

Avantgarde and Social Awareness: The Example of Joseph Beuys

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It can be argued that Joseph Beuys influenced the arts in West Germany more than any other post-war artist. This is the more astonishing in that Beuys once said 'I have really nothing to do with art – and that is the only possible way to achieve something for art.'¹ Contradictory as this phrase sounds at first, it describes logically the relationship of the artist to his medium in the post-war period.

To understand the statement we must briefly analyse its syntax. When Joseph Beuys says 'I really have nothing to do with art', he means fine arts in the normatively fixed universal sense established by convention. In this sense he declared elsewhere: 'People think they know what a piece of sculpture is. But I, on the contrary, am of the opinion that they do not know it.'²

When Beuys continues by saying that 'that is the only possible way to achieve something for art', then art denotes here an open quantity viewed without prejudice whose framework is not fixed. The concept of art becomes a 'concept of culture, which unites mankind and includes all human activities.'³ However, art remains a special form of human expression to which it is worth committing oneself and to which Joseph Beuys devotes himself.

For this reason all interpretations of Beuys' concept of art which accuse him of disintegrating art into daily practice, into activities like cooking, cleaning, etc., miss the point. For these interpretations overlook the fact that this artist does not equate art and human activity but only places art in a larger context: 'Only from art can everything develop for the future of humanity, that is to say for the future universal culture. I always speak now of a universal culture and not of a cultural life which takes place in museums, academies, in the art market, in the work of art historians and theoreticians etc.'⁴

Beuys' point of departure is a new concept of the function of art, a concept which cannot be arrived at through the aesthetic auto-therapy of art itself. An artistic creation is no longer seen from an exclusively artistic perspective, its development no longer viewed the artistic negation of art tradition, but from a viewpoint outside the strictly artistic area: 'I maintain that another concept of art must be formulated which applies to everybody and is not just a matter for the artist, but must be seen in an anthropological context, i. e. every human being is an artist in the sense that he or she can create something.'⁵

This thesis was formulated in a similar way as early as 1945 by Jean-Paul Sartre, who in the 'Présentation' of the magazine *Les Temps Modernes* wrote: 'We can imagine without difficulty that a human being, although he is conditioned by his situation, can be a centre of irreducible indeterminateness.'⁶

Just as Sartre saw in this creative uniqueness of every human being the possibility of his 'liberation',⁷ so Beuys related the new concept of art 'to the point of freedom [point in the mathematical sense: F.-J. V.] which exists in every human being.'⁸ In this way, as already with Sartre, specifically artistic demands were subordinated to ethical categories. Art was viewed from outside according to anthropological criteria, which are determined by the 'synthetic unity' of human emotional capabilities.⁹ The contribution of art to this work of liberation of the human being was seen as being the 'formation of a synthetic anthropology'¹⁰ which can no longer be defined by the specific form of art and science but from a view of the human being as an irreducible quantity and unity. The old philosophical tradition of arriving at ethics through art had been reversed.¹¹

Both Sartre and Beuys destroyed avant-garde consciousness with this change in the task set for art – a change which resulted from the experience of the deportation and extermination of more than 6 million human beings – Jews, homosexuals, gypsies and others – by the Germans, and from the inferno of the Second World War. But unlike Theodor W. Adorno, who after the same historical experience declared that 'no poem could be written after Auschwitz'¹², they did not see the end of art in sight but rather conceded to art a justification for existence under a changed definition of its function.

Confronted by the work of artists such as Wols and Alberto Giacometti, Sartre had recognised that the concept of the work of art valid up until the 1940s as a concentration of the values of the society and as a locus of salvation had become questionable and that artists no longer believed they had the right to occupy a 'privileged position.'¹³ He saw how artists experienced the liquidation of traditional cultural values with great anxiety and how they, thereby, discovered the alienated human being, who then became the subject of their works of art. This principle of 'interiorisation' of the social values and their subsequent 'exteriorisation' could not be defined with the old avantgarde conceptions of the artist's existence which asserted the function of art as being analytical and messianic. Instead experience lived passively became the driving force of the work of art and manifested itself in it in an 'obscure manner' by expressing 'being' 'or one of the moments of this reality'.¹⁴ The role of the artist changed from that of aesthetic conviction to that of active participation in the world, which finds its expression in the concrete work of art in such a way that

the beholder can participate in it, can suspend the impression of confrontation and produce a new relationship to reality. This happens when a permanent 'revelation of being takes place'.¹⁵ Joseph Beuys laid the same emphasis on the artist's participation and on the work of art in the world as well as the modified role of the beholder. I am here deliberately using the word 'beholder' not 'spectator'. 'Spectator' has Enlightenment connotations which Beuys rejected. 'Beholder' on the other hand has alchemical connotations. 'My understanding of sculpture has always related to life. This of course removes you from the ideology of 'visual arts'. Instead, you relate to all the senses which are active in human activities, in their work.'¹⁶

The premises of Beuys' 'extended concept of art' which I have tried here to describe in a demythologising way in contrast to most writing on Beuys, allow us to describe the contribution of art to the gradual formation of a 'synthetic anthropology'. In most studies of Beuys his actual works of art have to be disregarded because they have no place in an understanding of Beuys which concentrates exclusively on his theory and his activities, like happenings. However, his actual works of art do make a specific contribution, which can be described as follows: they form irreducible elements of the post-war period and intercede between the thought and the action of that period; moreover they point a way to liberation in a sensuous and concrete manner.

Today, however, two years after the death of Beuys, these presuppositions are no longer present and here the question arises, whether they have ever been present. This is illustrated by a remark by an art critic and exhibitor: 'Today the art business is more interested in aesthetic beauty and validity of form, that is to say the completed artistic process.'¹⁷ However, this statement denies the 'validity of form' in the works of Joseph Beuys, as though it had never been his intention to pay attention to it as well. Such evaluations can only result from the misconception that the works of Beuys are the by-products of an actionist process. On the contrary, it has to be pointed out that the works of art of Beuys are the results of highly complex processes, which not only can be thought of as resulting from the artist's private activity but also have their roots in the multiple interactions of social processes of which the artist has allowed himself to become a part and which he has made into the co-creators of his works of art. Understandably the character of his work developed only gradually and has undergone various stages which, based on the preliminary conditions I have already sketched out, result from the reactions towards the art world and towards events and processes in society. Remarkable, however, is one fundamental and permanent feature in Beuys: subversive strategies are alien to him, instead he openly propagated criticism and an intention to provoke changes, at the latest since 1964 and the sensational Aachen 'Festival of new art'. He also knew how to use mass media as a vehicle for his artistic intentions. In addition, from the Kassel *documenta* of 1964 onwards, Beuys no longer showed the reserve towards the art world which had

been usual prior to this date when he used to exhibit only on a regional level. Neither the involvement of the mass media nor success in the art world were his actual goals. They were, rather, a starting point from which it could be possible to burst the mould of fine arts. His moving to and fro between institutions of art, the mass media, cultural and social spheres of interest helped him to lower the barriers between the different areas and thereby to reach the appropriate position for his work of art. In this respect it is unsurprising that the intended effect really took place. Many a people helped him – gallery owners, artists, friends, politicians, bank managers, museum managers, scientists, academics, journalists, educationalists, and theologians – and this enabled Beuys to point out that all of them have contributed to his concept of art and moreover attributed the same status to this activity as they would to their own.

This strategy of active involvement has nothing to do with the therapeutic function of art which was very often stressed as Beuys's intention. It is rather that this strategy was employed by him in order to disown and to assign a marginal role to all activities not in accord with his understanding of art which is based on human freedom. The involvement of as large a collective as possible in his work served to build a platform which was supposed to help to abolish the distinction between connoisseurs and laymen and to effect a new extended consensual understanding of art. This then would react upon other social areas. In this context the experiment as an artistic form has played an important role and although Beuys defined the starting point, he himself never moved outside the experimental arrangement: as the leader of the experiment he was part of the experiment and removed the limits between actor and spectator. Instead of acting symbolically, he saw the task as finding forms which could be helpful in the real 'unveiling of the being' in Sartre's sense. In view of the high prestige of natural science experiments and the dominant role which they play in the structure of social conditions, Beuys often used series of experiments from this very area in order to make plain how narrow the boundary is between social and natural processes but also that it is inadmissible to mix the two.

In the second part of my paper I shall try to describe the realisation of these theoretical aspects in specific examples from Beuys' works.

The works which belong to the action entitled 'Infiltration – homogen for a grand piano, the greatest contemporary composer is the thalidomide child'¹⁸ of 1966 can serve as the first impressive example of the way in which Beuys views art from the point of view of society as a whole. In an action which took place in the Düsseldorf Art Academy a felt-covered grand piano was pulled into the hall. Beuys then chained a toy duck to one of the piano legs, wound the duck up and let it jump, flutter and quack. Next he went to the blackboard and drew the diagrams 'The greatest

contemporary composer is the thalidomide child' and 'Division of the cross', which refers to the two red cross symbols fixed on the piano. After a discussion with the audience, followed by the use of wax earplugs, he again wrote on the blackboard these sentences: 'Forcing its way into the room of the thalidomide child / does the music of the past help him? / the suffering / the warmth / the sound / the plasticity'.¹⁹ The blackboard no longer exists, but the piano was later sold as an autonomous work of art to the Centre Pompidou in Paris [illustration 1]. A copy of the felt covering was hung by Beuys in his exhibition rooms in the museum in Darmstadt.

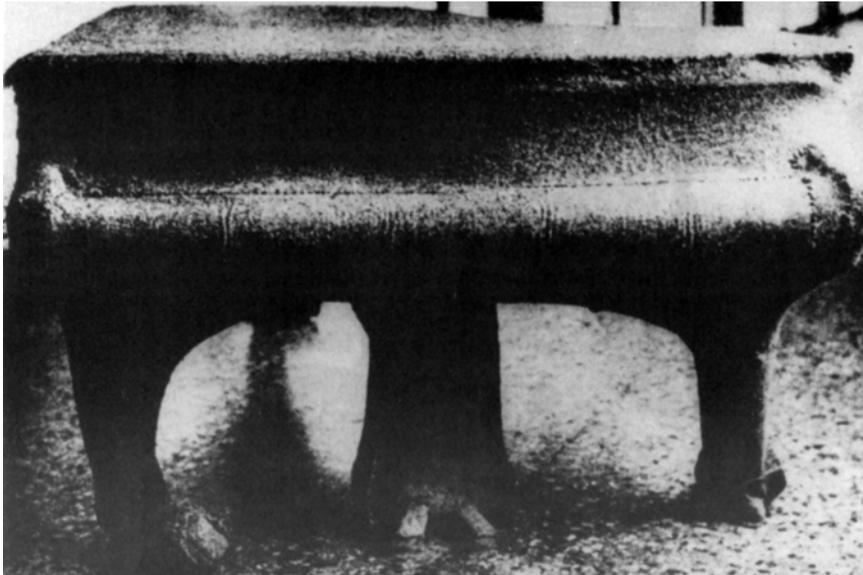


illustration 1

Grand piano wrapped in felt, part of the work: 'Infiltration – homogen for a grand piano, the greatest contemporary composer is the thalidomide child' of 1966.

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The piano's sound-proofing insulation and its lock are to be seen in close connection with the sentence 'does the music of the past help him [the thalidomide child: F.-J. V.]?' The little toy duck which fluttered at the piano leg corresponds closely with the then common notion of the helpless thalidomide child, where it is principally the extremities which are deformed. This damage was caused by 'Thalidomide', a sedative prescribed to pregnant women despite the known side-effects.

In the face of this mutilation of the human being, Beuys asks whether traditional art forms are still up to date, because they create criteria of production which only a human being with normally formed extremities can fulfil. In his preparatory score the artist transported these aspects into the aesthetic of proportion which is normatively valid in architecture and fine arts. Furthermore he confronted the classical Greek arrangement of columns – a static element – with the skeleton-like joint-system, which was a reaction to the retardation of the limbs of thalidomide children. Beuys asks the crucial question whether in view of this human deformation the classic canon of proportions is still representative in art, still valid in artistic production. At the same time with the statement, 'the greatest contemporary composer is the thalidomide child' he provokes a willingness to accept the modified proportions of the human being as a dynamic starting point for an anthropological

understanding of art. In Beuys' words: 'The sound of the piano is trapped inside the felt skin. In the normal sense a piano is an instrument used to produce sound. When not in use it is silent, but still has a sound potential. Here no sound is possible and the piano is condemned to silence ... The relationship to the human position is marked by the two red crosses signifying emergency: the danger that threatens if we stay silent and fail to make the next evolutionary step. Such an object is intended as a stimulus for discussion, and in no way is it to be taken as an aesthetic product.'²⁰ But this doesn't mean that it isn't a work of art.

A second example of the process of oscillation between theory and praxis, the distillation of which is a work of art that aims at the formation of a 'synthetic anthropology', is the action 'Sweeping up' in West Berlin on May 1 1972. During the trade union demonstrations in Karl-Marx-Square on the 'Day of Work' Beuys swept up the garbage with a red broom, collected it and put it and the red broom on display in a showcase.²¹ One might judge the event as an affront to the trade unions. Indeed, Beuys stated 'that the ideologically fixated orientation of the demonstrators must be swept up too'.²² On the other hand Beuys' action was certainly an effort to overcome particularist interests. In this sense Beuys said: 'The fault lies not with Marx, but with the slavish following of a doctrine. Marx's analysis of things as they stood in his time is a work of a genius. But from our different vantage-point in time we can see that there are omissions in his theory. Marx could not foresee how capitalism would survive and transform into the power of the multinationals and the repressive domination of the state. He failed to reach a point of synthesis because he accepted the bourgeois description of money and followed the economic inheritance of Adam Smith and Ricardo. In concentrating on the class struggle as an economist, he lost sight of the broader interest of his youth in philosophy, culture and legal structure which might have brought him to the point of synthesis which is essential for the overcoming of alienation.'²³

In this critique Beuys takes a position comparable to that of Jean-Paul Sartre. He too searched for a pragmatic theory which was able to combine general and individual interests and which he found in 'synthetic anthropology', based on the idea of the synthetic union of human emotional potentiality. The work of art 'Sweeping up' shows the discarded rubbish of anonymous individuals who have come together in a historical moment and who are now represented by the garbage which again forms a unit. The remains preserve the idea of the synthetic union of human emotional potentiality.

This idea of the synthetic union of human emotional potentiality is the subject of another work which also deals with the garbage theme. The sculpture 'Unschlitt/Tallow' was created for an exhibition in 1977 in Münster/Westfalia and was destined to fill a 'dead corner' of modern

architecture: a corner under a pedestrian ramp which everyone treated as a litter bin and yet which also caught the eye of everyone who used the ramp. Beuys wanted completely to fill this space with beeswax. However, this project remained unrealised for financial and organisational reasons.

Instead this corner was rebuilt as a hollow mould and filled with a mixture of tallow and bonding materials [illustration 2]. The wedge, almost 10 metres long and more than 2 metres high, was later cut into pieces by Beuys and displayed as a sculpture 'which never gets cold': it turned out after the filling of the hollow that the process of hardening would take longer than expected, and also that the material was an excellent heat accumulator.²⁴ As well as this experiment, the sculpture became an open demonstration against the 'inhospitality of the cities', a phrase associated with the well-known German psychoanalyst Alexander Mitscherlich. Laszlo Glozer explained in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: 'It is typical of Beuys to seek out a wound, a sore spot, which is also a very concrete representation of the wider context of social failure. It is equally typical that the artist does not simply use the sore spot for a denunciation, but applies to it his own kind of dialectic. He attempts to heal the place by selecting it, processing it, and then making it disappear. In practical terms, the sculpture corresponds exactly to the volume of this desolate corner, and is the filled-in form of this wedge-shaped T-beam-supported space under the ramp. But rather than undertake the filling up of the space *in situ*, he had an exact mould of the corner filled with tallow.'²⁵

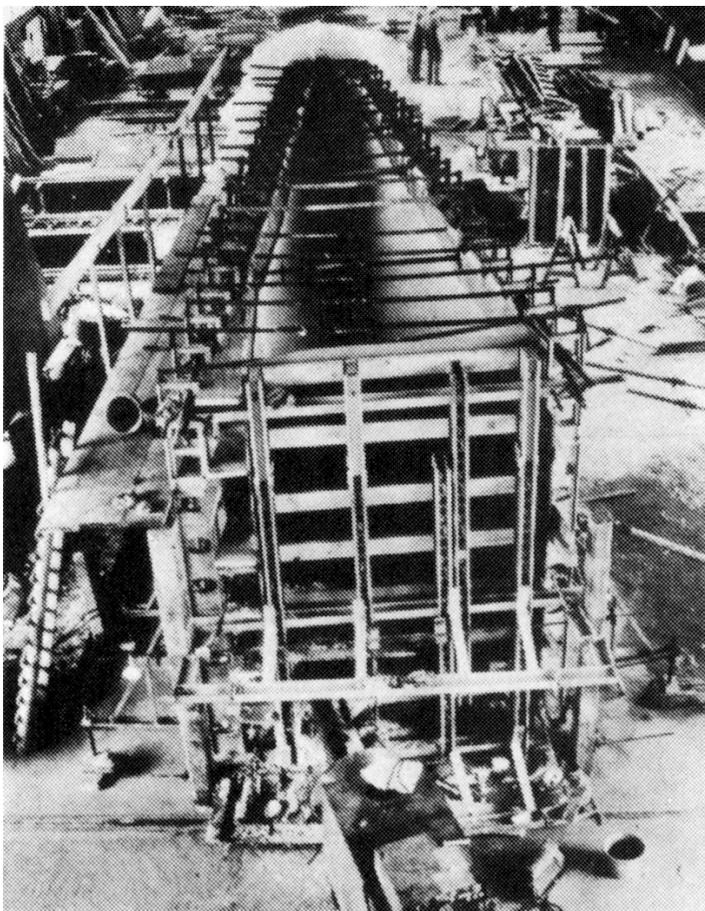


illustration 2

Mould for 'Unschlitt / Tallow', Münster 1977. The scale of the work can be judged from the figures behind it.

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The value of the sculpture will always be connected with this intention. This then received additional explosive force through the fact that other well known sculptors were invited to take part in the exhibition, too. Whereas, however, they fulfilled and so affirmed the cultural strategy of the politicians, that is to see sculptures as pendants to the built environment, Beuys overstepped the intrinsic artistic context. Or, as Caroline Tisdall wrote: most of the invited sculptors 'fulfilled the conventional expectations: art to embellish the environment, without posing any questions about the factors that condition it. According to this convention, a favourable site is one which distracts as little as possible from the aesthetic appreciation of the object. Life must not get in the way, and the artist becomes essentially a yes-man'.²⁶ Beuys reacted in another way: 'Unschlitt/Tallow' made it clear that the deficiency of architecture made sculptures necessary. Beuys then did not cover up the wound of the architecture, but opened it mercilessly in order at the same time to show the premisses according to which a cultural bureaucracy will instigate art activities.

As a comparison, how did other artists work in Münster? Claes Oldenburg made a projection of a billiard-table on the city plan and scattered the billiard-balls to stimulate the pattern in which they might come to rest in a game. Only three of these gigantic balls were ever constructed. This project corresponds ironically with functional town planning, which doesn't pay attention to the historical structure of cities. Other artists like Richard Long projected their work of art in parks without confronting it with urban situations, as Beuys did.



illustration 3

'Unschlitt / Tallow' as displayed in the entrance of the Mönchengladbach museum.

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His work of art is now placed in such a manner that it tempts the viewer to push the single parts together, as though solving a puzzle, so that they would lie like a bolt across the entrance hall of the Museum in Mönchengladbach and thus obstruct the entry to the exhibition rooms [illustration 3]. Here too Beuys operates against the traditional functional understanding of art and investigates ways of enlarging its scope. In the action and work of art 'Stadt-Verwaltung anstelle von Stadt-Verwaltung. 7000 Eichen' ('City afforestation instead of city administration. 7000 oaks'), which

started at the *documenta* in Kassel in 1982 and finished at the *documenta* in 1987, Beuys landed his greatest coup.

In connection with the exhibition he unleashed a chain reaction like that of a scientific experiment. For the *documenta* 1982 7000 basalt blocks were piled up as a three-sided pyramid with unequally long sides. At the acutest angle a young tree was planted. Immediately next to this tree one of the 7000 basalt blocks was set into the ground. The artist indicated that the remaining 6999 stones would disappear when replaced by the same number of trees planted in the city of Kassel. By making these conditions the artist handed over what was previously his task, that is to create a sculpture. He supplied material and conditions to interested persons and groups and told those who saw the temporary sculpture to find another, durable solution. For the position where the trees should be planted was not at all fixed, this task was rather left to the initiative of the people, individuals, schools, nursery-schools and other groups. A coordinating centre gave advice to individual applicants. In this way it was not only possible to dismantle the monumental temporary sculpture in the square in front of the Museum Fridericianum, but also to initiate a highly unusual process of communication. The specific artistic contribution of Beuys to the *documenta* was so constructed that inevitably it had to turn into a social and political act as expressed in the title of the project.

The symbolic act of planting a tree had up to this moment been a hidden means of practising the aestheticisation of politics. There is hardly a politician who has not practised this custom on state visits etc. Beuys turns this procedure into a conscious means of politicising art, by making it into a genuinely collective act. In doing so, he unmasks its apparently symbolic meaning as an act of political manipulation.

At the same time the artist presents his product not as an unchangeable distillation of his work, but as a usable material, which only achieves the finished status of a work of art through the participation of activated participants: i. e. the people who plant the trees. The artist does not fulfil instructions planned by administrations, as is the case in most public monuments and sculptures, but reverses the procedure: the town administration has to regard town afforestation as its duty to the citizen. Moreover this procedure also indicates that art-based praxis has the possibility of involving itself in the process of social dialogue with nature, which as a rule is taken to be the preserve of natural science and technology. The socially committed content of Beuys' action was swiftly recognised, and degraded in the media to the status of an uncommitted art-event. The result of this degradation was that the conjunction of art and ecology as a widening of the understanding of art could not establish itself in the public consciousness.

Because Joseph Beuys died on 23 January 1986, he was not able to experience the completion of this, his most monumental sculpture, whose realisation was then undertaken by a specially constituted society. Although the project 'City afforestation instead of city administration. 7000 oaks' was completed before the opening of the *documenta* in 1987, it was not included in the catalogues of the exhibition. In place of it his late work 'Lightning shining on stag, 1958–1985' was celebrated [illustration 4]. It is a work made of different casts of various metals which served the organisers of the *documenta* as welcome evidence for the return of art into the museum. When one piece of this environmental sculpture was first exhibited in London during the exhibition 'German art in the 20th Century' in 1985, it was the element 'Lightning': it was typical of the works of Beuys in its fragmentary but overwhelming material form. But the *documenta* presentation tried to change its character into that of a fine art object. Nothing of the previous ideas of Beuys in this work survived.

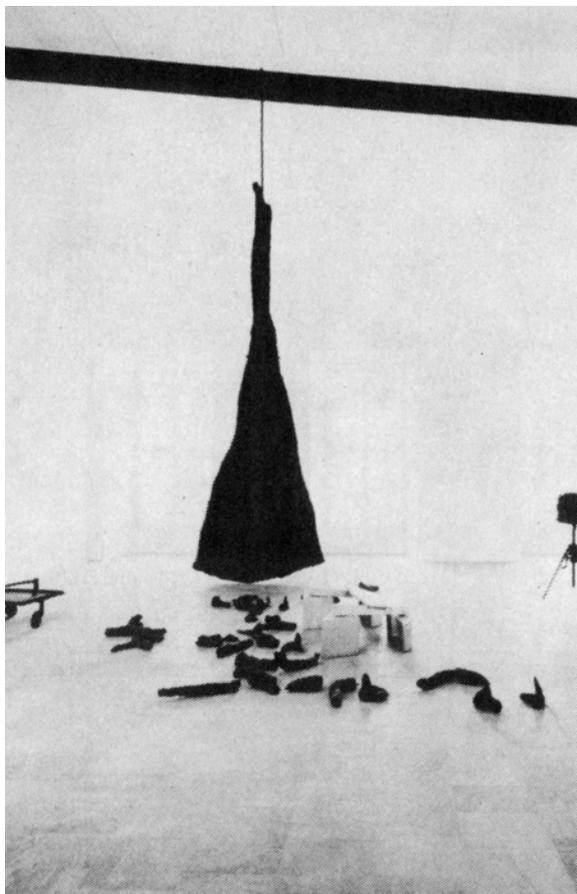


illustration 4

'Lightning shining on stag', installation (1958 / 1985), as shown at the Kassel *documenta* 1987.

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In 1982 Beuys showed the original elements of this environmental sculpture in the Berlin exhibition 'Zeitgeist'. The environment represented an artist's studio. This temporary presentation was later petrified when metal casts were made, which makes exhibition difficult. In a score and collage Beuys shows to what he is reacting with this environment [illustration 5]. Before the 'Zeitgeist'-exhibition there took place in the same spot a huge exhibition on the history of Prussia. In the centre of the museum, where later Beuys installed his 'stag monuments' [illustration 6], stood

the products of German industry in the late 19th century: cannon and other weapons. As if wanting to heal this place from this brutal presentation, Beuys showed the studio of an artist as an alternative. Nothing of this could be sensed in the *documenta* display of this environment. Does this mean that Beuys is out of date? Or did he succumb posthumously to the snares of the art business?

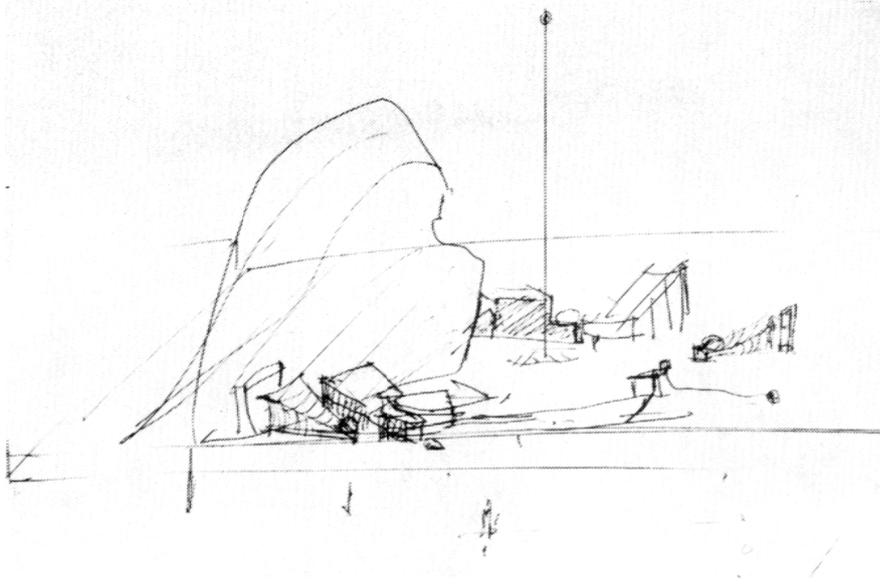


illustration 5

Sketch for 'Stag monuments',
Berlin 1982.

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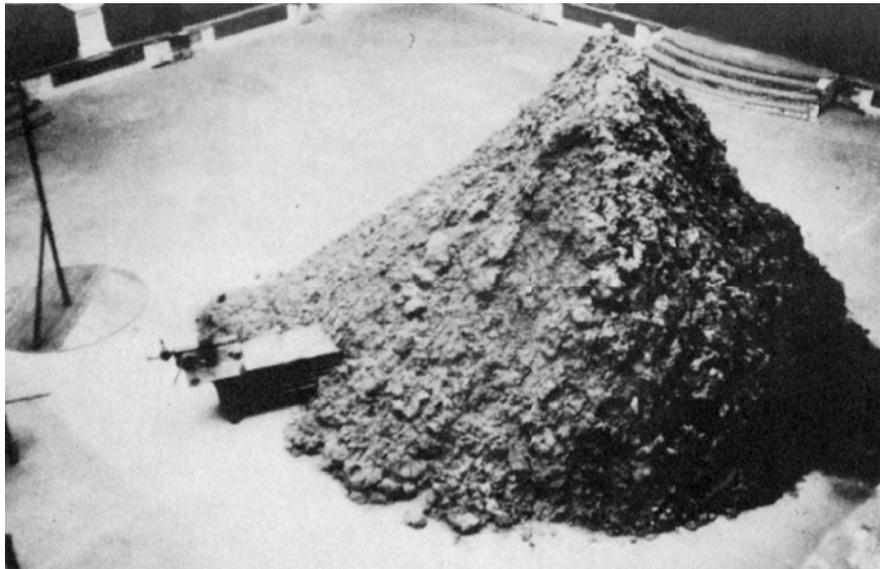


illustration 6

Part of 'Stag monuments',
Berlin 1982.

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These questions are rhetorical. For the epochal significance of his work for post-war art is without doubt, even if he seems not to be the final victor. But this pose was in any case alien to him as an anthropologically orientated artist. He shares the fate of many post-war artists like Jackson Pollock, Alberto Giacometti, and Wols, whose works gained high prices on the market, but who never reached the general consciousness and thus are still waiting to be discovered.

The energy which Beuys exerted in order to contribute to a synthetic anthropology will now be described in a final example. Because the project 'City afforestation instead of City administration.

7000 oaks' had for the most part to be financed by private contributions, he unflinchingly petitioned generous patrons. Shortly before the start of the *documenta* 1982 he was offered a copy of the Russian czar's crown by a successful restaurateur from Düsseldorf, in order to make use of it. This reproduction was the product of a jeweller's laborious work. The gold weight and quantity of jewels of the copy was in accordance with the original and was used by the restaurateur to publicise one of his high-class restaurants. After it was closed down the crown was of no more use to the owner and so he presented it to Beuys to finance the project '... 7000 oaks'. As though to emphasise in a very demonstrative manner his own extended understanding of art, Beuys did not sell this only copy of the original Russian crown as he received it, but instead mutilated it into a new work with a new title: 'Peace hare with accessories'. Outside the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel on 30 June 1982 Beuys removed the jewels from the crown, melted the gold with the exception of the small jewelled cross on the top of it, and cast it in a new form which later turned out to be a mould for chocolate Easter hares. According to the press and mass media the whole procedure was accompanied by protests from the public. Beuys then put the little sculpture, together with the jewels and the remaining cross, in an alcove behind armoured glass. The noble work of art thus appears relatively unpretentious in the museum.

The reaction of the press and public towards this process of transformation of a copy shows how little understood Beuys' extended concept of art is, despite his unceasing activity in public. Although the new creation represents a substantial increase in value, it was initially damned by conventional yardsticks of value. And although this piece is nowadays one of the most popular works of art in the State Gallery in Stuttgart, some visitors express the wish that the gold and the jewels be periodically polished. For Beuys fitted the precious stones in a rusty iron case with massive bolts, so that the gold and the stones slowly tarnish and lose their gleam. Even with this at first sight so pleasing work Beuys has managed to defend himself from idolatry and to hold to the idea of the work of art as a material performing in a social process. He did not allow the public the benefit of confirmation of their own expectations towards art. Ultimately the artist Beuys is invincible, like the hare which, in one of his early, small sculptures of 1963, Beuys shows under attack from a soldier. But this is another aspect of the work of Beuys, who said of himself: 'I'm quite a hot hare'.²⁷

Translation: John Garnish, Jan Gwóźdź, the editors used some translations by Caroline Tisdall, compare footnote No. 18.

The illustrations were provided by the author.

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- 1 Quoted from: Joseph Beuys, Zeichnungen (exhibition catalogue), Nationalgalerie Berlin 1979/80, p. 31.
 - 2 Quoted from: Joseph Beuys. Werke aus der Sammlung Karl Ströher (exhibition catalogue), Basel 1969/70, p. 38.
 - 3 Quoted from: Joseph Beuys. The Secret Block for a Secret Person in Ireland (exhibition catalogue), Kunstmuseum Basel 1977, p. 22.
 - 4 *ibid.*
 - 5 Quoted from: documenta 6 (exhibition catalogue), Kassel 1977, Vol. I, p. 157.
 - 6 Jean-Paul Sartre: 'Présentation', in: Les Temps Modernes 1 (1945), p. 17, quoted in: Sartre: Der Mensch und die Dinge, Reinbek 1983, p. 167.
 - 7 Sartre, p. 14 and p. 165 respectively.
 - 8 Quoted from: Ingrid Burgbacher-Krupka: Prophete rechts, Prophete links. Joseph Beuys, Stuttgart 1977, p. 63.
 - 9 Sartre, p. 13 and p. 164 respectively.
 - 10 Sartre, p. 14 and p. 165 respectively.
 - 11 Compare the analogous conclusion relating to science in Howard Davies: Sartre and 'Les Temps Modernes', Cambridge 1987, p. 7.
 - 12 Theodor W. Adorno: Negative Dialektik, Frankfurt/Main 1970, p. 353.
 - 13 Interview with Jean-Paul Sartre, Le Monde, 18. 4. 1964: quoted in: Kursbuch 1 (1965), p. 121.
 - 14 Interview with Jean-Paul Sartre, Clarté, March/April 1964; quoted in: Kursbuch 1 (1965), p. 137.
 - 15 *ibid.*, p. 148.
 - 16 Quoted in: Spex – Musik zur Zeit (Cologne), September 1982, Nr. 9, p. 19 f.
 - 17 'Georg Bussmann im Gespräch mit Heinz Schütz', in: Kunstforum 95 (1988), p. 103.
 - 18 cf. Caroline Tisdall: Joseph Beuys, New York 1979, p. 168–171.
 - 19 See: Joseph Beuys. Aktionen (exhibition catalogue), Moderna Museet, Stockholm 1971, illustration 23.
 - 20 Quoted in Tisdall, p. 168.
 - 21 See: Joseph Beuys. Skulpturen und Objekte (exhibition catalogue), Martin-Gropius-Bau Berlin 1988, Nr. 100.
 - 22 Quoted in Götz Adriani et. al.: Joseph Beuys, Cologne 1973, p. 158.
 - 23 Quoted in Tisdall, p. 271.
 - 24 cf. Franz-Joachim Verspohl and Ute Klophaus: Joseph Beuys. Das Kapital Raum 1970–77, Frankfurt 1984, p. 43 f.
 - 25 Quoted in Tisdall, p. 248.
 - 26 Quoted in Tisdall, p. 248.
 - 27 Quoted in Stern 19 (1981), p. 77.