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JOSEPH BEUYS ABOUT FREEDOM, INSPIRED BY FRIEDRICH VON SCHELLING

A revolution without the concept and the aim of freedom seems impossible. So when the German artist Joseph Beuys (1921-1986), wrote the Italian sentence 'La rivoluzione siamo noi'¹ ('We are the revolution') onto his photographic poster which he used as his artwork and which showed himself seeming to walk directly towards the viewer, he implicated that we be able to free ourselves in understanding that human beings in general are creators and reviewers. Like this work, there are several other works of Beuys presenting statements or the term freedom within diagrams, often written on blackboards during lectures or other demonstrations of his esthetic and social-political theories. It was symptomatic for him that he not only made drawings, sculptural works, plastic ensembles, environments and performances, which he called actions, but that he also gave countless lectures for students, exhibition visitors and members of political organizations. The diagrams drawn with chalk on blackboards which contain his general view on matters such as the organization of the cosmos, the mind, art and the social or judicial order, were meant as a support for his talks. Mostly afterwards, collectors and gallery owners were eager to fix the chalk-drawings before they would vanish forever. Very often not only the word 'freedom' appears in the diagram, but also names of philosophers, such as the main characters of the so called German idealism of the time of the Romantics: Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. I haven't heard this particular lecture of 1972 for which this diagram was written,² and there exists no registration of the spoken text, but one can construct why Beuys did write the name of Schelling on this blackboard. Both Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775-1854) and Beuys are connected in their concept of freedom. Therefore it seems reasonable to compare Schelling's essay *Über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit (1809)*³ with Beuys' thoughts about the same subject, as he made explicit in his works and quotations.

This is the reason why I will:

1. explain in short Beuys' idea about freedom by his quotations and by a selection of his works,
2. try to sum up the complicated philosophy of Schelling on the concept of freedom, using later also Martin Heidegger's (1889-1976) comments, as stated in his university-lectures, which were published in 1971 entitled *Schellings Abhandlung. Über das Wesen menschlicher Freiheit (1809)*, in which he sharpened Schelling's ideas.⁴
3. I want to say a few words about Rudolf Steiner's adaption of Schelling's essay about freedom, as the anthroposopher,

who in his early years wrote an essay about *Die Philosophie der Freiheit*.⁵ As Steiner's many publications were the main source of Beuys' theory he could have discovered Schelling's essay through Steiner.

4. And finally it is necessary to look at Beuys' ideas about freedom again with Schelling's arguments in mind, just to know if Beuys adapted the romantic philosophy or altered it.

For Schelling as well as for Beuys the central questions are human freedom, the role of artistic freedom as a cornerstone, the necessity of the integration of man and nature and finally, the obligation of human beings to work and function in a social community.

As a result of the French revolution of 1789, the subject of Freedom came to play a new role in philosophic and artistic discourse.

But the term 'revolution' and also the term 'freedom' very soon took a more allegorical and even abstract role as a pure potentiality of human beings in the cosmos, in nature and the human society and the argument was about artistic freedom as such. Could the last one be declared as autonomous?

For Beuys the term 'revolution' meant the following: „Unter einer Revolution verstehe ich, dass der Mensch in diesem Sinne [...] sich selbst betrachtet nach seinen Möglichkeiten hin, dass er aber über diese philosophischen Fragen, also über die Menschenerkenntnisfragen hinaus nicht vernachlässigt, was sozusagen am Tage geschieht. Dass er also, indem er sich ausbildet und danach fragt: Wie kann ich mich zu einem besseren Instrument innerhalb der Welt machen? Danach zugleich fragt: Wie geht es meinem Nebenmann, wie geht es meinem Bruder/Also einfach zu fragen: Wie sind die Verhältnisse in der Welt? [...]Also ist da noch zu fragen: Was ist los in unserem politischen System, was kann ich vorschlagen?“⁶ Well, that he proposed a system of direct democracy, referenda and an abolition of the army, is not of main interest for our discussion here, but the fact that he wanted men to reflect about their position and the mistakes they made in the world and what they can do to alter the world for a better future. In his view, these questions form the essence of the word 'brotherhood', which belongs together with 'freedom' and 'equality' to the three main devices of the French Revolution; but nevertheless, Beuys had to accept that there would be a tension between what an individual person wants to change in the world and how society reacts with acceptance or rejection. The only proposal Beuys made to solve this friction was that human beings should understand themselves as revolutionaries and as creators. Every man is an artist, he declared as often as he could,⁷ which because he was misunderstood, he rephrased as: everybody is creative. If one would accept this as the essence of the figure of Christ and not Jesus with his personal biography, then this could be a solution against mistakes: everybody would be interested in reacting against mistakes in the world and in a continuous revolution aimed at renewal and creation. "Is this so difficult to understand?" he asked.⁸ In these arguments he gave art its position in the world of a revolutionary power, obviously demonstrated in his comparison: "creativity = capital". Reflecting his position in the world, man can only understand himself as 'Freiheitswesen' (a being of liberty), who has the task to think, speak and act freely. This form of self-reflection, Beuys declared, is a form of 'inner revolution'.⁹ Furthermore he put this idea into the context of christianity, stating: "Der Mensch hat eine Seele, ein Denkvermögen und zwar auf sehr verschiedenen Ebenen. Er hat einen Willen, und das alles gehört doch in die Kreativitätsforschung hinein. Und ob der Mensch ein freies oder ein abhängiges Wesen ist, und wie frei oder abhängig er ist, das spürt doch erst die Kunst auf. Da fängt es doch erst an, dass der Mensch in den Mittelpunkt rückt, indem er sich allmählich als eine Art Gott erkennt, als eine Art Kreator...".¹⁰ Did the beginning of the Evangelist of Johannes In the Beginning was the word" inspire him to one of his most definite sentence: "Denken ist bereits Plastik."¹¹ It seems so, because his former student Johannes Stüttgen remembers him saying: „Die einzelnen Philosophien sind wie Kunstwerke, sind wie Plastiken zu betrachten. Das ist der richtige Weg.“¹² but, he argued: „Es geht darum, sich in jede Philosophie hineinzubegeben und das Leiden nachzuvollziehen. Mitleiden! Dabei entwickelt sich eine neue Substanz.“ [...] „Wir müssen nun aber zu einer exakten Erkenntnistheorie vorstossen. Dafür ist es erforderlich, das Denken selbst als Vorgang zu betrachten, nicht nur wie bisher, seine Inhalte, sondern als realen plastischen Prozess. Dabei wird sich herausstellen, dass wir selbst die Erzeuger des Denkens sind, dass genau da der Freiheitspol des Individuums entdeckt und real nachgewiesen werden kann. [...] Die Erde bietet die Basis. Wir sind in sie hinabgestiegen. Nur im Widerstand der Materie kann sich der Mensch seine Freiheitskraft erwerben. Nun müssen wir mit der neuerworbenen Freiheitskraft wieder hinaufsteigen zur Idee. Das besagt der Christussatz: Ich werde Dich freimachen.“¹³

Beuys did not remain by his ideas about freedom and his definition of Christ as the incarnation of creative man, he also wanted to bring into being with his art as a forerunner: in 1971 he founded the Organization for Democracy, which in 1972 mainly as a forum for discussions about what should be done in future became his artistic contribution at the global exhibition of the documenta 5 in Kassel in 1972. Furthermore, in the same year he founded the FIU, Free International University for creativity and interdisciplinary research, mainly anthropology and natural science: 'free' because this university acts outside of the public and private universities otherwise and has no fixed location. He also initiated his so-called 'social sculptures'. One of them is the project *Aktion 7000 Eichen* for Kassel,¹⁴ in which trees were planted in and around the city with a basalt-stone standing next to each tree, meaning a realized allegory of the body next to the living soul. Although the philosophers that inspired him, apart from Rudolf Steiner, did not realize the consequences of their idealism, as Beuys did as an acting artist, there are similarities as well as differences between Beuys and these philosophers, this lecture, however, will mainly be focused on one of them, Schelling.

Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling in 1809 sketched a new teleological cosmos with freedom as a sort of touchstone of it in "the centre" of the world, as he said. Not so much inspired by the French Revolution, although this dated only 20 years before, but by the philosophy of Kant, Leibnitz and his criticism of the philosophy of Fichte and especially of Spinoza. He stated that everything was in a status of becoming which means that it is open and free for another being, for which existence is longing. He designed a world in three steps: 1) the so called 'Ungrund' (no-ground) which is absolute and indifferent, 2) the 'Grund' (foundation), which initiates the 'system' (constitution) for 3) the existence. For Schelling the 'Grund' (Foundation) and the existence both together are called God. The human being takes part in this: on the one hand man is able to feel freedom, and on the other hand human beings knows that freedom is a quality of the system and existence, because of its openness for the future. In this process, which cannot take place without freedom at all, human beings can play a role also apart from God as human beings are able to decide if they want to act in the sense of 'evil' or in the sense of being 'good'. Only in acting reasonable and thus good, can a human being take part in the love of God and will be integrated in the 'Grund' (foundation) and existence. If he wants to act badly, he places himself outside of a future existence and the love of God. This new position, which Schelling offered in his philosophy, was to design a new relationship between the three steps of the genesis as a process of becoming and the place of man in this as being able to decide about his deeds, being good or evil, in his own free will as the bridging principle in this relationship. In this concept, freedom is defined as supernatural because it belongs to the system of existence and is much more than a human feeling. Being a part of God, man gets his freedom and because of his free decision for good and against evil, he will be integrated again in the realm of God which is the central being ('Das Zentralwesen'), he will in fact be bound with God, otherwise he will fall into Nothing which Schelling called 'Ungrund'.

If Beuys had read in Schelling's essay that this reintegration of man into the realm of God as being "directly creative" he would have agreed completely.¹⁵ Probably also with this statement of Schelling: „Gott aber kann nur offenbar werden in dem, was ihm aehnlich ist, in freien aus sich selbst heraus handelndem Wesen; für deren Sein es keinen Grund gibt als Gott, die aber sind, so wie Gott ist.“¹⁶

Furthermore Schelling wrote about the principle of freedom as being with God: „So wenig widerspricht sich Immanenz in Gott und Freiheit, dass gerade nur das Freie, und sowie es frei ist, in Gott ist, das Unfreie, und soweit es unfrei ist, notwendig ausser Gott.“¹⁷ Schelling gave freedom in this sentence a subjectiveness, that freedom was 'das Freie' (the free) and speaking about the opposite as 'das Unfreie' (the unfree), arguing that freedom has an autonomous position from human beings, declaring strictly: „Nur der Mensch ist in Gott, und eben durch dies In-Gott-Sein der Freiheit fähig.“¹⁸

This new system of freedom and necessity, being part of God by a good decision or being nothing by a bad one that is also the consequence of the free will of man, had a fresh effect on thinking. Previously, Kant had offered the idea in his book *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781) that reason and the normalization of the moral laws would be the aim of man when he had to decide freely. But Kant did not integrate this concept of freedom in a new universal order of God. Fichte thought that God was a pure concept of man's mind which was the proof of God's reality, whereas Schelling kept the dualistic idea of God and man, but in a network of relations mainly with freedom as the cornerstone.

So Schelling criticized Fichte and even more Spinoza,¹⁹ because this philosopher designed a pantheism in a static order of determination, where freedom cannot not have any place at all, according to Schelling.

Coming back to Joseph Beuys: in 1981 I wrote an article about Beuys and his inspiration by Richard Wagner. Beuys heard of it and without having read the text, he argued that I had written about him being inspired by the philosophy of Fichte. Therefore he would never agree to the article to be published in a French catalogue for an exhibition he took part in. Well, it was not true at all, I never wrote a word about Fichte and certainly not in relation to Beuys and his work, so it was possible to persuade him about my article. But this little anecdote seems very interesting for our discussion here: he avoided Fichte's vision of a world with God which is totally man-made by his perception and spirit and he definitely would be more involved in Schellings thought of a free man in order to craft his future in good and reasonable shape.

In fact he was mostly inspired by the anthroposoph Rudolf Steiner; when he came back from the Second World War as a former soldier, he found people at the academy in Düsseldorf in 1948 discussing books and essays by Steiner. As Beuys eagerly read the visionary written texts of Steiner, he must have found one of his earliest texts entitled: "Die Philosophie der Freiheit – Grundlagen einer Weltanschauung" (1894). This title makes clear that Steiner also argued about 'Freedom' as being the cornerstone for the constitution of the universe. In a subtitle he named his thoughts "Seelische Beobachtungsergebnisse nach naturwissenschaftlicher Methode" (spiritual results of observation after scientific methods) which contains already in a nutshell the main aims of his later anthroposophy. According to Steiner, there is also a dualism in the term freedom, firstly as being part of human feelings, and secondly apart from man, as a part of the "sinnlichkeitsfreies Denken". A kind of bridge between both parts was indeed possible: „Durch Denkerfahrung erlebt er die Überschreitung jener Grenze, welche der Intellekt durch seine freiwillige Bindung an das nur noch durch „Mass, Zahl und Gewicht-Erforschte“ sich selbst errichtet hat, das von der Sinnenwelt befreite Denken ist Gliedprozess der geistigen Welt. Um so bewusster erfährt sich dieses Denken als in den geistigen Urgründen des Daseins verwurzelt.“²⁰ Steiner does not speak about God, but about the spiritual world as such, to which the act of human perception forms a relationship enhanced by the knowledge of freedom, because the act of perception is, as he wrote, the synthesis of perception and understanding. „Ich wollte darstellen“ he summarised his thoughts, „wie derjenige, der das sinnlichkeitsfreie Denken als ein rein Geistiges im Menschen ablehnt, niemals zum Begreifen der Freiheit kommen könne, wie aber ein solches Begreifen sofort eintritt, wenn man die Wirklichkeit des sinnlichkeitsfreien Denkens durchschaut.“²¹

The similarity to Schelling on the one hand might be clear because of his declaration of freedom as part of a spiritual world with which one can come into contact by the knowledge of freedom and the use of it. On the other hand, there exists Steiner's dissimilarity with Schelling's position by taking a distant position to his naming the spiritual and factual world God and arguing about potential decisions for good or for evil. Beuys most probably took that position, as he never named the potential of evil decisions: in his eyes creativity as such can only be a free decision for good.

Heidegger especially appreciates Schelling's essay because of Schelling's idea not so much to design a system of the world as a static and regulative one (as Kant did), but as a becoming one, a potential, an energy grounded on the longing for something and the will for that to come into being, to create the ground which should be formed in a future existence, the potential of which only can work in freedom. 'Freiheit', he wrote in agreement, is „Selbstbestimmung aus dem eigenen Wesensgesetz“, which means that existence and also human beings, can start freely to act, they are not bound, they are free from something, free to bind themselves to something and – as humans – are free to think.²² When Kant wrote about freedom, he did not point to it as the main relationship between God and men, not so ostentatiously as Schelling, who demonstrated freedom as the power and potentiality as such between 'Grund', 'Existenz' and the 'human being' and that the subject, which is the 'I', could be defined and understood only by the term of freedom.²³ This definition must have been in the line of Beuys. Whether he read Heidegger or not is in our discussion not necessary to know, but as both, Heidegger and Beuys were reading Schelling, they must have understood this point as the main one. Heidegger even wrote about art: „Die Kunst wird mit die massgebende Weise der freien Selbstentfaltung menschlichen Schaffens und zugleich eine eigene Weise der Eroberung der Welt für das Auge und das Ohr.“²⁴

It seems now very important to know, what Beuys actually did say in interviews about Schelling: He mentioned him sometimes, also in a critical way. First of all, he agreed that Kant had to be criticized in his one-sided praise of the ratio and said: „Die Kategoriensysteme Fichtes, Schellings und Hegels wichen erheblich von dem Kants ab.“²⁵ On his

blackboard of 1972 he designed a concept of the world in three steps: 1. The chaos and the will,²⁶ 2. movement and direction, directed with a line, and 3.– after a long line of intersection – which he mostly declared to be a pause for a selection in functional and dis-functional processes– and behind this intersection presented ‘Gegenwartskultur’, idea, thought or form. There exists another drawing called *Partitur*, that Beuys made for Dieter Koepplin in 1969, showing the same design somewhat clearer, although the names of Schelling next to Fichte and Hegel are not mentioned.²⁷ In another drawing, entitled *Evolution* Beuys sketched a big sun to the right as Jupiter (we can say God) and at the bottom to the right again an alchemical process with sal/sel as the becoming result for thought/act/or form and, as he wrote it here: „Erkenntnis: Object/Subject.“²⁸ Furthermore he drew the opposites as a union: materiality plus freedom. According to Beuys, from the German Idealism until nowadays, philosophers mostly were busy with ideas about the material world, whereas they forgot freedom, the reason for creativity. Already in September 1971,²⁹ he told Georg Jappe that freedom was necessary to give man his ‘Selbstbestimmung’ (self determination) for his creation without any determination of his situation, because men are free beings, they belong to a higher nature, which has itself been incarnated into the human. If a human is able to reflect about his own freedom, which can only be reached by creativity, then one gets an idea of what art is going to be. Otherwise, in an interview of the 30th of January 1980 he criticized Schelling, who did not define human potential as a capital as Goethe and Schiller had done. There exists a drawing by Beuys of a tree of life, referring to referendum and revolutionary values, in order to make democracy possible by avoiding political parties. A lot of little cubes are hanging in the tree like fruit with the letter K written on the side: K represents the German word for capital.³⁰ It must be clear that he did not mean money or other forms of economical capital, but capital as a human word for power and the potentiality for a creative thinking, acting and forming. One month later, on 12.10.1971 he stated, by quoting the ideas of the romantic period, that creativity in fact can only be developed, if freedom and individuality are guaranteed.³¹ Only then would it be possible to open science and art to a new and unified definition of creativity, which would give human beings, then more conscious and skilled, a new scientific idea of love and maybe this would have an effect on the political structure in general and in detail. On the 27th of September 1976 he stated to feel spiritually related to the romantic philosophers because of German Idealism and their natural philosophy unifying spiritual science and natural-science. He must have meant Schelling especially, because of his so called ‘nature-philosophy’, but he did not mention him in this interview. He did this in other ones, such as on the 8th of August 1979, the (1972) 8th and the 23rd of November 1979, the 19th of July 1980 and the 30th of January 1982, when ever the discussion was about definitions of man, creativity and freedom.

To sum up this comparison, one can say that Schelling composed a genesis in three parts: ‘Ungrund’, which is the absolute and not-God, ‘Grund’, ‘Existenz’, which both are called God. Whereas Beuys designed a genesis in chaos/will, movement/energy and thought/form/idea as a union of the ‘Plastic’. Both denote love as the aim of everything, the aim that makes it possible to come back to God. For Beuys in fact, love makes it possible to act as a social being and to feel the warmth, the sun, which for him is God.³² So he gave his bronze figure of Christ hanging on the cross the head of a sun.³³ Schelling did not mention Christ at all, but Beuys argued that Christ is the leading figure for human beings, for being free and creative. Schelling’s problem in this *wereldbeeld* (world view) is the Evil. In the end Schelling gives evil a main role for the free will of man, choosing instead good, which without a choice would not happen. In doing so, good is part of evil, because otherwise a human would never find God and his love. As for Beuys he does not name Evil as an important principle as such, but as an evil evident by a more and more materialistic development in the world as well as in detailed mistakes in society, which for him are anti-creative.³⁴ Schelling did not argue in the name of revolution, his perspective lay completely outside the historical event. But of course, the principle of freedom was a subject of all romantic thinkers of that time, writing more or less in the realm of the French Revolution. Beuys on the other hand kept for himself the memory of the German revolutionary Anacharsis Cloots for his identification. In fact Cloots lost his head under the guillotine, but just before this happened, he bowed to all sides, to the West, the North, the East and the South, always repeating the words: ‘Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit’.³⁵ Maybe Beuys would have expanded that speech with ‘creativity’, nevertheless he put the bronze head of Cloots, which was in fact formed by one of his female students, in a sort of grave-showcase of glass together with his own lynx-mantle. In doing so he made his own monument, called *Palazzo regale* and a monument for Cloots, which we can understand as his lifelong striving for freedom.

NOTES

¹ Comparison of a text about Joseph Beuys: „La rivoluzione siamo noi, un socialismo liberale e democratico, Joseph Beuys” by Lucio Amelio, Achile Bonito Oliva, Renato Guttuso, Fabio Mauri, Filibert Menna, in *Ubi Fluxus ibi Motus 1990-1962* in *Ubi Fluxus ibi Motus 1990-1962. A cura di Achille Bonito Oliva. Venezia, Ex Granai della Repubblica alle Zitelle (Giudecca), 26 maggio - 30 settembre 1990*, edited by Achile Bonito Oliva (Milan: Nuove Edizioni Gabriele Mazzotta, 1990), 137-140. Exhibition catalogue.

² Diagram-drawing from Documenta 5, Kassel, 1972. Illustration in: Johannes Stüttgen, *Der Ganze Riemen. Der Auftritt von Joseph Beuys als Lehrer – die Chronologie der Ereignisse an der Staatlichen Kunstakademie Düsseldorf 1966–1972*, hrsg. Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walter König, 2008), 972.

³ F. W. J. Schelling, *Über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit* (1809), einl. u. anm. v. Horst Fuhrmann (Stuttgart: Reclam-verlag, 1964).

⁴ Martin Heidegger, *Schellings Abhandlung über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit (1809)*, hrsg. v. Hildegard Feick (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, (1971) 2. durchges. Aufl. 1995).

⁵ Quoted in: Johannes Hemleben, *Rudolf Steiner in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, (1963) 1977), 62-65.

⁶ *Joseph Beuys. Provokation Lebensstoff der Gesellschaft / Kunst und Antikunst (Podiumsdiskussion „ende offen. Kunst und Antikunst“ zwischen Max Bense, Joseph Beuys, Max Bill, Arnold Gehlen, Wieland Schmied, 27 Januar 1970)*, einl. Eugen Blume (Köln: Buchhandlung Walter König, 2003), 35. Nr. III der Schriftenreihe des Joseph Beuys Medien-Archivs, Heft mit DVD.

⁷ For example in: *Gespräche mit Beuys - Joseph Beuys in Wien und am Friedrichshof. Friedrichshof, Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Wien* (Klagenfurt: Ritter-Verlag, 1988), 131.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 52.

⁹ „Beuysnobiscum,” in *Joseph Beuys. Kunsthau, Zürich, 26 November 1993 - 20 Februar 1994* (Zürich: Pro Litteris, Kunsthau, cop., 1993), 279-280. Exhibition catalogue.

¹⁰ *Vorträge zum Werk von Joseph Beuys*, hrsg. v. Arbeitskreis Block Beuys Darmstadt im Verein der Freunde und Förderer des Hesischen Landesmuseums Darmstadt (Darmstadt: Verlag Jürgen Häusser, 1995), 94.; Compare: *Ein Gespräch/una discussione. Joseph Beuys, Jannis Kounellis, Anselm Kiefer, Enzo Cucchi*, hrsg. v. Jacqueline Burckhardt (Zürich: Parkett-Verlag, 1986), 104-105.

¹¹ *Joseph Beuys - Denken ist bereits Plastik. Zeichnungen zur plastischen Theorie aus der Sammlung van der Grinten*, Museum der Stadt Langen, Altes Rathaus, 25.1.1991 - 1.4.1991 (Langen: Magistrat der Stadt Langen, 1991). Exhibition catalogue.

¹² Stüttgen, *Der Ganze Riemen*, 135.

¹³ Stüttgen, *Der Ganze Riemen*, 136.

¹⁴ See Beuys' opinion in: *Gespräche mit Beuys*, 1988, 67

¹⁵ Schelling, *Über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit*, 56

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 57

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 58

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 132 (1781)

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 48-50

²⁰ Steiner paraphrased by Hemleben in: Hemleben, *Rudolf Steiner in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, 62.

²¹ Steiner quoted by Hemleben in: Hemleben, *Rudolf Steiner in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, 64.

²² Heidegger, *Schellings Abhandlung über das Wesen der menschlichen Freiheit*, 106.

²³ *Ibidem*, 111

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 38

²⁵ Wolfgang Zumdick, *Der Tod hält mich wach. Joseph Beuys – Rudolf Steiner. Grundlagen ihres Denkens*, überarb. neuausg. (Dornach: Pforte Verlag, 2006), 118-119, and footnote 42. The author does not write about the relation: Beuys/Schelling.

²⁶ As for the meaning of the ‘will’ see: Beuys, *Provokation Lebensstoff*, 40.

²⁷ Joseph Beuys, *Partitur für Dieter Koepplin* (1969) private collection, Munich. Illustrated in *Joseph Beuys. Natur - Materie - Form. Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, 30 November 1991 - 9 Februar 1992*, hrsg. u. Texten v. Armin Zweite (München: Verlag Schirmer & Mosel, 1991), 12. Exhibition catalogue.

²⁸ *Beuys. Die Revolution sind wir*, hrsg. v. Eugen Blume und Catherine Nichols (Göttingen: Steidl-Verlag, 2008), 313. With a text of Volker Harlan, 365ff. Exhibition catalogue. Nationalgalerie im Hamburger Bahnhof-Museum für Gegenwart, Berlin im Rahmen der Ausstellungsreihe *Kult*

des Künstlers, 3 Oktober 2008 - 25 Januar 2009.

²⁹ The following interviews are summarized in: Monika Angerbauer-Rau, *Beuys Kompass, ein Lexikon zu den Gesprächen von Joseph Beuys* (Cologne: Dumont Verlag, 1998).

³⁰ Diagram of a plastic-sack for a street-action in Hohe Str. in Cologne, 1971.

³¹ Theodora Vischer did not write anything about Schelling, Fichte or Hegel in: Theodora Vischer, *Beuys und die Romantik* (Köln: Walter König, 1983).

³² *Beuys. Die Revolution sind wir*, 198.; Zumdick, *Der Tod hält mich wach. Joseph Beuys – Rudolf Steiner*, 28 and footnote 39.

³³ For his meaning about the sun or light, see: *Gespräche mit Beuys. Joseph Beuys in Wien und am Friedrichshof*, 126

³⁴ Stüttgen, *Der Ganze Riemen*, 135.; Compare: Zumdick about the Evil in Steiners's thoughts in: Zumdick, *Der Tod hält mich wach. Joseph Beuys – Rudolf Steiner*, 59.

³⁵ Zumdick, *Der Tod hält mich wach. Joseph Beuys – Rudolf Steiner*, 139.

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