

Cat. No. 44  
*Garmisch*, October 13, 1933  
Pencil on beige paper, 9 7/8 x 7 inches.  
Courtesy, Marsden Hartley Memorial  
Collection, Museum of Art, Olin Arts Center,  
Bates College, Lewiston, Maine

## MARSDEN HARTLEY IN BAVARIA

Gail Levin

Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), the painter, poet, and essayist who distinguished himself as one of America's pioneer modernists, began to evolve his last great landscape style in the Bavarian alpine village of Garmisch-Partenkirchen during the autumn and winter of 1933-34. In May 1933, Hartley had returned to Germany for the first time since 1930, having spent a year in Mexico, during which time he lived on a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship. At the time, he was still deeply interested in esoteric mystical texts and these writings are reflected in the colorful, yet eccentric paintings he had produced in Mexico.

Hartley spent the spring and summer of 1933 in Hamburg, before traveling south to Garmisch-Partenkirchen, in the heart of the German Alps, in September. After the expiration of his fellowship, he was once again struggling financially, so that the lower cost of living away from urban life must have appealed to him. Beyond this, the similarity of the Bavarian Alps to the mountains in his native Maine must have attracted him.

Hartley had first visited Bavaria in January 1913, when, after a three-week trip to Berlin, he stopped off in Munich and met several of the avant-garde painters of *Der Blaue Reiter*, including Franz Marc (1880-1916), Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), and Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). During his 1933-34 stay in Bavaria, Hartley fondly recalled spending a weekend in Sindelsdorf in the Alps in the spring of 1913 with Franz Marc, when they walked the two miles from the

station to the German artist's home, enjoying the flowers and greeting Bavarian children with the local expression, "Grüss Gott," meaning "God greets you."<sup>1</sup>

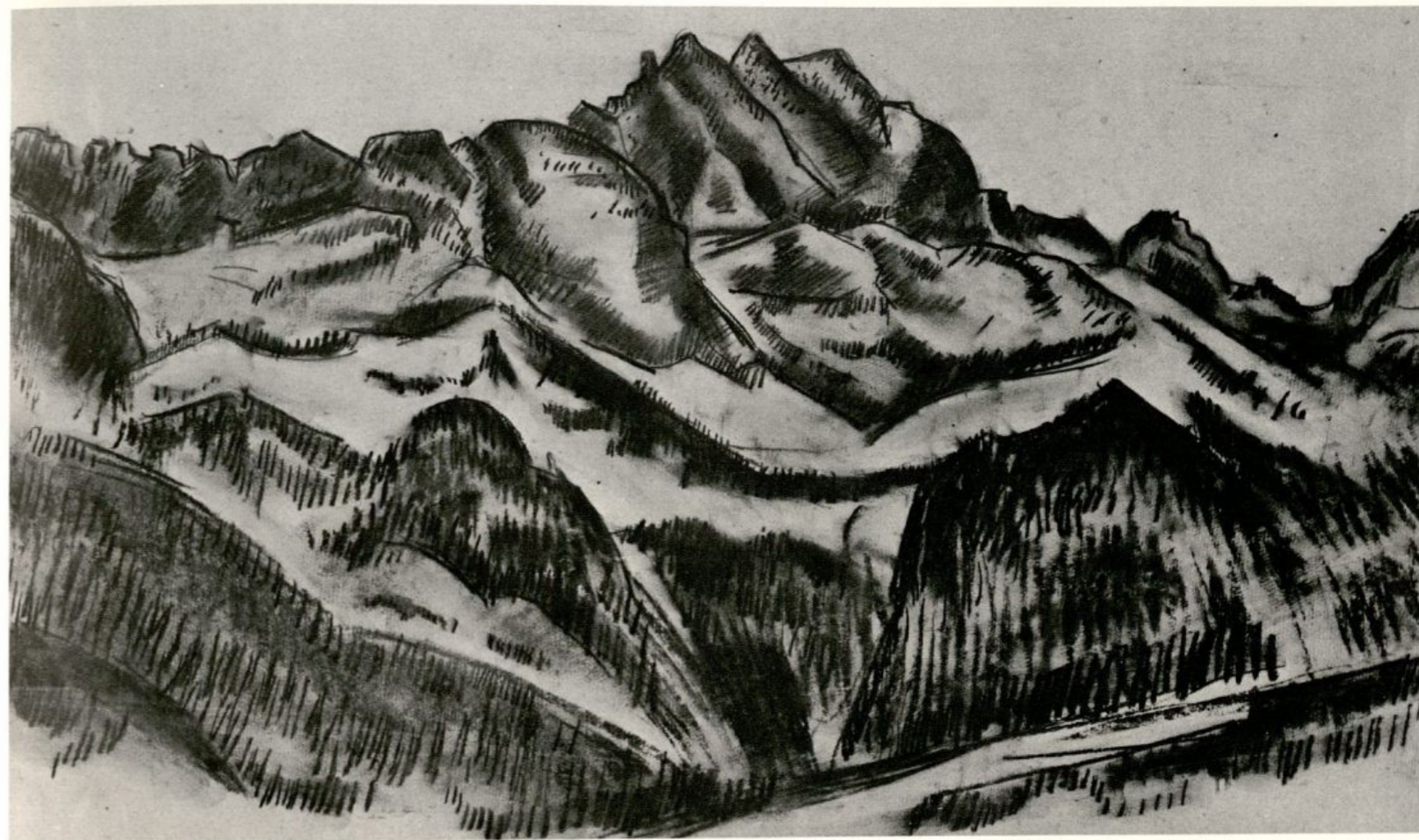
For his 1933-34 sojourn in Bavaria, Hartley lived in a boarding house, the Landhaus Schober (figure no. 2), in Partenkirchen at Triftstrasse 4. From his window, he could see a mountain view, which Herr Schober assured him was "very grand" from the Austrian side as well, just twenty-seven kilometers from Partenkirchen.<sup>2</sup> Even the name "Triftstrasse," suggests memories of Maine, for it means "floating street," deriving from past logging industry practices, when a complex system brought timber down from the mountains through exploiting the tossing icy waters of the Partnach Gorge.

Hartley enjoyed the spectacular alpine scenery surrounding Partenkirchen and participated enthusiastically in the Bavarian pastime of walking through the mountain landscape. During the first eight weeks, he made many excursions when he sketched the scenery, bringing back motifs to paint in his room. On September 7, 1933, he wrote to a friend that he had "had five days of alpinism which has been heavenly — O God so comforting to get next to rocks & earth again — and there can be no single form more glorious in all the Alps than these are — the Waxenstein alone would start another school of Chinese painting."<sup>3</sup> Hartley explained that Chinese artists understood the mountain "more than any other artists — the meaning of space the significance of rhythm and the quality of time in appearances...."<sup>4</sup>

When he wrote to his niece on September 30, Hartley complained: "The Alps are cloudy these several days but I must walk and talk with them just the same — They help me 'in time of trouble.' It's a bit lonely for I have nobody 'to play with.'"<sup>5</sup> This sense of isolation that so pained Hartley was in contrast to the company he had found among the American expatriate artists and writers he had encountered in Mexico. They included Paul Strand, Andrew Dasburg, Hart Crane, and Mark Tobey. The latter two, like Hartley, were homosexual, offering him a special rapport. Tobey also shared Hartley's fascination with esoteric religious ideas.<sup>6</sup>

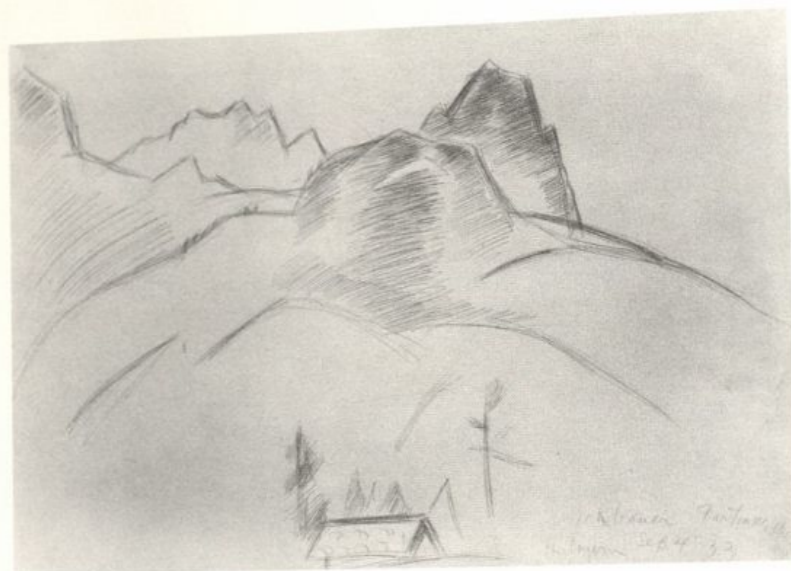


(Fig. 2) Haus Schober, Garmisch-Partenkirchen



Cat. No. 23  
*Dreiterspitze from Gschwandtnerbauer*,  
1933  
Charcoal on cardboard, 18 x 29 3/4 inches.  
Collection, Tobin Surveys, Inc.

Newly arrived in Bavaria, Hartley had to rely entirely upon himself. Nearly fifty-seven years old, he nonetheless made a rigorous daily schedule for himself with some challenging hikes. Hartley had a lifelong predilection for seeking out remote locales as his subjects. He had also been drawn to mountains since his youth. In 1908, he had painted mountains near North Lovell, Maine, in a Neo-Impressionist style. In 1919, he painted mountains around Santa Fe, New Mexico. Painting mountains in southern France during the late 1920s, Hartley focused on Mont Sainte-Victoire in homage to Cézanne. In New Hampshire in 1930, Hartley once again found mountains to paint. In Mexico, Hartley's dramatic views of mountains included the volcano, Popocatepetl.



A Bavarian sketchbook reveals the fruits of Hartley's solitary walks around Garmisch-Partenkirchen and suggests the motifs of the paintings which would follow. On the fourth and fifth of September, he climbed up 4,127 feet to the Eckbauer, sketching the Gasthof there and the views, including the higher peak of Karwendel and a view of Waxenstein (cat. nos. 63, 64, 66 and 67). On the tenth of September, he sketched both Waxenstein peaks (known as Kleiner and Grosser). Then on September 11, walking in the other direction, down the Triftstrasse, he sketched another view of the twin Waxenstein peaks (cat. no. 70). Two days later, Hartley sketched the Zugspitze several times and the two Waxensteins from Garmisch (cat. nos. 71 and 74). On the sixteenth of the month, he again recorded Waxenstein in a sketch entitled, *From Riesersee Waxenstein toward Höllen Tal Klamm* (cat. no. 75). He also sketched Waxenstein, a favorite motif, from vantage point of the Pfliegersee. By October 7, Hartley had discovered Gschwandtnerbauer under Wank peak, where he sketched Karwendel, Dreitorspitze, and a church in a distant mountain village.

In addition to his wanderings, Hartley came to appreciate "these Alps that stand so gloriously out of my window capped in snow now for the rest of the year...."<sup>7</sup> He also found the life in the small town

◀ Cat. No. 63  
*Mountain Landscape, House in Foreground, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *Eckbauer Partenkirchen Oberbayern Sep 4 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 10 5/8 x 14 7/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries

▲ Cat. No. 64  
*Mountain Landscape, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *From Eckbauer, Oberbayern above Partenkirchen Sep 4 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 10 5/8 x 14 7/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries



very agreeable. To his niece, he exclaimed: "I love village life of this sort where animals have just as much privilege as the people and so you will see a line of cows going up through the main street of Partenkirchen or a load of manure—sweet smelling after city odours...."<sup>8</sup> Even today, this charming aspect of Partenkirchen is still evident, as cows occasionally amble down the main streets calling a sudden halt to local automobile traffic.

Hartley captured the beauty of the local landscape in the paintings, drawings, pastels, and lithographs that he produced of the Bavarian countryside. In addition to the dramatic grandeur of the Alps, he also recorded some of the picturesque local color through his inclusion of characteristic examples of regional architecture. Most frequently, the only architecture visible in Hartley's Bavarian paintings are the small, low A-frame wood sheds built of logs that dot the fields in the countryside around Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Yet, he also painted the mountain Gasthof or guest house on Eckbauer and the rural mountain church visible across the valley from Gschwandtnerbauer (cat. no. 27).

▲ Cat. No. 66  
*Mountain Landscape with Pine Trees, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *Waxenstein Sep 4 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 10 5/8 x 14 7/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries

▶ Cat. No. 67  
*Mountain Landscape, Church Steeple in Foreground, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *Oberbayern, Karwendel und Ellmau Sep 5 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 10 5/8 x 14 7/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries



◀  
Cat. No. 70  
*Mountain Landscape, with Building in Foreground, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *The Two Waxensteins*  
*Sep 11 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 10 5/8 x 14 7/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries

▲  
Cat. No. 74  
*Mountain Landscape, Two Buildings in Foreground, 1933*  
Inscribed lower left: *Waxenstein Sep 13 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 14 7/8 x 10 5/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries



▲  
Cat. No. 75  
*Mountain Landscape, Twin Peaks, Trees in Foreground, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *From Riesersee*  
*Waxenstein toward Höllentalklamm*  
*Sep 16 33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 14 7/8 x 10 5/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries

▶  
Cat. No. 71  
*Mountain Landscape, 1933*  
Inscribed lower right: *Zugspitze Sep 13-33*  
Silverpoint on paper, 10 5/8 x 14 7/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries



Besides the landscape itself, Hartley drew inspiration from the art that he saw in Germany. On November 12, he was in Munich and, while there, visited the Alte Pinakothek. He reported to his niece: "I went to the museum yesterday only because it is my language and it is well every now and then to give a good sweep over a museum just to recall the different ways of speaking the language, and there is never a time when you don't get some new point of view from old things."<sup>9</sup> He was most enthusiastic about Albrecht Dürer's *Self-Portrait*, painted in 1500 (figure no. 3), exclaiming: "it is the all around best portrait that has ever been done by anyone at any time...Dürer seemed to have all that the eye can have, he saw things exactly as they were, and knew how to convey that impression...I would like to make a painting of a mountain and have it have all that this portrait has."<sup>10</sup>

During his visits to the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Hartley was also quite impressed by Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna with a Carnation*, painted about 1475 (figure no. 4). Several years later, in 1939, Hartley wrote an essay on this painting, which he recalled he had seen several times, remarking of the Madonna that "it is as if the crisp mountains in the distance send toward her their glacial recognition."<sup>11</sup> Examining this painting, we can have no doubt that, in 1933, Hartley would have been fascinated with Leonardo's depiction of the alpine mountain landscape in the painting's background, visible in the distance, dramatically framed by double arcades. Hartley described the landscape "out of the window as one of the best pieces of mystical landscape ever done by anyone..."<sup>12</sup> and referred to the landscape in a later essay as:

those strange mountains out of the four round-arched windows, the kind of vista out of which little but discomfort can come since one cannot learn exactly what the place is, among whose valleys and crevices flood, tornado, the sudden pressure of glaciers all ominous and foreboding, where the imagination functions stronger than anywhere else in the picture, as if to represent the fatigue of the world in the attempt to struggle with the divine idea, that strange austere wisdom which seems always to reside in the appearances of nature, and probably because we



(Fig. 3) Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, 1500. Oil, 67 x 49 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich



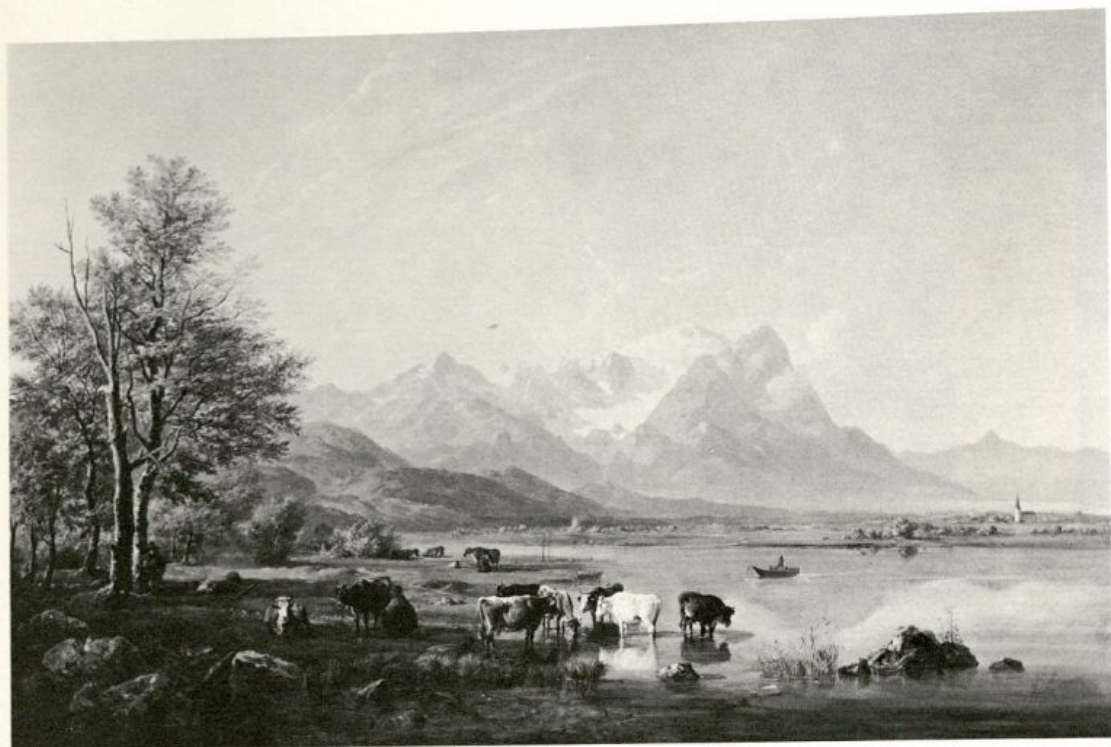
▲ (Fig. 4) Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna with a Carnation*, c. 1475. Oil, 62 x 47.5 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



► (Fig. 5) Caspar David Friedrich, *Mountain with Rising Fog*, 1810. Oil on canvas, 54.9 x 70.3 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

ourselves being foolish, all things else in nature look more intelligent than we because they act so, those strange appearances that come to the surface at times as if to terrify the world into a state of recognition.<sup>13</sup>

Hartley's rambling prose does offer insight into his own rapport with the landscape; he drew emotional sustenance from his direct interaction with nature. He was also intensely concerned with the specificity of the landscape he painted. He did not just paint generalized mountains, but wanted, indeed, to paint his mountains the way Dürer painted the expressive realism of his *Self-Portrait*. This explains Hartley's predilection for hiking such distances to seek out his particular landscape subjects. He would enthusiastically walk as far as seven miles with his sketching materials in tow, because he so earnestly wanted to convey the exactness or individuality of each site he painted.



Hartley explained his philosophy behind his working method: "It is not exactly easy plowing up & down these heights to get at the subjects I am interested in — and all I can do is make drawings chiefly skeleton — to fix my eyes on the profile aspects of it all and the rest will have to be done inside...."<sup>14</sup> Hartley got to know the "forms" of the mountains he painted by looking at their masses from a distance and by climbing them. He longed to paint Mt. Katahdin in northern Maine, but lamented that he could not afford even the minimum price of living there.<sup>15</sup> For Hartley, the local mountains spoke his language: "it is my country & it didn't take me long to find that out."<sup>16</sup>

Hartley also looked at the near-by collection of nineteenth-century painting at the Neue Pinakothek in Munich which contained examples of German artists' earlier responses to the same Bavarian landscape he was then attempting to paint. He would have seen the work of German Romantic landscapists like Casper David Friedrich (1774-1840) whose *Mountain with Rising Fog* of 1810 (figure no. 5), for



(Fig. 7) Heinrich Bürkel, *By Garmisch with a View of Zugspitze*, 1839. Oil, 59 x 88 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

▲ (Fig. 6) Joseph Anton Koch, *Der Schmadribachfall*, 1821/22. Oil on canvas, 131.8 x 110 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

▶ (Fig. 8) Karl Rottmann, *The Eibsee by Partenkirchen*, 1825. Oil on canvas, 76 x 100 cm. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

example, reveals the artist's deep empathy with the forces of nature. As in Friedrich's painting, Hartley, himself, was developing a strong interest in conveying the emotional effects of nature. In contrast, the more traditional landscapes like Joseph Anton Koch's *Der Schmadribachfall* of 1821/22 (figure no. 6), demonstrated to Hartley the dangers of too much adherence to literal details.

Earlier views of Garmisch-Partenkirchen were produced by German painters like Heinrich Bürkel (1802-69) and Karl Rottmann (1798-1850). Bürkel's *By Garmisch with a View of Zugspitze* of 1839 (figure no. 7) employs the tedious detail of painters like Koch. Yet Rottmann's *The Eibsee by Partenkirchen* (figure no. 8), has more of the poetry of Friedrich's landscapes. Hartley's views of Garmisch-Partenkirchen develop this earlier poetic rendition of nature into a much bolder and straightforward simplification of forms, perhaps only possible after the initial experiments of early twentieth-century modernism.



In addition to his encounter with modern art in New York in the coterie of Alfred Stieglitz and his gallery known as "291," Hartley had a firsthand acquaintance with School of Paris art including the work of Matisse, Picasso, and Delaunay, from the Parisian circle of the American expatriate, Gertrude Stein. Then, from 1913, he had spent time in Germany, visiting galleries and meeting artists, familiarizing himself with the avant-garde. His Bavarian landscapes can be understood in relationship to work by some of the German contemporary artists that Hartley first encountered in 1913.<sup>17</sup>

Hartley did not actively pursue his desire to visit his old acquaintances among the avant-garde German art circles. By April 1933, just before Hartley arrived in Hamburg, Kandinsky, who had left Bavaria to return to his native Russia in late 1914 and had returned to

(Fig. 9) Gabriele Münter,  
*Der Graue See*, 1932.  
Oil, 54.8 x 65.7 cm.  
Städtische Galerie im  
Lenbachhaus, Munich.



(Fig. 10) Alexander Kanoldt,  
*Kreuzjoch*, 1931.  
Oil, 62 x 75 cm.  
Städtische Galerie im  
Lenbachhaus, Munich.

Germany in December 1921, was subjected in Berlin to the Nazis' closing of the Bauhaus, the renowned school of art and design where he had taught since 1922.<sup>18</sup> That December, Kandinsky arranged to move to Neuilly-sur-Seine, near Paris, and left Germany for the last time. Evidently, Hartley was not fully aware of Kandinsky's or Paul Klee's (1879-1940) fate under the Nazis, when, on November 15, 1933, he wrote to a friend: "Kandinsky and Klee are now living in Berlin, so it is still Berlin that would give me some life...."<sup>19</sup> Two of the other important avant-garde artists whom Hartley had met on his first visits to Germany, Marc and August Macke (1887-1914), were dead. Hartley wrote "Marc was killed in the war and a fine German spirit was removed" and that he wished he could find Marc's wife in order to talk of him and get a photo of him: "I think of him here — so often — for he lived at Sindelsdorf."<sup>20</sup>



Kandinsky's former companion, Gabriele Münter, however, was still living and painting in the Bavarian town of Murnau. Her landscapes continued to present a simplified and lyrical response to her surroundings. The bold, simplified shapes of her 1932 painting, *Der Graue See* (figure no. 9), for example, reveal a sensibility to which Kertley must have responded, although her palette was much brighter than that he chose for his own Bavarian landscapes.

Alexander Kanoldt (1881-1939) who had remained in the New Artists Association when the more radical painters, including Kandinsky, Marc, and Münter, left to form *Der Blaue Reiter*, also continued to paint the German landscape. Although during the 1920s, Kanoldt came to be associated with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (new objectivity) painters, his landscapes also reflected the classical training of his father, Edmund, a landscape painter who trained with Friedrich Preller (1804-1879), an artist close to both Karl Rottmann and Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1839). Alexander Kanoldt's *Kreuzjoch*, a view of

▲ Cat. No. 55  
*Höllen Tal Klamm*, 1933  
 Pencil on paper, 6 3/4 x 9 3/4 inches.  
 Collection, Victoria Miller, Alexandria,  
 Virginia

► Cat. No. 19  
*Garmisch-Partenkirchen [Alpspitze]*,  
 1933  
 Lithographic crayon on tracing paper,  
 13 3/16 x 9 15/16 inches.  
 Courtesy, University Art Museum, Univer-  
 sity of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Bequest of  
 Hudson Walker from the Ione and Hudson  
 Walker Collection.







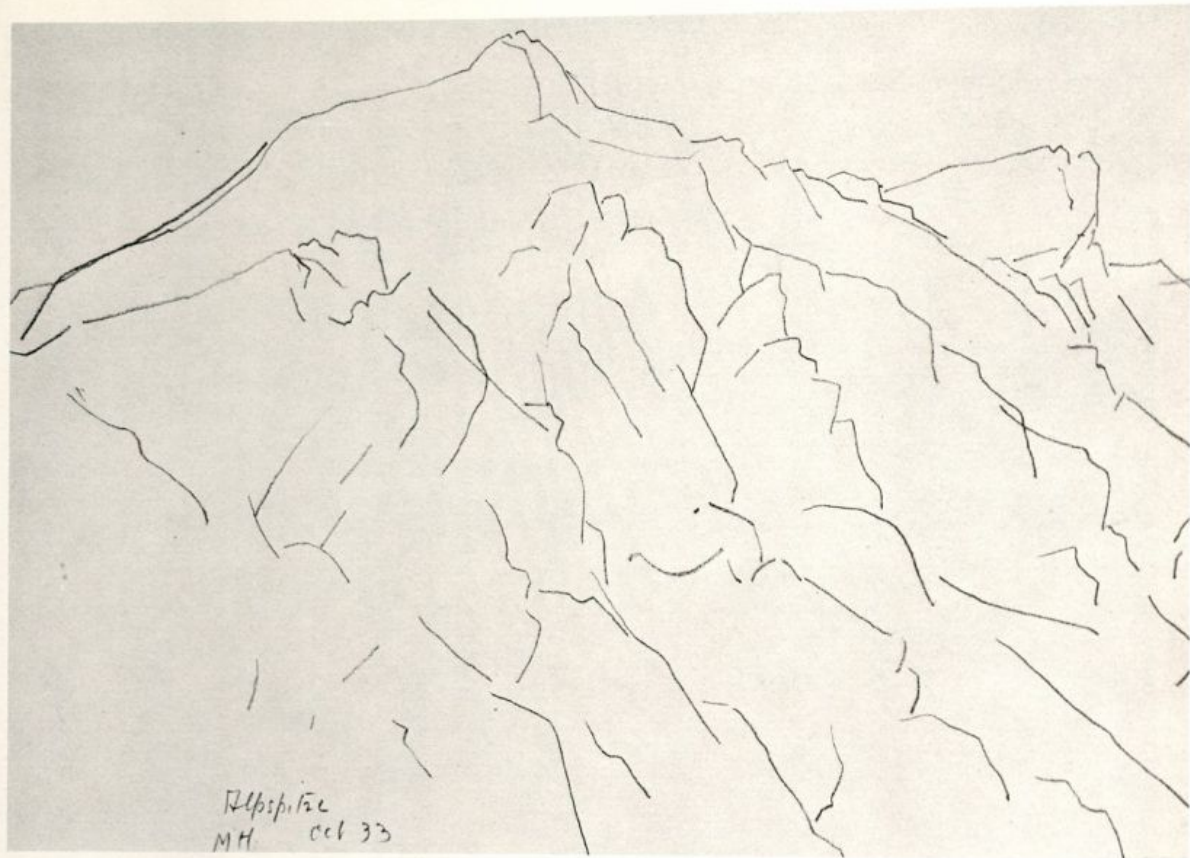
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 Courtesy, University Art Museum, Univer-  
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mountains painted in 1931 (figure no. 10), is similar to the approach Hartley was to take in his paintings of the Bavarian landscape in both its simplified composition and its subdued palette.

By November 27, Hartley wrote to his niece that "it is snowing a lot and I am painting Alpine snow effects indoors. I walk six or seven miles and make the drawing and the rest is memory — but I have had to work that way for years and it is my way of showing how much I have learned and absorbed from nature."<sup>21</sup> He reported that he had six paintings underway and that "they look quite intelligent. The world is very handsome here now with snow on everything — that is on the upper hills and Alps — it stays up there because it is cold but melts off in the valley...."<sup>22</sup> Hartley was reasonably pleased with his own efforts at painting the Alps which he thought he would call "portraits":

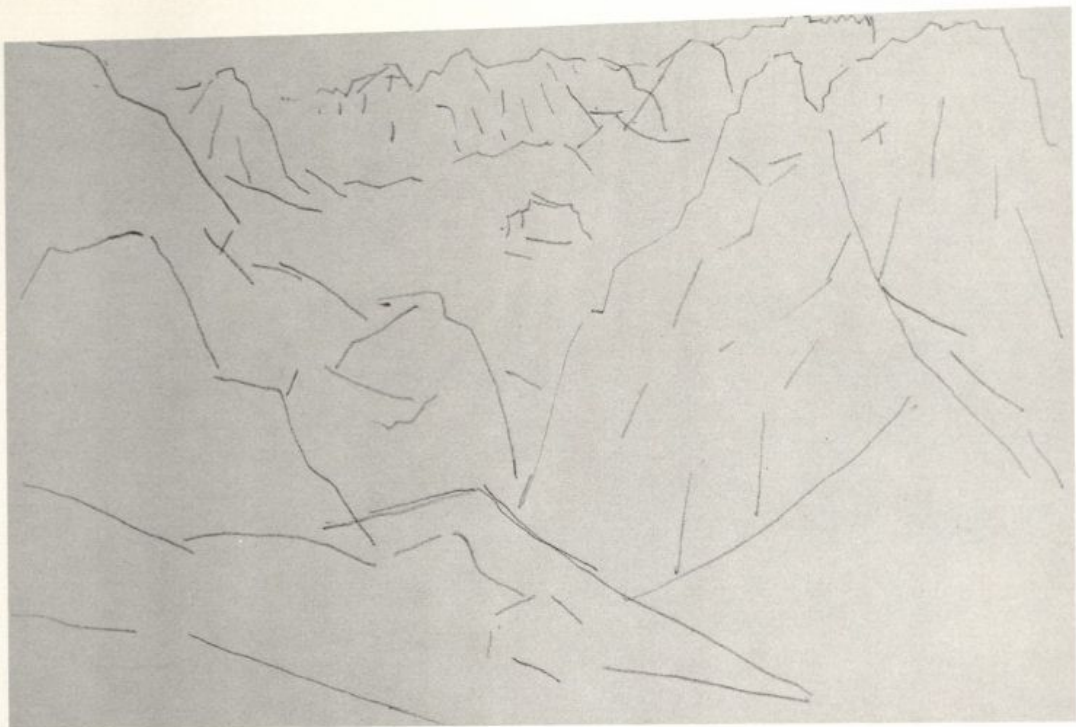
Cat. No. 42  
*Alpspitze*, October 11, 1933  
 Pencil on paper, 7 x 9 1/2 inches.  
 Collection, Mr. Gerald Ferguson



I have at last registered some Alps and they look most Alpish which is of course what I want them to do, but they are not like anything that the common world would think of as Alps, because these Alps themselves, that is the few usable motives are the most original I have ever seen, and I have I know, gotten them as they are, and with as close a fidelity as the eye is capable of and not use a camera, even a camera cannot get the inner effect of them, but all I wished I have put in these new ones for what I wanted to get is their inner character, and still have them look "natural" so that the peasant would say at once O yes that is the Waxenstein, and, that is the Alpspitz, and know the difference when he is looking.<sup>23</sup>

Cat. No. 20  
*Mountains [Alpspitze]*, 1933  
 Charcoal on paper, 12 3/8 x 15 3/4 inches.  
 Permanent Collection of the High Museum  
 of Art, Atlanta, Georgia

Hartley was working rather frenetically; by December 18, he reported that he had ten pictures "under way or finished."<sup>24</sup> By the end



of the month, he noted: "I just realized that I had been working very hard — nearly finished 15 pictures in 7 weeks and walked over 100 miles to make drawings and observations — and painting is always an intense matter with me — so I knocked off to regain myself."<sup>25</sup>

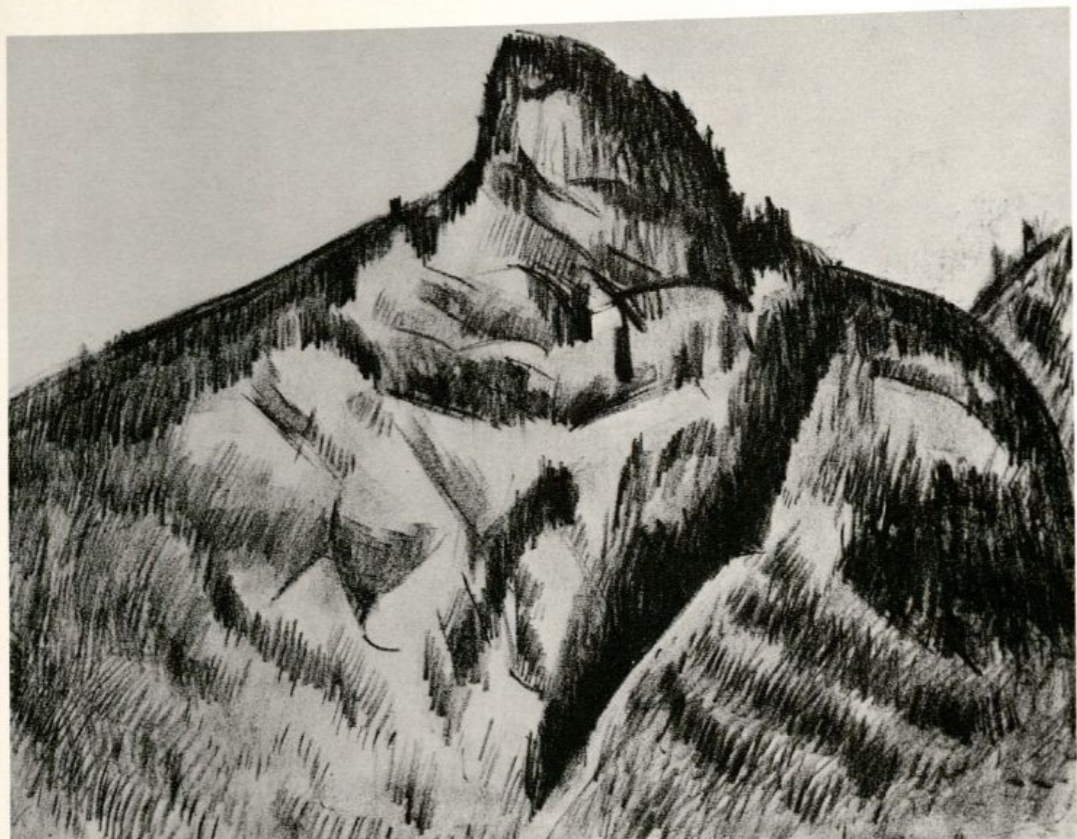
On January 4, 1934, Hartley spent his fifty-seventh birthday in Munich, uncharacteristically splurging by treating himself to good food. During his stay there, he also reported that he visited four museums:

My greatest pleasure was the Alpine Museum there which is a remarkable institution, and like everything else German very thorough and complete, and you see there all the mountains of the world, and learn of all the history of mountain climbing from early Roman times...I learned incidentally all about my Alps here and I know now just how they look from the other side of what I have here, for the models are large and very complete.<sup>26</sup>

▲  
Cat. No. 53  
*Waxenstein*, 1933  
Graphite on paper, 5 3/16 x 7 3/4 inches.  
Collection, Roald and Susan Nasgaard,  
Toronto

▶  
Cat. No. 62  
*Waxenstein*, October 29, 1933  
Sepia ink on paper, 13 7/8 x 10 3/8 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries

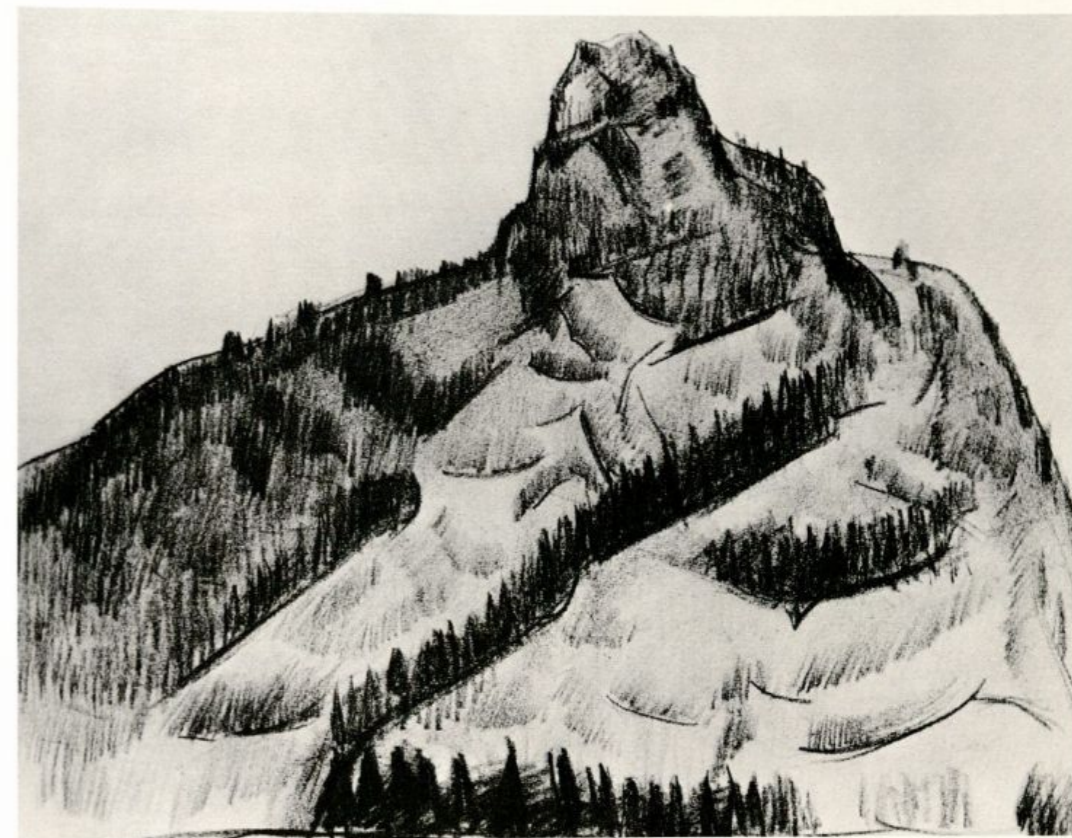




Hartley longed to go on to St. Moritz in Switzerland, where Giovanni Segantini (1858-1899), whose Post-Impressionist paintings of mountains he had studied in reproduction when he first painted mountains in Maine, had worked. He also admired the mountain landscapes of another Swiss artist, Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918). He described Segantini and Hodler as "the only two who really understood mountains as applied to art."<sup>27</sup> Only his lack of money and the high cost of living in Switzerland kept the peripatetic Hartley from making the journey. Having seen one of Segantini's paintings in the museum in Hamburg,<sup>28</sup> Hartley visited the Neue Pinakothek in Munich, for he reported to his niece that he had seen one of Segantini's paintings:

But there is in the museum in Munich one of his most famous pictures, and this I was able to see for the first time last week, and studied every inch of it and it is a huge canvas...Segantini

Cat. No. 34  
*The Mountain* [Kofelberg,  
 Oberammergau], 1934  
 Crayon on paper, 12 3/4 x 15 3/4 inches.  
 Collection, Lois Borgenicht

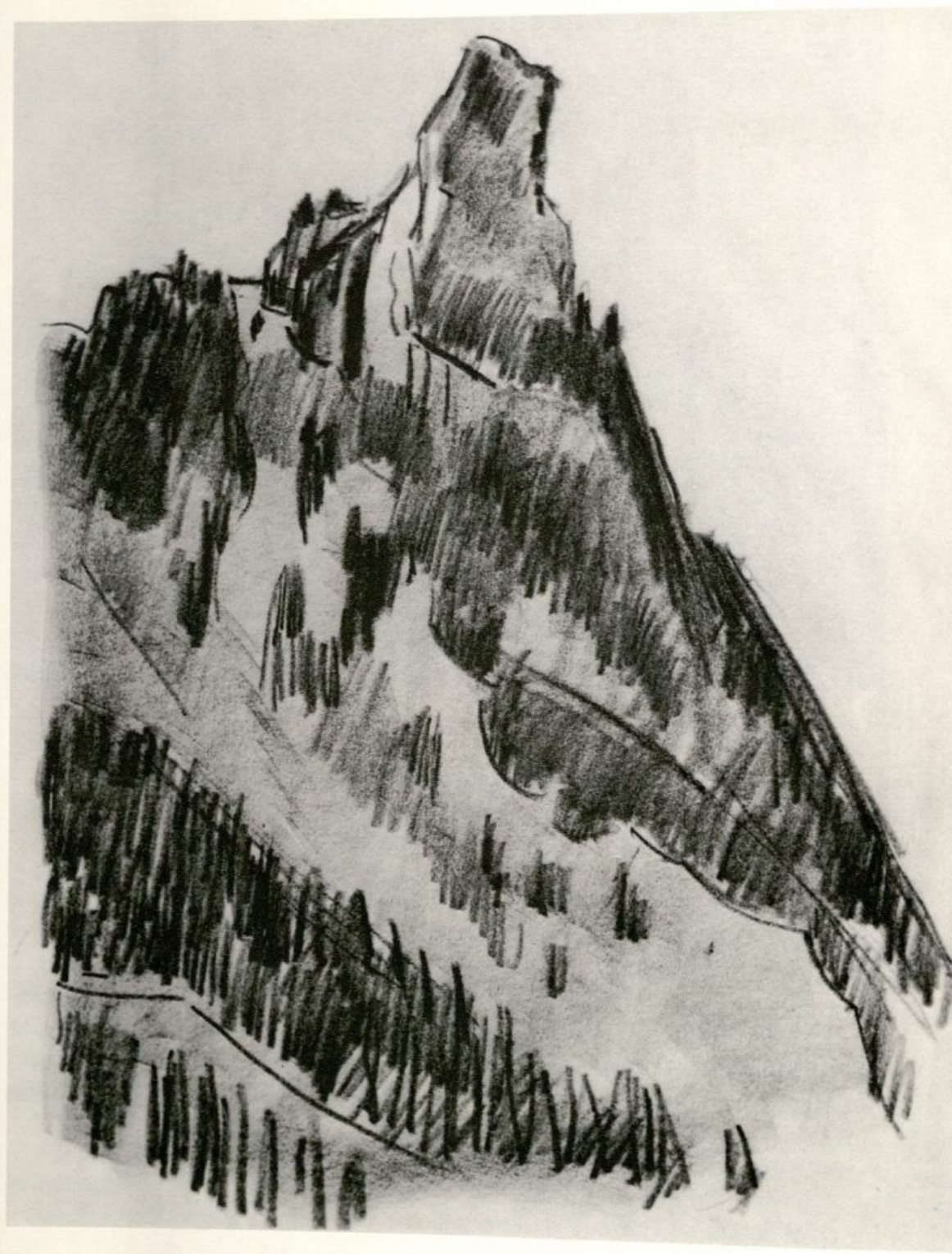


was...a marvellous painter, and as I say the only one who has ever understood the mountain and mountain light, for he poured his whole soul and mind into them....<sup>29</sup>

The painting Hartley admired so was Segantini's *Aratura* of 1890, a depiction of farmers plowing a field, acquired by the Munich museum just six years after it was painted.

In January, toward the end of his stay in Bavaria, Hartley finally got to visit the neighboring town of Oberammergau where every ten years a Passion play is staged. He traveled the twelve miles to Oberammergau by bus which took only an hour and found it to be "a very attractive place and has some very handsome mountains in back of it — of which I made drawings and will go once more to make larger ones for paintings."<sup>30</sup> Hartley did produce several drawings of the dramatic

Cat. No. 36  
*Kofelberg, Oberammergau*, 1934  
 Charcoal on tracing paper, 12 x 15 1/2 inches.  
 Collection, Mr. Edward Glannon



peak of Kofelberg in Oberammergau (cat. nos. 34, 35 and 36), but he evidently never got to paint the image. He did, however, produce a lithograph of this motif (cat. no. 40), one of four he made based on the Bavarian landscape. He also wrote about the peak in Oberammergau in one of his poems:

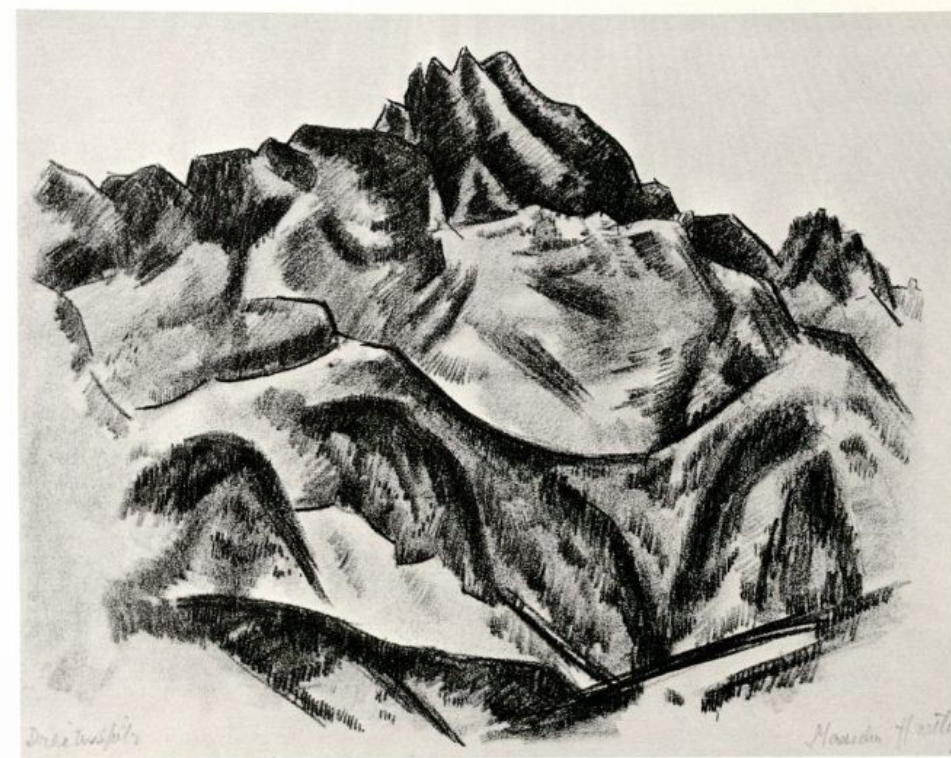
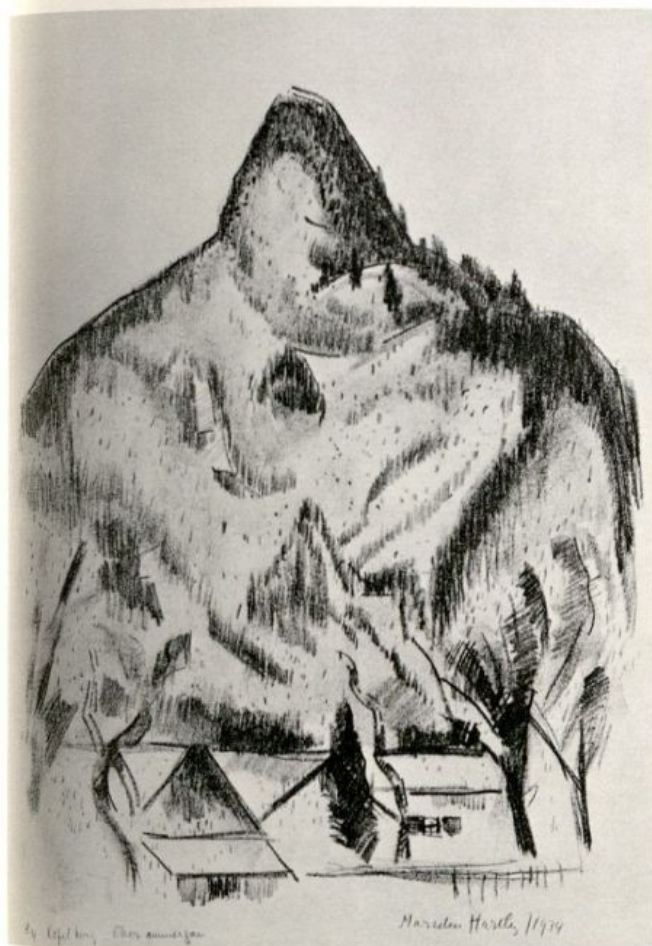
The Kofel, Kofel—  
that's the mountain of this place,  
stands high above him in its state of  
grace,  
lean, with wisdom of a line,  
perfected form, in fine—<sup>31</sup>

Hartley continued to draw outdoors even during the cold snowy weather of February, exclaiming: "The walking is grand now of course because the Alps can be seen in all their glory now — and though I come in all but frozen to the gizzard trying to make drawings — it is exciting to be out in it."<sup>32</sup>

Characteristically, Hartley worked on several favorite alpine motifs, sketching and then painting them repeatedly or turning them into lithographs. He thought that he could sell his lithographs more easily than his paintings and planned to support himself from these sales.<sup>33</sup> His best-loved subject was clearly *Alpspitze*, except for the towering *Zugspitze* (cat. no. 54), the highest local peak. Though visible from many vantage points around Partenkirchen, Hartley preferred the views of *Alpspitze* from *Gschwandtnerbauer*, just up off the road to *Mittenwald*, a town of violin makers just eleven miles away to which Hartley once hiked.

The snow-covered views in the paintings entitled *Alpspitze, Mittenwald Road* (cat. nos. 1 to 4), were probably painted during the latter part of Hartley's stay in Germany. He also produced a lithograph of *Alpspitze* (cat. no. 37). The dramatic twin peaks of *Waxenstein*, which occur in several paintings, drawings, and in the lithograph, *Waxenstein* (cat. no. 39), offered Hartley another of his favorite subjects. Hartley's fourth Bavarian lithograph, *Dreiterspitze* (cat. no. 38), also records a view seen from *Gschwandtnerbauer* and repeats a vista of several paintings.

Cat. No. 54  
*Zugspitze*, 1933  
Pencil on paper, 15 3/8 x 11 5/8 inches.  
Collection, Mr. and Mrs. David K. Anderson



◄ Cat. No. 37  
*Alp Spitze*, 1933-34  
 Lithograph, 11 1/2 x 15 inches.  
 Courtesy, Oklahoma Art Center

▲ Cat. No. 39  
*Waxenstein*, 1933-34  
 Lithograph, 15 7/8 x 12 inches.  
 Courtesy, The Art Museum, Princeton  
 University.  
 Gift of Carl Otto von Kienbusch for the Carl  
 Otto von Kienbusch, Jr. Memorial Art  
 Collection

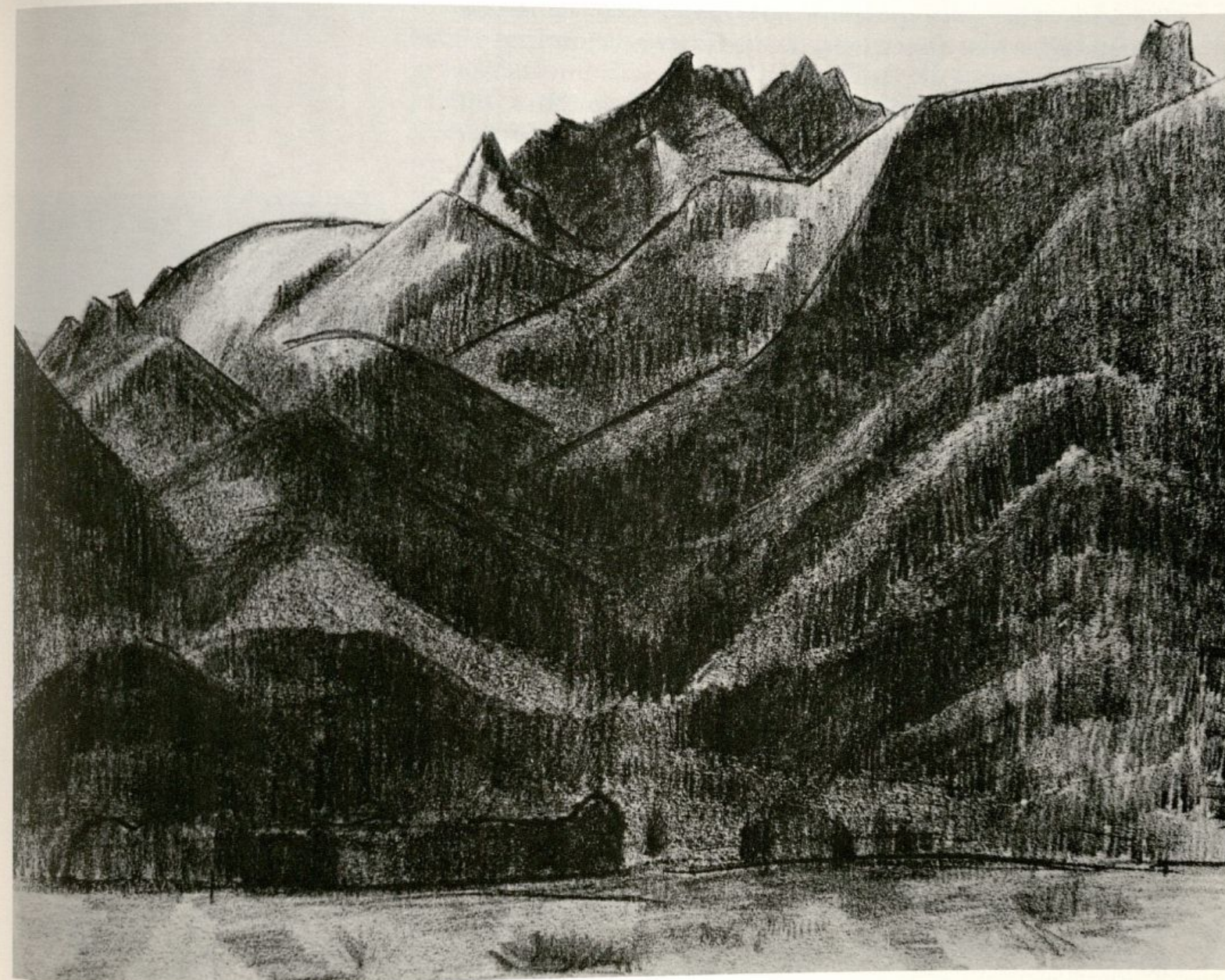
▲ Cat. No. 40  
*Kofelberg, Oberammergau*, 1934  
 Lithograph, 15 1/2 x 12 1/2 inches.  
 Courtesy, University of Maine Museum of  
 Art

► Cat. No. 38  
*Dreiterspitz*, 1933-34  
 Lithograph, 12 1/4 x 15 7/8 inches.  
 Courtesy, University Art Museum, Univer-  
 sity of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Gift of Ione  
 and Hudson Walker

Hartley's chief preoccupations in Germany were with surviving on his limited resources and with producing paintings worthy of his response to the alpine landscape. Nonetheless, in this time of political turmoil, he was hardly oblivious to the problematic situation which was developing. He adored Germans in general and once remarked that his attitude toward them began when he knew his art teacher, Nina Waldeck, in 1898 at the Cleveland School of Art. Indeed, a Bavarian town, Waldeck, is located just south of Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Fortunately, given the impressionable Hartley's political naivete, his paintings were all views of the landscape, devoid of any political reference.<sup>34</sup>

Hartley had a very limited understanding of the recent sinister developments in the German political situation. On January 30, 1933, Hitler had assumed power in Germany, but the following May, just after Hartley had arrived in Germany, he claimed: "I can't talk of political realities — I know little or nothing of them — only that Hitlerism does nothing to the surface of life as far as I can make out. I hear the good things he has done and they are good — outside of the Jewish question which is of course tragic."<sup>35</sup> For Hartley, what mattered most was that "Hitler has lowered the cost of living — food is cheap...."<sup>36</sup> Hartley, who loved military pageantry and had admired pre-World War I Prussian army parades in Berlin, simply extended this predilection to the Nazis, claiming "The Hitlerite uniform is pleasing."<sup>37</sup>

Hartley's major American supporters had often been Jewish, including his dealer Alfred Stieglitz and the expatriate collector Gertrude Stein. In 1932, Edith Halpert of the Downtown Gallery in New York presented an exhibition of Hartley's work. When he wrote to Halpert, who was also Jewish, Hartley asked her help in landing a teaching position in a private school or "a Jewish institute": "Heaven knows if love for those I know and understanding of them racially, emotionally, and spiritually — would make me a Jew, I would be one surely by now."<sup>38</sup> Hartley realized that "to be a member of the new party is to be anti semitic instantly," but he claimed in July, 1933, "As far as I know or have heard they are not abusing them in any other way."<sup>39</sup>



Cat. No. 29  
*Mountain Landscape*, 1933  
Conte crayon on paper, 12 5/8 x 16 inches.  
Collection, Kalamazoo Institute of Arts

From his earlier stays in Germany, Hartley had a Nazi friend, Ernst Hanfstaengl, whose sister, Erna, tried to convince him that Hitler "does not hate the Jews at all, and that the best Jews have never left Germany, are still here, and are not being abused of their rights...."<sup>40</sup> Hartley planned to ask Miss Hanfstaengl to introduce him to Hitler whom he described as "from all accounts personally is a most nice person, and of course having wanted to be an artist, he likes artists...."<sup>41</sup> Evidently, Hartley was not able to arrange this meeting before he departed for America in mid-February 1934. He was never to return to Germany or to Europe; by the time of his death on September 2, 1943, the unimaginable horrors of the Nazis were not fully revealed.

Hartley's Bavarian landscapes are important in understanding the artist's subsequent development of the landscape motif. The impact of his last German experience is also clear in some of his writings which followed this period. For example, in Bermuda, in 1935, Hartley wrote poetry in an unpublished manuscript called "Tangent Decisions," in which he links Bavaria and his preceding experience with nature in Mexico:

I have lain on the breasts  
of Alps since then,  
watched snows fall quickly  
on chill, volcano lips

In addition to observing the beautiful alpine landscape, Hartley particularly liked to watch the handsome young skiers in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and they also inspired his poetry:

along the midriff of the  
Waxenstein.  
Long, tall, straight, sincere,  
snow-blown-deftly mountaineer

In stark contrast to his paintings of the Mexican landscape, many of which were quite imaginary, Hartley tried to record his actual observations of nature on canvas, sketching realistically on location the precise features of the Bavarian Alps. Later on, working in his



Cat. No. 28  
*Landscape*, 1933  
Charcoal on paper, 15 1/4 x 11 1/4 inches.  
Courtesy, Babcock Galleries

studio, he interpreted and sometimes simplified what he had seen. Hartley commented on his work in Bavaria that he sensed no distance to cause him to exaggerate what he observed, as he had in his Mexican paintings. He exclaimed: "Never in my life have I seen such expositions of nature as are revealed here — and it is almost as if I am seeing nature all over again — and what I am doing here now is the work of the rest of my life...."<sup>42</sup> To his German friend Arnold Rönnebeck, Hartley wrote: "My stay at Garmisch-Partenkirchen last winter did so much for me, for I settled many inner problems there and feel much better and calmer inside now & so I feel I will bring forth new qualities."<sup>43</sup> Thus, Hartley did not feel the necessity to further transform what he already considered marvellous. He went on to apply these lessons to his late landscape style and produced some of his greatest work during his last years which he spent mostly in his native Maine, finally painting the mountain of his dreams, Mt. Katahdin. □

#### NOTES

Excerpts from Hartley's letters have been used verbatim.

1. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of January 29, 1934, in the Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut [hereafter cited as Yale].
2. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of December 12, 1933, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., roll X 4; the originals of all of Hartley's letters to Kuntz are now in the Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University [hereafter cited as AAA and Yale].
3. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of September 7, 1933, AAA and Yale.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of September 30, 1933, Yale.
6. For a discussion of Hartley's mysticism and his relationship to Tobey, see Gail Levin, "Marsden Hartley and Mysticism," *Arts Magazine*, 60, November 1985, pp. 16-21.
7. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of October 14, 1933, Yale.



8. Ibid.
9. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of November 13, 1933, Yale.
10. Ibid.
11. Marsden Hartley, "Mary with the Child — of Leonardo, in the Pinakothek, Munich," in Gail R. Scott, ed., *On Art by Marsden Hartley* (New York: Horizon Press, 1982), p. 244.
12. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of January 11, 1934, AAA and Yale.
13. Hartley, "Mary with the Child," p. 242.
14. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of October 16, 1933, AAA and Yale.
15. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of September 7, 1933, AAA and Yale.
16. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of October 16, 1933, AAA and Yale.
17. For a discussion of his first encounter with the German avant-garde, see Gail Levin, "Marsden Hartley, Kandinsky, and Der Blaue Reiter," *Arts Magazine*, 52, November 1977, pp. 156-160.
18. When Kandinsky first taught at the Bauhaus, it was located in Weimar; when the Bauhaus was forced to leave Weimar for Dessau in mid-1925, Kandinsky moved with the school. When the Nazi majority in the city legislature closed the Bauhaus in October, 1932, he moved with the school to Berlin.
19. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of November 15, 1933, AAA and Yale. Evidently Hartley was unaware that Paul Klee had left the Bauhaus in 1931 to become a professor at the Düsseldorf Academy. After he was removed from his post in April, 1933, he left Germany in December, 1933, to live in his father's house in Berne, Switzerland.
20. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letters of November 15 and 4, 1933, AAA and Yale.
21. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of November 27, 1933, Yale.
22. Ibid.
23. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of December 1, 1933, AAA and Yale.
24. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of December 18, 1933, Yale.
25. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of December 30, 1933, Yale.
26. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of January 18, 1934, Yale.
27. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of December 1, 1933, AAA and Yale.

28. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of July 12, 1933, AAA and Yale.
29. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, January 18, 1934, Yale.
30. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, January 29, 1934, Yale.
31. Marsden Hartley, "Tangent Decisions," completed in Bermuda, 1935, unpublished manuscript, collection of Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
32. Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, letter of February 4, 1934, Yale.
33. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, November 4, 1933, AAA and Yale.
34. For Hartley's thoughts on politics, see "Letters from Germany," *Archives of American Art Journal*, vol. 25, 1985, pp. 4-12.
35. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of May 16, 1933, AAA and Yale.
36. Ibid.
37. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of May 27, 1933, AAA and Yale.
38. Marsden Hartley to Edith Halpert, letter of July 12, 1933, Archives of American Art, quoted in "Letters from Germany."
39. Ibid.
40. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of January 11, 1934, AAA and Yale. Harvard-educated Ernst Hanfstaengl, who ran his family's art reproductions business, became Nazi foreign press chief in 1933; in 1937, he was forced to flee to England after some indiscreet comments were reported to Hitler. His sister remained loyal to the Nazis.
41. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of January 11, 1934, AAA and Yale.
42. Marsden Hartley to Adelaide Kuntz, letter of November 4, 1933, AAA and Yale.
43. Marsden Hartley to Arnold Rönnebeck, letter of March 26, 1935, Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Rönnebeck, who became the director of the Denver Art Museum, was then living in the United States.



Marsden Hartley  
IN BAVARIA