literature, *Beize* has sometimes been described as an iron compound in solution. In this list, oil (*Braunkreuz*) designates industrial brown color paint(s) that Beuys began to use at the beginning of the 1960s. Transparent paper refers to paper infused with wax, resin, grease, or other substance that renders it transparent and resistant to moisture. For dimensions, sheet size is given first, followed by dimensions for the secondary support and/or mount, and followed by tertiary support and/or mount. Dimensions are given in inches and centimeters; height precedes width.

1 (plate 1)

Landscape near Rindern (Landschaft bei Rindern), 1936
Watercolor and pencil on paper, mounted on cardboard
6 1/4 x 4 3/4" (16 x 12.2 cm); mount 15 3/8 x 11 5/8" (39 x 29.5 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

2 (plate 2)

Herb Robert, 1941
Dried and pressed flowers with pencil on paper
9 1/2 x 6 1/8" (24.2 x 15.5 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower right: "JB" [joined]
Edwin C. Cohen Collection, New York

3 (plate 3)

Lučko (Croatia) (Lučko Kroatien), 1943
Pencil on graph paper, mounted on paper
5 7/8 x 8 1/4" (14.8 x 20.9 cm); mount 11 5/8 x 16 1/5" (29.6 x 42 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower right: "Lučko"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1943 / Lučko (Kroatien)"; verso, printed: "Dienstvorschriften" [military manual]
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

4 (plate 4)

Tree in a Croatian Swamp Lučko (Baum in einem kroatischen Sumpf Lučko), 1944
Oil and pen and ink on military stationery, mounted on cardboard
6 3/4 x 9 1/2" (17 x 24 cm); irregular; mount 24 x 10 5/8" (61 x 27 cm)

Inscribed verso: "Beuys Baum in einem kroatischen Sumpf LUCKO 1944"
Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf

5 (plate 5)

Untitled, 1947
Four-part drawing: pencil on four sheets of paper, mounted on painted wood panel
Sheet 1: 11 1/4 x 9 1/2" (28.5 x 24 cm), irregular
Sheet 2: 10 3/4 x 9 1/2" (27.3 x 23.9 cm), irregular
Sheet 3: 11 1/2 x 9 1/2" (29 x 24.2 cm), irregular
Sheet 4: 11 7/8 x 9 1/2" (30.1 x 24.2 cm), irregular;
mount 27 5/8 x 41 1/8" (70.2 x 104.5 cm)
Inscribed verso, each sheet: "JB [joined] 47"
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Agnes Gund and Ronald S. Lauder

6 (plate 6)

Boom, 1948
Watercolor and pencil on paper
13 3/8 x 9 7/8" (34 x 25 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower left: "JB" [joined]; inscribed verso: "Beuys 1948"
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

7 (plate 7)

Untitled (Studies) (Studien), 1948
Pencil and watercolor on paper, mounted on cardboard
9 7/8 x 14 7/8" (25.1 x 37.8 cm);
mount 19 1/2 x 15 1/2" (49.7 x 64.8 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Studien"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1948 / o.T."
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

8 (plate 13)

Kadmon, 1948-49
Pencil with traces of colored ink or watercolor on creased paper, pasted on folded packing paper, mounted on paper
11 5/8 x 11" (29.5 x 28 cm) overall, irregular;
mount 30 x 20 1/8" (76.3 x 51 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1949 Adam Kadmon"
Inscribed on secondary support, underneath drawing: "Beuys 1948-49 Kadmon Kadmon"
Inscribed on mount, recto: "unten"; verso: "Beuys 1948-49 KADMON"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

9 (plate 10)

Pietà, 1949
Pencils, body color, oil stain, and colored ink on cut and pasted paper
14 7/8 x 15 1/4" (37.7 x 38.4 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Beuys / 1949 / Pietà"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of Hans and Franz Joseph van der Grinten

10 (plate 11)

Sheep Skeleton (Schafskelett), 1949
Body color, watercolor, and pencil on cardboard, mounted on paper
3 7/8 x 6 7/8" (10 x 17.5 cm), irregular
Inscribed verso (with sketch of a ram): "Beuys / Beuys 49 / Beuys 49"
Inscribed on mount, upper left: "Beuys 49"; lower right: "J. Beuys"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

11 (plate 9)

Untitled (Amphorae), 1949
Watercolor and pencil on cardboard
6 3/4 x 4 7/8" (17 x 12.5 cm), irregular
Inscribed recto, upper left: "JB" [joined]
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / 1949"
Klüser Collection, Munich

12 (plate 8)

Two Girls Observing Volcano and Geyser (Zwei Mädchen betrachten Vulkan und Geysir), 1949
Watercolor and pencil on paper
10 7/8 x 12 1/4" (27.5 x 31 cm)
Inscribed verso (with untitled watercolor drawing): "Zwei Mädchen betrachten Vulkan und Geysir. Beuys 1949"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

13 (plate 20)

Before Birth (vor der Geburt), 1950
Watercolor, body color, and ink, on three sheets of pasted paper, one torn, one perforated
15 3/4 x 11 3/4" (40 x 29.8 cm) overall
Inscribed verso: "vor der Geburt Joseph Beuys 1950"
Edwin C. Cohen Collection, New York

14 (plate 12)

Cross (Kreuz), 1950
Pencil frottage and pencil on transparent paper, with printed numbers, mounted on vellum, both with traces of oil, mounted on cardboard
11 1/4 x 7 5/8" (28.5 x 19.4 cm); secondary support
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm), irregular; mount
27 1/2 x 19 5/8" (70 x 50 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower right: "JB" [joined]
Inscribed on secondary support: "Beuys 50"
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1950 / Kreuz"
Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

15 (plate 18)

Wolf in Bleeding Nature (Wolf in der blutenden Natur), 1951
Pencil on paper, mounted on cardboard
9 3/8 x 13 3/8" (23.3 x 34 cm); mount 14 5/8 x 20 3/4" (37.3 x 52.8 cm)
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Wolf in der blutenden Natur / 1951"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

16 (plate 16)

Girl (Mädchen), 1951
Pencil on torn paper
9 3/4 x 5 3/4" (24.9 x 14.6 cm)
Inscribed verso (with figure sketch): "Beuys 51 Mädchen"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

17 (plate 17)

Stag, Woman, Child (Hirsch, Frau, Kind), 1951
Pencil and touch of watercolor on paper, mounted on cardboard
8 1/4 x 5 7/8" (21 x 14.8 cm); mount 19 5/8 x 12 3/4" (49.9 x 32.3 cm)
Inscribed verso (with pencil sketch): "Hirsch Frau Kind Beuys 51"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

18 (plate 14)

Golgotha, 1951
Pencil and traces of pigment on transparent paper, mounted on cardboard
12 7/8 x 9 7/8" (32.8 x 25.2 cm), irregular
Inscribed recto, lower right: "JB" [joined]
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Golgotha"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett

19 (plate 23)

Untitled, 1952
Body color, watercolor, and pencil on paper
9 7/8 x 12 5/8" (25 x 32 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower right: "Beuys 1952"
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart

20 (plate 21)

Woman Sitting on the Ground (Auf dem Boden sitzende Frau), 1952
Beize and pencil on torn paper, mounted on perforated paper, mounted on cardboard
9 1/4 x 13 1/8" (23.6 x 33.3 cm), irregular; secondary support 11 3/4 x 15 3/4" (29.9 x 40.1 cm); mount 19 3/4 x 26 3/8" (50.2 x 67.1 cm)
Inscribed verso (with two sketches): "Auf dem Boden sitzende Frau / Joseph Beuys 1952"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

21 (plate 22)

Untitled (Hare Woman) (Hasenfrau), 1952
Beize and pencil on transparent paper, mounted on paper with oil or fat stain
26 3/4 x 19 5/8" (68 x 49.8 cm) overall
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1952 o.T."
Dr. Reiner Speck Collection, Cologne

22 (plate 15)

Death and Life (Tod und Leben), 1952
Pencil on paper
8 1/8 x 11 1/4" (20.5 x 28.5 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Tod und Leben / Beuys / 1952 / Joseph Beuys"
Klüser Collection, Munich

23 (plate 19)

Woman Warding Off (Abwehrende Frau), 1952
Pencil on paper
12 5/8 x 17 1/2" (32 x 44.6 cm)
Inscribed recto, upper center: "Beuys 52"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

24 (plate 24)

Amazon (Amazonen), 1953
Body color, pencil, and stain on torn paper, pasted on paper
6 1/4 x 5 1/8" (15.8 x 13 cm), irregular
Inscribed on mount, lower left: "Beuys- 1953 Amazonen"
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart

25 (plate 27)

From the Life of the Bees (aus dem Leben der Bienen), 1954
Watercolor and pencil on two sheets of drawing board, taped to newsprint paper, mounted on paper
19 5/8 x 25 5/8" (50 x 65 cm) overall, irregular
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1954"
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian

26 (plate 26)

Skull on Ur-Sled (Schädel auf Urschlitten), 1954
Watercolor and pencil on paper
10 1/4 x 15 5/8" (26 x 39.6 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1954 Schädel auf Urschlitten"
Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main

27 (plate 39)

Nude (Akt), 1954-55
Beize and pencil on transparent paper, mounted on paper
8 1/4 x 5 7/8" (21.1 x 14.9 cm); mount 11 3/4 x 8 1/4" (29.8 x 21 cm)
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Beuys 1954-55 Akt"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

28 (plate 38)

Sculpture (Plastik), 1955
Beize and pencil on transparent paper, pasted on transparent paper
13 5/8 x 9 5/8" (34.7 x 24.5 cm) overall
Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1955 Plastik"
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London

29 (plate 31)

Untitled, 1955
Watercolor on paper, mounted on cardboard
9 1/2 x 13" (24.2 x 33.2 cm); mount 21 1/2 x 24 5/8" (54.5 x 62.6 cm)
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

30 (plate 32)

From the Life of the Bees (Aus dem Leben der Bienen), 1955
Watercolor and pencil on perforated paper, mounted on paper
4 3/4 x 6 5/8" (12 x 16.9 cm), irregular;
mount 8 1/4 x 11 1/4" (21 x 28.5 cm)
Sheet verso: watercolor sketch
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Beuys 1955 Aus dem Leben der Bienen Wasserfarbe"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg

31 (plate 28)

Dead Elk on Ur-Sled (Toter Elch auf Urschlitten), 1955
Pencil with touches of watercolor on paper, mounted on paper
17 3/8 x 19 5/8" (44 x 50 cm)
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 55 / Toter Elch auf Urschlitten"
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart

32 (plate 29)

Stag (Hirsch), 1955
Pencil on paper
8 5/8 x 11 5/8" (21.9 x 29.6 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Hirsch Beuys 1955"
Klüser Collection, Munich

- 33 (plate 30)
Striding Woman (Schreitende Frau), 1955–56
 Pencil on paper
 16 1/4 x 16 7/8" (41.3 x 43 cm), irregular
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds
- 34 (plate 52)
Warmth-Sculpture in the Mountains (Double) (Wärmeplastik im Gebirge [doppel]), 1956
 Double drawing: pen and ink on two sheets of paper, mounted on paper
 Each 8 1/4 x 11 1/8" (21 x 29.6 cm)
 Inscribed verso, each sheet: "Beuys 1956"
 Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof
- 35 (plate 43)
Untitled, 1956
 Watercolor on paper
 14 1/2 x 8 7/8" (36.8 x 22.4 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1956"
 Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main
- 36 (plate 44)
Red Stag (Roter Hirsch), 1956
 Watercolor on paper, mounted on cardboard
 Sheet 13 x 17 1/4" (33 x 45 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Roter Hirsch / Beuys 1956 Roter Hirsch"
 Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1956 / Roter Hirsch"
 Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
- 37 (plate 41)
Half-Length Nude (Halbakt), 1955–56
 Watercolor, *Beize*, and pencil on paper, pasted on paper, mounted on cardboard
 6 7/8 x 6" (17.4 x 15.3 cm), irregular; secondary support 8 1/4 x 11 1/4" (21 x 29.7 cm); mount 13 x 19 3/4" (33 x 50.1 cm)
 Inscribed on primary support, verso: "Beuys 1955–56 Halbakt"
 Inscribed on secondary support, verso: "Halbakt"
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 38 (plate 33)
From the Life of the Bees (Aus dem Leben der Bienen), 1956
Beize on torn paper
 18 7/8 x 25 1/8" (48 x 64.5 cm), irregular
 Inscribed recto, lower left: "Joseph Beuys / 1956"
 Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart
- 39 (plate 87)
Explosion (Entladung), 1956
Beize, sprayed metallic paints, and oil crayon on paper
 16 7/8 x 16 1/2" (43 x 42 cm)
 Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich, Stuttgart
- 40 (plate 37)
First Idea for Earth Piano (Erste Idee für Erdklavier), 1956
Beize and pencil on torn transparent paper, pasted on torn paper, mounted on cardboard
 16 3/4 x 12 1/4" (42.6 x 31.1 cm) irregular; mount 19 x 14 5/8" (48.4 x 37.2 cm)
 Inscribed on primary support, recto, lower right: "Beuys"
 Inscribed on secondary support: "Beuys 1956 Erste Idee für Erdklavier"; verso: "Beuys Entwurf für Plastik 1956"
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 41 (plate 34)
Alarm Installation (Alarmanlage), 1956
 Pencil and powdered pigment on paper
 10 7/8 x 14" (27.6 x 35.4 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1956 / Alarmanlage"
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett
- 42 (plate 35)
From the Intelligence of Swans (Aus: Intelligenz der Schwäne), 1956
 Pencil on paper
 17 1/2 x 20" (44.5 x 50.8 cm)
 Recto: various inscriptions [illegible], left edge [in artist's hand?]
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys Aus: Intelligenz der Schwäne 1956"
 Private Collection
- 43 (plate 36)
Gorges, 1956
 Pencil on transparent paper, mounted on cardboard
 9 3/4 x 13 3/4" (24.7 x 34.8 cm); mount 10 3/8 x 15 1/2" (26.2 x 39.4 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Des Gorges 1956"
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 44 (plate 49)
Two Reflections on the Water (Zwei Spiegelungen auf dem Wasser), 1957
 Double drawing: watercolor and crayon on two sheets of perforated paper, mounted on cardboard
 Each 8 5/8 x 13 1/8" (21.9 x 33.3 cm); mount 24 5/8 x 17 7/8" (62.6 x 45.3 cm)
 Inscribed on each sheet, verso: "Beuys"
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 45 (plate 53)
Female Astronaut (Astronautin), 1957
 Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper, one torn, pasted to a third torn sheet
 Left 11 3/4 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm); right 11 3/4 x 4 3/4" (29.7 x 12 cm), irregular; third 13 7/8 x 14 3/8" (35.4 x 36.5 cm), irregular; 14 x 18 1/8" (35.5 x 46 cm) overall
 Inscribed verso: "Astronautin Doppelblatt Beuys"
 Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main
- 46 (plate 57)
Untitled, 1957
 Pen and ink on graph paper, *Beize*, burns and transfer marks on cut and pasted papers, and insulation tape, on paper with traces of oil
 17 x 24" (43 x 61 cm)
 Inscribed recto, lower right: "Beuys 57"
 Kunstmuseum Bonn
- 47 (plate 67)
Untitled, 1957
 Pencil on paper, pasted on paper, mounted on construction paper
 6 7/8 x 10 5/8" (17.4 x 27 cm); secondary support 8 1/4 x 11 3/4" (20.9 x 29.7 cm); tertiary support 11 5/8 x 15 1/2" (29.5 x 39.3 cm)
 Inscribed on primary support, verso: "Beuys 1957" [twice]
 Inscribed on tertiary support, verso [in artist's hand?]: "Forster / Hilffert / Andorff / Dorsch / Dörr / Friedel / Windisch / Brauer"
 The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Walter Bareiss
- 48 (plate 48)
Granite (Granit), 1957
 Watercolor on paper, mounted on cardboard
 12 x 16 7/8" (30.6 x 43 cm), irregular; mount 17 7/8 x 24 5/8" (45.5 x 62.5 cm)
 Inscribed recto, lower center: "JB bei v.d. Grinten"
 Inscribed verso: "1957 Granit Beuys"
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 49 (plate 45)
Elk with Woman and Fauness (Elch mit Frau und Faunesse), 1957
 Double drawing: *Beize* and watercolor on transparent paper, folded at center
 19 1/2 x 29 1/8" (49.5 x 74 cm)
 Inscribed recto, lower left: "J. Beuys Elch + Fauness"
 Inscribed recto, lower right: "Fauness"
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds
- 50 (plate 40)
Death and the Maiden (Der Tod und das Mädchen), 1957
 Watercolor and ink on envelope with stamped lettering, mounted on paper
 6 7/8 x 9 7/8" (17.6 x 25.2 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1957 / : Der Tod u. das Mädchen"
 Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1957 / Der Tod und das Mädchen"
 Ludwig Rinn Collection
- 51 (plate 42)
Hogan in Spring (Hogan im Frühling), 1957
 Watercolor, body color, dirt, and metallic paint on paper
 9 5/8 x 12 7/8" (24.5 x 32.8 cm), irregular
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys Hogan im Frühling 1957"
 The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Barbara Pine and Purchase
- 52 (plate 46)
Mother with Child (Two Mothers with Child on Railway Track) (Mutter mit Kind [Zwei Mütter mit Kind auf Bahngleis]), 1957
 Crayon and wash on paper
 17 x 24 1/4" (43.2 x 61.5 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1957 Mutter mit Kind"
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koechlin-Fonds

53 (plate 64)
Woman (Frau), 1957
Beize on envelope, mounted on paper
6 1/8 x 4 1/4" (15.6 x 10.9 cm); mount 7 7/8 x 7 1/8"
(19.9 x 18 cm)
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1957 Frau"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koehlin-Fonds

54 (plate 47)
Elk with Sun (Elche mit Sonne), 1957
Pencil on paper
13 3/8 x 26" (34 x 66 cm), irregular
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart

55 (plate 54)
*Object 1, Object 2, Object 3 (Actress) (Objekt 1,
Objekt 2, Objekt 3 [Aktrice])*, 1957
Pencil on paper
9 1/4 x 7 3/8" (23.6 x 19.5 cm), irregular
Inscribed recto: "Objekt 1 / Objekt 2 / Objekt 3"
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1957 / Objekt 1 /
Objekt 2 / Objekt 3 / Aktrice / für Oswohl Winner
6.4.70 Joseph Beuys"
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

56 (plate 56)
*Representation with Critical (-) Objects (Darstel-
lung mit kritischen [-] Objekten)*, 1957
Pencil on double sheet of paper, perforated at left
margin and center, with printed numbers, mounted
on cardboard
8 1/8 x 10 5/8" (20.8 x 26.9 cm), irregular
Inscribed recto, lower left: "Beuys / Darstellung /
mit kritischen (-) / Objekten / 1957"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1957"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1957 / Darstel-
lung mit kritischen (-) Objekten"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

57 (plate 55)
Untitled, 1957
Pencil on paper, mounted on paper
7 7/8 x 6" (20.1 x 15.1 cm)
Inscribed verso: "J. Beuys"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys / 1957 / o.T."
Ludwig Rinn Collection

58 (plate 50)
Incubator (Solar) (Brutkasten [Solar]), 1957-58
Watercolor and pencil on paper
Inscribed recto, lower right: "Beuys 57/58"; upper
right, sideways: "Beuys"
9 x 12 1/4" (22.8 x 31.1 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
Stuttgart

59 (plate 61)
Freckled Frogs (Gefleckte Frösche), 1958
Double drawing: Beize and pencil on two sheets of
transparent paper, mounted on paper
Each 13 11/16 x 9 11/16" (34.8 x 24.6 cm)
Inscribed left sheet, recto, lower left: "Gefleckte /
Frösche"
Inscribed right sheet, recto, lower left: "1958
Joseph Beuys"
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

60 (plate 65)
Two Women (Zwei Frauen), 1958
Beize on transparent paper, mounted on paper
16 3/8 x 11 1/2" (41.6 x 29.2 cm);
mount 24 3/8 x 19 1/4" (62.4 x 48.9 cm)
Inscribed on mount, recto: "Beuys 58"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
der Grinten, Kranenburg

61 (plate 69)
Color Picture (Färbbild), 1958
Blood on linen, pasted on colored paper, mounted
on paper
9 3/8 x 8 1/2" (24.5 x 21.4 cm), irregular
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Museum für
Gegenwartskunst, Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung

62 (plate 58)
Untitled (Felt Elements) (Filzelemente), 1958
Oil and cut and pasted sandpaper on paper,
mounted on paper
7 1/2 x 19 7/8" (19 x 50.4 cm)
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Beuys 1958 / ohne
Titel filzelemente"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koehlin-Fonds

63 (plate 90)
Wooden Virgin (Holzjungfrau), 1958
Oil and ink stamp on paper
7 1/8 x 9 1/2" (18 x 24 cm)
Stamped: *Hauptstrom* [twice]
Private Collection, Switzerland

64 (plate 59)
Untitled (Salamander I), 1958
Hare's blood, Beize, watercolor, and pencil on
paper
11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1958"
Klüser Collection, Munich

65 (plate 63)
*Queenbee (For Bronze-Sculpture) (Bienen-
königin [für Bronzeplastik])*, 1958
Metallic paints and pencil on perforated paper,
mounted on paper
5 5/8 x 3 3/4" (14.4 x 9.6 cm); mount 11 5/8 x 8 1/4"
(29.5 x 21 cm)
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1958 Bienenkönigin /
(für Bronze)"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett

66 (plate 66)
*Animal Kingdom of the Mediterranean Sea, III,
Sponge, Mussel (Tierwelt des Mittelmeeres, III,
Schwamm Bohrmuschel)*, 1958-59
Watercolor, oil, transfer, and pencil on ruled
paper, mounted on construction paper
8 1/4 x 11 3/4" (21 x 29.7 cm), irregular;
mount 9 1/4 x 19 1/8" (23.5 x 48.5 cm)
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Beuys / Tierwelt des
Mittelmeeres / III - Schwamm Bohrmuschel"
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

67 (plate 51)
Untitled, 1958
Watercolor, pencil, string, and metallic particles on
cut and pasted paper, mounted on paper with
pencil
Sheet 12 1/4 x 13" (31.1 x 33 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower center: "Beuys"
Inscribed on mount, lower center: "Beuys 1958"
Private Collection, Basel

68 (plate 60)
Bat (Fledermaus), 1958
Beize on double sheet of perforated paper, with
printed numbers
8 1/4 x 10 3/8" (21 x 27 cm)
Inscribed recto: "Fledermaus"
Private Collection, New York

69 (plate 62)
*Two White Crosses on Red (Zwei weisse Kreuze
auf Rot)*, 1958
Watercolor on envelope, mounted on
cardboard
4 1/2 x 6 3/8" (11.5 x 16.2 cm); mount 6 3/8 x 7 5/8"
(16.7 x 19.4)
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1958 Zwei weisse
Kreuze auf Rot"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett

70 (plate 70)
Tents in the Himalayas (Zelte im Himalaya), 1959
Two pieces of felt and stained and painted gauze,
mounted on cardboard
9 3/8 x 15 3/8" (24.5 x 39 cm) overall
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Museum für
Gegenwartskunst, Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung

71 (plate 74)
Rubber Doll (Gummipuppe), 1959
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), lampblack, watercolor, and
pencil on newsprint paper, mounted on cardboard
22 x 16 3/8" (58.3 x 41.7 cm); mount 31 1/4 x 23 3/8"
(79.5 x 59.5 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1959 Gummipuppe"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
der Grinten, Kranenburg

72 (plate 25)
Skull Physiology (Schädelphysiologie), 1959
Pencil on ruled cardboard on colored cardboard,
mounted on cardboard
10 5/8 x 14 3/4" (27 x 37.5 cm);
first mount 13 3/8 x 18 7/8" (34 x 48 cm)
Inscribed verso: pencil drawing and text
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 59"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

73 (plate 80)
Norn Picture (Nornenbild), 1959
Pencil on paper
8 1/4 x 11 1/8" (20.8 x 29.6 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / Nornenbild 1959
/ Für Dieter Koepplin Basel / 12.11.1969"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett, Gift of Dieter Koepplin

74 (plate 108)
Sediment, 1959
Three-part drawing: oil, pen and ink, and pencil
on three sheets of paper, mounted on paper
Each 11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.6 x 21 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1959 SEDIMENT"
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

75 (plate 68)
Double Gouache (Doppelgouache), 1959–60
Double drawing: body color, watercolor, and pencil on paper, with cut and pasted packing paper, mounted on packing paper; watercolor and pencil on paper, mounted on paper
Upper 15 3/4 x 19 1/8" (40 x 48.5 cm),
mount 20 1/8 x 28 3/8" (51 x 72 cm);
lower 14 3/8 x 19 1/8" (36.5 x 48.5 cm),
mount 19 1/2 x 28" (49.5 x 71 cm);
cardboard mount 39 5/8 x 28" (100.5 x 71 cm)
Inscribed upper sheet, verso: "Beuys"
Inscribed lower sheet, verso [partly illegible]:
". . . model / Maßstab 1–50 / 20. Juni / Beuys
59–60"
Inscribed on cardboard mount: "Beuys 59/60
W/61 H'G"
Museum Ludwig, Cologne

76 (plate 71)
Drain (Abfluss), 1960
Perforated cardboard pasted to cardboard with oil
(*Braunkreuz*)
Mount 13 1/4 x 11 1/4" (33.5 x 28.5 cm)
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Museum für
Gegenwartskunst, Emanuel Hoffmann-Stiftung

77 (plate 72)
Oleander, 1960
Double drawing: dried leaves and cardboard with
pencil pasted to two sheets of paper, with metallic
paint
Left 12 3/8 x 6" (32 x 15 cm); right 12 3/8 x 6"
(32 x 15.3 cm)
Inscribed left sheet, verso: "Joseph Beuys 1960
Doppelblatt links"
Inscribed right sheet, verso: "Joseph Beuys
Doppel"
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian

78 (plate 73)
Stag's Foot—Cross 2X (Hirschfusskreuz 2X), 1960
Double drawing: oil (*Braunkreuz*) and blood on
two sheets of paper
Two sheets 15 3/4 x 20" (40 x 51 cm) overall;
mount 25 1/2 x 39 1/4" (64.8 x 99.7 cm)
Inscribed on mount, verso: "Beuys 1960 / Hirsch-
fusskreuz 2X"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett

79 (plate 76)
Mystery of a Love, 1960
Double drawing: oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of
paper, one with gamechip, one with pencil on cut
and pasted paper, mounted on paper
Upper 11 3/8 x 7 1/4" (29 x 18.3 cm);
lower 11 3/4 x 15 3/4" (29.8 x 40 cm);
Inscribed upper sheet, recto: "Beuys / 1960
Mysterium einer Liebe / Doppelblatt"
Inscribed lower sheet, recto: "Beuys 1960
Mysterium einer Liebe Doppelblatt Ölfarbe"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

80 (plate 79)
Dynamis 3, Dynamis, 1960
Double drawing: enamel, glue, pen and ink, and
pencil on two sheets of paper, one ruled, mounted
on construction paper
Upper 8 1/4 x 11 3/8" (21 x 29.6 cm);
lower 8 3/8 x 11 3/4" (21.1 x 29.7 cm); mount 19 7/8
x 13 7/8" (50.2 x 35.3 cm)
Inscribed on mount: "Dynamis 3 / Beuys 1960 /
Dynamis"
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Purchase

81 (plate 77)
Untitled (Sphere, Corners) (Kugel, Ecken), c. 1960
Oil and pencil on paper, mounted on paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.6 x 21.2 cm); mount 22 1/4 x 17 1/8"
(56.5 x 43.5 cm)
Inscribed on mount: "Beuys"
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
kabinett

82 (plate 78)
*The Two Principal Earth Forces (Die zwei
Haupterdkräfte)*, 1960
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and pen and ink on cut and
pasted papers, mounted on paper
15 5/8 x 8 3/8" (39.7 x 21.2 cm); mount 31 1/8 x 18 1/2"
(79 x 47 cm)
Inscribed verso [over text of a letter, not in artist's
hand]: "Beuys 1960 Die zwei Haupterdkräfte"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
der Grinten, Kranenburg

83 (plate 75)
The Horns II (Die Hörner II), 1960
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and watercolor on paper,
mounted on cardboard
14 x 22 1/2" (35.5 x 57.2 cm), irregular; mount
23 1/8 x 27 3/4" (58.6 x 70.4 cm)
Inscribed on mount, lower center: "Joseph Beuys
Die Hörner II 1960"; upper center: "oben"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
der Grinten, Kranenburg

84 (plate 82)
Ulysses (Books 1–6), 1959–61
Bound sketchbooks
Pencil, pen, and crayon on paper
Each page 8 1/4 x 5 3/4" (21 x 14.8 cm); each book
8 3/8 x 5 7/8" (22 x 15 cm)
Book 1: 124 pages, 54 drawn
Book 2: 132 pages, 69 drawn
Book 3: 116 pages, 43 drawn
Book 4: 130 pages, 63 drawn
Book 5: 120 pages, 50 drawn
Book 6: 120 pages, 67 drawn
Marx Collection, Berlin

85 (plate 98)
*Listening Man from Behind (Hörender Mann von
hinten)*, 1961
Cut, torn, and pasted colored papers
14 7/8 x 11" (37.8 x 27.8 cm), irregular
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1961 Hörender
Mann von hinten"
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian

86 (plate 85)
Untitled (Horns) (Hörner), 1961
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper,
with touches of watercolor on upper sheet,
mounted on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 11 3/4" (21 x 29.8 cm)
Inscribed upper sheet, recto, lower left:
"Beuys 61"
Inscribed lower sheet, recto, lower center:
"Beuys 61"
A. and C. von Ribbentrop, A.C.R. Galerie, Eltville

87 (plate 88)
Stag hunt (Hirschjagd), 1961
Oil and pen and ink on paper, pasted on paper,
with sprayed metallic paints, mounted on
cardboard
Sheet 16 1/2 x 23 1/8" (41.8 x 58.6 cm);
mount 19 3/4 x 27 1/2" (50 x 70 cm)
Inscribed on mount, lower center: "Joseph Beuys
61: Hirschjagd"; inscribed on mount, underneath
drawing: "Beuys 1961 / Jagd auf den
Riesenhirsch"; inscribed on mount, verso: "Beuys
1961 / Jagd auf den Riesenhirsch"
Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

88 (plate 92)
Untitled (Nudes) (Akte), 1961
Pencil, fat, *Beize*, oils (including *Braunkreuz*) on
graph paper, mounted on paper
16 1/2 x 11 5/8" (42 x 29.5 cm);
mount 24 1/2 x 17 1/4" (62.3 x 43.8 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower center: "Beuys"
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1961"
Kunstmuseum Bonn

89 (plate 89)
Academic Demonstration (Dem. Akad.), 1961
Oil on perforated paper
15 7/8 x 11 5/8" (40.3 x 29.6 cm), irregular
Private Collection, Switzerland

90 (plate 91)
Hornet's Hogan, 1961
Oil and cocoa powder on paper
24 7/8 x 35" (63.2 x 89 cm)
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian
(not in exhibition)

91 (plate 94)
Eurasia, 1961
Pencil and oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper, mounted on
board
15 3/4 x 31 1/2" (40 x 80 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower left: "Beuys 1961"
Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

92 (plate 83)
*Mass Resulting from an Explosion (Aus einer
Entladung resultierende Masse)*, 1961
Oil and pencil on paper, mounted on cardboard
8 7/8 x 13 1/8" (22.4 x 33.3 cm) irregular;
mount 16 3/4 x 21 1/2" (42.6 x 54.4 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1961 Aus einer Entladung
resultierende Masse. Bleistift und Ölfarbe"
Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
der Grinten, Kranenburg

93 (plate 81)
*Braunkreuz / with Transmission (Braunkreuz / mit
Transmission)*, 1961
Oils (including *Braunkreuz*) and pencil on paper
11 5/8 x 11 3/4" (29.4 x 29.7 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / 1961 /
Braunkreuz / mit Transmission"; "Bleistift, braune
u. graue Ölfarbe"
Klüser Collection, Munich

94 (plate 96)
*Scene from the Stag hunt (Scene aus der Hirsch-
jagd)*, 1961
Oils (including *Braunkreuz*), ballpoint pen, pen
and ink, pencil, and typewritten text on paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1961"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

- 95 (plate 84)
Untitled, 1961
 Five drawings: pencil on paper
 Each 8 1/4 x 5 3/4" (21 x 14.6 cm)
 Each inscribed recto, lower center or lower right:
 "Beuys"
 Collection of Molly and Walter Bareiss, Greenwich
- 96 (plate 86)
Currents (Strömungen), 1961
 Pencil on transparent paper
 29 x 13" (73.6 x 33 cm)
 Inscribed recto, lower right: "Beuys 61"
 Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart
- 97 (plate 110)
List with Wolf (Liste mit Wolf), 1962
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*), watercolor, pen and ink, and
 pencil on paper
 8 1/4 x 11 3/4" (20.9 x 29.8 cm)
 Inscribed verso: (signed)
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
 der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 98 (plate 106)
Wooden Sculpture (Holzplastik), 1962
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and pencil on creased paper
 11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.6 x 21 cm)
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
 der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 99 (plate 95)
Untitled (Braunkreuz), 1962
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on cut, folded, and pasted paper,
 mounted on paper
 25 3/4 x 19 3/4" (65.5 x 50 cm), irregular
 Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 62"
 Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Josef Froehlich,
 Stuttgart
- 100 (plate 109)
*QGG Land Procedures Crossed Four Times
 (QGG Landeverfahren, vierfach gekreuzt)*,
 1941/63
 Pencil, pen and colored inks, and oil (*Braunkreuz*)
 on paper
 8 1/4 x 11 1/2" (21 x 29.7 cm)
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
 der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 101 (plate 99)
Untitled, 1963
 Cut, folded, and pasted papers and cardboard on
 chemically treated paper
 23 3/8 x 17 1/8" (60.1 x 43.5 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1963"
 Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian
- 102 (plate 100)
Felt Angle and Nude (Filzwinkel und Akt), 1963
 Oil, body color, and hare's blood on cut and pasted
 exposed photographic film and paper, mounted on
 paper
 24 x 27 1/2" (61.2 x 69.8 cm) overall, irregular
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1963 Akt Filzwinkel und
 Akt mit"
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
 kabinet, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koehlin-Fonds
- 103 (plate 103)
For Felt Corners (für Filzecken), 1963
 Oil and dirt transfer on facing inside covers of a
 sketchbook, mounted on cardboard
 8 1/8 x 11 3/8" (20.7 x 29.4 cm);
 mount 19 7/8 x 14 1/2" (50.6 x 36.7 cm)
 Inscribed recto, lower left: "Joseph Beuys / 1963"
 Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1963 für
 Filzecken"
 Ludwig Rinn Collection
- 104 (plate 101)
Felt-Action (Filz-Aktion), 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and cut and pasted felt and paper
 on paper, mounted on paper
 Primary and secondary support 25 3/8 x 17 1/8"
 (65 x 43.5 cm)
 Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys Filz-Aktion /
 (Staub-bild)"
 Private Collection, Switzerland
- 105 (plate 93)
Shamaness (Schamanin), 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper, mounted on cardboard
 with traces of glue
 16 7/8 x 12" (43 x 30.4 cm); mount 25 1/2 x 19 1/2"
 (64.8 x 49.7 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys o.T. 1963"
 Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1963 /
 Schamanin"
 Ludwig Rinn Collection
- 106 (plate 112)
Untitled (Braunkreuz), 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on newspaper
 11 1/2 x 8" (29.3 x 20.4 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys Braunkreuz 1963"
 Collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow
- 107 (plate 113)
Untitled (Braunkreuz), 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on newspaper
 10 3/4 x 7 7/8" (27.2 x 20 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1963"
 Collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow
- 108 (plate 104)
Untitled (With Walking Stick) (mit Spazierstock),
 1963
 Oil and pen and ink on creased paper, mounted on
 paper
 8 1/4 x 11 3/8" (21 x 29.7 cm)
 Inscribed on mount: "Beuys 1963 ohne Titel"
 Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-
 kabinet, Gift of K. A. Burckhardt-Koehlin-Fonds
- 109 (plate 105)
*Dead Rat, Felt Ridge, Two Black Felt Crosses,
 Felt Angle (Tote Ratte, Filzgrat, zwei schwarze
 Filzkreuze, Filzwinkel)*, 1963
 Oil and pencil on paper, mounted on cardboard
 5 7/8 x 8 1/4" (14.9 x 21 cm); mount 28 3/4 x 22"
 (73 x 56 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1963 / tote
 Ratte / Filzgrat / zwei schwarze Filzkreuze /
 Filzwinkel"
 Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys
 1963 / tote Ratte, Filzgrat, zwei schwarze
 Filzkreuze, Filzwinkel"
 Ludwig Rinn Collection
- 110 (plate 111)
*Washed-Out List, Double Crossed (Aus-
 gewaschene Liste, doppelt gekreuzt)*, 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*), pen and ink, and wash on paper,
 mounted on cardboard
 8 1/4 x 11 1/2" (21.1 x 29.6 cm);
 mount 19 3/4 x 25 3/8" (50.1 x 65.1 cm)
 Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland, Collection van
 der Grinten, Kranenburg
- 111 (plate 97)
Play 17 (Stück 17), 1963
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and typewritten text on paper
 11 x 8 1/2" (28 x 21.6 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "1963"
 Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
- 112 (plate 118)
Ground (Erdung), 1964
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on heavy cardboard with copper
 thread
 14 x 27 3/8" (35.7 x 70.1 cm)
 Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian
- 113 (plate 116)
For Brown Environment (Für Braun Raum), 1964
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of heavy card-
 board, mounted on paper
 Left 31 1/2 x 19 1/2" (80 x 49.5 cm); right 31 1/2
 x 15 3/8" (80 x 39 cm)
 Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
- 114 (plate 117)
For Brown Environment (Für Braun Raum), 1964
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on two sheets of heavy card-
 board, mounted on paper
 Left 23 1/8 x 11 1/4" (58.7 x 28.6 cm); right 31 1/2
 x 19 1/4" (80 x 48.9 cm)
 Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London
- 115 (plate 107)
Demonstration - Felt (Demonstration - Filz),
 1964
 Oil and pencil on double sheet
 7 7/8 x 11 1/2" (20 x 29 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / Demonstration
 Filz 64"
 Deutsche Bank AG, Frankfurt/Main
- 116 (plate 115)
Atomic Power-Station (Atomkraftwerk), 1960-64
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and silver-nitrate on perforated
 paper and newspaper
 22 7/8 x 19 7/8" (58 x 50.5 cm)
 Inscribed on newspaper, recto, lower right: "Beuys
 1960-64"
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-
 Westfalen, Düsseldorf
- 117 (plate 119)
*Action in the Magnetic Space (Aktion im magneti-
 schen Raum)*, 1964
 Ballpoint pen, pencil, and magnetic metal plates on
 photo-cardboard, cut out in center, mounted on
 cardboard
 13 3/4 x 9 3/8" (34.9 x 23.9 cm); mount 28 3/4 x 22"
 (73 x 56 cm)

Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1964 / Aktion im magnetischen Raum"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys Aktion im magnetischen Raum / 1964"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

118 (plate 120)
Action Plan (Aktionsplan), 1964
Double drawing: pencil and ink stamp on two sheets of linen paper, mounted on paper
Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.7 x 21 cm)
Stamped on each sheet: "Hauptstrom"
Private Collection, Switzerland

119 (plate 102)
Untitled (Man with Felt Sculptures), c. 1965
Pencil and tracing pencil on paper, bound into *von Tod zu Tod*, by Richard Schaukal (Munich, 1965), example 10
7 3/8 x 5 1/4" (18.7 x 13.2 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower right: "Beuys"
Klüser Collection, Munich

120 (plate 121)
Score for "24 Hours . . ." (Partitur zu "24 Stunden . . ."), 1965-67
Pen and ink and ink stamp on paper
10 7/8 x 8 1/4" (27.5 x 20.7 cm), irregular
Stamped: "Hauptstrom"
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / zu '24 Stunden' / Stempel 67"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

121 (plate 122)
Score for "24 Hours . . ." (Partitur zu "24 Stunden . . ."), 1965-67
Pen and ink and clear plastic pill on paper, mounted on cardboard
11 3/8 x 8 1/8" (29.4 x 20.5 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / zu '24 Stunden'"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

122 (plate 123)
Score for "24 Hours . . ." (Partitur zu "24 Stunden . . ."), 1965-67
Pencil, pen and ink, typewritten text, and ink stamp on paper, mounted on cardboard
10 1/2 x 8 1/4" (26.5 x 20.8 cm)
Stamped twice: "Hauptstrom"
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / '24 Stunden' / 1965 / Stempel 67"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

123 (plate 124)
Score for "24 Hours . . ." (Partitur zu "24 Stunden . . ."), 1965-67
Pen and ink, ink stamp, and fat stain on paper, mounted on cardboard
11 3/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.7 cm)
Stamped: "Hauptstrom"
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / zu '24 Stunden' (mit Fett) / 1965 / Stempel 1967"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

124 (plate 125)
Score for "Manresa" (Partitur für "Manresa"), 1966
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), plaster or soap, cocoa powder, fat stain, and pen and ink on paper, mounted on paper
8 x 8" (20.3 x 20.3 cm); mount 29 1/4 x 20 3/4" (74.3 x 52.7 cm), irregular
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys Partitur für MANRESA 1966"
Private Collection, New York

125 (plate 126)
To: "Manresa" (Zu: "Manresa"), 1966
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), pencil, and pen and ink on paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland

126 (plate 127)
To: "Manresa" (Zu: "Manresa"), 1966
Oil (*Braunkreuz*), pencil, and pen and ink on paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland

127 (plate 128)
Fluxus-Demonstration: "Manresa," 1966
Oil, pencil, and pen and ink on cardboard with printed numbers, mounted on cardboard
8 1/4 x 7 3/8" (20.8 x 19.5 cm), irregular
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / FLUXUS-Demonstr.: MANRESA"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1966 / FLUXUS-Demonstration: MANRESA"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

128 (plate 129)
Score for "Manresa" (Partitur für "Manresa"), 1966
Pencil on torn and pasted paper, and pencil on double sheet
8 1/4 x 11 3/8" (20.8 x 29.6 cm)
Inscribed verso: "J Beuys PARTITUR FÜR MANRESA 1966"
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London

129 (plate 130)
Study for Felt Cross (Entwurf für Filzkreuz), 1966
Tape, ballpoint pen, pencil, and cardboard on paper
20 7/8 x 31 1/8" (53 x 79 cm)
Inscribed recto, lower right: "Beuys 66"; upper right (inverted): "Beuys 66"
Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich

130 (plate 131)
. . . with Braunkreuz (. . . mit Braunkreuz) (Berlin, 1966), including *The Swan*, 1961
Linen box with two printed texts on paper, felt piece with oil, and drawing: pencil and oil (*Braunkreuz*) on paper
Box: 18 1/2 x 15 3/8 x 1 1/8" (47 x 39 x 3 cm)
Felt: 19 x 17 7/8" (23 x 45.5 cm)
Sheet: 4 1/8 x 5 7/8" (10.5 x 14.8 cm)
Dr. Reiner Speck, Cologne

131 (plate 132)
Fontana Cinnabar (Fontana Zinnober), 1966
Three-part drawing: pencil on three sheets of colored, hand-perforated paper
Each 5 3/4 x 4 1/8" (14.8 x 10.5 cm); 5 3/4 x 12 1/2" (14.8 x 31.9 cm) overall
Inscribed recto: "Fontana Zinnober / Joseph Beuys / 66"
Klüser Collection, Munich

132 (plate 133)
Cascade, 1966
Oil stamp on printed paper, mounted on cardboard
7 7/8 x 6 1/4" (20 x 16 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph / Beuys / 1966"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1966 / Cascade"
Stamped: "Beuys / +"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

133 (plate 134)
Gray Object (Grauobjekt), 1966
Cut and pasted cardboard on two sheets of printed cardboard, mounted on cardboard
7 3/8 x 10" (18.6 x 25.4 cm)
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1966 / Grauobjekt"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

134 (plate 138)
Notes for an Action (Notizen für Aktion), 1967
Pencil and oil on paper
11 3/4 x 8 1/4" (29.8 x 21 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1967 Notizen für Aktion"
Private Collection, Switzerland

135 (plate 135)
Eurasian Staff Against a Clandestine American Alliance for Aims of Political Power (Eurasienstab gegen die amerikanischen Geheimbünde zum Zwecke politischer Macht), 1967
Pencil, oil, and fat stain on graph paper
8 1/4 x 11 1/2" (20.8 x 29.3 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland

136 (plate 137)
From: "Mainstream" (Aus: "Hauptstrom"), 1967
Double drawing: pencil and fat stain on two double sheets of graph paper, mounted on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 11 3/8" (20.9 x 29.5 cm); mount 26 1/4 x 19 1/2" (66.8 x 49.6 cm)
Inscribed lower sheet, verso: "Joseph Beuys / aus: >>→Hauptstrom>>"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1967 / aus: >>→Hauptstrom>>"
Ludwig Rinn Collection

137 (plate 136)
To: "Mainstream" (Zu: "Hauptstrom"), 1967
Double drawing: pencil and fat stain on two double sheets of graph paper, mounted on paper
Each 8 1/4 x 11 3/8" (21 x 29.5 cm); mount 20 x 14 3/8" (50.6 x 36.5 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland

138 (plate 114)
Untitled (Braunkreuz), 1967
Oil (*Braunkreuz*) on newspaper
11 3/8 x 16" (29 x 40.7 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys Braunkreuz 1967"
Collection of Susan and Lewis Manilow

- 139 (plate 139)
Infiltration Fat Oil Filter---yes (Infiltration Fett Öl Filter---ja), 1968
 Double drawing: printer's ink on two printer's stencils mounted on cardboard with ink and fat stains, and torn and pasted paper
 24 1/2 x 18 1/2" (62.1 x 47 cm)
 Inscribed recto: "Infiltration / Fett . . . ja / Öl . . . ja / Filter . . . ja"
 Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian
- 140 (plate 140)
To Plastic and Elastic Foot (Zu Plastischer und elastischer Fuss), 1969
 Pencil, colored pencil, and ink stamp on paper
 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.5 cm)
 Stamped: "Hauptstrom"
 Private Collection, Switzerland
- 141 (plate 141)
Diagram (Diagramm), 1970
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper
 11 5/8 x 16 1/8" (29.5 x 41 cm)
 Stamped: "Hauptstrom"
 Private Collection, Switzerland
- 142 (plate 142)
Seeing—Hearing (Sehen—Hören), 1971
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper, mounted on cardboard
 11 5/8 x 8 5/8" (29.5 x 22 cm)
 Stamped: "Hauptstrom"; "ORGANISATION DER NICHTWÄLER / FREIE VOLKSABSTIMMUNG ! / Informationsstelle Andreastrasse 25 Düsseldorf"
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1971"
 Lothar Schirmer Collection, Munich
- 143 (plate 143)
Untitled, 1971
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper
 8 1/4 x 11 5/8" (21 x 29.5 cm)
 Stamped: "Hauptstrom"
 Inscribed verso: "Beuys 1971 / o.T."
 Private Collection, Switzerland
- 144 (plate 153)
Untitled (Score: Aesthetics = Man) (Partitur: Ästhetik = Mensch), 1971
 Pencil and ink stamp on paper
 11 x 8 1/4" (28 x 21 cm)
 Stamped: "Hauptstrom"
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys Napoli 1971"
 Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich
- 145 (plate 144)
Score (Partitur), 1971
 Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper, mounted on paper
 Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
 Inscribed left sheet, verso: "links / 2 Blätter / Partitur / Joseph Beuys"
 Inscribed right sheet, verso: "2 Blätter / Partitur / Joseph Beuys / rechts"
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
- 146 (plate 146)
Rock Crystal (Dwarf Monument) (Zwergendenkmal), 1971
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys / rock—crystal / (Zwergendenkmal) 1971"
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
- 147 (plate 147)
Mechanical Machine and Felt-Machine with Sheep's Head (Mechanische Maschine und Filzmaschine mit Schafskopf), 1971
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.8 x 21 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Mechanische Maschine und Filzmaschine mit Schafskopf / Joseph Beuys"
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
- 148 (plate 145)
For Felt-Demonstration (für Filzdemonstration), 1971
 Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper
 Each 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
 Each inscribed verso: "2 Blätter / für Filz-demonstration / Joseph Beuys"
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
- 149 (plate 148)
Bird-Creature (Vogel-Wesen), 1971
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.8 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "Vogel-Wesen / Vogelwesen / Joseph Beuys 1971"
 Ulbricht Collection, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
- 150 (plate 149)
Il Cavalliere, 1971
 Pencil on paper with typewritten text
 10 3/8 x 8 1/4" (26.5 x 21 cm)
 Inscribed recto: "IL CAVALLIERE"
 Inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1971"
 Private Collection
- 151 (plate 159)
Runrig, 1962/72
 Three-part drawing: oil (*Braunkreuz*) and cut and pasted colored papers on three sheets of torn, colored paper with printing
 Upper 7 3/4 x 6 3/8" (19.7 x 16.3 cm), irregular;
 center 7 3/4 x 7" (19.7 x 17.6 cm), irregular;
 lower 7 3/4 x 7 7/8" (19.7 x 19.9 cm), irregular
 Inscribed upper sheet, verso: "oberes Blatt Doppelbl. Joseph Beuys 1972 o.T."
 Inscribed center sheet, verso: "Joseph Beuys o.T. 1972"
 Inscribed lower sheet, recto: "Joseph Beuys 1962"
 Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian
- 152 (plate 151)
Untitled, 1972
 Series of seven drawings: pencil and ink stamp on paper
 Each 22 5/8 x 17 1/8" (57.5 x 43.5 cm)
 Each drawing stamped: "Hauptstrom"
 Sheets 1, 2, 3: inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys /
- 1972 / Neapel" [sheet 1 with "Hauptstrom" stamp on verso]
 Sheets 4, 5, 6, 7: inscribed verso: "Beuys / Neapel / 1972"
 Private Collection, Basel
- 153 (plate 150)
Experience: From the Mountains (Erfahrung: aus dem Gebirge), 1972
 Three-part drawing: pencil on three sheets of paper
 9 5/8 x 13 5/8" (24.5 x 34.6 cm); 9 5/8 x 6 3/4" (24.5 x 17.3 cm); 9 5/8 x 6 3/4" (24.5 x 17.3 cm)
 Inscribed upper sheet, verso: "Joseph Beuys Erfahrung: Aus dem Gebirge 1972"
 Inscribed lower right sheet, verso: "Beuys 1972 Erfahrung aus dem Gebirge"
 Inscribed lower left sheet, verso: "Joseph Beuys 1972 Erfahrung: Aus dem Gebirge"
 Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian
- 154 (plate 152)
Untitled (Dokumenta Blackboard), 1972
 Chalk on composition board
 78 1/8 x 59" (198.5 x 150 cm)
 Collection of Udo and Anette Brandhorst, Cologne
- 155 (plate 154)
Untitled (Evolution), 1974
 Pencil on paper
 11 5/8 x 16 1/2" (29.7 x 42 cm)
 Inscribed verso: "für Volker Harlan / von Joseph Beuys / 1.7.1974"
 Volker Harlan Collection, Bochum
- 156 (plate 157)
To: Capital (zu: Das Kapital), 1974
 Three-part drawing: pencil and ink stamp on three sheets of perforated paper, mounted on cardboard
 8 1/2 x 16 3/8" (21.6 x 41.7 cm) overall
 Inscribed left sheet, verso: "links / Joseph Beuys 1974"
 Inscribed center sheet, verso: "Mitte / Joseph Beuys 1974"
 Inscribed right sheet, verso: "rechts / Joseph Beuys 1974"
 Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys / zu: DAS KAPITAL / 1974"
 Each stamped: "Hauptstrom"
 Ludwig Rinn Collection
- 157 (plate 158)
Coyote, 1974
 Oil (*Braunkreuz*) and pencil on newsprint, with chocolate
 22 1/2 x 28 3/4" (57.2 x 73 cm)
 Inscribed recto, upper left: "COYOTE"; upper center: [indecipherable]; lower center: "I am many / I am many many / Joseph Beuys N.Y. New York 1974"
 Mrs. Andrew Fuller Collection

158 (plate 155)
Untitled (Sun State), 1974
Chalk on slate, wood frame
47 1/2 x 72" (120.7 x 183 cm)
Inscribed in chalk, verso: "Joseph Beuys / Chikago
[sic] 1974"
The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of
Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and acquired through
the Lilly P. Bliss Bequest (by exchange)

159 (plate 156)
Directional Forces (Richtkräfte), 1974-77
Installation of one hundred panels, three on easels:
chalk on composition board, and electric light,
installed on wood platform
30 1/2 x 17 3/4" (9.3 x 5.4 m)
Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

160 (plate 161)
Democracy Sings (Demokratie singen), 1963-75
Block of twenty-five drawings, each mounted on
cardboard
Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo, Nether-
lands (former Visser Collection)

Untitled, 1963, paper with torn hole, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4"
(29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Inscribed lower left: "Joseph Beuys 1963"

"*Mainstream*" ("*Hauptstrom*"), 1966, typewritten
text and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x
20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

*Felt Corners (Eurasian Staff) (Filzecken [Eurasien-
stab])*, 1966, typewritten text and ink stamp on
paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

Felt Pile (Filzstapel), 1966, typewritten text and
ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/8" (29.4 x 20.7 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

Action Sculpture (Aktionsplastik), 1966, typewrit-
ten text and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/8"
(29.4 x 20.7 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

Eurasian Staff (Eurasianstab), 1966, typewritten
text and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/8"
(29.4 x 20.7 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

"*Manresa*," 1966, typewritten text and ink stamp
on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys"

*Fluxus—Table (1963-64) (Fluxus—Tisch [1963-
64])*, 1966, typewritten text and ink stamp on
paper, 11 1/2 x 8 1/4" (29.3 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

*Image—Head, Mover—Head (Bildkopf—
Bewegkopf)*, 1966, typewritten text and ink stamp
on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

*Assembly Hall, Düsseldorf Art Academy (Aula,
Kunstakademie Düsseldorf)*, 1966, typewritten
text and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/8" (29.4
x 20.7 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

*Scene from the Stag Hunt (Szene aus der Hirsch-
jagd)*, 1966, typewritten text and ink stamp on
paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

In Manresa (Schmela), 1966, typewritten text and
ink stamps on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/8" (29.4 x 20.7 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*" and cross
Inscribed verso: "zu Manresa Galerie Schmela";
inscribed on mount: "Joseph Beuys 1966"

In Manresa (Schmela), 1966, typewritten text and
ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966 zu Manresa (Schmela)"

Gold-bearing Lead (Goldhaltiges Blei), 1966,
pencil and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4"
(29.6 x 21 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

*Fat Corner, The Silence of Marcel Duchamp Is
Overrated (Fettecke, Das Schweigen von Marcel
Duchamp wird überwertet)*, 1966, typewritten
text and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4
x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

Light (Licht), 1966, pencil and ink stamp on
paper, 11 1/2 x 8 1/8" (29.3 x 20.6 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

In Celtic (Edinburgh + Basel), 1967, pencil and
ink stamp on graph paper, 11 5/8 x 7 7/8"
(29.4 x 19.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"in Celtic: Edinburgh + Basel 1967"

In Celtic (Edinburgh + Basel), 1967, pencil and
ink stamp on graph paper, 11 5/8 x 7 7/8"
(29.4 x 19.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount: "in
Celtic: Edinburgh + Basel 1967"

55, 1967, pencil and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8
x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1967"

Swan—Skater (Schwan—Schlittschuhläufer),
1967, pencil and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4"
(29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1967"

*113 from Homogen for Concert Piano (113 uit:
homogeen voor concertvleugel)*, 1966, typewritten
text and aluminum paint on card-
board, mounted on paper, 3/8 x 4 3/4" (1 x 12 cm)
Inscribed verso: "Beuys, Eindhoven 1968"

*Art Concept—Knowledge Concept (Kunst-
begriff—Wissenschaftsbegriff)*, 1968, ink and ink
stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1966"

Democracy Sings! (Demokratie singen!), 1975,
pencil, ink, and ink stamp on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4"
(29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"

*You Cannot Just Scratch Me into the Earth (Ihr
könnt mich nicht einfach unter die Erde kratzen)*,
1969, pencil and ink stamp, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4"
(29.4 x 20.9 cm)
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1969"

Grand Hotel't Silveren Seepaerd, 1968, printed
paper on paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.4 x 20.9 cm)
overall
Stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Inscribed verso: "Beuys"; inscribed on mount:
"Joseph Beuys 1968"

161 (plate 163)
Untitled (Datebook, March–December 1974),
1975
Block of thirty-five sheets: ink, pencil, and ink
stamp on datebook pages, mounted on cardboard
29 x 48 3/4" (73.7 x 123.8 cm) overall
Each sheet stamped: "*Hauptstrom*"
Private Collection, Switzerland

162 (plate 160)
Untitled, 1964-76
Three-part drawing: oil (including *Braunkreuz*) on
three sheets of torn paper
11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 21); 11 5/8 x 8 3/16"
(29.5 x 20.8 cm); 11 5/8 x 8 1/4" (29.5 x 20.9 cm)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

163 (plate 162)
Untitled (For "Museum In Motion"), 1976
Series of four drawings: pencil on cardboard
Drawing 1: $9 \frac{1}{2} \times 13 \frac{3}{4}$ " (24 x 35 cm); inscribed verso: "Beuys"
Drawing 2: $9 \frac{1}{2} \times 13 \frac{3}{4}$ " (24 x 35 cm); inscribed verso: "Beuys"
Drawing 3: $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 11 \frac{3}{8}$ " (21 x 29.4 cm)
Drawing 4: $9 \frac{1}{2} \times 13 \frac{3}{4}$ " (24 x 35 cm); inscribed verso: "Beuys"
Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo, Netherlands (former Visser Collection)

164 (plate 164)
Scores for a Widened Concept of Art (Partituren zum erweiterten Kunstbegriff), 1958-78
Block of twelve sheets in one frame
Sheet 1: pencil on paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{3}{4}$ " (20.8 x 14.7 cm); inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 72"
Sheet 2: pencil and ink stamps on graph paper; $8 \frac{3}{8} \times 9$ " (21.2 x 23 cm); stamped: "Hauptstrom"
Sheet 3: pen and ink, fat stains on paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{7}{8}$ " (20.8 x 14.8 cm); stamped: "Hauptstrom"; inscribed verso: "Beuys 1958"
Sheet 4: pen and ink with fat stains on paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{7}{8}$ " (20.9 x 15 cm); inscribed verso: "Beuys 1966"
Sheet 5: ink stamp on printed label on construction paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{7}{8}$ " (20.9 x 15 cm), irregular; stamped: "Deutsche Studentenpartie"; inscribed recto: "Joseph Beuys"; inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1967"
Sheet 6: pencil, ink stamp on ruled and printed paper; $8 \frac{1}{8} \times 5 \frac{7}{8}$ " (20.7 x 14.8 cm), irregular; stamped: "Hauptstrom"
Sheet 7: double drawing: pencil, ink stamp on paper; $7 \times 9 \frac{3}{4}$ " (17.8 x 24.6 cm); stamped: "Hauptstrom"; inscribed verso: "Joseph Beuys 1978"
Sheet 8: pencil, ink stamp on paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{7}{8}$ " (21 x 14.8 cm); stamped: "Hauptstrom"
Sheet 9: pencil, ink stamp on paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{1}{2}$ " (21.1 x 13.8 cm); stamped: "Hauptstrom"; inscribed verso: "Beuys 1976"
Sheet 10: pencil, ink stamp on paper; $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{7}{8}$ " (21 x 14.8 cm); stamped: "Hauptstrom" and cross; inscribed verso: "Beuys 1978"
Collection of Céline and Heiner Bastian

165 (plate 165)
Action Third Way (Aktion Dritter Weg), 1978
Three panels, one with a walking stick: chalk on composition board, wood frame
Each $52 \frac{3}{8} \times 52 \frac{3}{8}$ " (133 x 133 cm)
Helge Achenbach Collection, Düsseldorf

166 (plate 166)
Words Which Can Hear, 1979
Block of ninety-two sheets in twelve frames, pencil on paper
Each $7 \frac{5}{8} \times 4 \frac{3}{8}$ " (19.4 x 11.1 cm)
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London

167 (plate 167)
Neutralized Capital (Neutralisiertes Kapital), 1980
Chalk on painted wood panel, iron frame
 96×48 " (244 x 122 cm)
Marx Collection, Berlin

168 (plate 168)
Art = Capital (Art = Kapital), 1980
Chalk on painted wood panel, iron frame
 96×48 " (244 x 122 cm)
Marx Collection, Berlin

169 (plate 169)
Core for Grund (Kern für Grund), 1980
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper
Each $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 5 \frac{1}{4}$ " (20.8 x 14.8 cm)
Inscribed left sheet, verso: "core for GROND/ kern für GROND Joseph Beuys 1980"; inscribed right sheet, verso: "Kern für GROND, Joseph Beuys 1980"
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London

170 (plate 170)
Earthquake in the Palace (Terremoto in Palazzo), 1981
Double drawing: pencil on two sheets of paper, one perforated
 $8 \frac{7}{16} \times 10 \frac{1}{16}$ " (21.5 x 27.5 cm); $9 \frac{3}{16} \times 7$ " (23.3 x 17.8 cm)
Inscribed lower sheet, verso, upper right: "Napoli 1981 / Joseph Beuys"
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

171 (plate 171)
The End of the Twentieth Century (Das Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts), 1983
Three-part drawing: pencil on three sheets of paper
Each $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 11 \frac{3}{4}$ " (21 x 29.8 cm)
Inscribed verso: "das Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts Joseph Beuys 1983"
Anthony d'Offay Gallery, London

172 (plate 172)
Ombelico di Venere - Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris, 1985
Block of ten drawings in separate frames; pressed plants with pencil on paper
Collection of Christine and Isy Brachot, Brussels

$8 \frac{3}{4} \times 8$ " (22.1 x 20.4 cm); inscribed recto, upper right: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; lower left: "Bolognano"; lower right: "Joseph Beuys 1985"

$9 \frac{1}{4} \times 8 \frac{1}{8}$ " (23.5 x 20.7 cm); inscribed recto, upper right: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; lower left: "Bolognano Joseph Beuys 1985"

$8 \frac{1}{4} \times 9$ " (20.8 x 23 cm); inscribed recto, upper right: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; center left: "Bolognano 1985"; lower right: "Joseph Beuys"

$10 \frac{1}{4} \times 13 \frac{1}{8}$ " (26 x 33.5 cm); inscribed recto, upper center: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; lower center: "Bolognano 1985 / Joseph Beuys"

$8 \frac{3}{4} \times 18 \frac{1}{4}$ " (22.3 x 46.2 cm), irregular; inscribed recto, lower left: "Ombelico di Venere Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris Bolognano 1985 Joseph Beuys"

$9 \frac{3}{4} \times 14 \frac{5}{8}$ " (24.7 x 37.3 cm), irregular; inscribed recto, lower center: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; lower left: "Bolognano 1985 Joseph Beuys"

$7 \frac{3}{8} \times 18 \frac{1}{8}$ " (18.6 x 46.1 cm), irregular; inscribed recto, lower left: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"

$10 \frac{1}{8} \times 15 \frac{1}{8}$ " (25.7 x 38.3 cm), irregular; inscribed recto, lower center: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; lower left: "Bolognano 1985 Joseph Beuys"

$16 \frac{1}{2} \times 20$ " (42.1 x 50.8 cm), irregular; inscribed recto, upper right: "Joseph Beuys 1985 Bolognano"; lower right: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"

$16 \frac{1}{2} \times 19 \frac{3}{4}$ " (42 x 50.1 cm), irregular; inscribed recto, upper center: "Bolognano 1985"; center: "Ombelico di Venere / Cotyledon Umbilicus Veneris"; lower center: "Joseph Beuys"

Exhibitions and Actions

A selected listing of major one-person
exhibitions and group exhibitions
* denotes an action

1953

Kranenburg, Haus van der Grinten. "Josef Beuys." February 13–March 15. Traveled in part to Wuppertal, von-der-Heydt Museum.

1961

Kleve, Das Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek. "Josef Beuys: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Oelbilder, Plastische Bilder aus der Sammlung van der Grinten." October 8–November 5.

1963

Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf. "Festum Fluxorum Fluxus." *Concert for Two Musicians*. * February 3. *Siberian Symphony, section 1*. * February 4.

Kranenburg, Haus van der Grinten. "Stallausstellung [Stable Exhibition]. Josef Beuys Fluxus: Aus der Sammlung van der Grinten." October 26–November 24.

1964

Kassel. Documenta 3. June 27–October 5.
Aachen, Technische Hochschule Aachen. "Festival for New Art" (Festival der neuen Kunst). *Kukeil/Akoopee-nein/Brown cross/Fat corners/Model fat corners*. * July 20.

Copenhagen, Majudstillingen, Charlottenburg. *Bus Stop*. * Organized by Wolf Vostell. August 30.

Düsseldorf, *The Silence of Marcel Duchamp Is Overrated*. * Live television broadcast with Wolf Vostell, Bazon Brock, and Tomas Schmit. November 11.

West Berlin, Galerie René Block. *The Chief*. * December 1.

1965

Wuppertal, Galerie Parnass. *and in us . . . under us . . . landunder*. * June 5–6.

Düsseldorf, Galerie Schmela. "Joseph Beuys . . . any old noose . . ." November 26, 1965–January 30, 1966. *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*. * November 26.

1966

West Berlin, Galerie René Block. ". . . with Braunkreuz." June 18–24.

Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf. *Infiltration homogen for grand piano, the greatest contemporary composer is the thalidomide child*. * July 7.

Copenhagen, Gallery 101. *Division of the Cross / Eurasia, 34th section of the Siberian Symphony*. * October 14–15. Repeated as *Eurasia, 32nd movement . . .*. * in Berlin, Galerie René Block, October 31.

Düsseldorf, Galerie Schmela. *Manresa*. * With Henning Christiansen and Bjorn Norgaard. December 15.

Vienna, Galerie Nächst St. Stephan. "Zeichnungen." November 2–23.

1967

Vienna, Galerie Nächst St. Stephan. *Eurasian Staff 82 min fluxorum organum*. * March 1 and July 2–4.

Darmstadt, Galerie Franz Dahlem. "Fettraum." March 21–28. *Hauptstrom*. * March 20.

Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf. Founding of the German Student Party. June 22.

Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum Mönchengladbach. "Beuys." September 13–October 29. Traveled to Eindhoven, Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, March 22–May 5, 1968.

Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf. *öö*. * Matriculation ceremony.

1968

Antwerp, Wide White Space Gallery. "Drawings, Sculptures." February 10–March 5. *Image-Head—Mover-Head (Eurasian Staff) Parallel Process 2, The Moving Insulator*. * February 9.

Munich, Galerie Verein München, Neue Pinakothek, Haus der Kunst. "Sammlung 1968 Karl Ströher." June 14–August 9. Traveled to Hamburg, Kunstverein Hamburg, August 24–October 6; Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, March 1–April 14, 1969; Düsseldorf, Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, April 25–June 17, 1969; Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel ("Joseph Beuys: Werke aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher"), November 16, 1969–January 4, 1970.

Kassel. Documenta 4. June 27–October 6.
Cologne, Art Intermedia. *Vacuum ↔ Mass*. * October 14.

1969

Düsseldorf, Galerie Schmela. "Fond III." January 29–February 21.

West Berlin, Akademie der Künste. *I attempt to set (make) you free*. * February 27.

West Berlin, Galerie René Block. "Blockade '69." February 28–November 22.

Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum Mönchengladbach. . . . *or shall we change it?* * With Henning Christiansen. March 27.

Bern, Kunsthalle Bern. "Live in Your Head. When Attitudes Become Form: Works—Concepts—Processes—Situations—Information." March 22–April 27. Traveled to London, Institute of Contemporary Arts, September 28–October 27.

Frankfurt, Theater am Turm. *Experimenta 3. Iphigenie / Titus Andronicus*. * May 29–30.

Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Kleine Objekte." July 5–August 31.

1970

Humblebaek, Denmark, Louisiana Museum. "Tabernacle." January 24–February 22.

Düsseldorf, Free Referendum Information Center. Founding of the Organization of Non-Voters. March 2.

Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum. "Block Beuys." Opened April 24.

Middelburg, Zweews Museum. "Joseph Beuys: Tekeningen uit de coll. Van der Grinten." June 6–July 4.
 Edinburgh, Edinburgh College of Art. "Strategy: Get Arts. Edinburgh International Festival." August 23–September 12. [*The Pack*] *Celtic (Kinloch Rannoch) Scottish Symphony*. * With Henning Christiansen. August 26–30.
 Cologne, Kunstmarkt. *We Enter the Art Market*. * With H. P. Alvermann, Wolf Vostell, Helmut Rywelski. October 12.
 Ulm, Kunstverein Ulm. "Joseph Beuys." October 18–November 15.
 Cologne, Kölnischer Kunstverein. "Happening & Fluxus." November 6, 1970–January 6, 1971.
 Innsbruck, Galerie im Taxis Palais. "Joseph Beuys: Sammlung Hans und Franz Josef van der Grinten, Kranenburg." November 6–December 6. Traveled to Vienna, Galerie Nächst St. Stephan, January 5–30, 1971.
 Braunschweig, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum. "Joseph Beuys—Handzeichnungen." December 11, 1970–January 31, 1971.

1971

Stockholm, Moderna Museet. "Joseph Beuys: Aktionier, Aktionen." January 16–February 28.
 West Berlin, Galerie René Block. "Entwürfe, Partituren, Projekte: Zeichnungen." March 5–31.
 Kiel, Schleswig-Holsteinischer Kunstverein, Kunsthalle Kiel. "Joseph Beuys—Handzeichnungen." March 7–April 11.
 Wuppertal, Von der Heydt-Museum. "Joseph Beuys: Objekte und Zeichnungen aus der Sammlung van der Grinten." March 20–April 25.
 Basel, Zivilschutzräume. *Celtic (Kinloch Rannoch) Scottish Symphony*. * April 5.
 Düsseldorf, Andreasstrasse 25. Founding of the Organization for Direct Democracy through Referendum. June 1.
 St. Gallen, Kunstverein St. Gallen. "Joseph Beuys: Handzeichnungen und Objekte, Sammlung Lutz Schirmer Köln." June 5–July 31.
 Zuider See bei Ostende. *Bog Action in the Moor*. * August.
 Eindhoven, Stedelijk van Abbe-Museum. "Voglio vedere le mie montagne." August 17–September 5.
 Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf. *Isolation Unit*. * With Terry Fox. October 4.
 Cologne, Art Intermedia. "Zeichnungen und Objekte." October 5–30.
 Naples, Modern Art Agency. "La Rivoluzione siamo noi." November.
 Düsseldorf, Grafenberger Wald. *Let's overcome the party dictatorship now*. * December 14.

1972

London, Tate Gallery. "Seven Exhibitions." February 24–March 23. *Information*. * February 26–27.
 Mönchengladbach, Münster. *Friedensfeier*. * March 31.
 Berlin, Karl-Marx-Platz. *Sweeping Up*. * May 1.
 Düsseldorf, Galerie Schmela. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen I, 1949–1969." May 15–June 17.

Venice, La Biennale di Venezia. June 11–October 1.
 Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen und andere Blätter aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher." June 30–August 20.
 Naples, Modern Art Agency. "Arena: dove sarei arrivato se fossi stato intelligente!" June. *Vitex agnus castus*. * June 10.
 Kassel, Documenta 5. *100 Days of the Information Office of the Organization for Direct Democracy Through Referendum*. * June 30–October 8. *Farewell Action, Boxing Match for Direct Democracy*. * With Abraham Christian Moebuss. October 8.
 Wuppertal, Von der Heydt-Museum. "Realität Realismus Realität." October 28–December 17. Traveled to Berlin, Haus am Waldsee, January 12–February 25, 1973; Kiel, Kunsthalle Kiel, March 17–April 30, 1973; Bielefeld, Kunsthalle Bielefeld, May 19–June 30, 1973; Duisburg, Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, July 14–August 25, 1973; Münster, Westfälischer Kunstverein Münster, September 8–October 22, 1973; Leverkusen, Städtisches Museum Leverkusen, November 3–December 15, 1973.
 Rome, Galleria L'Attico. *Anarcharsis Cloots* * and "Arena." October 31. "Arena" traveled to Milan, Studio Marconi, March 1973.

1973

New York, Ronald Feldman Gallery. "Joseph Beuys: Drawings 1947–1972." January 13–February 7. Traveled to Minneapolis, Dayton Gallery 12, March 2–31.
 New York, John Gibson Gallery. "Collected Editions." February 10–March 3.
 Bonn, Galerie Klein. "Joseph Beuys: Multiples, Bücher und Kataloge." April 10–May 19.
 Antwerp, Wide White Space Gallery. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen und Gouachen." September.
 Düsseldorf, Galerie Schmela. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen II." September 24–October 24.
 Tübingen, Kunsthalle Tübingen. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher." October 27–December 2.

1974

Düsseldorf, Founding of a Free International University for Creativity and Interdisciplinary Research. February.
 Oxford, Museum of Modern Art. "Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland." April 7–May 12. Traveled to Edinburgh, National Gallery of Modern Art, June 6–30; London, Institute of Contemporary Arts, July 9–September 1; Dublin, Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, September 25–October 27; Belfast, Arts Council Gallery, November 6–30.
 Krefeld, Museum Haus Lange. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen 1946–1971." May 19–June 30.
 New York, René Block Gallery. *I Like America and America Likes Me*. * May 23–25.
 New York, Ronald Feldman Fine Arts. "Hearth 1, Feuerstätte I." June.
 Edinburgh, Richard Demarco Gallery. "Beuys at Forest Hill." June 6–29. *The Three Pots at the Poorhouse*. * June 5.
 London, Institute of Contemporary Arts. "Art into Society—Society into Art: Seven German Artists: Albrecht D., Joseph Beuys, KP Brehmer, Hans Haacke, Dieter Hacker, Gustav Metzger, and Klaus Staack." October 30–November 24.

1975

New York, René Block Gallery. "Richtkräfte '74." April 5–May 19.
 Kassel, Kasseler Kunstverein. "Joseph Beuys, Multiples, Bücher und Kataloge aus der Sammlung Dr. Med. Speck." April 20–May 18.
 Freiburg, Kunstverein Freiburg. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Bilder, Plastiken, Objekte, Aktionsphotographien 1947–1964." May 23–June 29.
 Hannover, Kestner-Gesellschaft Hannover. "Joseph Beuys." December 19, 1975–February 8, 1976.

1976

New York, The Museum of Modern Art. "Drawing Now." January 21–March 9. Traveled to Zurich, Kunsthaus Zurich, October 10–November 14; Baden-Baden, Staatliche Kunsthalle, November 25, 1976–January 16, 1977; Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, January 28–March 6, 1977; Oslo, Sonja Henie-Niels Onstad Foundations, March 17–April 24, 1977; Tel Aviv, The Tel Aviv Museum, May 12–July 2, 1977.
 Munich, Kunstforum (organized by Galerie Schellmann und Klüser). "Joseph Beuys: zeige deine Wunde." February 13–March 6.
 Venice, La Biennale di Venezia, Deutscher Pavillon. "Strassenbahnhaltestelle / Tram Stop / Fermata del Tram." July 18–October 10.
 Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter Kunstverein. "Mit-neben-gegen / Joseph Beuys und die Künstler der ehemaligen und jetzigen Beuys-Klasse." November 5, 1976–January 2, 1977.

1977

West Berlin, Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. "Joseph Beuys: Richtkräfte." February.
 Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel. "Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland." April 16–June 26.
 Kassel, Documenta 6. *Honey Pump at the Workplace* * and *100 Days Free International School for Creativity and Interdisciplinary Research*. * June 24–October 2.
 Ghent, Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst. "Joseph Beuys: Tekeningen, Aquarellen, Gouaches, Collages, Olieverven." October 6–December 11.
 Munich, Galerie Schellmann und Klüser. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen. Teil I 17 Zeichnungen. Gespräch mit Hagen Lieberknecht 1972: Teil II Zeichnung 1946–1974." October 13–November 30.
 Münster. "Skulptur." July 3–November 13.

1978

Naples, Museo Diego Aragona Pignatelli Cortes. "Beuys: Tracce in Italia." March 17. Traveled to Genoa, Goethe-Institut, June 10–July 20.
 Bremerhaven, Kunstverein Bremerhaven. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Objekte." April 23–May 21. Traveled to Ulm, Galeria Cuenca, October 3–31; Marburg, Marburger Universitätsmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, October

29–December 3; Göttingen, Kunstverein Göttingen im Städtischen Museum, March 11–April 8, 1979.
Riverside, University of California. "Some Artists, for Example Joseph Beuys: Multiples, Drawings, Videotapes." May 15–June 15.

1979

West Berlin, Akademie der Künste. "Mataré und seine Schüler: Beuys, Haese, Heerich, Meistermann." January 21–February 18. Traveled to Hannover, Kestner-Gesellschaft Hannover, March 2–April 15; Nijmegen, Nijmeegs Museum, May 5–June 10; Krefeld, Museum Haus Lange, August 19–September 30.
Vienna, Galerie Nächst St. Stephan. "Basisraum Nasse Wäsche" and "Unsichtbare Plastik." February 20–March 10.
Lucerne, Kunstmuseum Luzern. "Joseph Beuys: Spuren in Italien." April 22–June 17.
Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie. *Memorial to George Maciunas*. * With Nam June Paik. July 7.
Paris, Musée national d'art moderne. "Musée des sacrifices. Musée de l'argent." July 4–September 24.
Goslar, Mönchehaus Museum für moderne Kunst. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen und Objekte." September 8–November 4.
Berlin, Galerie René Block. "Aus Berlin: Neues vom Kojoten." September.
São Paulo, XV. Bienal Internacional de São Paulo. October 3–December 9.
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Tekeningen, Drawings." November 1, 1979–January 15, 1980. Traveled to Berlin, Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, February 21–April 20, 1980; Bielefeld, Kunsthalle Bielefeld, May 29–July 20, 1980; Bonn, Wissenschaftszentrum, August 21–September 28, 1980.
New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. "Joseph Beuys." November 2, 1979–January 2, 1980.

1980

Chicago, Goethe-Institut. "Joseph Beuys: Graphic Works." January. Toured the United States and Canada through 1982.
Venice, La Biennale di Venezia. "Das Kapital Raum 1970–1977." June 1–September 28.
Ghent, Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst. "Kunst in Europa nach '68." June 21–August 31.
Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf. "Joseph Beuys: Multiplizierte Kunst, 1965–1980, Sammlung Ulbricht." August 10–September 14. Traveled to East Berlin, Ständige Vertretung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in der DDR, October 31–December 31.
London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "Stripes from the House of Shaman" and "Words Which Can Hear." August 13–September 10.
Karlsruhe, Badischer Kunstverein e.V. Karlsruhe. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Bildobjekte, Holzschnitte." October 7–November 23.

1981

Bonn, Städtisches Kunstmuseum. "Joseph Beuys: Objekte, Zeichnungen, Multiples im Städtischen Kunstmuseum Bonn, in der Vertretung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen." April 10–May 7.
Munich, Kunstraum München. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen aus dem Kupferstichkabinett Basel." May 8–June 27.
Cologne, Kiehallen der Kölner Messe. "Westkunst: Zeitgenössische Kunst seit 1939." May 30–August 16.
Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus. "Joseph Beuys: Arbeiten aus Münchner Sammlungen." September 2–November 18.
Nijmegen, Museum Commanderie van St. Jan. "Joseph Beuys: Frauen Zeichnungen von 1947 bis 1961." September 5–October 11. Traveled to Düsseldorf, Stadtparkasse Düsseldorf, November 9–December 3; Ulm, Kunstverein Ulm, March 7–April 12, 1982.
Hamburg, Kunstverein in Hamburg. "Mythos + Ritual in der Kunst der 70er Jahre." November 7, 1981–January 3, 1982.

1982

London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "Dernier espace avec introspecteur 1964–82." March 27–May 12.
New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery. "German Drawings of the 60s." January 27–March 28. Traveled to Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, April 17–May 30.
Kassel, Documenta 7. 7000 Eichen. June 19–September 28. *Transformation*. * June 30.
West Berlin, Martin-Gropius-Bau. "Zeitgeist." October 16, 1982–January 16, 1983.

1983

Krefeld, Museum Haus Lange, Museum Haus Esters. "To the Happy Few—Bücher, Bilder, Objekte aus der Sammlung Reiner Speck." May 15–July 10.
Zurich, Kunsthaus Zürich. "Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk." February 11–April 30. Traveled to Düsseldorf, Städtische Kunsthalle und Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, May 19–July 10; Vienna, Museum Moderner Kunst, Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts, September 10–November 13.
Leeds, City Art Gallery. "Joseph Beuys: Drawings." April 22–May 21. Traveled to Cambridge, Kettle's Yard Gallery, May 29–July 3; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, July 27–October 3; Cambridge, Harvard University, Busch-Reisinger-Museum, April 17–June 17, 1984.
Frankfurt am Main, Städtische Galerie im Städel. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen 1949–1969" and "Bergkönig 1958–61." August 24–October 30.
London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "Vitrines—Forms of the Sixties." September 8–October 15.
Lausanne, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen Dessins." November 17, 1983–January 3, 1984. Traveled to Winterthur, Kunstmuseum Winterthur, January 21–March 11, 1984; Calais, Musée des Beaux-Arts, April–May 1984; St. Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, June–September 1984; Linz, Neue Galerie der Stadt Linz, Wolfgang-Gurlitt-Museum, November–December 1984;

Marseille, Musée Cantini, January–February 1985; Hovikodden, Sonja Henies og Niels Onstads Stiftelser, Kunstcenter, March–April 1985.

1984

Wuppertal, Stadtparkasse Wuppertal. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen zum Thema Landschaft, Sammlung van der Grinten." January 9–27. Traveled to Nordhon, Bonn, and Würzburg, November 28, 1984–February 3, 1985.
Koblenz, Mittelrhein-Museum. "Joseph Beuys: Tiere. Zeichnungen und plastische Beispiele 1948–1961." March 30–May 31.
Tokyo, Seibu Museum of Art. "Joseph Beuys: An Exhibition Based on the Ulbricht Collection. 'Coyote III.'" June 2–July 2.
Herculaneum, Villa Campolieto. "Terrae Motus." July 6–December 31.
Tübingen, Kunsthalle Tübingen. "Joseph Beuys: Ölfarben 1949–1967." September 8–October 28. Traveled to Hamburg, Kunstverein in Hamburg, February 16–March 31, 1985; Zurich, Kunsthaus Zürich, September 6–November 3, 1985.
Düsseldorf, Messegelände Halle 13. "von hier aus: Zwei Monate neue deutsche Kunst in Düsseldorf." October 29–December 2.

1985

Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum und Museumsverein Aachen. "Kreuz + Zeichen: Religiöse Grundlagen im Werk von Joseph Beuys." August 11–September 29. Traveled to Ratingen, Stadtmuseum Ratingen, 1986.
Nijmegen, Museum Commanderie van St. Jan. "Joseph Beuys: Braunkreuz." August 24–October 13. Traveled to Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, April 18–July 13, 1986.
West Berlin, Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. "Kunst in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945–85." September 26, 1985–January 12, 1986.
London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "Joseph Beuys: Sculpture and Works on Paper." October 8–November 16.
London, Royal Academy of Arts. "German Art in the 20th Century, Painting and Sculpture 1905–1985." October 11–December 22. Traveled to Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, February 7–April 22, 1986.
Madrid, Fundación Caja de Pensiones. "Joseph Beuys: Dibujos." October 23–December 1. Traveled to Tampere, Sara Hildénin Taidmuseo Tampere, January 13–February 9, 1986; Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum Abteiberg, February 23–April 20, 1986.
Naples, Fondazione Amelio, Museo di Capodimonte. "Palazzo Regale." December 23, 1985–May 31, 1986.

1986

- Basel, Kunsthalle Basel. "Joseph Beuys, Enzo Cucchi, Anselm Kiefer, Jannis Kounellis." March 23–April 4.
- Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus. "Beuys zu Ehren." July 16–November 2.
- Düsseldorf, Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen. "Joseph Beuys: Wasserfarben, Aquarelle und aquarellierte Zeichnungen, 1936–1976." September 5–November 16.
- Traveled to Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, January 31–March 29, 1987; Apeldoorn, Gemeentelijke van Reekum Museum, May 30–August 16, 1987; Grenoble, Magasin, Centre National d'Art Contemporain, September 26–November 29, 1987; Berlin, Akademie der Künste, March 6–April 24, 1988.

1987

- Bern, Kunstmuseum Bern. "Die Gleichzeitigkeit des Anderen." March 21–June 14.
- Paris, Grand Palais. "Terra Motus." March 28–May 11.
- Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf. "Brennpunkt Düsseldorf: Joseph Beuys—Die Akademie—Der allgemeine Aufbruch 1962–1987." May 24–September 6. Traveled to Stockholm, Liljevalchs Konsthall, December 4, 1987–January 24, 1988; Barcelona, Centro Cultural de la Fundació Caixa de Pensions, April 18–May 22, 1988.
- London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "Beuys, Klein, Rothko: Transformation and Prophecy." June 5–July 3. Traveled to Madrid, Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación Caja de Pensiones, September 17–November 8.
- Milwaukee, Milwaukee Art Museum. "Warhol/Beuys/Polke." June 19–August 16. Traveled to Houston, Contemporary Arts Museum, September 12–November 15.
- New York, Dia Art Foundation. "Joseph Beuys." October 9, 1987–June 19, 1988.
- Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen aus der Sammlung Heiner Bastian." October 24, 1987–February 28, 1988.
- Bonn, Ministerium für Bundesangelegenheiten des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. "Beuys vor Beuys: Frühe Arbeiten aus der Sammlung van der Grinten: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Ölstudien, Collagen." November 27–December 31. Traveled to East Berlin, Akademie der Künste der DDR, Akademie-Galerie, January 15–March 6, 1988; Leipzig, Galerie der Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst, March 15–May 14, 1988; Brussels, Vertretung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, June 6–July 29, 1988; Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, September 9–October 30, 1988; Frankfurt am Main, Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, November 23, 1988–February 12, 1989; Zaragoza, Palacio de Sastago, December 15, 1989–January 14, 1990; Madrid, Casa del Monte, February 6–March 4, 1990.
- Edinburgh, Richard Demarco Gallery. "Bits and Pieces: A Collection of Work by Joseph Beuys from 1957 to 1985. Assembled by Him for Caroline Tisdall." Traveled to New York, Ronald Feldman Fine Arts, Inc. "Joseph Beuys: Bits and Pieces." November 18–December 23, 1989.

1988

- West Berlin, Martin-Gropius-Bau. "Joseph Beuys: Skulpturen und Objekte" and "Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland (Zeichnungen)." February 20–May 1. "Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland (Zeichnungen)" traveled to Tübingen, Kunsthalle Tübingen, May 14–July 10; Bielefeld, Kunsthalle Bielefeld, December 11, 1988–February 26, 1989.
- Ghent, Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst. "Signatures." March 26–June 12.
- Düsseldorf/Hafen, Zollhof 3. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen, Skulpturen, Objekte." September 25–October 28.
- New York, Hirschl & Adler Modern. "Joseph Beuys: Ideas and Actions." November 5–December 10.

1989

- Stuttgart, Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations. "Joseph Beuys: Drawings, Objects and Prints." International tour.
- Brussels, Galerie Isy Brachot. "Joseph Beuys." December 20, 1989–February 17, 1990. Traveled to Paris, Galerie Isy Brachot, March 8–April 28, 1990.

1990

- Munich, A11 Artforum. "Joseph Beuys: A Private Collection." February 22–April 29.
- Houston, The Menil Collection. "Joseph Beuys: Selections from the Dia Art Foundation Collection." June 1990–January 1991.
- Nürnberg, Kunsthalle Nürnberg. "Zeichnungen: Aus dem Kupferstichkabinett Basel." June 1–July 8.
- London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "The End of the Twentieth Century." June 22–August 17.
- Hannover, Kestner Gesellschaft. "Joseph Beuys: Eine innere Mongolei: Dschingis Kahn, Schamanen, Aktrizen (Ölfarben, Wasserfarben und Bleistiftzeichnungen aus der Sammlung van der Grinten)." July 20–September 16. Traveled to Barcelona, Fundació Joan Miró, September 27–November 18; Munich, Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste, November 29, 1990–January 27, 1991; Kartause, Ittingen, Kunstmuseum des Kantons Thurgau, April 28–June 30, 1991; St. Petersburg, The State Russian Museum, June 25–July 28, 1992; Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, August 5–September 6, 1992.
- Kornwestheim, Galerie der Stadt Kornwestheim. "Joseph Beuys: Plastische Bilder 1947–1970." October 7, 1990–January 6, 1991. Traveled to Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, through May 7, 1991.
- Bozen, Switzerland, Museum Galerie Bozen. "öö." October 26–November 24.
- Mönchengladbach, Städtisches Museum Abteiberg. "Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen aus der Sammlung Heiner Bastian." November 11, 1990–January 13, 1991.

1991

- London, Anthony d'Offay Gallery. "Joseph Beuys: Watercolours and Drawings, 1941–1984." January 16–February 26.
- Langen, Museum der Stadt Langen. "Joseph Beuys: Denken ist bereits Plastik." January 25–April 1.
- Dortmund, Dortmunder Kunstverein. "Joseph Beuys: Frühe Arbeiten aus der Sammlung van der Grinten." February 3–March 8.
- Cologne, Der Kunst-Station Sankt Peter. "Beuys: Manresa; Zeichnungen, Fotos, Materialien zu einer FLUXUS-Demonstration; 25 Jahre MANRESA, 500 Jahre Ignatius." February 21–March 20.
- Kleve, Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek. "Joseph Beuys." April 21–June 9.
- Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf. "Brennpunkt 2, Düsseldorf 1970–1991, Die Siebziger Jahre, Entwürfe, Joseph Beuys zum 70. Geburtstag." May 19–June 30.
- Krefeld, Kaiser Wilhelm Museum. "Transit: Joseph Beuys: Plastische Arbeiten 1947–1985; Joseph Beuys: Zeichnungen 1947–1977; Joseph Beuys: Baraque d'Dull Odde: 1961–1967." November 17, 1991–February 16, 1992.
- Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen. "Joseph Beuys: Natur, Materie, Form." November 30, 1991–February 9, 1992.

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- Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel. *Joseph Beuys: Werke aus der Sammlung Karl Ströber*. Basel, 1969.
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- . *Joseph Beuys. Strassenbahnhaltestelle*. Berlin, 1980.
- . *Abschied von Joseph Beuys: Noch steht nichts geschrieben*. Cologne, 1986.
- . *Joseph Beuys: Blitzschlag mit Lichtschein auf Hirsch. Lightning with Stag in Its Glare*. Bern, 1986. Revised, 1989, ed. Klaus Gallwitz.
- . *Joseph Beuys im Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum Duisburg*. Bern, 1987.
- Bastian, Heiner, ed. *Joseph Beuys: The secret block for a secret person in Ireland*. Text by Dieter Koeplin; catalogue by Céline Bastian. Munich, 1988.
- . *Joseph Beuys: Skulpturen und Objekte*. Munich, 1988.
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- . *Aktive Neutralität: Die Überwindung von Kapitalismus und Kommunismus*. Wangen, 1987.
- Beuys, Joseph, Bernhard Blume, and Rainer Rappmann. *Zwei Gespräche über Bäume*. Wangen, 1987.
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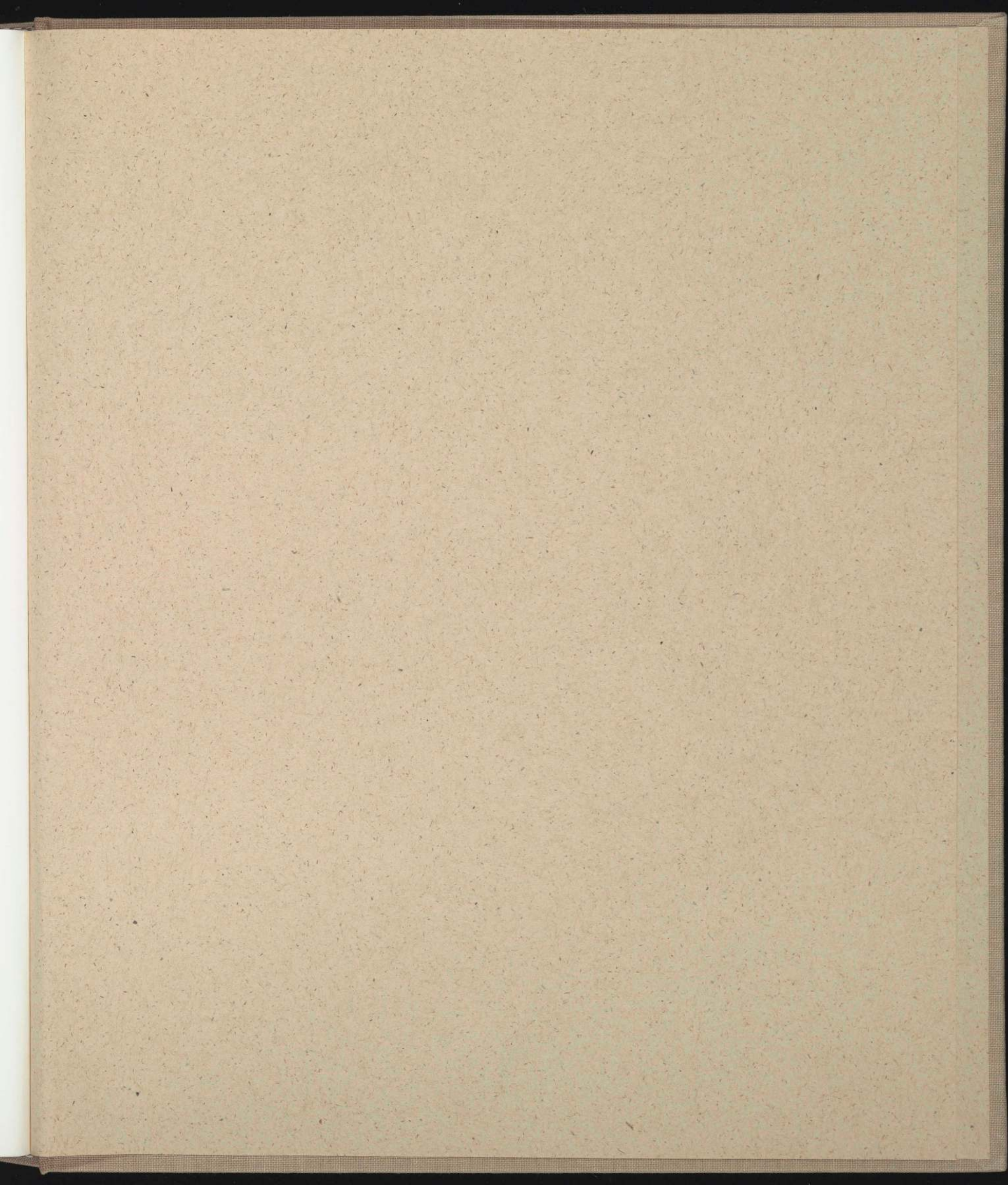
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