Painting Colonial Fantasy: The Appropriation of South Seas Indigenous Art and Culture by German Expressionists, 1905-1925

By Sofia Erickson

The beginning of the twentieth century marked a new era in modern art in Europe. One of the most significant art movements of this time was German expressionism. This art movement began in 1905 with the art collective *Die Brücke*, founded in Dresden, Germany. *Die Brücke* was fascinated by "primitivism" and saw Indigenous cultures as untouched by European industrialization, one with nature, and simple. 1. German expressionist art is therefore undeniably appropriative of Indigenous art because *Die Brücke* began the expressionist art movement in Germany on the foundation of 'primitivism." This essay will examine the academic discourse on whether or not the expressionist movement was inspired by Indigenous art and culture or if German expressionists appropriated it from Indigenous people. I will examine the term "primitivism," why it is problematic and how it supported and emerged from colonialism. I will then look closely at two expressionist painters, Emil Nolde and Max Pechstein, and how their careers and art are tied to colonialism and the appropriation of Indigenous cultures. Lastly this essay will look at how German artists in the twenty-first century are reconciling with German colonialism and its effects on expressionist art. The culmination of these arguments is my assertion that German expressionist art is directly tied to the German Empire's colonial endeavours and these artists appropriated, and exploited, the art and culture of colonized Indigenous peoples in the South Seas for profit and fame.

Historiography

¹ Joseph Masheck, "Raw Art: 'Primitive' Authenticity and German Expressionism," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 4 (1982): 92–117, https://doi.org/10.1086/resv4n1ms20166680, 93.

Whether or not the use of "primitivism" in expressionism is inspiration or appropriation has been a debate in the art world almost since the emergence of expressionism in Germany in 1905. A famous debate was published in 1938 in the German literary magazine Das Wort. The debate was between Ernst Bloch, a German philosopher, and Georg Lukács, a Hungarian philosopher. Bloch saw the adoption of Indigenous art into modern art as an attempt to make art "of and for the people," while Lukács saw it as an appropriation of Indigenous art because it amalgamated all Indigenous art. Lukács said Bloch saw Indigenous art as "a heap of lifeless objects in which one can rummage around at will, picking out whatever one happens to need at the moment." Lukács' critique was not the popular narrative at the turn of the twentieth-century, and it was not until the 1990s that the narrative began to shift from the use of so called "primitivism" in German expressionism as being inspired from Indigenous peoples to being appropriated by these artists. American visual artist and author Joseph Masheck argued in 1982 that German expressionists and citizens alike had great admiration for Indigenous art and used it as inspiration for this new art movement. He argues that this is shown in the expressionist's paintings and the fact that Germans put Indigenous art and artifacts in their museums as "real art." In 1893 German art historian Ernst Grosse wrote the book *The Beginnings of Art*. Masheck argues that this was part of a turning point in Germany that began to respect Indigenous art as authentic and important rather than in its "childhood," as German anthropologist Gustav Klemm had asserted in 1845 in reference to the art of Indigenous peoples in the South Seas.⁴ Other scholars are skeptical about how much of an influence Indigenous art and culture had on German expressionism and other modern art of the beginning of the twentieth century. German-American

² Jill Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), viii-ix.

³ Masheck, "Raw Art: 'Primitive' Authenticity and German Expressionism," 94.

⁴ Masheck, "Raw Art: 'Primitive' Authenticity and German Expressionism," 101.

historian L. D. Ettlinger proposed that modern artists such as Pablo Picasso, Paul Gaugin, and the artists of *Die Brücke* "discovered" "primitive" art and used it to a certain extent in their art. However, he argues that this was not an appropriation of Indigenous art and was in fact uniquely European.⁵ Jill Loyd argues to the contrary. She asserts that Indigenous art and culture was the fundamental foundation to the German expressionist art movement as well as other modern art movements. Loyd cites expressionists' visits to ethnographic museums and human zoos as a critical source for the artist's fascination with non-European peoples which was in part the goal of these museums and zoos, to fascinate the German public and garner support for colonial endeavours.⁶ This can be seen in many expressionist paintings which depict Indigenous peoples in dress not typical of their tribes but instead seen in human zoos and other "people shows," which I will discuss below.

The impact of German colonialism on German art was nearly completely neglected in historical analysis until the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty first century. The book *Kirchner and Nolde: Expressionism, Colonialism* brings together the work of eighteen historians and scholars to create a full in depth look at the unignorable connection between German expressionism and the violence and racism of German colonialism. This book, published in 2021, is the first all-encompassing look at the appropriation of Indigenous art and culture by German expressionists and how it lent to the enchantment of German citizens with colonialism.

Primitivism

⁵ L. D. Ettlinger, "German Expressionism and Primitive Art," *The Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 781 (April 1968): 191–201, https://www.jstor.org/stable/875584, 191-192.

⁶ Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, x.

⁷ Brett M Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy" (dissertation, The University of Iowa ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2009), vi, 16.

⁸ Sophie Tates et al., Kirchner and Nolde: Expressionism, Colonialism (Munich: Hirmer, 2021).

Modern art which derives from Indigenous art and culture is known as "primitivism." Primitivism derives from Europeans' long established fascination with the "exotic." This fascination was increased and fed by German imperialism to garner support for the colonies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The influence of colonialism in German expressionism was discredited on behalf of the more popular narrative that these German artists were taking Indigenous, "primitive," art and putting their own, unique, European spin on it. Art historian Brett M. Van Hoesen wrote, "Portraying 'authentic' native culture irrespective of European influence often produced a contrived result, where the impact of colonialism was either ignored or outright denied." This comes back to the historiography of German expressionism being, until very recently, based upon the notion that expressionist artists were inspired by Indigenous art and culture, not exploiting or appropriating it. Believing that the artists were simply inspired erases the Indigenous exploitation and racial violence that took place for these artists to access so-called "primitive" art in the first place.

Classically, "primitive" forms of art have been deemed "low culture," but German expressionists such as Nolde and Pechstein appropriated "tribal" or "primitive" art, as it was called, and it was soon accepted as an up-and-coming style of artistic expression. This occurred only after German colonialist expansion gave artists access to Indigenous peoples' art. The ethnographic museums and human zoos/exhibitions that Nolde and Pechstein visited were set up in part to establish racial and ethnic hierarchies to justify the colonization of previously occupied lands. The exhibits were racialized and depicted Indigenous culture as "primitive" and often amalgamated Indigenous cultures together to support stereotypes already prevalent in the minds

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⁹ Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy," 47.

¹⁰ Van Hoesen, 47.

¹¹ Masheck, "Raw Art: 'Primitive' Authenticity and German Expressionism," 93.

of German citizens.¹² However, German expressionists were not the first to appropriate and fantasize Indigenous peoples and their cultures. Pechstein and Nolde were greatly inspired by French impressionists such as Henri Matisse, Paul Gauguin, and Eugene Delacroix who traveled to places such as North Africa and Tahiti and often depicted racialized women in the nude and on display for men and enforced this trope that was in reality a fabricated narrative.¹³

Die Brücke artists were fascinated with "primitivism" and had an "idealization of the nude in nature." The artists of *Die Brücke*, along with other modern artists of the time, were disenchanted with the confines of European industrial life that was gray and dull. They saw Indigenous culture as spontaneous and full of colour. It was simple as opposed to the hustle and bustle of capitalist life. 15 Of course this was a gross oversimplification that came from imperial and colonial narratives. Masheck wrote about the German fascination with Indigenous cultures, stating, "…[Indigenous cultures] revived Romantic ideals of tapping into the lifeblood of nature, primitive art seemed to offer the possibility of emotional release from a sometimes excruciating discontent, feeding a spiritual, if sometimes quasi-pagan, longing for freely externalized feeling" The artists of *Die Brücke* were projecting their fantasies onto the colonized people.

Die Brücke is credited with creating expressionism when it was founded in 1905.¹⁷ Expressionism emerged from Die Brücke's fascination and appropriation of Indigenous art. Their founding manifesto is a woodcut with lettering stylized from "tribal" art. (Fig. A1) The Museum

¹² Tates et al., Kirchner and Nolde: Expressionism, Colonialism, 43.

¹³ Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy," 59.

¹⁴ Van Hoesen, 50.

¹⁵ Andrew Zimmerman, "Primitive Art, Primitive Accumulation, and the Origin of the Work of Art in German New Guinea," *History of the Present* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 2011): 5–30, https://doi.org/10.5406/historypresent.1.1.0005, 13.

¹⁶ Masheck, "Raw Art: 'Primitive' Authenticity and German Expressionism," 94.

¹⁷ Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, vi.

of Modern Art in New York City which houses the manifesto describes the art style as "primitive." The manifesto reads,

With a belief in continuing evolution, in a new generation of creators as well as appreciators, we call together all youth. And as youth carrying the future, we intend to obtain freedom of movement and of life for ourselves in opposition to older, well-established powers. Whoever renders directly and authentically that which impels him to create is one of us.¹⁹

Die Brücke craved what they saw as "primitive authenticity." They wanted to usher in a new generation of people who went against the status quo of modern capitalist life. They turned to Indigenous art to do this and passed it as their own creation.

Nolde, Pechstein, and other artists attended *Volkerschauen* (ethnic shows) where people from Africa, Asia, and the Americas were put on display and acted out fictitious scenarios that fit into stereotypes of Indigenous peoples that were passed off as "scientific." Nolde's *Dancer* (Fig A2) was likely inspired by these faux traditional African dances he witnessed at a *Volkerschauen*. The figure in *Dancer* is depicted nude save for a grass skirt, typical of *Volkerschauen* shows.²⁰

Artists attempted to recreate what they saw in these *Volkershauen* in studios. The studio setting is vital to understanding the appropriation of Indigenous cultures by German expressionists. The studios in which many expressionists' paintings were created were adorned with various textiles and objects which were observed in ethnographic museums or inspired by *Volkerschauen*. These studio settings were highly performative and fictionalized but gave the artists the illusion they were interacting with authentic "primitive" and "tribal" art and culture.

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¹⁸ Die Brücke. *Manifesto of the Brücke Artists' Group*, 1906, woodcut, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City. https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/objbytheme/objbytheme themeid-2034773_sov_page-11.html

¹⁹ Translated by Leicester's German Expressionist Collection, "Die Brücke (the Bridge)," – Leicester's German Expressionist Collection,

https://www.germanexpressionismleicester.org/story-of-expressionism/expressionist-groups/die-bruecke-(the-bridge

²⁰ Tates et al., Kirchner and Nolde: Expressionism, Colonialism, 28-29.

Models were even brought in from German colonies to pose and create this fantasy world the expressionists artists craved.²¹ These models were often posed nude as can be seen in the image of Milly and Sam in Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's studio in Berlin (Fig A3).

Emil Nolde

Emil Nolde was a German expressionist who was part of *Die Brücke*. He joined the art collective in 1906 and left shortly after in 1907 due to his concerns that other members of the collective were trying to seduce his wife, Ada.²² Despite his short time in *Die Brücke*, Nolde shared the collective's "primitive" art style and obsession with Indigenous ways of life. In October of 1913 Nolde and his wife went to the colony of German New Guinea where he got to witness the "primitivism" with which he was enamoured.²³ Nolde was interested in Indigenous peoples and art as a remedy to stale traditional European art.²⁴ After arriving in New Guinea Nolde's idealized perception of Indigenous culture was met with the harsh reality of settler colonialism. Most of the Indigenous peoples Nolde interacted with were forced labourers and he quickly realized many of them were dying due to colonial rule. He wrote in his journal, "...if a colonial history were ever written from the perspective of the coloured natives, then we Europeans would crawl into holes with shame." However, he did not believe an Indigenous history would ever be written because of what he described as the European, "corrosive drive to exterminate."

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²¹ Tates et al., 29.

²² Aya Soika, "Brücke-Museum: Künstler: Emil Nolde," Brücke Museum, n.d., https://www.bruecke-museum.de/de/sammlung/kuenstler/774/emil-nolde.

²³ Zimmerman, "Primitive Art, Primitive Accumulation, and the Origin of the Work of Art in German New Guinea," 16.

²⁴ Zimmerman, 13.

²⁵ Zimmerman, 19.

²⁶ Zimmerman, 19.

Despite Nolde's disgust with German colonial practices he did not stop him appropriating the art and culture of the Indigenous people of New Guinea. Not only did Nolde appropriate Indigenous art in his paintings, but his watercolours were also used by the German Colonial Office to garner support and show the vibrant life of colonized peoples without revealing its dark and genocidal underbelly. Nolde openly offered these paintings to the German Colonial Office as "racial knowledge." Although Nolde was seemingly aware of the horrors of colonialism, his view was also clouded by racialized colonial thinking and the capitalism it brought. Historian Andrew Zimmerman wrote on this, stating, "Nolde could not understand the primitive because, like many Europeans, he took the poverty and abjection caused by colonialism for the remnants of a precolonial condition." Nolde mistook the tattered garments worn by Indigenous workers as "authentic" dress but in actuality they the insufficient clothing provided by the colonizers who were essentially enslaving them.

Looking at Nolde's art, one can clearly see the appropriation of Indigenous art of New Guinea and other colonized peoples. Nolde's 1911 painting *Masks* (Fig A4) is derivative of traditional masks found in New Guinea and other areas of the South Seas (Fig A5). The geometric shapes and vibrant colours are characteristic of these masks, other woodcuts and face paint that are culturally significant to Indigenous groups. This painting was completed before Nolde's trip to the South Seas in 1913, therefore one can surmise that Nolde saw *stolen* tribal masks in Germany's ethnographic museums and copied them to create this painting rightly titled *Masks*.

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²⁷ Zimmerman, 21.

²⁸ Zimmerman, 23.

After his time in German New Guinea Nolde's art shares explicit similarities to Indigenous art carved into roof beams in various Indigenous houses.²⁹ An example of a typical Palauan wood carving can be seen here (Fig A6). Wood cut art became extremely popular amongst German expressionists. Nolde's wood cut *Candle Dancers* (Fig A7) combines traditional Indigenous wood carving with the exploitation of Indigenous bodies in the name of art. The piece lacks any great detail and relies on deliberate and bold lines with geometric features and undefined faces. The women in the wood cut are depicted in the nude except for what appears to be grass skirts characteristic of the *Volkerschauen*. These "ethnic shows," and the art they inspired, promoted support for Germany's colonial empire.³⁰ As a result, Nolde's art and the art of other German expressionists served to propagandize colonial Germany and created a nostalgia for Germany's empire after it was dissolved in the aftermath of the First World War.³¹

Max Pechstein

Pechstein was also a member of *Die Brücke*. He joined in 1906 upon invitation from founding member Erich Heckel and was a member until 1912.³² His affiliation with *Die Brücke* ignited his initial interest in "primitive" art. Importantly, German expressionists were not the first to appropriate and fantasize Indigenous peoples and their cultures. Pechstein and Nolde were greatly inspired by French impressionists such as Henri Matisse, Paul Gauguin, and Eugene Delacroix who travelled to places such as North Africa and Tahiti and often depicted racialized women in the nude and on display for men and enforced this trope that was in reality a fabricated

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²⁹ Tates et al., Kirchner and Nolde: Expressionism, Colonialism, 58-59.

³⁰ Tates et al., 144.

³¹ Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy," 45.

³² The National Gallery, "Max Pechstein," The National Gallery, London, n.d., https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/artists/max-pechstein.

narrative.³³ Like Nolde, Pechstein also travelled to the South Seas, to the islands of Palau. He arrived in 1914, commissioned to document the Indigenous populations and his experiences in the German colonies by the Fritz Gurlitt Gallery in Berlin. However, his time in the colony was cut short due to the outbreak of the First World War. His time on the islands never left him and influenced his art for the rest of his life. He had great nostalgia for his experiences in the colonies, especially after humiliation and loss during the war.³⁴

Pechstein dreamed of following the footsteps of Gaugin by travelling to "exotic" lands to live freely apart from the confines of European life.³⁵ He saw the German Empire and its colonies as the way to do this. Pechstein romanticized colonialism by depicting Palau as an untouched island paradise when in reality Palau was run by German businesses and colonial administration. Pechstein critiqued German colonialism and called Palau a "world of money hungry European business activity."³⁶ This critique did not come across in his paintings.

In Pechstein's 1921 painting *Summer in Nidden* (Fig A8) three nude women are depicted in a sunny and green valley. It is important to note that Nidden is not in the South Seas but in Latvia and the bronzed skin tones of the women are not typical of the population of the region. Van Hoesen argues that Pechstein transforms women of Nidden into racialized figures because he saw Indigenous populations as "one with nature" unlike the urbanized European women.³⁷ The painting also uses "primitive" aspects such as bold, geometric lines and undefined facial features.

³³ Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy," 59.

³⁴ Van Hoesen, 45, 70.

³⁵ Lloyd. German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, 45.

³⁶ Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy," 66.

³⁷ Van Hoesen, 57-58.

Pechstein's 1921 wood cut *Hallowed be / Thy name (Geheiliget werde / Dein Name)* from *The Lord's Prayer (Das Vater Unser)* (Fig A9) more blatantly appropriates Indigenous art from the South Seas. As mentioned above Pechstein remained nostalgic for Germany's colonies in the South Seas for the remainder of his life. His paintings and artwork continued to have racialized bodies depicted in the style of Indigenous cultures he witnessed in ethnographic museums, *Volkerschauen,* and his time in Palau. This woodcut closely resembles tribal masks created by Indigenous people of Palau. These masks were stolen and housed in ethnographic museums that Pechstein frequented. Pechstein uses jagged, angular lines that are typical of both German medieval woodcuts and Indigenous woodcuts of Palau. ³⁹

Modern Connection

Modern artists in Germany today are attempting to reconcile and critique Germany's colonial past and the impact it had on art. In 2000, German Kenyan artist Ingrid Mwangi created an exhibit at the National Museum of Women in Arts in Washington DC titled *Don't Call Me Neger* (Fig A10). The exhibit was a video of nine panels displaying Mwangi in various positions, obscured by her dreadlocks. In the video she is grunting and shouting, calling out German stereotypes about "primal" Africans prevalent in German society since colonial times. ⁴⁰ Another art installation also by Mwangi is called *Static Drift* (Fig A11). This work of art consists of two images of Mwangi's torso, one with the German geography saying, "Burn Out Country" and one

https://nmwa.org/blog/artist-spotlight/artist-spotlight-the-collaboration-of-ingrid-mwangi-and-robert-hutter/.

³⁸ Lloyd, German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity, 210-211.

³⁹ Heather Hess, "MOMA Max Pechstein. Hallowed Be / Thy Name (Geheiliget Werde / Dein Name) from The Lord's Prayer (Das Vater Unser)," German Expressionism, Works from the Collection, 2011, https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/artist/artist_id-4533_role-1_sov_page-60.html.

⁴⁰ Van Hoesen, "Weimar Re-Visions of Germany's Colonial Past: Max Pechstein, Hannah Hoech and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy," 156, J. Rachel Gustafson, "Artist Spotlight: The Collaboration of Ingrid Mwangi and Robert Hutter: Broad Strokes Blog," NMWA, April 6, 2020,

with the African continent saying, "Bright Dark Continent." The phrase "Dark Continent" was used by European colonizers to justify the genocide and exploitation of Indigenous peoples in Africa because they were not "enlightened with civilization." Mwangi calls out Germany's colonial past with this installation.

New Guinean artist and author Lisa Hilli critiques the exploitation and erasure of colonized peoples under the German Empire with her artwork titled "More than Just His Tolai Wife" (Fig A12). This image from German archives originally had the caption "His Tolai Wife," Hilli took this image and wrote repeatedly over it "Her name is laWarwakai." Calling out the objectification and exploitation of Indigenous women in colonized regions. This image is now part of the Brucke Museum in Berlin, Germany. This museum is dedicated to *Die Brücke* and attempts to connect the artists with colonialism and the appropriation of Indigenous art.

Conclusion

German expressionist artists appropriated Indigenous art and culture and benefitted from German colonialism. Even though both Nolde and Pechstein critiqued, and in some cases were horrified by, the actions of German colonial rule they did not stop appropriating, exploiting, and benefiting from colonial rule. German expressionism could not have emerged without racial and colonial violence against Indigenous peoples. This is seen not only in the colonies themselves but also in ethnographic museums, human zoos, and *Volkerschauen* which exploited Indigenous cultures to propagandize colonial rule. German expressionism is inseparable from Indigenous exploitation and appropriations. Artists such as those involved in *Die Brücke* saw Germany's

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⁴¹ Institute of Contemporary Art, "Static Drift," ICA Boston, August 11, 2023, https://www.icaboston.org/art/ingrid-mwangi-hutter/static-drift/.

colonies as an artistic playground for their own taking without any real concern for the inhabitants who were being exploited so they could have access to their "primitive" fantasy.

Appendix



Fig. A1

Die Brücke. *Manifesto of the Brücke Artists' Group*, 1906, woodcut, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY.

https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/objbytheme/objbytheme_themeid-2034773_sov_page-11.html



Fig. A2

Nolde, Emil. *The Dancer*, 1913, Lithograph, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY.

https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/artist/artist_id-4327_role-1_sov_page-50.html



Fig. A3

Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig. Sam and Milly in Kirchner's Dresden Studio, 1919, photograph,

 $\underline{https://smuarthistory.photoshelter.com/image/I0000QFeQ0GJbEDo}.$



Fig. A4

Nolde, Emil. *Masks*, 1911, oil on canvas, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO. https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/2223/masks.



Fig. A5.

Unknown artist. *Great Sepik tribe mask*, wood mask, Papua Museum, Gelnhausen, Germany. https://papua-museum.de/en/the-collection/.



Fig. A6

Unknown artist. *The Monster of Chelechui* (*Bersoech ra Chelechui*), wood carving, unknown location. https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/the-palauan-storyboards/.



Fig. A7

Nolde, Emil. *Candle Dancers*, 1917, Woodcut, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY. https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/object/object_objid-66001.html.

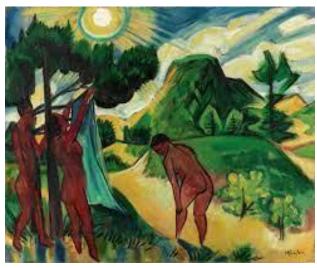


Fig. A8

Pechstein, Max. Summer in Nidden, 1921, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain.

https://www.museothyssen.org/en/collection/artists/pechstein-max/summer-nidden.



Fig A9

Pechstein, Max. Hallowed be / Thy name (Geheiliget werde / Dein Name) from The Lord's

Prayer (Das Vater Unser), 1921, Woodcut from a portfolio of twelve woodcuts and one woodcut cover, The Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY.

https://www.moma.org/s/ge/collection_ge/artist/artist_id-4533_role-1_sov_page-65.html.



Fig A10

Mwangi, Ingrid. Neger Don't Call Me (installation view), 2000; DVD, speakers, four wood chairs, and Dolby surround sound, National Museum of Women in the Arts,

Gift of Heather and Tony Podesta Collection, Washington, D.C.

https://nmwa.org/blog/artist-spotlight/artist-spotlight-the-collaboration-of-ingrid-mwangi-and-robert-hutter/



Fig A11

Mwangi, Ingrid. *Static Drift*, 2001. Chromogenic color prints, Institute of Contemporary Art,

Boson, MA. https://www.icaboston.org/art/ingrid-mwangi-hutter/static-drift/

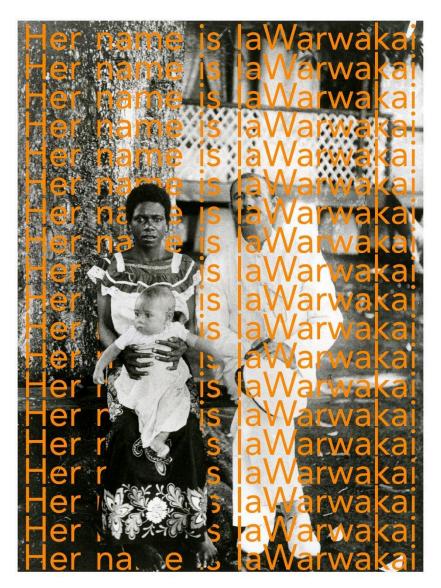


Fig A12

Hilli, Lisa. 'More Than Just His Tolai Wife' (Ia Warwakai, child and her husband Albert Hahl, Rabaul), 2021, Photo: photographer unknown, Brücke Museum, Berlin, Germany.

https://www.bruecke-museum.de/en/programm/ausstellungen/1423/transition-exhibition.

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