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Challenging bohemian myth in Weimar Berlin: Reinterpreting Jeanne Mammen and the artist function through her illustrations Der Maler und sein Modell ['The Painter and his Model'] (1927)

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H. Camilla Smith

15 Questioning bohemian myth in Weimar Berlin: Reinterpreting Jeanne Mammen and the artist function through her illustrations *Der Maler und sein Modell* 'The Painter and his Model' (1927)

Abstract: This paper focuses on nine drawings entitled *Der Maler und sein Modell* [The Painter and his Model] (1927) created by the artist Jeanne Mammen (1890–1976). Mammen's images appeared in the popular magazine *Die Woche* alongside a narrative by Hermann Krehan (1890–1972). It argues that these illustrations mockingly aligned male sexuality with artistic creativity during a time in which Mammen was actively engaging with, and contributing to women's artistic practices. Moreover, by exploring the corresponding sympathies of Krehan's narrative, it interprets the artist function as social mediator, emphasizing that Mammen's art should be reconsidered to be both social and Socialist. Consequently, it moves away from previous emphasis on Mammen as a social outsider, in line with her admiration of male nineteenth-century role models, in particular, Gustave Flaubert. Mammen's collecting habits have also been read as indexical signs of her hermetic existence. The studio apartment, in which she lived for over fifty years, still houses her library along with wax votives, masks, paintings and clay figures. Considerations of *Die Woche* as part of this collection further helps reevaluate this studio apartment as a *lived*, porous space in the heart of west Berlin between which objects, friends and Mammen herself constantly moved.

> Berlin, by comparison – how splendid! A city like Berlin is an ill-mannered, impertinent, intelligent scoundrel, [...]. An artist here has no choice but to pay attention. Elsewhere he is permitted to stop up his ears and sink into wilful ignorance. Here this is not allowed.[1]
>
> Robert Walser, 'Berlin and the Artist' (1910)

1 Introduction

Since the 1980s, the contested notions of authorship have played an important role in informing what is now recognised as the "new art history", which has

I am grateful to the DAAD for their financial support. Special thanks to the Förderverein der Jeanne-Mammen-Stiftung e. V., in particular Cornelia Pastelak-Price who enabled extensive studies at Mammen's studio apartment and many valuable discussions.

1 All translations are the author's own unless otherwise stated. Walser is translated here by Susan Bernofsky.

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HERMANN KREHAN: *Der Maler und sein Modell*

ZEICHNUNGEN VON J. MAMMEN

„... Das beste is, wenn Se erst mal richtig Akt zeichnen lernen. So nach den Gipsköppen malen — das is was für Pangsionazmächens. Un eegal Blätter un Appel — ich weeß nich. Sehn Se, wenn da so ein Kerl steht, mit so 'nem Bizeps wie 'n Mongblank, und mer geht so richtig um die Muskeln rum — so flächig und körperlich, ach! das malt sich ja von ganz alleene!" Eine Hand mit einer Thüringerwaldpfeife schob sich vor den Mund von Professor Schnell, und aus den Barthaarwaldungen unterhalb zweier lustiger Augen drang wie bei plötzlich angefachten Köhlerfeuern eine mächtige Rauchwolke. Ich hatte meine von keinerlei Maltechnik belasteten Stizzen dem alten Professor in Weimar vorgelegt und war nun heilfroh, daß er wenigstens keinen positiven Verriß ausgesprochen hatte. Also — er verordnete mir Aktmodell, einmal täglich, unter seiner Aufsicht, mit seinen Korrekturen.

Einesteils kam ich mir kolossal vor, so ungeheuer souverän über den Mitmenschen, der gerade gut genug war, mir mit seiner Nacktheit den Weg zur Unsterblichkeit zu ebnen. Andererseits war mir etwas bange: Wie sollte ich in meiner braven Vaterstadt einen Menschen finden, der sich gegen Bezahlung splitternackt auszog? Und ich fühlte mich dem moralischen Abgrund nahe, in den zu stürzen meine Tanten mir

Vorsicht! Lebensgefahr! (Warum in die Ferne schweifen –)

Großmutters Goldkind hat noch nicht die richtige Einstellung zur Malkunst

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Fig. 1: Page one of Jeanne Mammen's illustrations for Hermann Krehan's *Der Maler und sein Modell* 'The Painter and his Model' (circa 1927), watercolour and pencil, original size unknown. *Die Woche*, Heft 31, 29 Jg., Juli 1927. (c) VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2013.

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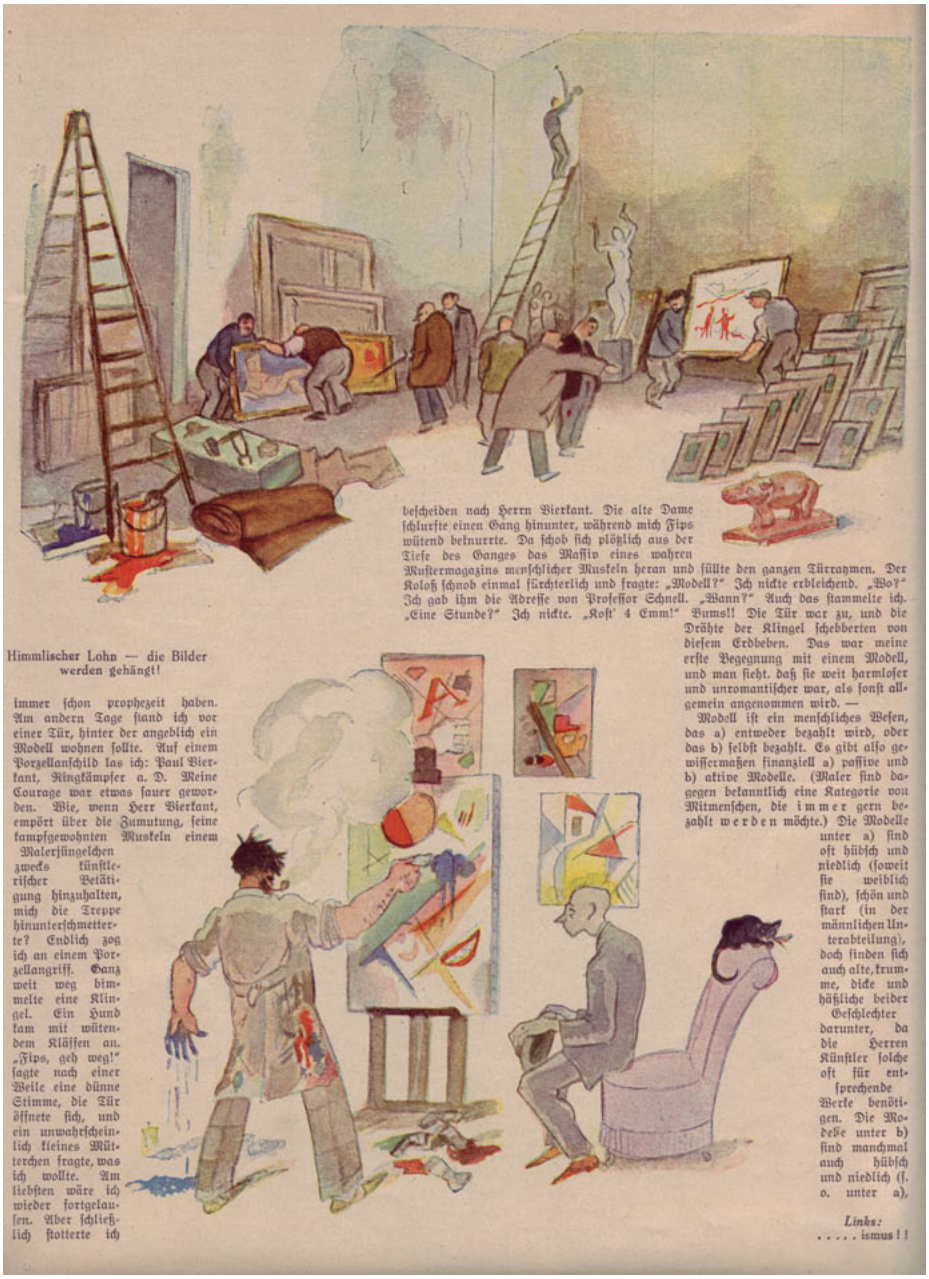

Himmlischer Lohn — die Bilder werden gehängt!

immer schon prophezeit haben. Am andern Tage stand ich vor einer Tür, hinter der angeblich ein Modell wohnen sollte. Auf einem Porzellanschild las ich: Paul Bierkant, Ringkämpfer a. D. Meine Courage war etwas sauer geworden. Wie, wenn Herr Bierkant, empört über die Zumutung, seine kampfgewohnten Muskeln einem Malerfüngelchen zwecks künstlerischer Betätigung hinzuhalten, mich die Treppe hinunterschmetterte? Endlich zog ich an einem Porzellangriff. Ganz weit weg bimmelte eine Klingel. Ein Hund kam mit wütendem Kläffen an. „Fips, geh weg!" sagte nach einer Weile eine dünne Stimme, die Tür öffnete sich, und ein unwahrscheinlich kleines Mütterchen fragte, was ich wollte. Am liebsten wäre ich wieder fortgelaufen. Aber schließlich stotterte ich bescheiden nach Herrn Bierkant. Die alte Dame schlurfte einen Gang hinunter, während mich Fips wütend bekurrte. Da schob sich plötzlich aus der Tiefe des Ganges das Massiv eines wahren Mustermagazins menschlicher Muskeln heran und füllte den ganzen Türrahmen. Der Koloß schnob einmal fürchterlich und fragte: „Modell?" Ich nickte erbleichend. „Wo?" Ich gab ihm die Adresse von Professor Schnell. „Wann?" Auch das stammelte ich. „Eine Stunde?" Ich nickte. „Rost' 4 Emm!" Bumms!! Die Tür war zu, und die Drähte der Klingel schebberten von diesem Erdbeben. Das war meine erste Begegnung mit einem Modell, und man sieht, daß sie weit harmloser und unromantischer war, als sonst allgemein angenommen wird. —

Modell ist ein menschliches Wesen, das a) entweder bezahlt wird, oder das b) selbst bezahlt. Es gibt also gewissermaßen finanziell a) passive und b) aktive Modelle. (Maler sind dagegen bekanntlich eine Kategorie von Mitmenschen, die immer gern bezahlt werden möchte.) Die Modelle unter a) sind oft hübsch und niedlich (soweit sie weiblich sind), schön und stark (in der männlichen Unterabteilung), doch finden sich auch alte, krumme, dicke und häßliche beider Geschlechter darunter, da die Herren Künstler solche oft für entsprechende Werke benötigen. Die Modelle unter b) sind manchmal auch hübsch und niedlich (s. o. unter a),

Links:
. . . . . ismus!!

Fig. 2: Page two of Jeanne Mammen's illustrations for Hermann Krehan's *Der Maler und sein Modell* ['The Painter and his Model'] (circa 1927), watercolour and pencil, original size unknown. *Die Woche*, Heft 31, 29 Jg., Juli 1927. (c) VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2013.

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encouraged uses of sociology, politics and literary theory to aid interpretation of art in relation to both its social production and the viewing subject. Whilst such interpretations are important, this paper seeks to readdress the balance between artist biography and the social conditions of art by focusing on the German artist Johanna Gertrude Luise Mammen (1890–1976), (known as Jeanne), and a series of nine watercolour and pencil drawings entitled *Der Maler und sein Modell* 'The Painter and his Model' (1927), which Mammen produced for a narrative written by the artist and set designer Hermann Krehan (1890–1972) (Figures 1–4).

Mammen is still best known in Anglophone scholarship for her images documenting social sections of the Weimar Republic (Noun 1994; Lütgens 1997a) and her work continues to form part of the subject of international exhibitions.[2] However, despite having been produced during this period, *Der Maler und sein Modell* has never been examined by scholars. Although Mammen's drawings are "merely" illustrative, they appeared in a magazine entitled *Die Woche* 'The Weekly', which placed great emphasis on visual representation, dedicating whole pages to sculptures and reproductions of work by contemporaries Max Liebermann, Fritz Klimsch and Arthur Kampf in order to compete with its main rival the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* 'Berlin's Illustrated Newspaper'. The magazine's circulation was substantial and the potential importance of Mammen's series of drawings should therefore not be underestimated. The article appeared during 1927 (Krehan and Mammen 1927, 31: 31–34) less than a decade after Mammen and her sister, Marie Louise (known as Mimi), had moved into their own two-room studio apartment at 29 Kurfürstendamm in Berlin, where they both lived and worked. Through closer examination of *Der Maler und sein Modell* this paper argues that Mammen was mockingly aligning male sexuality with artistic creativity during a time in which she was actively engaging with, and contributing to women's artistic practices. Moreover, by exploring the corresponding sympathies of Hermann Krehan's narrative, it interprets the 'artist function'[3] (Foucault 1979: 141–160) as social mediator; thereby emphasizing that Mammen's art can be interpreted as social and to a degree, Socialist.

The significance of Mammen's studio apartment, where she lived and worked for over fifty years (1921–1976), further establishes an understanding of the artist function. Many scholars still assume Mammen first moved here in 1919 or 1920. However, her name alongside her profession as "Malerin" 'painter' (singular) as

2 Recent exhibitions such as 'Straßen und Gesichter 1918 bis 1933', Berlinische Galerie, Museum für Moderne Kunst, Fotografie und Architektur, 2012 and 'Gefühl ist Privatsache: Verismus und Neue Sachlichkeit', Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin 2011.

3 By "artist function" I mean the perceived role of the artist as constructed by social and cultural discourses in line with what Michel Foucault has termed the "author-function". In this paper the artist is understood as contributing and responding to such constructions, which are also shown as being shaped by both historical contingency and enduring myths.

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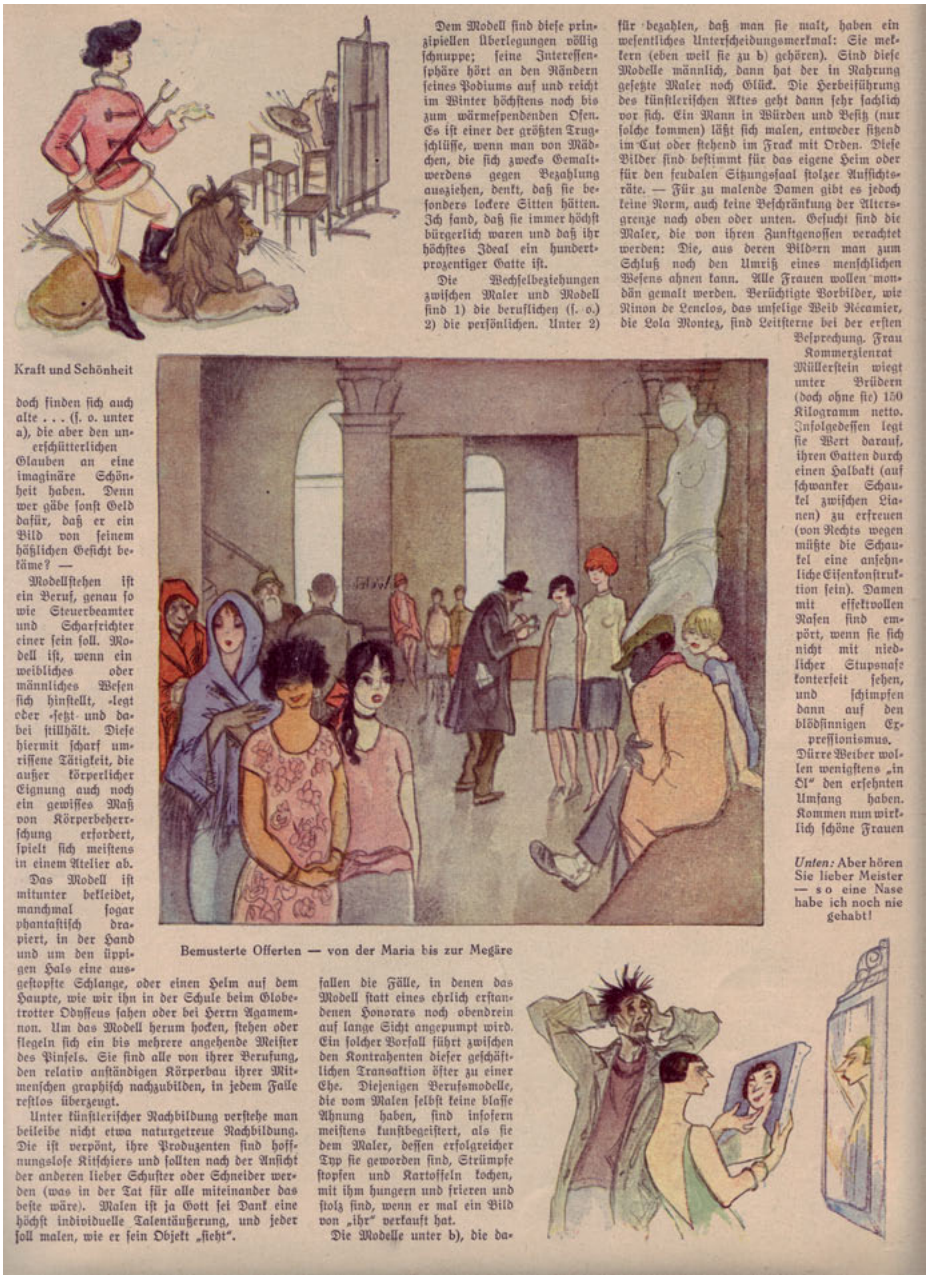

Kraft und Schönheit

doch finden sich auch alte . . . (s. o. unter a), die aber den unerschütterlichen Glauben an eine imaginäre Schönheit haben. Denn wer gäbe sonst Geld dafür, daß er ein Bild von seinem häßlichen Gesicht bekäme? —

Modellstehen ist ein Beruf, genau so wie Steuerbeamter und Scharfrichter einer sein soll. Modell ist, wenn ein weibliches oder männliches Wesen sich hinstellt, -legt oder -setzt und dabei stillhält. Diese hiermit scharf umrissene Tätigkeit, die außer körperlicher Eignung auch noch ein gewisses Maß von Körperbeherrschung erfordert, spielt sich meistens in einem Atelier ab.

Das Modell ist mitunter bekleidet, manchmal sogar phantastisch drapiert, in der Hand und um den üppigen Hals eine ausgestopfte Schlange, oder einen Helm auf dem Haupte, wie wir ihn in der Schule beim Globetrotter Odysseus sahen oder bei Herrn Agamemnon. Um das Modell herum hocken, stehen oder flegeln sich ein bis mehrere angehende Meister des Pinsels. Sie sind alle von ihrer Berufung, den relativ anständigen Körperbau ihrer Mitmenschen graphisch nachzubilden, in jedem Falle restlos überzeugt.

Unter künstlerischer Nachbildung verstehe man beileibe nicht etwa naturgetreue Nachbildung. Die ist verpönt, ihre Produzenten sind hoffnungslose Kitschiers und sollten nach der Ansicht der anderen lieber Schuster oder Schneider werden (was in der Tat für alle miteinander das beste wäre). Malen ist ja Gott sei Dank eine höchst individuelle Talentäußerung, und jeder soll malen, wie er sein Objekt „sieht".

Dem Modell sind diese prinzipiellen Überlegungen völlig schnuppe; seine Interessensphäre hört an den Rändern seines Podiums auf und reicht im Winter höchstens noch bis zum wärmespendenden Ofen. Es ist einer der größten Trugschlüsse, wenn man von Mädchen, die sich zwecks Gemaltwerdens gegen Bezahlung ausziehen, denkt, daß sie besonders lockere Sitten hätten. Ich fand, daß sie immer höchst bürgerlich waren und daß ihr höchstes Ideal ein hundertprozentiger Gatte ist.

Die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Maler und Modell sind 1) die beruflichen (s. o.) 2) die persönlichen. Unter 2) fallen die Fälle, in denen das Modell statt eines ehrlich erstandenen Honorars noch obendrein auf lange Sicht angepumpt wird. Ein solcher Vorfall führt zwischen den Kontrahenten dieser geschäftlichen Transaktion öfter zu einer Ehe. Diejenigen Berufsmodelle, die vom Malen selbst keine blasse Ahnung haben, sind insofern meistens kunstbegeistert, als sie dem Maler, dessen erfolgreicher Typ sie geworden sind, Strümpfe stopfen und Kartoffeln kochen, mit ihm hungern und frieren und stolz sind, wenn er mal ein Bild von „ihr" verkauft hat.

Die Modelle unter b), die dafür bezahlen, daß man sie malt, haben ein wesentliches Unterscheidungsmerkmal: Sie meckern (eben weil sie zu b) gehören). Sind diese Modelle männlich, dann hat der in Nahrung gesetzte Maler noch Glück. Die Herbeiführung des künstlerischen Aktes geht dann sehr sachlich vor sich. Ein Mann in Würden und Besitz (nur solche kommen) läßt sich malen, entweder sitzend im Cut oder stehend im Frack mit Orden. Diese Bilder sind bestimmt für das eigene Heim oder für den feudalen Sitzungssaal stolzer Aufsichtsräte. — Für zu malende Damen gibt es jedoch keine Norm, auch keine Beschränkung der Altersgrenze nach oben oder unten. Gesucht sind die Maler, die von ihren Zunftgenossen verachtet werden: Die, aus deren Bildern man zum Schluß noch den Umriß eines menschlichen Wesens ahnen kann. Alle Frauen wollen mondän gemalt werden. Berüchtigte Vorbilder, wie Ninon de Lenclos, das unselige Weib Récamier, die Lola Montez, sind Leitsterne bei der ersten Besprechung. Frau Kommerzienrat Müllerstein wiegt unter Brüdern (doch ohne sie) 150 Kilogramm netto. Infolgedessen legt sie Wert darauf, ihren Gatten durch einen Halbakt (auf schwanker Schaukel zwischen Lianen) zu erfreuen (von Rechts wegen müßte die Schaukel eine ansehnliche Eisenkonstruktion sein). Damen mit effektvollen Nasen sind empört, wenn sie sich nicht mit niedlicher Stupsnase konterfeit sehen, und schimpfen dann auf den blödsinnigen Expressionismus. Dürre Weiber wollen wenigstens „in Öl" den ersehnten Umfang haben. Kommen nun wirklich schöne Frauen

Unten: Aber hören Sie lieber Meister — so eine Nase habe ich noch nie gehabt!

Bemusterte Offerten — von der Maria bis zur Megäre

Fig. 3: Page three of Jeanne Mammen's illustrations for Hermann Krehan's *Der Maler und sein Modell* ['The Painter and his Model'] (circa 1927), watercolour and pencil, original size unknown. *Die Woche*, Heft 31, 29 Jg., Juli 1927. (c) VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2013.

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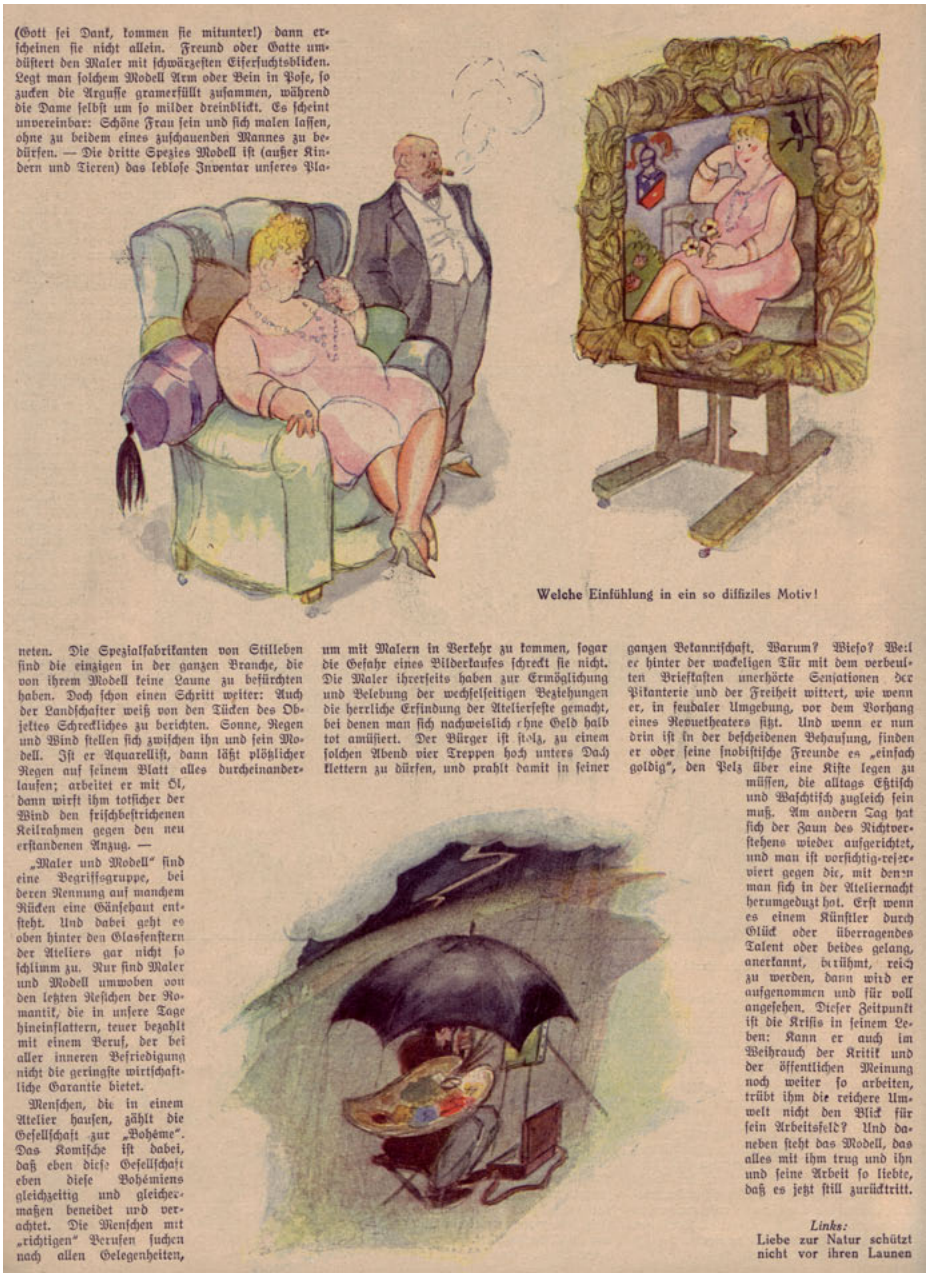

(Gott sei Dank, kommen sie mitunter!) dann erscheinen sie nicht allein. Freund oder Gatte umdüstert den Maler mit schwärzesten Eifersuchtsblicken. Legt man solchem Modell Arm oder Bein in Pose, so zucken die Arguse gramerfüllt zusammen, während die Dame selbst um so milder dreinblickt. Es scheint unvereinbar: Schöne Frau sein und sich malen lassen, ohne zu beidem eines zuschauenden Mannes zu bedürfen. — Die dritte Spezies Modell ist (außer Kindern und Tieren) das lebloseInventar unseres Pla-

Welche Einfühlung in ein so diffiziles Motiv!

neten. Die Spezialfabrikanten von Stilleben sind die einzigen in der ganzen Branche, die von ihrem Modell keine Laune zu befürchten haben. Doch schon einen Schritt weiter: Auch der Landschafter weiß von den Tücken des Objektes Schreckliches zu berichten. Sonne, Regen und Wind stellen sich zwischen ihn und sein Modell. Ist er Aquarellist, dann läßt plötzlicher Regen auf seinem Blatt alles durcheinanderlaufen; arbeitet er mit Öl, dann wirft ihm totsicher der Wind den frischbestrichenen Keilrahmen gegen den neu erstandenen Anzug. —

„Maler und Modell" sind eine Begriffsgruppe, bei deren Nennung auf manchem Rücken eine Gänsehaut entsteht. Und dabei geht es oben hinter den Glasfenstern der Ateliers gar nicht so schlimm zu. Nur sind Maler und Modell umwoben von den letzten Resten der Romantik, die in unsere Tage hineinflattern, teuer bezahlt mit einem Beruf, der bei aller inneren Befriedigung nicht die geringste wirtschaftliche Garantie bietet.

Menschen, die in einem Atelier hausen, zählt die Gesellschaft zur „Bohème". Das Komische ist dabei, daß eben diese Gesellschaft eben diese Bohémiens gleichzeitig und gleichermaßen beneidet und verachtet. Die Menschen mit „richtigen" Berufen suchen nach allen Gelegenheiten, um mit Malern in Verkehr zu kommen, sogar die Gefahr eines Bilderkaufes schreckt sie nicht. Die Maler ihrerseits haben zur Ermöglichung und Belebung der wechselseitigen Beziehungen die herrliche Erfindung der Atelierfeste gemacht, bei denen man sich nachweislich ohne Geld halb tot amüsiert. Der Bürger ist stolz, zu einem solchen Abend vier Treppen hoch unters Dach klettern zu dürfen, und prahlt damit in seiner ganzen Bekanntschaft. Warum? Wieso? Weil er hinter der wackeligen Tür mit dem verbeulten Briefkasten unerhörte Sensationen der Pikanterie und der Freiheit wittert, wie wenn er, in feudaler Umgebung, vor dem Vorhang eines Revuetheaters sitzt. Und wenn er nun drin ist in der bescheidenen Behausung, finden er oder seine snobistische Freunde es „einfach goldig", den Pelz über eine Kiste legen zu müssen, die alltags Eßtisch und Waschtisch zugleich sein muß. Am andern Tag hat sich der Zaun des Nichtverstehens wieder aufgerichtet, und man ist vorsichtig-reserviert gegen die, mit denen man sich in der Ateliernacht herumgeduzt hat. Erst wenn es einem Künstler durch Glück oder überragendes Talent oder beides gelang, anerkannt, berühmt, reich zu werden, dann wird er aufgenommen und für voll angesehen. Dieser Zeitpunkt ist die Krisis in seinem Leben: Kann er auch im Weihrauch der Kritik und der öffentlichen Meinung noch weiter so arbeiten, trübt ihm die reichere Umwelt nicht den Blick für sein Arbeitsfeld? Und daneben steht das Modell, das alles mit ihm trug und ihn und seine Arbeit so liebte, daß es jetzt still zurücktritt.

Links:
Liebe zur Natur schützt nicht vor ihren Launen

Fig. 4: Page four of Jeanne Mammen's illustrations for Hermann Krehan's *Der Maler und sein Modell* ['The Painter and his Model'] (circa 1927), watercolour and pencil, original size unknown. *Die Woche*, Heft 31, 29 Jg., Juli 1927. (c) VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2013.

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living at no. 29 only first appears in Berlin public address books in 1921.[4] The centrality of this space for Mammen and its important preservation today, supports art historical investigations into the biography of the artist by lending further potential meaning to her works, as well as allowing for wider understandings of the social conditions in which the artist lived and worked. Similar investigations have formed the basis of recent art historical writing by Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (2005) and Mary Jane Jacob (2010) and successful exhibitions curated by Giles Waterfield (2009). By examining *Der Maler und sein Modell* alongside Mammen's letters (1946–1975) and collected objects found in her studio apartment, this paper challenges previous scholars' interpretations of Mammen's life-long identification with outsider-figures and argues for the social reconfiguration of her studio as part of this. This approach questions readings of the artist's studio as a mythical space[5] and demonstrates how Mammen's collecting practices connect her and her studio space to the world around her. Consequently, where relevant, this paper suggests how *Der Maler und sein Modell* helps us understand the artist's attitudes towards art and the artist function until her death in 1976. Although moving between the historic specificity of text/image produced in 1927 and contexts thereafter is potentially problematic, I do not deny that this timeframe produced unique sets of social conditions, which complicate interpretations of Mammen's protracted isolation: the National Socialist dictatorship, WWII and the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. However, unlike previous interpretations of Mammen's oeuvre as a series of corresponding stylistic and political "breaks"; moving from the social realism of the 1920s, through cubo-expressionism during the 1930s and towards lyrical-abstraction in later life, I stress the "continued" social engagement of her work through this exploration of the role of art and artist function.

2 *Jeanne Mammen or the art of 'disappearing'* (Lütgens 1997b: 10)

Scholarly interpretations of Mammen's life and the artist's own comments have led scholars Annelie Lütgens (1991), Hildegard Reinhardt (2002) and more recently, Carolin Leistenschneider (2010), to conclude that Mammen lived a socially withdrawn life which was guided by her enduring interest in late nineteenth-century French cultivations of the creator as ascetic outsider. Born in Berlin, Mammen

4 Moreover, the previous occupant of Mammen's studio apartment, renowned photographer Karl Schenker, is still listed as living at number 29 in 1920. For entries Mammen and Schenker see the Berliner Adressbuch der Jahre 1799 bis 1943, Teil I, p. 1877, through http://adressbuch.zlb.de/ accessed July 2012.

5 I am thinking in particular here of interpretations forwarded by scholars such as Caroline Jones (1996) in her discussion of the significance of studios for post-war American artists.

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moved with her family to Paris in 1900, where she and Mimi later began their training as artists (Reinhardt 1991: 82–83). The family were forced to flee to Germany in 1914 and arrived in Berlin in 1916. Mammen's enduring love of French literature is evidenced through her extensive collection of books in her studio apartment.[6] These scholars concur that Mammen's particular admiration of Gustave Flaubert's novel *La tentation de Saint Antoine*, 'The Temptation of St. Anthony' (1849, 1856 and 1872) directly influenced her early symbolist imagery and, more crucially, her self-critical position as an artist throughout her life.[7] Having trained as an artist at the Parisian Académie Julian in 1906 and at the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles in 1908, Hildegard Reinhardt convincingly argues that Mammen knew the work of Félicien Rops and Jean Delville, whose imagery influenced her own series of drawings in 1910 depicting Flaubert's tortured St. Anthony (Reinhardt 2002: 10–11). Leistenschneider further emphasizes Mammen's knowledge and ownership of the philosophical writing of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche, which underpin symbolist pictorial tropes that allied artistic creation with asceticism and corporeal suffering (2010: 87). Mammen's apparent uncomfortable relationship with other people, as well as her enduring knowledge of Flaubert's text throughout her life (Kinkel et al. 1978: 93–102), are understood as compelling evidence that the artist cultivated a type of self-imposed isolation, legitimised through such artistic and literary *Außenseiterrollenmuster* 'outsider role models' (Leistenschneider 2010: 93).

Mammen's preserved studio apartment (Jochens 2011: 36–38) is used further as a way of legitimising this self-imposed isolation (Figure 5). Mammen is described as withdrawing into this space, where she lived alone after Mimi moved out around 1936. The studio apartment, a small space of 53.16 square metres is reached after crossing the courtyard and up four flights of stairs. There is no kitchen, only two hotplates, a sink with cold water, a sofa, chairs, a wardrobe, bookshelves, chest of drawers and a small bed. The toilet is in the upstairs corridor. Mammen's frugal living conditions are perceived as a critical response to the development of Berlin around her, for she only reluctantly acquired a telephone near the end of her life "just in case" (Kuby et al. 1978: 116). She is interpreted as finding little affinity with the plethora of cinemas, cafés and amusement halls on Kurfürstendamm: a boulevard, integral to the western part of Berlin (Roters et al. 1978: 9). Moreover, this same studio apartment became a survival space of "inner immigration" during the National Socialist dictatorship (Lütgens 1991: 98–99; Roters et al. 1978: 53) and remarkably withstood the allied bombing of Berlin during WWII, thereby increasing perceptions of Mammen as introverted.

Mammen's collecting habits are also understood as indexical signs of a hermit existence (Leistenschneider 2010: 2 and 81–93). This studio space has been billed

6 According to the Förderverein archive's unpublished list of Mammen's library, the artist has over two hundred volumes by French authors.

7 Mammen's library contains two editions of Flaubert's text from 1849 and 1856.

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Fig. 5: Jeanne Mammen in her studio-apartment on Kurfürstendamm (circa 1946). On the wall her own painting *African Mask* (circa 1939–42) (centre) and sculptures *Small Head* (circa 1945) and *Musical Clown* (circa 1942) (far left). Photographer Elsa Thiemann née Franke. Image courtesy of the Förderverein der Jeanne-Mammen-Stiftung e. V.

a "nest" and "second skin" (Roters et al. 1978: 9) housing collected artefacts for over fifty years: wax votives, glass, wood and clay figures arranged alongside masks, magazines, sculptures, paintings, seashells and driftwood (Figure 5). The bookshelves reveal further passions for literature, philosophy, folklore and art. Mammen had an intense and intimate relationship with these objects, some of which clearly played an important role in her artistry. Collected artefacts are represented in her works, or are transformed into art objects themselves through cutting, doodling and painting.[8] Such subject-object relations share affinities with Walter Benjamin's understanding of collecting, (in his case he collected primarily books), as anarchic and destructive. According to Benjamin, "[the collector] dreams his way not only into a bygone world, but at the same time into a better one [...] in which things are liberated from the drudgery of usefulness", or typical

8 Such transformations include: *Der Querschnitt* with painted pages, writing in Jeanne's hand and bits cut out of photographs; Mammen's copy of Jean Giraudoux's *Belle* from 1947 with ink doodles and the self-painted wardrobe in her bedroom.

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monetary value (Benjamin [1931] 1999: 62). For Benjamin, as for Mammen perhaps, collecting served as a renewal of an "old world", which acted to subvert the animosity she felt for the consumerism of the Kurfürstendamm. Indeed, Mammen's own friends point towards her dislike of materialism through her own comments, "I hate having to go into shops and having to choose", further affirming the artist's ascetic tendencies (Kinkel and Kuby et al. 1978: 98 and 117). Such interpretations, however, lend themselves to what Brian O'Doherty has deemed a problematic fascination with artists' studios. These studios essentially become "para-creations, footnotes to the departed painting", which in some cases come to "stand for the art", be it through examination of the physical spaces themselves, or gallery-museum simulacrum[9] (O'Doherty 2009: 6). Mammen's studio apartment has been interpreted as an isolated "womb" therefore, in which her art was mystically conceived.

In light of these previous approaches, Mammen's illustrations for Krehan's narrative in *Die Woche* appear misplaced. As Krehan's title suggests, *Der Maler und sein Modell* 'The Painter and his Model' focuses on the relationship between the model and artist in the studio, emphasized by Mammen's first illustration depicting a male artist copying a female model (Figure 1). The closeness of text and image suggests Mammen knew Krehan's narrative, for her illustrations consolidate his textual exploration of the different types of model an artist encounters. Mammen therefore portrays the same artist with both male and female portrait sitters, be they a scrawny-suited male, modish flapper who is unsatisfied with her portrait, fearsome lion-tamer, or fat, unattractive capitalist portrayed flatteringly (Figures 2–4). Conversely, Mammen did not, as far as we know, accept commissions for portraits, nor invite models into her studio.[10] However, her portrayal of the tensions between the artist and his sitters signifies the act of commissioning as artistic compromise and begins to point towards the optimum creative experience of social isolation, (as unadulterated inner contemplation), defined by Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (Leistenschneider 2010: 34–35). Moreover, as an artist himself, Krehan's text, written in the first person, defends the artist ascetic through his zealous description of the "professional" relationship between the artist and model (Kosch 1960: 1096; Krehan and Mammen 1927, 31: 32–33). Consequently, Krehan dismisses the "bourgeois perception" of the studio as a site of unfettered sexual pleasure and instead emphasizes the model's "protective male chaperone" and the artist's overall "lack of money" (Krehan and Mammen 1927, 31: 34). Perhaps deliberately echoing an earlier Director of the Weimar Art Academy, Paul Schultze-Naumburg (Berger 1982: 112–114), where Krehan tells the reader he

9 For simulacrum I mean here in terms of intentionally distorted studio spaces such as Paul MacCarthy's installation, *The Box* (1999): his studio preserved in a box in a gallery space, but turned on its side.

10 There is one possible early watercolour and pencil drawing suggesting a female model (Mimi?) posing in Mammen's studio apartment (Merkert 1997: 240).

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trained, the article argues that many of the models the artist is forced to paint are in fact "old" and "ugly" and therefore possess no seductive "threat" whatsoever.

Mammen's illustrations reinforce Krehan's narrative. Consequently, she depicts an old hag trying to restrain a man who clumsily knocks over plant pots in a futile attempt to glimpse the artist-model encounter in a nearby studio. The accompanying caption emphasizes the man's pointless curiosity further proclaiming, "*Vorsicht! Lebensgefahr! (Warum in die Ferne schweifen* –)" 'Careful! Danger! Why gaze into the distance'. Mammen's portrayal of the artist's ill-fated sufferings is further signified by the assurance of academic acclaim conflicting with his abstract "avant-gardism"[11] (Krausse 2006: 44) (Figure 2). The caption "Himmlischer Lohn – die Bilder werden gehängt!" 'Heavenly reward-the pictures are to be hung!' suggests the eventual "skying" of his work in a position in the academy, (if his work is accepted at all), where no one can see it. Paint-spattered (Figure 2), tearing out his hair (Figure 3) and crouched, rain-drenched under an umbrella (Figure 4), the painter's tortured body, although ridiculous, can be considered similar to the visual manifestations of the outsider role models with which scholars Leistenschneider, Lütgens and Reinhardt associate Mammen's early symbolist imagery. However, interpreting Mammen's work in these terms undermines the significance of the artist's playful and self-critical understanding of herself as a "female" practitioner.

3 Mammen's mocking of phallic authority

The magazine in which *Der Maler und sein Modell* appeared had a set format that was well established by 1927. The magazine had first appeared in 1899 and was published by the August Scherl publishing house in Berlin. It contained local and international news in pictures, reviews of theatre, fictional stories, puzzles and numerous advertisements. Articles such as *Die Großstadt der Zukunft* 'The Metropolis of the Future' with Strozoda's fantastical illustrations (Dominik 1924, 15: 386–388), or 'Können wir uns mit Mars verständigen?' 'Can we come to an understanding with Mars?' (Anon 1924, 15: 369) also indicate the importance of humour. The fact that Mammen's work originally appeared in high quality colour further suggests the significant position the story occupied in a magazine, which in 1927 only boasted a few coloured pages in each edition.[12] The article's central role in the magazine is also signalled by Mammen's mock-up drawing of an original front cover entitled *College X* [sic] 'Colleague X', portraying the depleted figure of a

11 Simply put, overemphasis on colour and expression/distortion were considered 'anti-establishment' and greeted with hostility amongst conservative (academic) camps.

12 I am indebted to Adelheid Rasche for discussions on magazines during this period.

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Fig. 6: Jeanne Mammen, *College X* [sic] ['Colleague X'], undated (circa 1927), watercolour and pencil, 33.5 x 26 cm. Unsigned. Title page intended for *Die Woche,* Heft 31, 29 Jg., Juli 1927. (c) VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2013.

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scrawny artist, bent double, painting at his easel (Figure 6).[13] Moreover, articles by writers such as Clara Viebig and advertisements for face cream, female hygiene and slimming techniques in the magazine indicate that female readers were also important (Viebig 1924, 14: 348).

Considering Krehan's and Mammen's article in the context of *Die Woche* suggests it was mocking two discursively constructed positions of the male artist: the artist as impoverished bohemian and the artist as potent creator. Following Irit Rogoff's illuminating discussion on representation of the male artist in Germany, it can be argued that these characteristics function autonomously as distinguished sets of ideas but here, are interconnected around notions of creative "vision", "authority" and "masculinity" (1991: 116–147) that would have been obvious to the magazine's readers based on previous stories relaying (male) artistic agony (Münchhausen 1924, 18: 465). In emphasizing the artist's "professionalism", ensuing economic problems and complex negotiations between artist and patron, Krehan refutes myths of artistic bohemianism. He describes the hypocrisy of those who visit the artist's studio in the hope of nocturnal adventure, yet barely acknowledge this figure during the daytime. Bohemianism is not a self-conscious position by the artist therefore, rather discursively constructed by the patrons who commission his work. As O'Doherty succinctly points out, '"the bourgeoisie [...] consigns its alienated imagination not only to the artist, but to the magical space where art is pondered and brought into being" (2009: 6).

Mammen's illustrations signify this discursive recognition by parodying the long-established tradition of the male artist in his garret (Figure 1 and Figure 6). Such garret studios had again become popular in France during the nineteenth century through the likes of Paul Cézanne's *The Stove in the Studio* (circa 1865) and Octave Tassaert, *Interior of a Studio* (1845). Although not dissimilar to symbolist emphasis on artist marginality and suffering, these works do not depict battles with metaphysical worlds or *femme fatale* figures, rather romanticise the social conditions within which the artist is compelled to create. *College X* (Figure 6 and Figure 1) can be considered as subtly referencing such works. For example, the artist's canvases turned to the wall and stacked near to his stove are not unlike Cézanne's, whereas his depleted figure and his black cat, share affinities with Tassaert's slumped artist warming himself with his white cat by the fire. However, the dangling pink socks, the cheeky cat perching precariously on the artist's shoulder, the playful spider silhouette and the obvious disparity between imagined putto and screaming child-reality, caught in the caption, *Großmutters Goldkind hat noch nicht die richtige Einstellung zur Malkunst* 'Grandmother's golden-child does not yet have the right attitude towards art', all point towards Mammen's pictorial ridicule of such enduring myths.

13 This is the only preserved original drawing of the series. The whereabouts of the other nine originals are unknown.

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In Berlin's rapidly growing market economy, bohemian contrivance was outmoded. Artists could not afford to shut themselves away and sample the "exquisite dish" of loneliness, as author Robert Walser's pre-war commentary already recognised ([1910] 2012: 62). Having lived with his brother, Karl, an artist, in the same apartment building as Mammen on Kurfürstendamm in 1910 (Ortmanns 2010: 41), Walser's comment at the beginning of this paper suggests that he understood the importance of engaging with the metropolis if an artist were to make his mark. Upon arriving back in Berlin in 1916, Mammen too recalls in a letter to her friend, the painter Hans Thiemann how she realised that this was not a city for bohemians, unlike Paris, noting, 'even the bohemians in Café des Westens were smartly turned out and ordered their drinks with a friendly, but distanced tone from *Herrn Oba* [sic] 'waiter'. "They [so-called bohemians] were money grabbing and those who didn't have any were regarded simply as wasters" (Delbrück et al. 1978: 144). Mammen's comment significantly connects dwindling bohemian culture with increasing commercialism, sentiments of which are also found in the writing of her contemporaries Joseph Roth and Eugene Szatmari. Both writers report disparagingly regarding the mainstream changes in Berlin's café culture, which now only boasted a boring cross section of Berlin's metropolitan population seeking entertainment (Roth [1923] 2003: 135–139; Szatmari 1927: 114–124). Moreover, the fact that *College X* was in reality not reproduced on the cover of *Die Woche* suggests that using the motif of the artist's garret to encourage magazine sales in 1927 was perhaps too risky. Instead, the magazine used the glamorous image of a woman. Whilst Mammen's early works suggest an iconographic identification with outsider role models, by 1927 she and her sister were professional artists producing magazine illustrations, fashion plates and film posters and negotiating contracts with the Ullstein and Scherl publishing houses. The notion that she self-critically positioned herself as a solitary ascetic during this period, be this in line with artistic or literary role models, is therefore not convincing.

Mammen's illustrations lend further weight to renewed consideration of the artist alongside her female colleagues in Weimar Berlin. Having trained in Paris and Brussels, both her own education and collection of books suggest she was well aware of established discursive constructions of artist canonicity. This is evident in her collection of artist monographs, with books on Bosch (1922), Brueghel (1921), Rembrandt (1900), Picasso (1927) and Cézanne (1922), some of whose publishing dates suggest that they were perhaps acquired during the decade in which *Die Woche* illustrations appeared. Mammen's correspondence with friends also reveals these interests. In a letter dated 1947 to émigré scientist Max Delbrück, Mammen asks if he has seen Alexander Korda's 1936 film, *Rembrandt*. Described by Mammen as "ghastly", she decides "One should never ever film very creative people; it is a big sin [...]" (Delbrück et al. 1978: 126). In this film Rembrandt adheres to all artistic clichés, seducing his wife and smuggling criminals into his studio. Nine years later in 1956, Mammen's friend, the artist and art historian Friedrich Ahlers-

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Hestermann (1883–1973), published a small book on Pablo Picasso entitled *Maler und Modell* 'Painter and Model', which Mammen kept in her library. The book contains his commentary on Picasso's drawings depicting all types of artist-model relationships converging around and mocking (potent) creativity (Ahlers-Hestermann 1956: 6). Ahlers-Hestermann's critical engagement with such clichés in the book's introduction, as well as his attack on Berlin's stringent artistic conservatism, might be explained through his own advanced teaching methods (1956: 7–8). He was a life drawing master between 1928 and 1933 in Cologne, teaching both men and women and became the newly appointed director of the Department of Fine Arts in Berlin's Akademie der Künste the same year his Picasso book appeared (Manigold 1986: 28–29). Moreover, Ahlers-Hestermann's monographs on artists such as Käthe Kollwitz (1952 and 1960)[14] and his German-Russian wife, the artist Alexandra Povórina with whom Mammen was friends,[15] indicate his potentially progressive, if not liberal attitudes towards women professionals. Moreover, it is clear he not only supported Povórina as an artist in her own right, but also her commitments as a lecturer at the Hochschule für Angewandte Kunst in Berlin Weißensee (Manigold 1986: 41–44). Consequently, it is perhaps unsurprising to find early examples of Mammen's work similarly questioning the presumed phallic (physical and cultural) authority inherent in the act of creativity.

Unlike Schopenhauer's and Nietzsche's writing, Krehan presents the necessary sexual abstinence of the artist ambivalently and in fact admits that "private" relationships between artist and model do happen (Leistenschneider 2010: 29–36). When artist and model come together it is because she is a "lover of *his* art" [my italics]: darning his socks and cooking his dinners (Krehan and Mammen 1927, 31: 33). Consequently, Krehan's typological descriptions of "ugly", "old" and "beautiful" models uphold artist-virility as the considered norm. When Krehan recounts how he is forced by Professor Schnell to approach the muscle-bound boxer, Paul Vierkant, to be his model, Krehan's distress is signified by descriptions of Vierkant as a man "of muscular magazine-perfection [...] who filled the whole doorframe" (1927, 31: 32). Krehan's narrative therefore reinforces contemporaneous portrayals of the male artist as openly masculine (and heterosexual), which have since been identified by scholars in the self-portraits of painters such as Lovis Corinth, Otto Dix and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner posing with their female models (Duncan 1993: 81–108 and Meskimmon 1999: 237–240). Moreover, Dix was said to have become "the most talked about portraitist in Berlin" precisely because of the exhibition of a self-portrait in which he clearly sought to emphasize his status as a professional

14 Noteworthy in the Kollwitz publications is Ahlers-Hestermann's (emotive) emphasis on her successful roles as mother *and* artist (Kollwitz 1952: 9–11).

15 Mammen owns an exhibition programme of Povórina's retrospective at the Haus am Lützowplatz in her library with a preface written by Ahlers-Hestermann. There is a dedication in the front from Ahlers-Hestermann and their daughter Tatiana.

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artist a year before *Der Maler und sein Modell* appeared.[16] Interestingly, this 1926 portrait exhibited in Galerie Nierendorf has been interpreted as having a "defensive" quality about it, although ultimately Dix depicts himself as an archetypal dandy (O'Brien-Twohig and Keith Hartley 1992: 157 and 160). Mammen's illustrations parody such portraits, for instead of mastery in her images; the artist is shown to be both helpless and clumsy, stepping onto paint tubes in his ill-fitting slippers in an attempt to calm a screaming child in a scene of uncomfortable domesticity (Figure 1). Opposite the strength and beauty of the female lion tamer brandishing her whip, the artist shrinks behind his canvas and when confronted with the criticisms of a female patron, he completely loses his nerves (Figure 3).

Parodic images of role reversal in the artist's studio were not particularly unusual. However, the fact that a female artist produced these drawings is significant (Bing 1910, 46: 117 and Weisgerber 1909, 17: 387). Indeed, two years earlier in 1925, Mammen completed an illustration for the story *Das unschuldige Mädchen* 'The Innocent Girl' for the magazine *Der Junggeselle* 'The Bachelor', depicting a depleted male artist opposite a confident, beautiful female model (Barr 1925, 37: 14). The caption between the model asking *Ausgerechnet auf so'n Pinsel muß ich reinfallen!* and the painter *Aber liebes Kind, bei uns Malern hast Du doch die Lippenfarbe umsonst bekommen!* 'Trust me to fall for such a type!' 'Why my dear child, you did get your lip colour for free from us painters!' reinforces the discordance between the painter's unwavering optimism and his dissatisfied model. Mammen's drawing shares extraordinary similarities with Joseph Hémard's satirical illustrations for Henry Murger's famous stories *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* 'Scenes of Bohemian Life' (1847–9), which appeared in 1921. Crucially, Hémard's images maintain the traditional artist-model status quo, whereas Mammen's "Bohème" does not. Considered as such, I argue that Mammen's images for *Die Woche* begin to allow a closer positioning of the artist in relation to her female contemporaries.

4 Reconsidering and retaining the female artist

In emphasizing Mammen's identification with nineteenth-century outsider role models, scholars Leistenschneider, Reinhardt and Lütgens emphasize that it is the notion of the eventual transcendence of the flesh that Mammen sought in literary figures like Flaubert's St. Anthony. Consequently, Mammen's uncomfortable relationship with her own body demonstrated by comments "my body is a burden" and "I only want to be a pair of eyes" in order to create a sense of her own invisibility, find parallels in Flaubert's wrestling with his own body as a writer (Leistenschneider 2010: 88–89; Lütgens 1991: 206–208). Further compelling simi-

16 For further examples of Dix's potent creativity see *Self-Portrait with Nude Model* (1923) and *Self-Portrait with Muse* (1924).

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larities are revealed through Mammen's wish to, and Flaubert's actual wearing of a monk's cowl, signifying respective longing for a type of disembodied creativity (Leistenschneider 2010: 88). However, these parallels continue to define Mammen through her relationship to the male subject. As Leistenschneider readily suggests, there were no female outsider role models with whom Mammen could identify (2010: 93). Moreover, although Lütgens points out that Flaubert should not be considered simply as articulating similar forms of outsider ideal as other male symbolists, she still infers that ultimately Mammen was unable to sympathize with "revolutionary" female artists like Hannah Höch and found little affinity with her work (1991: 208). Conversely, I argue that because women artists were working from the real position of marginality within established cultural frameworks, not one cultivated from a position of luxury like men, this situation needed challenging.

Evidence suggests that Mammen recognised the importance of being a woman artist and did not necessarily distance herself from the traditional "feminine" ideal. Although there are few self-portraits, photographs exist of Mammen in her studio apartment throughout her life (Figure 5). These range from casual snap-shots with friends, to formal photographic portraits for exhibition prospects taken by the Bauhaus photographer Elsa Thiemann.[17] The function of many of these photographs is unclear, but none appear to have been used in popular magazines such as *Der Querschnitt* featuring photographs of artists such as Mira Sohn alongside images of growing woman professionals (1924, 6: between pages 392–393). Despite these ambiguities, however, we might consider such photographs as consolidating artistic authority through the adoption of performative strategies not unlike those revealed in the self-portraits of Mammen's female contemporaries such as painter Lotte Laserstein (Meskimmon 1999: 238–240; Krausse 2006: 124–125; Rowe 2006: 68–88). Taken a few years after Mammen's illustrations for *Die Woche* and when both sisters were established artists, the photograph from circa 1930 shows the sisters Mimi and Jeanne taking tea in their studio apartment (Figure 7). Sitting elegantly with their legs crossed, both women wear mid-length skirts, stockings with dainty shoes and sport fashionable bobbed hairstyles. Their body language and dress, coupled with the act of taking tea, point towards their middle class background (Reinhardt 1991: 81–82). However, the notable number of paintings and the room partition behind which is a small sink, reveal that this is a temporary "domestic" scene erected within their studio workspace. Both sisters also wear painters' smocks over their fashionable dress, a similar smock in which Mammen is photographed over fifteen years later. Together, these potentially conflicting

17 Another of Elsa Thiemann's photographs of Mammen appears in the *Almanach der Galerie Gerd Rosen* in 1947, the same year in which Else, (maiden name Franke), married Mammen's close friend and later correspondent Hans Thiemann. Else had met Hans Thiemann at the Bauhaus school, where he was a student in Wassily Kandinsky's painting classes.

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Fig. 7: Jeanne Mammen (right) with her sister Marie Louise Mammen (Mimi) in their studio apartment (circa 1930). Photographer unknown. Image courtesy of the Förderverein der Jeanne-Mammen-Stiftung e. V.

signifiers point towards a resolute understanding that historical perceptions of "femininity" still felt during the early thirties, do not undermine the cultural authority of women's artistic practice.

Mammen's apparent lack of interest in clothes and her cross-dressing in photographs align her further with the androgynous body of the ascetic or homosexual (Leistenschneider 2010: 81–88 and 93; Lütgens 1991: 23 and 205). However, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest Mammen was a lesbian as scholars continue to assume. Leistenschneider further argues that Mammen also used artistic strategies of "uglification"[18] that she associates with the "hard", "jagged" and "spiteful" lines of Mammen's contemporaneous self-portrait of circa 1933 (2010: 85; Merkert 1997: 187). Such interpretations underplay the popularity of cross-dressing amongst women at that time (Meskimmon 1999: 199–229), as well as Mammen's notable sense of humour.[19] In a second portrait of the sisters from the same set of

18 Mammen's friends are ambivalent about her appearance. Comments by Hans Thiemann to Mammen in letters from the 1970s suggest that she resembled the cabaret star Margo Lion (1899–1989) (Mammen and Thiemann 1979: 29–31).

19 A number of unpublished photographs of Mammen in the Förderverein archive suggest meticulous attention to fashionable detail through jewellery, scarf rings, belts and hats. Moreover, her maintained interest in her appearance can be found in unpublished letters from the artist to Hans Gaffron dated 24. 09. 46 asking for stockings in her CARE-packages. Here Mammen is very specific

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photographs, both women have removed their smocks and pose in the fashionable clothes they wear beneath.[20] There are no obvious painterly attributes around them. However, it is Mammen who now assertively meets the viewer's gaze and Mimi who stands in profile. Pictured full length, both sisters show a clear interest in contemporaneous fashions some of which could have been found immediately at 28 Kurfürstendamm, where Marie Latz had a renowned women's fashion salon from 1919 until 1927 (F. C. Gundlach, Uli Richter and Katja Aschke 1993: 123 and 248). In challenging the viewer's gaze, Mammen might be understood as establishing her position as active viewing subject, who is both viewed and confidently viewing, thereby undermining previous scholarly focus on Mammen's own proclaimed invisibility (Lütgens 1991: 205). Crucially, the artist's femininity is part of this subjectivity. Together, these two photographs highlight the playful changing appearance of the sisters, which is captured further through Mammen's attitude towards her biography throughout her life. Noted for her own unwillingness to give biographic details, Mammen would wittily remark to Max Delbrück in 1970 that her biography was a "*bio*schraffie", (schraffieren means to hatch or crosshatch in German), signalling the underlying humour implicit in these so-called "hard" and "jagged" lines that Leistenschneider identifies with Mammen's self-representation (Delbrück et al. 1978: 142). Whilst there is no evidence to suggest that these photographs of the Mammen sisters were produced for wider viewing, they can nonetheless be understood within the growing field of women image-making and makers of the Weimar Republic and thereby move away from the artist's identification with male outsider role models and instead towards inclusionary frameworks.

If we allow Mammen's work to be positioned alongside that of her female contemporaries, her mocking of phallic authority also points towards her recognition of the ongoing restrictions that women artists in Berlin still faced. Despite Krehan and Mammen's ridicule of enduring myths, Anna Havemann points out that unlike other academies in Germany, (such as Weimar and Stuttgart), through the directorship of Anton von Werner (1845–1915) Berlin's Akademie der Künste did in fact lag far behind its European counterparts. It still forbade women to participate in life drawing classes, even after their admittance to study in 1919 (Havemann 2011: 15; Krenzlin 1992, 1: 73–87). Indeed, the author and women's rights campaigner Lenore Kühn (1878–1955) complained that such restrictions and conflicts were often the root cause of a lack of self-confidence for many woman artists, which ultimately helped sustain their continued cultural exclusion (Jankuhn 2004: 49–50). Mammen's training at the Parisian Académie Julian meant that she had in fact been able to attend such classes and her comments suggest how informative this period of "constant sketching" was to her artistry (Kinkel et

that they should be a particular denier and 'not too thick, not too thin' and in 'brown tones and dark, rather than light'.

20 Photograph in the Förderverein archive.

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al. 1978: 93). Indeed, the role life drawing played in Mammen's creative development is indicated by the one thousand, two hundred and seventy-four drawings she produced throughout the thirties, when she regularly attended a studio in the Hardenbergstraße. Part of the reason Mammen enjoyed these classes was that they appeared to have had few of the formal constraints associated with academic study, for you could simply "come and go as you pleased" (Kinkel et al. 1978: 95).

In an on-going discussion in her letters to Hans Thiemann about her art education, Mammen recalls that despite pedagogic equalities, her colleagues in Brussels were in fact still somewhat bemused at the prospect of an eighteen year-old-Demoiselle like Mammen winning the class medal for composition (Mammen and Thiemann 1979: 32). It is perhaps significant therefore, that Mammen's drawing of the male artist sketching in a hallway full of women for *Die Woche* bears a resemblance to the corridors of the Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels (Lütgens 1991: plate V), where she received this prize (Figure 3). Seen alongside the conflicting interests of academic acclaim and "avant-gardist" abstraction, conflicts that raged throughout the first decades of the twentieth century (Figure 2), Mammen's illustrations for *Die Woche* suggest that she was connecting institutional conservatism with enduring artist-model myths. What could be considered historical debates in progressive France by 1927, were still topical for Berliners. Moreover, Mammen's mocking illustrations perhaps found their resonance with the female readers of a magazine in which Clara Viebig had so optimistically proclaimed that women "were now able to take up any profession [... they] wanted" (Viebig 1924, 14: 348). In reality however, there were clearly caveats.

In the second half of the twenties, although training was still far from equal, women artists were in fact gaining notable public presence through the formation of cultural organisations. In the same year *Der Maler und sein Modell* appeared, two exhibitions dedicated to working women and female artists were held in Berlin (Havemann 2011: 21). Six years later, Mammen herself was to exhibit with one of Berlin's most notable all-female organisations, the Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen und Kunstfreundinnen 'Organisation for Woman Artists and Female Art Friends' that, since its establishment in 1867, provided women with formal training and growing exhibiting possibilities (Fuhrmann and Jestädt 1992, 2: 353–366). Although not a formal member, Mammen's work in the Verein's 1933 exhibition *Frauen im Beruf* 'Women Professionals', alongside twenty-nine other women artists, indicates that she was part of such exhibiting cultures (Züchner 1992, 2: 268; Cierpialkowski and Keil 1992, 2: 383) and crucially, points towards her fostering of friendships with other female artists.[21] The notably provocative theme of this

21 Scholars overemphasize Mammen's lack of contact with women as part of this hermetic framework. Unpublished letters in the Förderverein archive reveal Mammen was very close to Stefanie Nathan (the second wife of well-known satirical artist Albert Schäfer-Ast) whom she continued to write once 'Steffie' had immigrated to England (nine letters exist from between 1939 and 1970). Steffie was also a professional artist who illustrated magazines such as *Das junge Deutschland*, Nr. 4/5, vol. 2., 1919, the cover of *Die Dame*, Nr. 1, Januar, 1923 and Nr. 17, June 1923.

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exhibition also suggests perhaps why Mammen deliberately contributed and carefully kept the exhibition reviews.[22] Whilst no evidence exists to suggest close contact with the Berlin studios of Lotte Laserstein or Hannah Höch, the artist's preservation of articles such as *Frauen haben mehr Stolz: Wie Berliner Künstlerinnen leben* 'Women are more proud: How Berlin's female artists live' (1951), which compares Mammen's (lack of) public presence to Höch and sculptor Renée Sintenis and upon which Mammen has scribbled a large exclamation mark, indicates that she maintained an interest in her discursive positioning amongst female contemporaries.[23] Indeed, Mammen's commissioning of two newspaper clipping services, Dr. Max Goldtschmidt's Büro für Zeitungsausschnitte and Adolf Schustermann's Zeitungsnachrichten-Büro to send her reviews of her work and her own exhibitions during the 1920s and early 1930s, demonstrates that it was during this time that she began to carefully consider the public reception of her work.

As a result of her interest in fellow artists, Mammen would have been aware of the essentialist approval of Sintenis' animal sculptures as "appropriate" (Scheffler 1920, 18: 184; Biermann 1933, 22: 15),[24] as well as enduring continual comparisons of her own work to that of the "männliche" (male) style of counterparts Otto Dix and George Grosz (Osborne 1930; Lütgens 1991: 77–79). Certainly, contemporaneous reviews by male critics suggest Mammen's work was perceived as being particularly vicious in its portrayal of men. In reviewing her first solo exhibition at Galerie Gurlitt, three years after *Der Maler und sein Modell*, Max Deri asks whether the artist's works do not signify a "[...] woman's revenge? Revenge for centuries of intellectual quashing?" (Deri 1930, 288). Consideration of Mammen's pan-European education and early professionalism in Berlin therefore, points towards a closer alignment of the artist with her female contemporaries. Conversely, it might be considered odd that the artist was never actually an official member of such all-female organisations, nor did she own literature such as Hans Hildebrandt's *Die Frau als Künstlerin* [Woman as Artist] (1928), nor indeed other books relating to women artists in her library. Sexual difference appears not to be the prime, or certainly not the only motivating factor behind Mammen's 1927 illustrations.

22 The Förderverein archive contains a large folder of press articles Mammen kept from 1930 onwards.

23 Albert Büsche's article appeared on 24. 06. 51 in *Sonntag Der Tagesspiegel*, Förderverein archive.

24 Sintenis worked with Mammen's close artist friends Hans Uhlmann and Hans Thiemann in the Berliner Neuen Gruppe (founded 1949) and also exhibited with Mammen (Reuter 1992, 1: 170–175).

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5 The social context of *Die Woche:* recognising the importance of the artist as mediator

Mammen's concentration on subjects of social marginality such as gangsters and homosexuals during the 1920s in particular, has also been interpreted in relation to her identification with outsider role models[25] (Leistenschneider 2010: 83). Mammen's later abstract images are posited as ascetic signs and ciphers signifying her further withdrawal post-World War II (Leistenschneider 2010: 86). Such readings risk conflating gradual abstraction with perceived disengagement and infer that Mammen's studio apartment space became a place of intensified social retreat (Leistenschneider 2010: 84–86; Roters et al. 1978: 9–13; Lütgens 1989: 76). However, Mammen's illustrations for *Die Woche* point towards art and the artist function as rooted in the real world of work and achievement. Art should be understood as a socially mediatory practice and it is through this lens we should also interpret Mammen's studio apartment.

Mammen's interest in portraying social outsiders gives an identity to sectors of society not traditionally deemed "worthy" artistic subject matter. Whilst not unusual amongst her Neue Sachlichkeit contemporaries for doing so, Mammen's function as artist might be understood in relation to what Irit Rogoff has termed a "social mediator". Rogoff convincingly argues that the artist Max Liebermann's paintings reveal both his political preoccupations and social responsibility from the privileged position of an academician and the upper middle classes. Rogoff's interpretative framework is helpful in pointing towards Mammen's own mediatory position as an artist also from a middle class family but who, unlike Liebermann, turned to *Gebrauchsgraphik* 'mass illustration' as a way of addressing social issues. Like Liebermann therefore, Mammen portrays subject matter, which negated the "inherited values of culture as the forum in which only one dominant class' values could be reflected" (Rogoff 1991: 131). Despite the difficult financial position Mammen and Mimi had to endure during this period, rather than identifying with, and thereby consolidating her own isolation, we should consider Mammen's works as advocating forms of social inclusion. As Rogoff posits, "[...] any articulation of marginality is by definition part of a critique since it is inscribed with the issue of exclusion" (1991: 131). This critical inclusion is revealed through both the subject matter of *Der Maler und sein Modell* which, as I have argued, parodies social exclusion from the position of a female artist, and further through consideration of the wider mediatory position *Die Woche* occupies in the field of mass, visual reproductions.

25 Rita Täuber, Ute Scheub and Gertrude Cepl-Kaufmann's explorations of the femme *flâneur* also discuss Mammen and other female artists in the role of the flâneur figure who is able achieve a paradoxical 'closeness' to their subjects through forms of distanced vision.

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Although it was ardently patriotic, *Die Woche*'s mediatory position can be gauged through its significant choice of authors and article subject matter, which reported stories of crime and poverty (Ewers 1924, 15: 364; Schwormstädt 1924, 15: 365–368). Notably Mammen's only other known illustrations for the magazine were for the well-known author Kurt Münzer and his narrative, *Licht und Schatten* 'Light and Shadows', which appeared two months earlier in May 1927 (Münzer 1927, 22: 629–632; Merkert 1997: 252–253). Here, Mammen portrays the starving children, single mothers and disabled beggars of the city, which Münzer unambiguously blames on American capitalism (1927, 22: 629). From a good middle class Jewish family, parallels can be drawn between Münzer as author and Mammen as artist, for Münzer's work also concentrated on social outsiders.[26] The mediatory potential of this collaboration is signalled through the readers' confrontation with Mammen's images and Münzer asking middle class readers to question their privileged positions.[27]

Krehan's and Mammen's collaboration should also be considered mediatory. In reality, Krehan's training as a fine artist made him a set designer for Berlin's Kabarett der Komiker (KadeKo) in 1926 (Völker 2010). By its nature, the cabaret is noted for both its closeness to its audiences, as well as by the then contemporaneous critic Max Herrmann-Neisse for its "fighting, rebellious, satirical, attacking, [...]" function (Völker 2010: 28). Working concurrently in KadeKo when he wrote *Der Maler und sein Modell*, it is easy to see why therefore, Krehan wrote a narrative whose focus was on parodying the outmoded cultural clichés of the socially disengaged artist. Moreover, the regular reviews of smaller theatre groups and cabarets in *Die Woche* suggest why Krehan might well have been known to the magazine's readership and his views on the subject of art respected.[28] Mammen's interest in portraying social outsiders served as thematic markers of the constant absences and exclusions in monolithic cultural and social practices, to which, as a woman artist, she could perhaps relate. However, this critical position, as I have argued was not an isolated one, rather one which did show degrees of affiliation with female organisations. Crucially, Krehan's and Mammen's respective mediation is allied with both their own left-wing sympathies.[29] Despite no conclusive evidence to suggest that Mammen was ever a member of the German Communist Party (KPD), the artist visited Russia in 1932 with sculptor and KPD member Hans Uhl-

26 For example, *Der weisse Knabe* (1921), the story of theatrical child exploitation and also *Mich hungert* (1929) and *Menschen am Schlesischen Bahnhof* (1930).

27 Advertisements for 'Benz Automobile', Gold-fountain pens, gramophones and the 'ICA Camera', suggest a well-off readership.

28 Whether Mammen went to any KadeKo performances is unknown. However, given the cabaret's close proximity on Kurfürstendamm from 1925, it is not improbable.

29 KadeKo held strong left-wing sympathies for which many of its members went into exile during 1933. In one of the last productions Krehan and his stage sets of Hitler caricatures were attacked by a group of SS men brandishing bier glasses (Völker 2010: 101).

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mann, distributed left-wing material on Kurfürstendamm with Uhlmann in 1933 (Kuby et al. 1978: 115) and nurtured long friendships with like-minded writers such as Erich Kuby and scientists Kurt and Grete Wohl and Hans and Clara Gaffron who all shared similar left-wing democratic sympathies.[30] Moreover, her left-wing sympathies also remain evident in later works, particularly in relation to her 1932 contributions to the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung* and in her 1946 and 1948 contributions to *Ulenspiegel* (Lütgens 1991: 139–141).

Mammen's underlying political sympathies might also be intimated further through her interpretation of "avant-gardism". In *Die Woche* she notably depicts canvases portraying forms that are not dissimilar to those used by Russian Constructivists (Figure 2*)*. In rejecting the notion of autonomous art, the Constructivists no longer considered themselves artists, rather engineers and exhibited works in the 'Russian Art Exhibition' in Galerie van Diemen in 1922 and at the 'Great Berlin Art Exhibition' in 1923. In her illustrations for *Die Woche* four years later, Mammen's use of geometric abstraction could be understood as a further way in which she points towards social forms of art in line with her questioning of the artist's status.[31] Indeed, this early engagement with abstraction significantly becomes a politicised *tour de force* in the artist's cubo-expressionist works during the 1930s and during the later decades of her life in relation to debates on artistic style between the eastern and western sectors of a post-World War II divided Germany. During these subsequent decades, Mammen's abstraction is interpreted as politicised forms of Utopia (Lütgens 1989: 76; Lütgens 1991: 134–135, ff. 45, and 234). Despite never returning to her social realism of the 1920s therefore, her enduring friendships and interest in political discussion signal a maintained understanding of art and the artist function as politically and socially engaged.

Final comments should be made in relation to *Die Woche*'s function as object within Mammen's studio apartment. Editions of *Die Woche* form part of the artist's collection of magazines, books, exhibition and theatre programmes which, not unlike Benjamin's book collecting (Benjamin [1931] 1999: 69) have been interpreted as acting like "building blocks, into which [… he] disappeared, away from the world" (Roters et al. 1978: 9–13). However, parts of Mammen's collection also signify the movement of objects back and forth from her studio, a space that was not hermetically sealed therefore, rather where objects were in fact "ingested and digested" (O'Doherty 2009: 26). A key example of this is Mammen's *Bücherkarren* 'book cart', which she operated with Hans Uhlmann on a Kurfürstendamm side street, between 1933 and 1934 (Eschmann 2012: 59–64). Surviving photographs show Mammen standing by her cart and handwritten pages document the sale of

30 Gaffron is said to have voted for the KPD in 1932 (Rürup 2008: 200).

31 Not all of Mammen's work was considered 'mediatory'. *Die Rote Fahne* decided in 1930 that the subject matter of her works was ultimately too 'bourgeois'. 2. Beilage, Nr. 276, 26. 11. 30, Förderverein archive.

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prints in commission from Galerie Gurlitt, as well as books and magazines and some of her own art work.[32]

In his research on book carts, Michael Eschmann emphasizes the social aspect of such book carts as Mammen's, where items were often exchanged and people stood talking together (Eschmann 2012: 59–64). Unlike Benjamin's books, which were marked by their quiet isolation, packed away in the privacy of boxes, objects from Mammen's collection were inherently linked to the economic and social conditions in which she lived. The book cart suggests that some of these objects circulated as part of social fabric of Kurfürstendamm. Consequently, other objects in Mammen's collection should be considered in these terms, such as the wax votive baby and child's head both brought back from a church in the Canary Islands and the confectionary papers, (of which she had boxes full), collected by friends (Kinkel et al. 1978: 100). These objects reinforce social exchanges, be it directly with friends, through travelling, or indirectly through their original connection to daily practices such as church worship.[33] Annelie Lütgens also highlights the way in which Mammen used the objects in her studio-space as a way of ordering her works into their own cultural context, the extent of which is evident in the backdrop of Elsa Thiemann's photographs of the artist (Figure 5).[34] Here, in placing her own sculptural forms and paintings alongside North America ethnographic objects, stencils, images of Asian dancers and European architecture, Mammen's collecting deems as both anarchic *and* socialising. Social realignment of Mammen's collecting practices points towards her studio apartment not as a space of mystical creation in which she shut herself away but rather as a *lived*, porous space in the heart of the hubbub of west Berlin between which objects, friends and Mammen herself constantly moved.

6 Conclusion: "One should remain unreservedly modern"[35]

Scholars and Mammen's friends dispute the artist's own regard for her Weimar production during her life. Whilst Mammen herself was surprised at the public's enraptured "rediscovery" of her magazine illustrations during the 1970s,[36] com-

32 The receipt book documenting what was sold is in the Förderverein archive and dates from 24. 8. 1933–20. 1. 1934. There is only one entry for 1934.

33 Jeanne travelled extensively throughout her life until well into her eighties, for example, Russia (1932), Italy (1954), Spain (1968), Morocco (1969), Canary Islands (1972) Avignon (1973) and Hamburg (1975).

34 I am indebted to Annelie Lütgens for discussions on Mammen's studio.

35 A quotation from Arthur Rimbaud who Mammen greatly admired.

36 Mammen's ambivalence is demonstrated by her incredulity in a letter to Thiemann that someone, "an idiot", would pay 1,800 German marks for an original watercolour she produced for *Simplicissimus*. Mammen to Thiemann 24.04.70. (Delbrück et al. 1978: 141).

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ments by her in fact point towards their enduring social function (Delbrück et al. 1978: 141). Upon seeing the prostitutes in Amsterdam during her many travels, Mammen recalls in a letter in 1967 to Thiemann how, "had I still worked for *Simpl* [the satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*], I would have drawn a whole series of them row upon row" (Delbrück et al. 1978: 137). Using *Der Maler und sein Modell* to come to wider conclusions about Mammen's overall understanding of the role of art and the artist function is therefore helpful. In its satirical exploration of the bohemian male artist, Krehan's narrative and Mammen's illustrations bring to the foreground wider practices of social and cultural exclusion, particularly for women artists, in Weimar Berlin. Due to the longevity of painter and model debates in Berlin as well as the changing culture of the bohemian café life, the article's mocking of cultural clichés would have been topical for *Die Woche* readers.

Der Maler und sein Modell also points further towards the underlying complexities of Mammen's perception of art and the artist function. Whilst her collecting practices reveal the tensions between the poles of introversion and social configuration, so does her art. Her interest in playing with ascribed gender roles in early photos, as well as her association with all-female artist organisations suggest her illustrations for Krehan's article functioned as a parody of phallic authority. Whereas Annelie Lütgens posits Mammen's art as her main way of "playing out the [feminine] decorative", I have argued that by discursively positioning *Die Woche* and by examining photographic examples, Mammen actively contributed to women's artistic practices (1991: 207). Yet the artist's unwillingness to talk about herself or to help organise exhibitions (Mammen and Thiemann 1979: 29–30; Delbrück et al. 1978: 137), suggest that viewing her art as self-referential is not ultimately how we should interpret her work. Whereas previous interpretations of Mammen have forwarded one-dimensional understandings of the artist through her identification with male outsider role models throughout her life, I have argued for the artist function as social mediator, thereby emphasizing Mammen's art as both social and to a degree, Socialist. Through this approach, interpretations of the artist ascetic and the mythical studio apartment have been challenged. Mammen's own comments, "I really couldn't give a hoot", when asked about her legacy, demonstrate her utter refusal to be compared to "great" male artists and placed within "the" specialised field of art history (Kinkel et al. 1978: 100). Being an artist was natural: she had painted everything she could get her hands on since she was a child (Kinkel et al. 1978: 93). Moreover, Mammen's reluctance to belong to, or be affiliated with any particular organisation or political party signifies her unwillingness to ascribe to institutionalised socio-cultural and political practices in both her life and works. Art and the artist should remain of the present, "modern", as the comment by Arthur Rimbaud, whose work Mammen greatly admired, advocates (Hübner et al. 1978: 149–151). This does not mean fashionable or avant-garde, nor does it necessarily mean formalism as primary concern, rather socially engaged and engaging, as Krehan's and Mammen's *Der Maler und sein Modell* so

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skilfully and convincingly suggests. And it is through this social engagement that I argue we should begin to look at Mammen's work and her studio space anew.

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