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CURIOUS REALISM:
DADA AND *DIE NEUE SACHLICHKEIT* IN 1920s KARLSRUHE

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Curious Realism: Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit* in 1920s Karlsruhe

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This dissertation recovers the historical specificity of the terms and tactics that defined German realism after Dada. It focuses on a trio of artists—Karl Hubbuch, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz—who studied together at the Karlsruhe Academy before World War I. Their innovative and immersive forms of realism, forged in the print workshops of the regional academy and later revised in dialogue with modernist networks in Berlin, challenge art historical understandings of the relationship between Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (The New Objectivity). Where realism had traditionally demanded distance and observation—a sober, level head and a practiced hand—the Dadaist heritage called for a politics and a poetics of total immersion. This dissertation tracks the legacy and the lingering traces of Dadaist strategies in the realist production of the German 1920s, examining how these pictorial modes signified in specific political, institutional, and regional contexts. It thus repositions a set of representational drawings, prints, photographs, and paintings that are usually valued for their fierce optical clarity, rather than for their emphatic, tactile made-ness.

Chapter One establishes the challenge to realism posed by Rudolf Schlichter and his colleagues in the secessionist *Gruppe Rih*, whose members met as students at the

Karlsruhe Academy between 1908 and 1914. Their disparate artworks performed a syncretic language of mental instability and formalist naiveté that sought to upend painterly norms in Karlsruhe. Chapter Two traces the modernist dialogues between Karlsruhe and Berlin through the drawn and printed montages of Karl Hubbuch, who developed an embodied form of somnambulist realism that was inspired by silent films and serial novels of the 1910s and 20s. Chapter Three examines the persistence of such mass cultural models and modes of vision in the satirical work of Georg Scholz, whose politically strident brand of painting and printmaking engaged with post-Dada narratives in Berlin. Chapter Four demonstrates that a return to the academy transformed the painterly and pedagogical practices of both Hubbuch and Scholz after 1925, interrogating a realism under pressure to signify in response to the environment of unstable vision and subjectivity created by previous avant-garde interventions.

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- Fig. 5.4 Erwin Spuler, "*Erschiessung der Jury...*" (Execution of the Jury). Lithograph in *Zakpo* Nr. 1 (1930), 7. Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.
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Introduction

Realism in the Balance

In [Schlichter's] atelier is a picture of a cocotte: hair represented by hair, fabric by fabric. The background glued on, houses torn from magazines, and so on. The conceptual connections, the distinguishing features of the depiction, are affixed with glue. The painter uses forms shaped by mechanical life. So too began Picasso when he painted violins like color photographs cut up into flat planes. [...] It was, so to speak, a signal to the public to take notice how much realism was cached in those cubist pictures, which are in actuality more realistic than any Manet.¹

—Carl Einstein, “Rudolf Schlichter,” in *Das Kunstblatt*, April 1920.

In a bordello interior, two male clients consort with a pair of female prostitutes, and a crudely reassembled classical torso rests on a table behind them (**Fig. 0.1**). The central female figure dances to the sound of a tiny gramophone, her feet cinched into a pair of tall button boots with a red lacquered finish. She wears a pair of lace- and fringe-lined purple pantaloons adorned with magazine cutouts—photographic portraits of a Wild West cowboy and a man wearing a turban—and her arms are covered with gauzy, transparent sleeves printed in a delicate flower and strawberry pattern.² Her face is a combine: the eyes ripped from a fashion magazine and framed with a mismatched mop of fringy brown hair, part watercolor and part pencil, and her nose constructed out of

¹ Carl Einstein, “Rudolf Schlichter” *Das Kunstblatt* (April 1920): 106-108. “Ein Kokottenbild steht in seinem Atelier: Haare werden durch Haare, Anzugstoff durch Anzugstoff dargestellt. Der Hintergrund geklebt; Häuser aus Zeitschriften usw. Die ideelichen Verbindungen, Auszeichnungen des Dargestellten werden eingeklebt. Der Maler benutzt Geformtes des maschinellen Lebens. Damit begann Picasso, als er in seinen Geigenbildern die Geige - ein bereits Geformtes - wie farbige Photographie in Flächen zerlegt malte. Severini koiffierte dann seine Porträts. Es war dies etwa ein Signal an das Publikum, aufzumerken, wieviel Realism [sic] in den z.B. kubistischen Bildern steckt, die tatsächlich realistischer sind als irgendein Manet.”

All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

² I suspect that these pasted additions are strategic, referencing themes from Schlichter's pre-Berlin production, and thus marking a subtle continuity from the provincial to the metropolitan: the cowboy figure evoking the artist's many Wild West images between 1916 and 1918, for example, and the figure with the turban recalling the many “orientalist” montages Schlichter produced between 1917 and 1920.

covering paint and paper. She smiles, bearing a set of white and slightly protruding teeth, and her gaze meets the viewer with the insincere blush of a practiced and painted cocotte. In a humorous juxtaposition of time and capital, the artist—the recent Berlin transplant, Rudolf Schlichter—affixed the cutout of a stopwatch to the crotch of her fringed purple bottoms.³

Schlichter created this collage painting, known as *Phänomen-Werke* or “Phenomenon Works,” shortly after arriving in the German capital in the fall of 1919.⁴ He had relocated there from the southwestern city of Karlsruhe, where he had studied for six years at the local fine arts academy and, in the aftermath of World War I, led a group of local artists to revolt against bourgeois norms in the short-lived secession movement known as *Die Gruppe Rih*.⁵ As Schlichter would later describe, he left Karlsruhe for Berlin “to fill an inner emptiness,”⁶ like so many colleagues who moved between Germany’s regional academic centers and its metropolitan capital as the decade

³ This tactic of cyborg recombination relates Schlichter’s collage painting to other works exhibited in the notorious Berlin Dada Messe (First International Dada Fair), in particular, to the George Grosz-John Heartfield montage sculpture *Der wildgewordene Spießer Heartfield* (The Middle-Class Philistine Heartfield Gone Wild, 1920), with its crudely affixed “vagina dentata” and lightbulb head.

⁴ Rudolf Schlichter, *Phänomen-Werke* (Phenomenon Works), 1919-20. Photomontage and collage of papers and fabric with watercolor and opaque watercolor on paper, 61.7 x 46.6 cm. Private collection, Frankfurt am Main. This collage was long considered to be lost/destroyed, until 1990, when it showed up at auction at the Galerie Kornfeld in Bern.

Lit: Hanne Bergius, ““Lederstrumpf” zwischen Provinz und Metropole,” in *Rudolf Schlichter 1890-1955*, ed. Gabriele Horn (Berlin: Fröhlich & Kaufmann, 1984), 38a-43a; Corinne Granof, “Obstinate Flesh: The Early Career of Rudolf Schlichter” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1995), 106-112; Götz Adriani, ed., *Rudolf Schlichter: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen*, (Munich and Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1997), 92; Uwe Fleckner, “The Real Demolished by Trenchant Objectivity,” in *The Dada seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman et al. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 63-69; Brigid Doherty, “Berlin” in *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, New York, Paris*, ed. Leah Dickerman (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 101.

⁵ On Schlichter’s studies in Karlsruhe, and his activities with *Die Gruppe Rih*, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

⁶ Rudolf Schlichter, *Zwischenwelt. ein Intermezzo* (Berlin: E. Pollak, 1931), 22; as cited in Andreas Kühne, “Von der Dada-Revolte zur Neuen Sachlichkeit,” in Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 92. Schlichter had already visited his brother Max in Berlin, ca. 1910-12, where he described his fascination with the Passage-Arkaden and Castan’s *Panoptikum*. See Rudolf Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße*, 219-40.

progressed.⁷ In the *Hauptstadt*, Schlichter soon gained contact to the leading personalities of Berlin Dada through his older brother Max, who had moved to Berlin already in the early 1910s and who worked as a chef and proprietor at his own “Restaurant Schlichter.”⁸ Here, Max cultivated a large circle of left-leaning friends, including the composer Kurt Weill and the dramatist, Bertolt Brecht, whom Schlichter would depict with virtuosic, painterly realism in a well-known 1926 portrait.⁹

In an essay for a special edition of *Das Kunstblatt*—the first of two the Berlin art journal would dedicate to the topic of *Verismus*, or pictorial “verism” in art—the critic and Dada enthusiast Carl Einstein drew particular attention to Schlichter’s *Phenomenon Works*. Einstein had seen the picture in the artist’s Berlin studio, and his analysis of its primary operations pointed to a critical break between the internalized, fetishistic visual language of German expressionism—in 1920, a mode beginning to sputter but still the prevailing trend in exhibition spaces across Germany—and Schlichter’s novel brand of deconstructed realism. Einstein, a noted scholar of French Cubism who had also published a definitive text on African sculpture, used the term “*stofflicher Verismus*” (material verism) to describe Schlichter’s juxtaposition of real world objects—

⁷ In his autobiography, George Grosz framed Berlin as a city of unbounded opportunity after his years of study at the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts. George Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja und ein großes Nein. Sein Leben von ihm selbst erzählt* (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974), 94. “...in Berlin lag meine Chance. In Berlin war ‘was los.’ Es wurde mehr und mehr Mittelpunkt. In der Kunst hatte es die alten Zentren München, Düsseldorf und Dresden überflügelt. In Berlin lebten die Führer der modernen deutschen Malerei: Professor Max Liebermann, Professor Lovis Corinth, Professor Max Slevogt -- das Dreigestirn des deutschen Impressionismus. Man war fortschrittlich in Berlin...”

⁸ In the catalogue for the Erste Internationale Dada Messe, Max Schlichter is listed as a participant with the humorous pseudonym, “*dadameisterkoch*” (Dada Master Chef). On the Restaurant Schlichter, see Isabel Greschat and Sigrid Lange, eds., *Rudolf Schlichter: Großstadt, Porträt, Obsession* (Heidelberg: Kehrer, 2008), 17-20; and Jürgen Schebera, *Damals im Romanischem Cafe: Künstler und ihre Lokale im Berlin der 20er Jahre* (Leipzig: Ed. Leipzig, 1990), 116-133.

⁹ Rudolf Schlichter, *Der Schriftsteller Bertolt Brecht* (The Writer Bertolt Brecht), 1926. Oil on canvas, 75.5 x 46 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

textiles, photographs, magazine layouts—with passages of evocative, painterly realism.¹⁰ He thus positioned the *Phenomenon Works* as a pivotal object in this moment of stylistic transition, a picture that like Picasso's synthetic Cubist collages were, to Einstein's practiced eye, "more realistic than any Manet."¹¹

This statement is provocative, and far reaching, but it has received little attention in the scholarship on Schlichter's oeuvre or on German modernism more generally.¹² Certainly, the link between the *Phenomenon Works* and an object such as Picasso's *Violin* (1912) exists at a level of remove—a correspondence of formal tactics rather than a direct citation of visual source material.¹³ More tantalizing is Einstein's suggestion that the realism of Schlichter's bordello scene corresponds with, or perhaps even transcends, that of the Frenchman Édouard Manet, that celebrated "painter of modernity" whose 1877 portrait of the prostitute, *Nana*, provides a humorous art historical precedent for

¹⁰ Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik* (Leipzig: verlag der weißen Bücher, 1915). The primary compendium of Carl Einstein's art historical essays and criticism, including his many articles for *Die Aktion*, *Der blutige Ernst*, *Die Pleite*, and *Das Kunstblatt* is the three-volume *Carl Einstein: Werke*, ed. Rolf-Peter Baacke et al (Berlin: Medusa Verlag, 1980).

A central figure in Berlin Dada, Carl Einstein had been left out of many previous histories of the movement, until preparations for the comprehensive *Dada* exhibition began in the early 2000s. As Charles W. Haxthausen notes in his "Bloody Serious: Two Texts by Carl Einstein" (*October* 105, Summer 2003, 105-118), it was Uwe Fleckner who first suggested that Einstein's role in Berlin Dada be considered as part of any reexamination of the movement. Fleckner considered the evolution of Einstein's criticism in the context of Berlin Dada in the essay "The Real Demolished by Trenchant Objectivity" (see note 4, above). In 2004, Haxthausen translated and published a number of key essays by Einstein in a special issue of the journal *October* (Vol. 107), including "Methodological Aphorisms," "Revolution Smashes through History and Tradition," "Totality," "Gestalt and Concept," "Negro Sculpture," and "Notes on Cubism." The secondary scholarship on Carl Einstein is extensive; for a general history, see Klaus H. Kiefer, *Diskurswandel im Werk Carl Einsteins. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der europäischen Avantgarde*, Communicatio 7 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994). On the tactic of decomposition and "negative poetry" in Einstein's literary oeuvre, see Dirk Heiße, *Negative Dichtung. Zum Verfahren der literarischen Dekomposition bei Carl Einstein* (Munich: iudicium verlag, 1992).

¹¹ Einstein, "Rudolf Schlichter," 108.

¹² Hanne Bergius has noted Einstein's comment about Manet insofar as the content of Schlichter's image may relate to Manet's depiction of the prostitute *Nana* (1877) and to the narrative of Zola's novel. Bergius, "Lederstrumpf," 41a-42a.

¹³ As Uwe Fleckner has rightly noted, the allusion to Picasso likely had more to do with Einstein's effort to position Schlichter's work within the broader trajectory of the avant-garde than it did with any direct formal correspondence between the *Phenomenon Works* and Picasso's synthetic cubism. Fleckner, "The Real Demolished," 66.

Schlichter's boudoir interior (**fig. 0.2**).¹⁴ Her features, her physicality, the objects of her consumption: these details have been amply recounted in the secondary literature, as well as by Manet's own contemporary, J.K. Huysmans, who celebrated the delicious vice of a silk-clad courtesan blotting her face with rice powder, "while a gentleman watches."¹⁵ Indeed, the opposition between description and narration plays out across the surface of Schlichter's *Phenomenon Works*, which demands that its viewer both *read* the picture—the surfeit of pasted newspaper photographs, advertisements, and picture postcards that litter the surface, begging to be analyzed and decoded—and also *see* its material operations, thus attending to the optical disjunctures that resist meaning in their confounding, non-narrative arrangements.

Reading and seeing, description and narration, surface and depth: such binary terms echo the Marxist debates about realism that originated between the former Heidelberg schoolmates, Georg Lukács and Ernst Bloch, during their well-documented dialogues of the late 1930s.¹⁶ For Lukács, the form of German realism that had come to

¹⁴ On Manet as the quintessential painter of modernity, see T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); on Zola's reading of Manet and the impressionist "eye," see Richard Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: A Study of the Theory, Technique, and Critical Evaluation of Modern Art* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 21-26.

¹⁵ Huysmans cited in Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 229-230. For an engaging read of Manet's portrait of *Nana*, its related portrait studies, and the context of nineteenth-century French prostitution and female sexuality, see Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 67-79. On *Nana* as a "figure of scandal" that operates between myth and reality, see Werner Hofmann, *Nana. Eine Skandalfigur zwischen Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Ostfildern: DuMont Reiseverlag, 1999).

¹⁶ Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor Adorno soon joined in the conversation, which began in the publication, *Das Wort*, in 1937-38, and continued into the 1950s, when Adorno published a belated rebuttal of Lukács following the publication of his 1957 study, *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*. The root and impetus for these discussions can be traced to January 1934, when Lukács published the essay, *Expressionism: Its Significance and Decline* (Größe und Verfall des Expressionismus) in the journal *International Literature*. The primary compendium of Lukács's essays on realism in literature, including this 1934 text, is the volume *Essays on Realism*, ed. and trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980). The ensuing debates about expressionism are collected in *Aesthetics and Politics: Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Ernst Bloch, Bertolt Brecht, Georg Lukács*, with an afterword by Fredric Jameson (London and New York: Verso, 2007).

be known as *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (The New Objectivity) lacked a crucial historical perspective—a reservoir of tradition that Bloch called *die Erbe*—and thus remained mute and static, unable to “pierce the surface” of social reality.¹⁷ In his 1936 essay, “Narrate or Describe,” Lukács celebrated the realist strategies of the great “narrator” Tolstoy and decried the “observer” Zola, whose purportedly detached, descriptive mode of realism transformed men into what Lukács would call “living corpses,” characters who wander through elaborately described environments that lack ideology, and thus, a connection to the concerns of real life.¹⁸ Like the bibelots and powder doses in Manet’s *Nana*, such details crowd the surface of things without penetrating to any deeper meaning; reflecting fragments, they remain “frozen in their own immediacy.”¹⁹

This dissertation asks what happens to realism when this critical distance collapses, when the traditional tools and materials of academic representation fall short of the demand to signify in the environment of unstable vision and subjectivity created by the interventions of the avant-garde.²⁰ It unfolds during a period of profound social change and frenetic technological innovation in Germany’s history: nearly two decades

¹⁷ Georg Lukács, “Realism in the Balance,” in Jameson, *Aesthetics and Politics*, 36-37. “But both emotionally and intellectually they all remain frozen in their own immediacy; they fail to pierce the surface to discover the underlying essence, i.e. the real factors that relate to their experiences to the hidden social forces that produce them. On the contrary, they all develop their own artistic style—more or less consciously—as a spontaneous expression of their immediate experience.”

On Ernst Bloch’s notion of cultural heritage (*Erbe*), see Bloch, *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1985).

¹⁸ Georg Lukács, “Narrate or Describe? A Preliminary Discussion of Naturalism and Formalism” (1936) in *Writer and Critic: and other Essays*, ed. Arthur Kahn (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970), 138.

¹⁹ Lukács, “Realism in the Balance,” 36.

²⁰ On the problem of description in word and image, see also: Svetlana Alpers, “Describe or Narrate: A Problem in Realistic Representation,” *New Literary History*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Autumn 1976): 15-41; Norman Bryson, “Discourse, figure” in *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-28; and Richard Schiff, “The Subject/Object Distinction, Critical Evaluation, and Technical Procedure,” in *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: A Study of the Theory, Technique, and Critical Evaluation of Modern Art* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984, 27-38.

that comprise the country's entry into, and defeat in, World War I (1914-1918); its leftwing revolutions of 1918-1919; and the fourteen-year span of the Weimar Republic, that laboratory of modernity that ended with the Nazi seizure of power, in January of 1933.²¹ My study attends to this complicated history and addresses several key questions raised by a collage painting such as *Phenomenon Works*. Why, for example, would a progressive artist seeking to shed his regional past seek to preserve the language of painterly realism alongside such radical formal tactics as collage and photomontage? To what extent do the politics of style inform the imperatives of practice? What happens, in other words, when the seamless surface and representational content of the realist work of art comes under pressure—when realism, as traditionally constituted, becomes entangled in a web of regional politics, institutional affiliations, artistic rivalries, and economic struggle?²²

In attempting to answer these questions, this study sheds light on a trio of Karlsruhe artists—Karl Hubbuch, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz—who studied

²¹ Most studies of Weimar culture accept the parameters of Detlev Peukert's influential study, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), in which "three phases" comprise the Weimar Republic: the first (1918-23), an unstable period of revolution and inflation; the second period (1924-29) marked by economic stabilization following the introduction of the Dawes Plan and French withdrawal from the Ruhr industrial region; and a third period (1929-33) shaped by the world economic crisis and the unraveling of the fragile Weimar political coalition. Peter Fritzsche first challenged the notion of Weimar "failure" in his historiographical essay, "Did Weimar Fail?" *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (September 1996): 629-656. Recent revisions include *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects: Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s*, ed. Kathleen Canning et al. (New York: Berghahn, 2010); Anthony McElligot, *Rethinking the Weimar Republic: Authority and Authoritarianism 1916-1936* (London: Bloomsburg, 2012); and John A. Williams, ed. *Weimar Culture Revisited* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

On the cultural history of the inflation, see Gerald D. Feldman, *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914-1924* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), which locates many of Weimar's economic troubles in the period beginning in 1914, and earlier.

²² In this vein, Thomas Crow's *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) explored the operations of a revolutionary-era "politics of style," one in which meaning forms in the interactions between artists and institutions, and imprints permanently in pictures that mirrored the rivalries between students in the homosocial, familial space of Jacques Louis-David's studio. This study focused, by necessity, on the central city of Paris; my study attempts to extend the question of style as a regional signifier.

together at that city's fine arts academy, the *Großherzoglich Badische Akademie der bildenden Künste*, in the years leading up to the First World War, and who, in the postwar years, forged active and ongoing connections with avant-garde networks in Berlin. Their disparate artworks called upon the realms of pulp fiction, popular cinema, and period advertising in an effort to reactivate the forms of painterly realism they had studied at the Karlsruhe Academy as a viable strategy of production and exhibition. Where realism had traditionally demanded distance and observation—a sober, level head and a practiced hand—the Dadaist heritage called for a politics and a poetics of total immersion.²³ Dada was an art that refused to keep its distance, insistently pushing back against the limits of material, form, and content.²⁴ This dissertation tracks the legacy and the lingering traces of these Dadaist strategies in the realist production of the 1920s, examining how these pictorial modes signified in specific historical contexts.

In Berlin, artists affiliated with the Dada movement had, since 1917, been reassembling photographs and newspaper fragments in the radical technique known as photomontage, presenting bold critiques of despised right-wing politicians, insipid art critics, and the German *Spießer*, the infamous and oft-lampooned “middle class philistine.”²⁵ The first Berlin Dada event (an “expressionistic lecture evening”) took place

²³ Michael Fried's study of Adolph Menzel complicates this notion of detached, disembodied realism and posits a realism of empathy and connection, one deeply tied to the corporeal conditions of its making. Michael Fried, *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

²⁴ Leah Dickerman, “Dada Tactics,” in *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, New York, Paris*, ed. Leah Dickerman (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 7.

²⁵ On the history of photomontage in the European and American contexts, see: Dawn Ades, *Photomontage* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Matthew Teitelbaum, ed., *Montage and Modern Life* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1992); and Annegret Jürgens-Kirchoff, *Technik und Tendenz der Montage* (Lahn-Giessen: Anabas Verlag, 1978). For the best general histories of Berlin Dada, in English, see Brigid Doherty, “Berlin” in Dickerman, *Dada*, 84-112; and Matthew Biro, “Berlin Dada: Origins, Practices, and Institutions,” in Biro, *The Dada Cyborg*, 25-64. In German, see Hanne Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik: Dada Berlin—Artistik von Politaritäten* (Berlin: Mann, 2000).

on 22 January 1918 in the Galerie I.B. Neumann, located on the elegant Kurfürstendamm shopping boulevard in Berlin's West End.²⁶ Several months later, the Dadaists held their first "Dada evening" in the Berlin Secession building with a program of talks, poems, and performances, including George Grosz's *Sincopations* and Raoul Hausmann's technical manifesto *Das neue Material in der Malerei* (New Material in Painting).²⁷ That same evening, Richard Huelsenbeck shouted his Dadaist manifesto to the assembled crowd, calling for a new and decidedly post-expressionist art whose content would let fly the "thousandfold problems of last week" and be "visibly shattered by the explosions of recent days."²⁸ Huelsenbeck criticized German Expressionism as an art form that had closed itself off to the people through internalization and exclusivity; Dada, by contrast, shouted "No! No! No!" in the face of such art.²⁹ The culmination of these initial Dada rumblings took place in the summer of 1920, when George Grosz, John Heartfield, Raoul

²⁶ Richard Huelsenbeck, a cofounder of Zurich Dada who had moved to Berlin in January of 1917, read the *Erste Dada Rede* (First Dada Speech), and a number of expressionist poets shared their latest work.

²⁷ For a full accounting of the reviews of this Erster Dada-Abend and its successors, see Jeanpaul Goergen, ed., *Urtexte der dadaistischen Poesie: Der Berliner Dada-Abend am 12. April 1918* (Hannover: Postskriptum, 1994) and Karin Füllner, ed., *Dada Berlin in Zeitungen: Gedächtnisfeiern und Skandale*, (Siegen: Forschungsschwerpunkt Massenmedien und Kommunikation an der Universität-Gesamthochschule-Siegen, 1986). For reconstructions of this first Dada evening and its strategies of assaultive affect see: Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik*, 14-20; and Andrés Mario Zervigón, "'A Political Struwwelpeter?' John Heartfield's Early Film Animation and the Wartime Crisis of Photographic Representation," in Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image: Photography, Persuasion, and the Rise of Avant-Garde Photomontage* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 95-100.

²⁸ Excerpted in Raoul Hausmann, *En avant Dada: Eine Geschichte des Dadaismus* (Hannover: Steegemann, 1920), 28: "Die Kunst ist in ihrer Ausführung und Richtung von der Zeit abhängig, in der sie lebt, und die Künstler sind Kreaturen ihrer Epoche. Die höchste Kunst wird diejenige sein, die in ihren Bewusstseinsinhalten die tausendfachen Probleme der letzten Woche werfen liess, die ihre Glieder immer wieder unter dem Stoss des letzten Tages zusammensucht...Hat der Expressionismus unsere Erwartungen auf eine solche Kunst erfüllt, die eine Ballotage unserer vitalsten Angelegenheiten ist? NEIN! NEIN! NEIN!"

²⁹ The Second Dada Manifesto was published in April 1919 and Club Dada reconvened, with new names to consolidate shuffled positions of power within the group: Raoul Hausmann as the philosopher "Dadasoph" and his then-companion Hannah Höch known as the "Dadasophin," Johannes Baader as "Oberdada," George Grosz as "Propagandada," John Heartfield as "Monteurdada," Wieland Herzfelde as "Progressdada," and Walter Mehring as "Pipidada." These locations and affiliations are recounted in Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas: die Berliner Dadaisten und ihre Aktionen* (Giessen: Anabas, 1989), 35.

Hausmann, and Wieland Herzfelde organized the *Erste Internationale Dada-Messe* (First International Dada Fair) at the Otto Burchard Gallery in Berlin.³⁰

The Burchard Gallery was a relatively new venue when the Dada Fair opened to the public on 25 June 1920; its inaugural exhibition, which had closed just five days earlier, featured new works by the recent Karlsruhe transplant, Rudolf Schlichter.³¹ At the Dada Fair, Schlichter exhibited the collage painting *Phenomenon Works* and a series of “corrected masterpieces,” as well as the *Preußischer Erzengel* (Prussian Archangel, 1920), a multi-media “plastic” collaboration with the “Monteur-Dada,” John Heartfield.³² The *Prussian Archangel* compelled the viewer to experience it directly, almost physically: the life-size sculpture dangled from the ceiling of the Burchard Gallery, clad in a Prussian field officer’s uniform and topped with a paper maché pig’s head, and an instructional sign hanging beneath it instructed the viewer: “To fully appreciate this work

³⁰ For overviews of the First International Dada Fair, see Doherty, “Berlin,” 99-110; and Helen Adkins, “Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, Berlin 1920,” in *Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstaussstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, ed. Helen Adkins (Berlin: Nicolai, 1988). For a comprehensive recounting of the *Dada Messe* and an analysis of key artworks on view, see Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik*, 233-304.

³¹ The exhibition, *Rudolf Schlichter*, was on view in the Burchard Galerie from 20 May to 15 June 1920.

³² Hanne Bergius has suggested that the *Phänomen-Werke* collage painting was almost certainly shown at the Dada Fair, although it was not listed in the printed catalogue. The work may be considered part of the series of “corrected masterpieces” (*verbesserte Bildwerken der Antike*) that combined fragments of antique sculpture with new and modern devices (often, as in the *Phänomen-Werke*, as humorous prosthetic attachments). See Bergius, “Lederstrumpf,” 40a. Brigid Doherty repeats this assertion about the *Phenomenon Works* and its exhibition history in Doherty “Berlin,” 101.

of art, one must exercise for twelve hours daily on the Tempelhof Field with a fully-packed rucksack and field marshal's uniform."³³

This scathing critique of pig-headed Prussian militarism echoed the concerns of the Dada Fair, more generally, but it differed from the more subtle, mixed-media satire of Schlichter's *Phenomenon Works*, which depicts a wounded war veteran rather prominently in the left foreground.³⁴ Fitted with a prosthetic left arm and a mechanical right thigh, the veteran reclines with raised legs on a fat red pillow, which bears the title of the picture in block letters ("Phänomen/Werke").³⁵ Partially clothed in sock garters, colorful striped stockings, and a pair of elegant button boots, the war veteran smiles through a painfully reconfigured face marked by a blood-red cheek stain and two slashing brown scars. A second cyborg pair stands before him; the female figure (presumably, a second prostitute) turns away from the viewer to expose her naked bottom—seen through a cutout in her lacy pantaloons—and the exposed set of gears and bolts comprising her left elbow. Her visible innards, likewise, expose a dense network of metal valves and pipes. Her male companion wears a black top hat and plaid trousers paired with a fashionable black vest; like the first male figure, he is likely a war cripple, his body

³³ John Heartfield and Rudolf Schlichter, *Preussischer Erzengel* (Prussian Archangel), 1920. Papier maché (pig's head), wire mesh (body), palm grass, hemp, and horse hair (filling), uniform cut from field gray material, World War I field cap, boots, and shoulder lapels, woodcut signs, height ca. 180 cm. Reconstruction in the collection of the Berlinische Galerie, Berlin. The hanging sign read: "Um dieses Kunstwerk vollkommen zu begreifen, exerziere man täglich zwölf Studen mit vollgepacktem Affen und feldmarschmäßig ausgerüstet auf dem Tempelhoferfeld."

Lit: Matthew Biro, *The Dada Cyborg: Visions of the New Human in Weimar Berlin* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 172-175, 181, 189, 196; Doherty, "Berlin," 101; Ralf Burmeister, "'From Heav'n on High: The Prussian Archangel,'" in *Comic Grotesque: Wit and Mockery in German Art, 1870-1940*, ed. Pamela Kort (Munich and New York: Prestel Verlag, 2004), 171-174; Granof "Obstinate Flesh," 102-104; and Bergius, "Lederstrumpf," 44a.

³⁴ Based on his fine clothing and obvious war wounds, Hanne Bergius suggests that this figure is a war cripple, probably a Prussian officer of the upper classes. Bergius, "Lederstrumpf," 40a.

³⁵ Schlichter likely cut out or copied this lettering from a period advertisement for the Phänomen-Werke Gustav Hiller A.G., a German company that produced bicycles, motorcycles, trucks, and automobiles; Brigid Doherty also mentions this connection to the "Phänomen-Werke" firm in Doherty, "Berlin," 101.

soldered together and retro-fitted with a mechanical right arm. In the background, glued-on strips of patterned wallpaper give way to a view through the window, where the downtown New York skyline awaits these modern Berliners like an inviting, if geographically improbable, picture postcard.³⁶

These figures and their visible wounds—inflicted by war or by society—evoke the tactics of corporeal reconfiguration that defined the Dada project by the summer of 1920, as Brigid Doherty has argued and as others have agreed in the scholarship on this period of furiously productive German picture making.³⁷ In a recent study, Devin Fore has suggested that the radical artworks that emerged during this period took the human body as their subject, not in the sense of thematics or genre—as has often been argued in studies of German realist portraiture—but instead as a kind of “structural anthropomorphism,” one in which no longer perfect bodies would come to be imprinted by the mediated traces of their technological appendages.³⁸ While my dissertation is

³⁶ Andreas Kühne calls this view out the window a “typical Berlin culisse;” Hanne Bergius suggests that it is a generic, high-rise American cityscape, a deliberate reference to the 1920s fascination with American girls, with the Tiller Girls dance troupe, and the new world of American luxury lurking on the German horizon. In fact, the view Schlichter includes out the window is a specific one, likely culled from a contemporary magazine photo spread or a picture postcard, depicting New York’s City Hall and its surrounding Park Row, known as “Newspaper Row.” The view shows, from left to right: New York City Hall, the New York World building (with its distinctive spherical top), and the New York Tribune building, with the tall spire. The New York World building was razed in 1955; the Tribune building now houses the Pace Plaza complex of Pace University.

³⁷ On Berlin Dada and the trauma of photomontage, see especially: Brigid Doherty, “See: We are all Neurasthenics!’ or, the Trauma of Dada Montage, *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Autumn 1997): 82-132; Brigid Doherty, “The Work of Art and the Problem of Politics in Berlin Dada,” *October* Vol. 105 (Summer 2003): 73-92; and Brigid Doherty, “Berlin,” 87-112.

³⁸ Devin Fore, *Realism after Modernism: The Rehumanization of Art and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2012). Fore’s understanding of realism after modernism draws from Walter Benjamin’s period notion of the human as a form of “negative expressionism,” the title of a 1921 fragment. As such, Fore’s history of realist interventions is a history of “devices” and “ghosted cultural orthopedics” in which the human returns to the work of art in forms of mimicry and mimesis. These ironic, citational modes hold particular resonance for postmodern understandings of the human, and thus open up the discussion to postwar and contemporary practice. As such, this approach prefers the critical distance of irony over the closer, messier engagement with materials that a practice such as the Karlsruhe artist Karl Hubbuch’s necessitates.

informed by such histories and theories of media, my trajectory differs. I argue that such citations of older (outmoded) realist forms need not always invoke the ironic language of pastiche, as Fore suggests, but may indeed be the earnest, productive, and insistently material outcomes of a realism grappling with its post-academic, post-expressionist, and post-Dada condition.

This earnestness and complexity typified Rudolf Schlichter's approach to a collage painting such as *Phenomenon Works*, in which a bordello couple stares with interest at the headless figure of a dummy—in fact, a reproduction of a Roman copy after Polykleitos' *Doryphoros* (ca. 450 BC)—that has been truncated and “corrected” with modern accoutrements: a garter belt and a metallic, funnel-like penis, corseted suspenders, and a delicate female hand attached to the lower right arm.³⁹ Thus, the *Phenomenon Works* may be considered as part of the series of “Corrected Masterpieces” that Schlichter and several colleagues exhibited in the 1920 Dada Fair.⁴⁰ These “corrected” works replaced the heads of famous antique sculptures with banal, modern cutouts—performing the work of critical surgery on such objects as the Roman *Apollo from Pompeii* (100 B.C. - before A.D. 79) or the *Kritios Boy* (ca. 480 BC) of Early Classical Greece. In the exhibition catalogue, co-organizer Wieland Herzfelde wrote appreciably of Schlichter's corrected *Venus de Milo*.⁴¹ The key, for Herzfelde, was the work this “correction” performed: not only did Schlichter modernize the body of the

³⁹ Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 267. The torso of the spear thrower was at the time in the collection of the Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

⁴⁰ On the “corrected masterpieces” within the sensorial-corporeal politics of the Dada Fair, see: Doherty, “Berlin,” 101. For an overview of the related works on view, see Adkins, “Erste Internationale Dada Messe,” 166.

⁴¹ Wieland Herzfelde, ‘Bild Nr. 118 Rudolf Schlichter: ‘Verbesserte Bildwerke der Antike—Venus von Milo’ in *Erste Internationale Dada Messe*, exh.cat. Otto Burchard Galerie, Berlin (June 1920): 3.

antique sculpture, thereby rendering it legible to a contemporary viewer “at our level of sensitivity, [bringing] the entire body into the realm of our senses,” to use Herzfelde’s terminology.⁴² Schlichter’s invocation and denial of the classical tradition operated in two directions—both recalling, with subtle humor, the boorish neo-classicism of his drawing school colleagues in Karlsruhe, and obliterating, with forward momentum, the power of the art market to lend such objects value and prestige.⁴³ Moreover, Schlichter’s intervention aimed to situate the antique sculpture within the realm of actual sensory experience, a project that was central to Dada’s efforts in the summer of 1920.

Art historians tend to separate Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit* as vastly separate strivings, one active and agitated, the other passive and detached. Dada, the art of the assaulted body, gives way to the realism of a cool and sober eye.⁴⁴ In the spate of American museum exhibitions recently dedicated to *Die neue Sachlichkeit*, curators

⁴² *Ibid.* “Hier zeigt sich am faßlichsten das Verhältnis der Dadaisten zur Antike. Die Bourgeois, welche dauernd lamentieren, man wolle das Vergangene sinnlos ruinieren oder zertrümmern, mögen hier stehen bleiben und Abbitte tun. Hat je ein Meier-Graefe oder Lessing es verstanden, der Antike derart alle Scheuklappen zu nehmen, d.h. sie gegenwärtig zu machen wie hier Schlichter, indem er ein Götzenbild, das nur für Altertumsforscher verständlich und beachtenswert war, mit einem für unser Empfinden menschlichen Kopf versieht und dadurch den ganzen Körper in den Fassungsbereich unserer Sinne rückt. So mag der Marktwert vernichtet werden, die Plastik hat dadurch wieder Leben und ihren ursprünglichen sinnlichen Reiz bekommen.”

For an English translation and commentary on Herzfelde’s introduction, see Wieland Herzfelde, “Introduction to the First International Dada Fair,” trans. Brigid Doherty, *October* 105 (Summer 2003): 93-104.

⁴³ On the snobbish Winckelmann acolytes “Paul and Ludwig,” whom Schlichter would malign with dripping sarcasm in his autobiographies, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

⁴⁴ On the thematics of distance and “cool conduct” in German interwar realism, see Helmut Lethen, *Cool Conduct: The Culture of Distance in Weimar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). The art historian Wieland Schmied has written a number of texts on the opposition between immersion and detachment in the realism of 1920s Europe and America; see especially Schmied, *Neue Sachlichkeit und magischer Realismus in Deutschland, 1918-1933* (Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1969); Schmied, *Der Kühle Blick. Realismus der Zwanziger Jahre in Europa und Amerika* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2001); and Schmied, *Leidenschaft und Kühler Blick. Vergleichende Betrachtungen über die Moderne in der Kunst* (Köln: DuMont, 2004).

One noteworthy exception to the focus on painting was the exhibition, and accompanying scholarly catalogue, at the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin: Anita Beloubek-Hammer, ed., *Gefühl ist Privatsache. Verismus und Neue Sachlichkeit: Aquarelle, Zeichnungen und Graphik aus dem Berliner Kupferstichkabinett mit Leihgaben* (Berlin: Petersberg, 2010).

privilege the medium of painting—a mode of representation typified by cool, detached observation, smooth surface finish, and old masterly technique—as the key to understanding Germany’s turn to figurative realism during the Weimar Republic.⁴⁵ This approach takes its cue from period criticism of *Die neue Sachlichkeit*, a term first formulated by the Mannheim Kunsthalle director Gustav Hartlaub in 1922. Responding to a survey on “The New Naturalism” for the Berlin art journal *Das Kunstblatt*, Hartlaub described an emerging stylistic trend in painting with two distinct political valences: one wing, “conservative to the point of classicism, secured in timeless roots...[and] the other left wing stridently contemporary...seek[ing] to reveal chaos, the true face of our time.”⁴⁶ Hartlaub’s binary continues to provide a framework for understanding Weimar picture-making as a singular, typological, or objective mode of seeing—in other words, as a mirror of social decadence or political unrest—but this approach tends to run aground on questions of form. By contrast, this dissertation considers the Karlsruhe artists’ embodied process of making within a trans-regional politics of style, aiming to reposition a set of realist drawings, etchings, lithographs, and paintings that are usually valued for their fierce optical clarity, rather than for what I describe as their emphatic, tactile made-ness.

⁴⁵ This understanding of Germany’s interwar realism builds on a paradigm of historical rupture and aesthetic-political retreat that was notably theorized by Benjamin H.D. Buchloh in “Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting,” *October* Vol. 16, (Spring 1981), 39-68. Buchloh’s analysis has been foundational to later scholarship on the interwar modernism of Europe and the Soviet Union. Yet his privileging of Dadaist and Constructivist strategies rejects the visual language of realism as a politically viable approach to art practice in the wake of World War I. While acknowledging the crucial role that war experience played for many German artists in the 1920s, my project challenges binary assumptions that would disconnect postwar realism from its roots in the revolutionary avant-garde. See also: Kenneth Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France Between the Wars* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995); and Kenneth E. Silver, ed., *Chaos and Classicism: Art in France, Italy and Germany 1918-1936* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2010).

⁴⁶ Gustav Hartlaub, response to Paul Westheim, “Ein neuer Naturalismus?” *Das Kunstblatt*, 6 Jg. Heft 9 (September 1922): 390. For a fuller accounting of this survey and its various responses, see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

In his 1920 essay on Rudolf Schlichter, Carl Einstein surmised: “One thing I know for certain: individuals like Schlichter have escaped most conclusively from the ‘Palau Academy’ of antiquated expressionism.”⁴⁷ Einstein saw the *Phenomenon Works* as a crucial break—between the expressionist trends of the revolutionary period, in 1919-1920, and the new naturalism that he perceived to be bubbling up in the work of young artists such as Rudolf Schlichter, and as this dissertation demonstrates, in the work of his Karlsruhe peers, Karl Hubbuch and Georg Scholz.⁴⁸ This “material verism” was a realism that penetrated the surface, responding to the imperatives of Dada with the tools honed at the Karlsruhe Academy, an institution that was known for its strengths in the graphic techniques of drawing, etching, and lithography. My study places these dual imperatives in dialogue as it tracks the continuities between the realism of the late Wilhelmine period, the ruptures of the revolutionary era, and the realist interventions that followed. This effects a necessary reconsideration of the relationship between Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit*, the latter a mode of critical realism commonly understood to have “reflected” the chaos of the Weimar Republic with sober detachment, but rarely considered in terms of its earnest, explosive, and insistently material, formal qualities.

⁴⁷ Einstein, “Rudolf Schlichter,” 108. “Eines stelle ich vor allem fest: Leute wie Schlichter sind endgültig der Palauakademie antiquierten Expressionism entronnen. Ein Mann wie Schlichter interessiert sich nicht mehr für schöne Nuditäten um ihrer selbstwillen; dies ein veralteter Schwindel, der von vielen Expressionisten ohne Rücksicht auf selbst bescheidenen Intellekt aufgeaktet wurde. Es ist meine Aufgabe, auf den sehr begabten Rudolph [sic] Schlichter hinzuweisen; möge er jetzt seine Arbeiten dem Publikum zugänglich machen. Den üblichen Schluß bei der Ankündigung eines neuen Malers unterlasse ich. (...) Rudolph Schlichter ist mehr wert als herausgeschriene Phrase. Mann soll sich ernsthaft mit ihm beschäftigen.”

⁴⁸ On the “end of expressionism,” and the persistence of painterly modes in the work of German artists after the 1918-19 revolutions, see: Stephanie Barron, ed. *German Expressionism 1915-1925: the Second Generation* (Los Angeles: LACMA and Prestel, 1988); and Lynette Roth, *Painting as a Weapon: Progressive Cologne 1920-1933: Siewert, Hoerle, Arntz* (Köln: Walther König, 2008). For a detailed case study of the politics and poetics of this moment of revolutionary aesthetic change, tracked through the regional contexts of Berlin, Dresden, and Munich, see Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918-19* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

Regionalisms and Modernisms in Dialogue⁴⁹

Carl Einstein grew up in Karlsruhe but had long since left the city for Berlin, and he later described his southwestern hometown as a city of boredom where “deformed burghers dozed and bullied their way between café conversations and grammar lessons.”⁵⁰ Georg Scholz, likewise, contrasted his self-professed “Prussian edginess” with the “southern German congeniality” of his academic colleagues in Baden.⁵¹ (Ironically, Scholz would find himself tethered to the region throughout his career, listed without fail in both exhibition catalogues and leftwing publications as “Georg Scholz-Grötzingen.”)⁵² Rudolf Schlichter adopted and performed various outsider roles in both Karlsruhe and Berlin—from the powdered dandy to the staunch revolutionary to the shoe fetishist—but

⁴⁹ In the field of nineteenth-century French studies, scholars have long recognized the need to interrogate the power dynamics and politics that operate between the poles of center and periphery, especially where this work engages the well-known artists who circulated between the academy and the avant-garde. T.J. Clark’s pioneering work on Gustave Courbet, in the 1960s and 70s, aimed to reposition the artist and his artworks within a broad network of circulation and reception: from Ornans to Dijon to Paris. This regionalized version of Courbet—who Clark argued was both “rustic and theoretician”—paved the way for discussions of modern artists as protagonists in class struggle, a narrative deeply embedded within the social history of art. See T.J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973). For a study of Paul Cézanne that situates the modernist painter resolutely within his *provençal* culture, see Nina M. Athanassoglou Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: The Painter in his Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ Carl Einstein, *Kleine Autobiographie* (1930), as cited in Hansgeorg Schmidt-Bergmann, “‘abgetrennt von den übrigen Ausstellungsräumen’—Die verdrängte Avantgarde: Gustav Landauer, Carl Einstein und Rainer Maria Gerhardt,” in *Kunst und Architektur in Karlsruhe. Festschrift für Norbert Schneider*, ed. Katharina Büttner et al. (Karlsruhe: Universitätsverlag, 2006), 86. “Auf der Schule machte mir die übliche Ignoranz der Lehrer einen häßlichen und dauernden Eindruck. Unwahrscheinlich deformierte Bürger dösten und quälten zwischen Stammtischen und Grammatik. Humanistische Monstres...Das entscheidene Erlebnis war natürlich Karl May, und der Tod Winnetous war mir erheblich wichtiger als der des Achills und ist es mir geblieben. Ich flog aus dem Abitur und kam in ein Landgymnasium. Sonntags betrank ich mich im Karzer und las Detektivromane, Wedekind oder Rimbaud.”

⁵¹ Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 4 March 1923. Akademie der Künste, Berlin (hereafter “AdK, Berlin”), George-Grosz-Archiv Nr. 404. Scholz opposes the terms “*preußischer Schneidigkeit*” and “*süddeutsche Gemütlichkeit*.”

⁵² The practice of listing an artist’s working location, along with his or her name and the title of the work exhibited, was common practice in exhibition catalogues of the 1910s and 1920s; more singular was the decision to link Scholz to Grötzingen in journals such as *Der Gegner* and *Das Forum*, where readers assumed that, unless otherwise listed, an artist hailed from Berlin. On Scholz’s contributions to these leftwing journals, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

he remained through and through *ein Schwabe* (a Swabian), linked by education, familial bonds, and dialect to this cultural region of southern Germany.⁵³

The unified nation of Germany is itself a relatively recent confection, a political state formed in 1871 following German victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War.⁵⁴ This modern *Germania* was cobbled together from a disparate landscape of ducal protectorates and royal states ranging from the antagonistic kingdoms of Prussia and Bavaria to the Grand Duchy of Baden.⁵⁵ The city of Karlsruhe is a baroque invention, a ducal residence with a founding legend readymade for both conservative celebration and avant-garde disdain: in 1715, as the story goes, the Margrave Karl Wilhelm von Baden-Durlach grew tired while searching for a lost ladies' fan during a hunt in the Hardt Forest, curled up under a tree, and fell into a deep slumber.⁵⁶ While asleep, the Margrave dreamed of a new royal residence to be built directly on the site, with long and orderly

⁵³ Baden and Württemberg are historical states (the former predominantly Catholic, and the latter Protestant), that were joined by the Allies after World War II to form the modern German state of Baden-Württemberg. *Schwaben* (Swabia) is a cultural region that traverses Württemberg (including Schlichter's hometown of Calw), the city of Stuttgart, and parts of western Bavaria, and that retains to this day a distinctive regional identity and a dialect, *schwäbisch*, which Schlichter used often in his autobiographies when quoting friends and family members.

⁵⁴ For a cultural history of this post-1871 period, known as the *Gründerzeit*, see Peter Paret, *Art as History: Episodes in the Culture and Politics of Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); and Beth Irwin Lewis, *Art for all? The Collision of Modern Art and the Public in Late-Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

⁵⁵ Previous studies that address the question of regional style, or that document the history of regional academies and art movements in Germany, include the following: Christoph Stölzl, ed. *Die zwanziger Jahre in München* (Munich: Stadtmuseum 1979); Ulrich Krempel, ed., *Am Anfang: Das junge Rheinland: zur Kunst- und Zeitgeschichte einer Region, 1918-1945* (Düsseldorf: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1985); Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe, 1920-1933* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1988); Lynette Roth, "The Cologne Progressives: Political Painting in Weimar Germany," (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009); and Stephan Dahme et al, eds., *Neue Sachlichkeit in Dresden* (Dresden: Sandstein-Verlag, 2011).

⁵⁶ The Karlsruhe Stadtarchiv has compiled and published the most complete histories of the city of Karlsruhe, drawing on the extensive resources of this city archive. The publications most relevant to this dissertation include the following: Christina Müller, ed. *Karlsruhe im 18. Jahrhundert. Zur Genese und zur sozialen Schichtung einer residenzstädtischen Bevölkerung* (Karlsruhe: Badenia-Verlag, 1992); Manfred Koch, ed. *Karlsruher Chronik. Stadtgeschichte in Daten, Bildern, Analysen* (Karlsruhe: Badenia-Verlag, 1992) and Ernst Otto Bräunche, et al, eds., *Geschichte und Bestände des Stadtarchivs* (Karlsruhe: Badenia-Verlag, 1990).

city streets spreading out in the shape of a fan. The city of Karlsruhe flourished under Karl Wilhelm's grandson, Karl Friedrich (1728-1811), who supervised both the construction of the central palace and the design, by the architect Friedrich Weinbrenner, of the radial plan that comprised the city that would come to be known as the "*badische* Potsdam."⁵⁷ Karlsruhe was thus from the outset inextricably linked to its royal family, a seat of ducal residence (*Residenzstadt*) rather than a city forged by industry, as in nearby Mannheim, or anchored by a celebrated university, as in the Baden towns of Heidelberg or Freiburg. By focusing on the city of Karlsruhe, its institutions, and its academically-trained artists, this dissertation aims to complicate Berlin-centric understandings of 1920s critical realism in Germany, and to open up the historical period under investigation—thus accounting for the continuities between late Wilhelmine artistic striving and the interventions of the Weimar avant-garde.

In a conference at the University of London's Institute of Germanic & Romance Studies, in September of 2010, organizers proposed a new paradigm of "contingency" in research about the Weimar Republic, a period of history that has long been defined by what Jochen Hung terms an "overly negative interpretation of its politico-economic situation and a disproportionately positive account of its socio-cultural achievements."⁵⁸ Instead, this new paradigm proposed an idea of Weimar's historical "openness" — reflected in the pluralism of the visual arts, literature, and politics and in the continuities and correspondences between this period and the decades leading up to the formation of

⁵⁷ Herbert Doerrsckuck, *Karlsruhe, so wie es war* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1971), 5.

⁵⁸ Jochen Hung, "Beyond Glitter and Doom. The New Paradigm of Contingency in Weimar Research," in *Beyond Glitter and Doom: The Contingency of the Weimar Republic*, ed. J. Hung (Munich: iudicium, 2012), 9.

the Republic in January of 1919.⁵⁹ Contingency, openness, “limit cases,” permeability: such terms arise frequently in recent scholarship seeking to decenter or re-center traditional understandings of European modernism.⁶⁰ This dissertation aims to participate in this discussion, and to look beyond the apparent legibility of Germany’s interwar realism to interrogate the traces, blanks, and blind spots that mark this period of furious picture making.

Several German scholars have considered Karlsruhe’s distinctive interwar realism and attempted to place the work within the historical and political context of the Weimar Republic; the best of these studies were initiated by a working group led by the Heidelberg art historians Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger. Together, they edited the comprehensive scholarly catalogue for the exhibition, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950* (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1981), which provided a foundation for most of the later studies that draw on the rich archival holdings of the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe.⁶¹ My own study is indebted to these efforts in framing the period and contextualizing its primary debates: from the first exhibitions of modern art in Karlsruhe, in the early 1910s, to the provocations of *Die Gruppe Rih*, in 1919-20, to

⁵⁹ On the notion of continuity between the Wilhelmine, Weimar, and postwar periods, see Gustav Frank et al, eds., *Modern Times? German Literature and Arts Beyond Political Chronologies: Kontinuitäten der Kultur, 1925-1955* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2005).

⁶⁰ By the time T.J. Clark published his elegiac study *Farewell to an Idea* (1999), he had likewise revised his understanding of modernity as one of contingency, as a practice of picture-making best understood archaeologically, from its limits. These “limit cases,” for Clark, included works both well-known and understudied: he cites Pablo Picasso’s 1919 *Italian Woman* and Adolph Menzel’s 1871 realist tour de force, *Moltke’s Binoculars*, as two works that “push certain boundaries.” Such works evoke a sense of “blindness” and “blankness” that Clark sees as indicative of the “true strangeness and tension of nineteenth-century art lurking behind its extroversion.” See Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 8-12.

⁶¹ Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger, eds. *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1981). This collection of visual objects, critical essays, and primary source documents provides an excellent overview of the sociopolitical situation in 1920s Karlsruhe, and forms a crucial starting point for the inquiries of this dissertation. I am particularly grateful to Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Ursula Merkel for discussing their research and sharing their expertise on the Karlsruhe *Kunstszene*.

the reorganization of the fine arts academy and the local *Kunsthalle* in 1920-21.

Likewise, the Hofmann/Präger exhibition outlined the terms of the *Kulturkampf*, or culture war, that raged in Karlsruhe throughout the 1920s, in which progressive artists would find themselves attacked by conservative members of the local press and by colleagues within their own institutions.

In the 1980s, the Bezirksverband Bildender Künstler organized several important exhibitions on the topic of realism in Karlsruhe.⁶² Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner's *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe 1988), based on her doctoral dissertation at the Universität Heidelberg, thematically surveyed the work of two generations of Karlsruhe artists—including Karl Hubbuch, Georg Scholz, and their students including Hanna Nagel, Rudolf Dischinger, and Erwin Spuler.⁶³ This important work was extended, in 2006, in the Städtische Galerie exhibition, *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, which shed light on little known works of decorative art and photography, as well as paintings produced by the conservative wing of the Karlsruhe Academy.⁶⁴ My interest differs from these earlier survey efforts in addressing the trans-regional correspondences between Baden and Berlin, both during the late Wilhelmine and the Weimar periods, and my study attends far more closely to the problems of form that emerged in the work of artists who engaged with Berlin Dada and returned to the academy during the 1920s. While their use and choice of materials may have been informed, initially, by the pressures of economic necessity, I demonstrate that these

⁶² See Helmut Goettl, ed. *Realistische Kunst der 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: Künstlerhaus Galerie, 1980) and Helmut Goettl, ed., *Um 1900. Das alte Karlsruher Künstlerhaus* (Karlsruhe: Künstlerhaus Galerie, 1987).

⁶³ Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe 1920-1933* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1988).

⁶⁴ Erika Rödiger-Diruf, ed. *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2006).

demands soon gave way to an array of decidedly purposive formal experiments—from Schlichter’s degradation of line and color through the illustrative tactics of contemporary pulp fiction, to Hubbuch’s hypnotic practice of joined and sutured portraiture, to Scholz’s conflation of political satire with the sentimental language of the period advertising poster.

The work of these three artists has received some attention in the Anglophone literature, primarily as examples of sober draftsmanship in thematic exhibitions on Verism and *Die neue Sachlichkeit*.⁶⁵ The work of their academy peers—Walter Becker, Wladimir Zabolin, Oskar Fischer, and Willi Müller-Hufschmid—remains almost entirely unknown outside Germany.⁶⁶ Schlichter has received the most scholarly attention, based on his more extensive affiliation with artists and political activists in Berlin; he is also the subject of the only English-language dissertation devoted to a Karlsruhe artist.⁶⁷ A comprehensive retrospective exhibition, originating at the Munich Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (1997), brought together a group of leading scholars to consider works from Schlichter’s entire career: from his earliest production at the Karlsruhe Academy, to his

⁶⁵ Most notably, in Jacqueline Strecker, ed., *The Mad Square: Modernity in German Art 1910-37* (New York: Prestel, 2011); Rewald, *Glitter and Doom: German Portraits from the 1920s*; and Silver, *Chaos and Classicism*, as well as Peter Nisbet, ed., *German Realist Drawings of the 1920s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 1986). Dennis Crockett included works by all three of the Karlsruhe artists in his doctoral dissertation and in the resulting scholarly publication, *German Post-Expressionism: The Art of the Great Disorder, 1918-1924* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

⁶⁶ For additional bibliography and a discussion of these artists, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

⁶⁷ Corinne Granof, “Obstinate Flesh: The Early Career of Rudolf Schlichter” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1995). Granof’s doctoral thesis remains, to date, the only comprehensive English-language investigation of Schlichter’s artistic and literary production between the beginning of his artistic training, in 1910, through his Berlin period, and ending with his move back to the southwest in 1932. Her primary aim was to reconstruct Schlichter’s notion of “persona” and thus, to situate the artist and his oeuvre within a broader avant-garde trajectory reaching back to the nineteenth century. Granof cites the autobiographies, as do I, as part of a carefully constructed personal history; her interest in using these works as evidence of Schlichter’s “separateness from mainstream society” and of his “outsider” persona echo the concerns first laid out by Hanne Bergius in her previously cited “Lederstrumpf” essay.

provocations with Berlin Dada, to his 1920s portraiture and monumental landscapes.⁶⁸

This exhibition built on the first major Schlichter retrospective, at the Kunsthalle Berlin (1984), which established facts of the artist's early career in Karlsruhe and his transition to Berlin.⁶⁹ Sigrid Lange's dissertation, published in 2011, filled in the gaps related to the artist's late career, when he turned to book illustration and to painterly experiments in Surrealism.⁷⁰ My interest in Schlichter's practice is focused through the lens of his early activities in Karlsruhe, especially as a leader of the artist group *Rih* and its provocations against the local academy. By situating his work, and that of his peers, within their contemporary exhibition context, I aim to reestablish the forgotten terms of realism in the *badisch* tradition and to demonstrate how these languages of realism could be reconfigured by young artists seeking to position their work within the postwar avant-garde.

Georg Scholz remains far less famous than his Berlin colleagues, George Grosz and John Heartfield, with whom he would carry on an active and illuminating correspondence following their invitation to the artist to exhibit his work in the Dada Fair of 1920.⁷¹ The first Georg Scholz retrospective was organized in 1975 at the Badischer Kunstverein in Karlsruhe; the scholarly catalogue established the timeline of the artist's career and published a number of important documents from the estate, including

⁶⁸ Götz Adriani, ed. *Rudolf Schlichter: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen* (Munich and Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1997).

⁶⁹ Gabriele Horn, ed. *Rudolf Schlichter: 1890-1955* (Berlin: Fröhlich & Kaufmann, 1984).

⁷⁰ Sigrid Lange, *Das Spätwerk von Rudolf Schlichter, 1945-1955* (Hamburg: Kovac, 2011). Lange is currently at work on a comprehensive *Werkverzeichnis* of Schlichter's artistic oeuvre (excluding book illustration), from his early training in Karlsruhe through his later work in Munich. I thank Dr. Lange for making this work-in-progress available to me for research and consultation.

⁷¹ To date, these letters between Grosz and Heartfield and Georg Scholz have never been published, nor have they been excerpted and translated in English. A comprehensive German-language publication of Scholz's writings and correspondence is currently in press: Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Ursula Merkel, eds. *Georg Scholz. Schriften, Briefe, Dokumente* (Karlsruhe: Info Verlag, 2014).

excerpts of Scholz's extensive war diaries, as well as letters exchanged with his friend and patron, Dr. Theodor Kiefer.⁷² The Bezirksverband Bildender Künstler published a comprehensive catalogue of the artist's graphic work in 1982; many of these works remain in private collections and provide an illuminating view of the artist's intensive engagement with the arts of lithography, etching, and woodcut during the 1910s and early 1920s.⁷³ The 100th anniversary of the artist's birth, in 1990, marked the occasion of two museum retrospectives in Baden; these exhibitions presented major holdings from the collections of the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe and the City of Waldkirch, respectively, the latter show augmented with key additions from the artist's Waldkirch estate.⁷⁴ In 2004, Felicia Sternfeld published a comprehensive monograph and *catalogue raisonnée* of the work of Georg Scholz, a project based on her doctoral dissertation at the Universität Köln.⁷⁵ My analysis of Scholz's satirical realism builds on these efforts and examines, for the first time, the artist's correspondence with Berlin colleagues to offer a novel read of his use of kitsch materials in the service of radical politics.

The scholarship on the talented draftsman, Karl Hubbuch, remains limited, particularly in the Anglophone context, where his work has appeared in a select number of thematic exhibitions on the topic of realism and *Die neue Sachlichkeit* in Germany.⁷⁶

⁷² Georg Scholz. *ein Beitrag zur Diskussion realistischer Kunst*, ed. Kunsthistorisches Institut, Universität Heidelberg (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1975).

⁷³ Georg Scholz. *Das Druckgraphische Werk*, ed. Bezirksverband Bildender Künstler (Karlsruhe: Künstlerhaus Galerie, 1982).

The Staatliche Akademie der bildenden Künste, in Karlsruhe, holds a significant and largely unpublished collection of lithographs and etchings from Scholz's early years at the Karlsruhe Academy. I thank Sigrid Nachbar for making these works available to me for examination and study.

⁷⁴ Siegmund Holsten, ed., *Georg Scholz: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik* (Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, 1990); and Hans-Dieter Mück, ed., *Georg Scholz, 1890-1945: Malerei, Zeichnung, Druckgraphik* (Stuttgart: H. Matthes, 1991).

⁷⁵ Felicia Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz 1890-1945: Monographie und Werkverzeichnis* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2004).

⁷⁶ See, for example: Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings of the 1920s*, 20-23 and 145-161; and Rewald, *Glitter and Doom*, esp. 26-27, 198, 242-43; 246, 251-54, 262-65.

A first retrospective at the Badischer Kunstverein, in 1981, introduced the artist's work to his hometown of Karlsruhe and established the basic facts of his life and career.⁷⁷ The late Wolfgang Hartmann, an art historian and friend of the artist, published several incisive catalogue essays and articles on Hubbuch's working method, among them the exhibition catalogue, *Karl Hubbuch. Der Zeichner* (1991).⁷⁸ These studies provide some of the best insights into the laconic artist's oeuvre and working method, and they provide an important foundation for my own study. In 1993, Hartmann and a team of curators organized a major retrospective at the Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, an institution that holds a significant number of Hubbuch drawings from the 1910s and 20s and that organized, in 2000-2001, a smaller, focused exhibition of works on paper that documented the artist's three extended visits to Berlin.⁷⁹ In 2006-2007, the traveling exhibition *Beckmann-Dix-Hubbuch: auf Papier* situated Hubbuch's work in the context of his draftsman peers, Max Beckmann and Otto Dix, aiming to address the correspondences in form and content between these three German artists.⁸⁰ Most recently, the art historian Karin Koschkar presented the first monograph on Hubbuch's photographic oeuvre in her doctoral dissertation (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität,

⁷⁷ Helmut Goettl et al., eds., *Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979* (Karlsruhe and Munich: Badischer Kunstverein and Prestel Verlag, 1975).

⁷⁸ Wolfgang Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch, der Zeichner* (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1991).

⁷⁹ Erika Rödiger-Diruf et al, eds., *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive* (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1993); and Sylvia Bieber, ed., *Karl Hubbuch: Stadtbilder; Menschenbilder* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2000).

⁸⁰ Dirk Blühbaum, ed. *Beckmann, Dix, Hubbuch: auf Papier* (Bayreuth: Kunstmuseum, 2006). Blühbaum's essay outlines some of the dates and details of Hubbuch's military service (drawn from the personal records in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart) and analyzes several early works made during or just after World War I. Sylvia Bieber's essay on Hubbuch's works on paper, produced during the 1920s and 30s, is more illuminating, drawing on her close study of the work in the Städtische Galerie and on the detailed "Litho-Kreide" drawings of the post-1924 period. These include such richly textured works as *Leichter Krimi* (1924, Private Collection), *Auf zum Regimentstag* (1924, Akademie der Künste, Berlin), and *Die Entenräuber* (1924, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart), which Bieber compares to "contemporary film sequences." (*Ibid.* 57).

2011).⁸¹ These insights were explored in the exhibition, *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen. Fotografien, Gemälde, Zeichnungen 1925-1935*, which opened at the Munich Stadtmuseum in 2011 and traveled, in modified and expanded form, to the Städtische Galerie in Karlsruhe in the spring of 2013.⁸²

Organization of the dissertation

The notion of curiosity, and play, that the title of this dissertation evokes, is a deliberate reference—seeking to interrogate the definition of realism as a stable conveyor of meaning or representation.⁸³ My first chapter concentrates on the aesthetic pedagogies of the Karlsruhe Academy, where Karl Hubbuch, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz were classmates before World War I. Professors Hans Thoma and Wilhelm Trübner had, since the turn of the twentieth century, advocated divergent realist styles that created a classed and political divide in the student body—between Thoma’s brand of *Heimatkunst*, or “homeland” art, and the French-inflected modernism espoused by Trübner. With nearly two decades of hindsight and no small dose of performative self-fashioning, Rudolf Schlichter would describe this clash of sensibilities as an “irreconcilable enmity” in his

⁸¹ Karin Koschkar, “Karl Hubbuch (1891-1979) als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne. Ein Beitrag zur Fotografie um 1930. Mit einem Verzeichnis des fotografischen Nachlasses von 1925 bis 1935” (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2011).

⁸² Ulrich Pohlmann and Karin Koschkar, eds. *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen: Photographien, Gemälde, Zeichnungen 1925-1945* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2011).

⁸³ The phrase “curious realism” is drawn from the title of Theodor Adorno’s retrospective essay about his friend, the Frankfurt School philosopher and critic-observer of Weimar surface culture, Siegfried Kracauer. Though Kracauer was “hardly sentimental,” to use Adorno’s words, he was nevertheless a man with “no skin,” possessing an eye “astonished almost to helplessness” by the surface effects of the Weimar Republic. My study suggests that the Karlsruhe artists were likewise “curious realists,” practitioners of form who sought to collapse the distance between observation and embodiment in their work of the 1920s. Theodor Adorno and Shierry Weber Nicholsen, “The Curious Realist: On Siegfried Kracauer,” *New German Critique*, No. 54, Special Issue on Siegfried Kracauer (Autumn 1991): 159-177.

second of two published autobiographies, *Tönerne Füße* (Feet of Clay, 1933).⁸⁴

Schlichter's richly textured self-narratives weave throughout this dissertation as a meta-contextual critical frame, and as primary source works filtered through the screen of memory—providing through word and image an alternate history of artistic practice and bohemian striving at one of Wilhelmine Germany's most vibrant, yet understudied, regional academies.⁸⁵ No previous English-language study of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* has paid more than cursory attention to the academic training of its major artists; I demonstrate how and why these students shaped their early work in emulation or rejection of their prominent teachers. Moreover, my analysis of the Karlsruhe Academy outlines the cultural-historical (and, often, nationalistic) context in which these aesthetic debates unfolded, and clarifies what was at stake for aspiring Karlsruhe modernists who looked to Paris or Berlin for artistic inspiration. By reconstructing this program of academic training, and by tracing group exhibitions as part of period debates about painterly form and radical politics, this chapter uncovers how *Rih* artists positioned

⁸⁴ Rudolf Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße*, 92: “[...] Beide Parteien trafen sich hier zu löblichen Tun und zwischen beiden herrschte von Angebinn an unversöhnliche Feindschaft, die sich bei den Thomaschülern in kleinlichen Quertreibereien, bei den modernen in lärmenden Kundgebungen und aufreizenden Reden äußerte.”

⁸⁵ Rudolf Schlichter published two (of three planned) autobiographical volumes during his lifetime: the first, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch* (Obstinate Flesh), was published by the Ernst Rowohlt Verlag in Berlin in 1932 and reprinted by Edition Hentrich, Berlin, in 1991. The second volume, *Tönerne Füße* (Feet of Clay) was also published by the Rowohlt Verlag, in 1933, and reprinted by Edition Hentrich in 1992. Schlichter published these volumes in the waning years of the Weimar Republic, several years after he had moved away from his close engagement with leftist politics and publications in Berlin—namely, as part of the *Rote Gruppe* (Red Group) working in *Der Knüppel* with George Grosz and John Heartfield—and toward the group of “new nationalists” who gathered around the German writer and philosopher Ernst Jünger. Schlichter and his wife Speedy, who he married in 1927, were intimates of Jünger's circle, and Schlichter's move toward the conservative and the literary marked his desire to integrate himself into this crowd after 1928/29.

On the resurgence of the literary autobiography in the 1920s see Peter Sloterdijk, *Literatur und Organisation von Lebenserfahrung: Autobiographien der Zwanziger Jahre* (Munich: Hanser, 1978); on the opportunities and challenges of using the Schlichter autobiographies as source material, see Dirk Heißerer, ed., *Die Verteidigung des Panoptikums; Autobiographische, zeit- und kunstkritische Schriften sowie Briefe, 1930-1955* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1995); and Granof, “Obstinate Flesh,” 224-233.

themselves as active, if geographically dislocated, participants in the struggle for Germany's postwar political and aesthetic identity.

Chapter Two traces the dialogue between Karlsruhe and Berlin through the work of Karl Hubbuch, who developed an innovative and embodied form of what I term “somnambulist realism”—a vision that was inspired by contemporary mass cultural modes from the silent film to the serial novel. Hubbuch had studied alongside the *Rih* artists at the Karlsruhe Academy, where he remained friendly, but detached, from their bohemian play-acting. Responding to Weimar Germany's cultural fascination with hypnotism and doubling, false identities and criminal masterminds, the cinephile Hubbuch performed the dual roles of hypnotic Svengali and mesmerized agent in pictures marked by unseeing eyes, torpid limbs, and non-linear narration.⁸⁶ When George Grosz declined to sponsor Hubbuch's submission for publication in the Berlin political journal, *Die Pleite*, in May of 1923, he did so on grounds that its message was too complex and obtuse: “not clear enough (*nicht klar genug*)” as he explained to Hubbuch, for the type of readily legible propaganda he and his colleagues had been printing in *Die Pleite* and its companion journal, *Der Gegner*, and would continue to publish in the satirical journal, *Der Knüppel*, the officially sanctioned propaganda outlet of the German Communist Party, the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Stefan Andriopoulos links these formal tactics to a broader obsession with secret corporations and unseen machinations in *Possessed: Hypnotic Crimes, Corporate Fiction, and the Invention of Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). On German literary engagement with themes of hypnotism and the unconscious mind, see Maria Tatar, *Spellbound: Studies on Mesmerism and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

⁸⁷ Letter George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, 23 May 1923. Cited in Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe 1920-1933* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1988), 110. Copy of letter in Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

Grosz further admonished Hubbuch to adopt a more clear and strident visual language to match his leftist politics: “I’m quite pleased that you stand with us in unified front,” he wrote, “but you are correct when you would say of your works: I should have attacked more directly.”⁸⁸ Grosz’s use of the German word *angreifen*—to attack, charge, or assault—carries with it a distinctly military connotation.⁸⁹ Leah Dickerman has suggested that one of Berlin Dada’s primary revolutions was its reconceptualization of artistic practice as a form of “tactics,” an assertion that links the written and formal language of Dadaist assault to the traumatic experience of World War I.⁹⁰ This analysis has reshaped our understanding of Dada’s corporeal disjunctions and cyborg recombinations, yet the pressure that such tactics placed on realism to signify directly after Dada’s intervention, in the early 1920s, has not been well understood. This chapter suggests that Hubbuch’s brand of curious, combinatory realism marks one such site of contact.

Chapter Three examines the persistence of such mass cultural models and modes of vision in the satirical work of Georg Scholz, who like Hubbuch, saw his politically strident realism as both engaging with and complicating the dominant narrative in Berlin.

⁸⁸ Letter George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, 31 May 1923. Copy in Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe: “Ich freue mich sehr, dass Sie mit uns in gemeinsamer Front stehen, und dass Sie eingesehen haben, dass es wohl eine Aktivität gibt, die diese entsetzliche Dummheit und die unsinnige Anarchie, diese verfaulte bürgerliche Welt ändern kann. Sie haben Recht, wenn Sie von Ihren Arbeiten sagen, ‘ich hätte direkter angreifen sollen.’”

⁸⁹ By 1923, this tactic would have been directly related to the KPD style of politics. See Eric D. Weitz, *Creating German Communism, 1890-1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 160-187.

⁹⁰ Dickerman, “Dada Tactics,” 7-9. On the work of art as an affective instrument of “ballistics,” see Walter Benjamin’s classical formulation in “The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility,” *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 118. “The work of art of the Dadaists became an instrument of ballistics. It hit the spectator like a bullet, it happened to him, thus acquiring a tactile quality. It promoted a demand for film, the distracting element of which is also primarily tactile, being based on changes of place and focus which periodically assail the spectator.”

From this peripheral perch, Scholz developed a formal lexicon and a set of laws for painting that reflected the Berlin model, yet employed terms familiar to his Karlsruhe audience. This chapter examines a word used frequently by the artist, *Plakatmäßigkeit*—roughly translated as “posterliness”—to uncover the ways in which Scholz spoke form to politics using a visual language of advertising and painterly kitsch. Though not uncommon in period discourse about art and advertising, the term *Plakatmäßigkeit* has been largely forgotten in recent discussions of Germany’s politically strident brand of interwar realism.⁹¹ For Scholz, *Plakatmäßigkeit* embodied the idea that works of art could deliver a “percussive” visual punch and thereby convey a clear political message.⁹² He believed, however, that they must do so by adopting the highly legible techniques of modern advertising and kitschy mass cultural production—postcards, posters, illustrated novels, cigar box covers, and “photo realist painting,” among others—rather than by adopting uncritically the laws of technically proficient, Old Master-style realism, as did many artists who transitioned from Dada to *Die neue Sachlichkeit* as the decade progressed.⁹³ Indeed, Scholz proclaimed in a 1922 essay that it would be the task of his generation to bridge the gap between “art” and “kitsch”—to develop a new visual language that could register the effects of modernity for viewers attuned to reading advertising posters, photo essays, and colorfully illustrated pulp fiction. This chapter posits Scholz’s tactic of *Plakatmäßigkeit* and his embrace of painterly kitsch as a

⁹¹ On the origins of the term “Neue Sachlichkeit,” and on its use and critical reception in the later 1920s, see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

⁹² In a letter to his friend Theodor Kiefer, Scholz described the formal operations of successful modern advertising posters in terms of “percussive” (*erschütternd*) imagery that worked like pop music “hits” (*Schlager*).

⁹³ Scholz cited these media of reproduction in his essay “Kunst und Kitsch,” *Die Pyramide. Wochenschrift zum Karlsruher Tagblatt* (2 April 1922), 97-98.

challenge to the brand of cool, detached vision commonly associated with German realism after Dada.⁹⁴ It reconsiders Scholz's relationship to better-known practitioners of vernacular modernism, such as Grosz and Heartfield, and to critics such as Paul Westheim in Berlin and suggests that the ideas and artworks Scholz dispatched from his Grötzingen atelier to the metropolitan capital complicate our understanding of both Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit*, demonstrating an unexamined continuity between these modernist modes of vision and the contemporary developments in mass culture to which they responded.

My fourth chapter critically reconsiders our understanding of this "return to order" in Weimar Germany and suggests a more expansive definition of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* under the competing pressures of aesthetics, politics, and journalistic reportage. It situates these realist salvos at the Karlsruhe Academy, suggesting that this institution was not a space of regression and retreat, but rather, a laboratory of formal experimentation. Thus, it recovers the academic realism of the 1920s from scholarship that would seek to separate this period from its predecessors in the avant-garde. By the mid-1920s, Schlichter had settled in Berlin and established himself as an important painter and book illustrator with ties to artist-activists including Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield, and George Grosz. Meanwhile, Hubbuch and Scholz took up teaching posts at the Kunstakademie in Karlsruhe, where they trained a second generation of artists in the smooth, reportorial draftsmanship of their own academic upbringing. Yet this shift was neither as seamless nor as complete as previous studies have suggested. By focusing on

⁹⁴ On the poster as a political weapon in Germany, see Peter Paret and Beth Irwin Lewis, eds. *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

the Karlsruhe artworks solicited, displayed— or, crucially, rejected—for two watershed exhibitions, “Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus” (1925) and “Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart” (1929), this chapter interrogates the pressures that were placed on realist art production to signify in response to the environment of unstable vision and subjectivity created by the interventions of the avant-garde. A brief coda traces the post-1930 political and institutional situation in Karlsruhe, in which artist-professors including Hubbuch and Scholz found themselves fired from their teaching positions suddenly, with a cursory letter of termination, in July of 1933.

By focusing on the politics of style that emerged from the Karlsruhe Academy, in the years between 1908 and 1914, and by tracing these languages of realism through the revolutionary period and the interventions of Berlin Dada, this study aims to uncover the central role of correspondence and continuity in the development of Germany’s complex interwar modernism. As such, it offers a necessary reconsideration of the relationship between Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit* that more accurately reflects the actual cultural disposition of the early Weimar Republic, and that repositions the contributions of the Karlsruhe artists as a crucial variety of the post-Dada avant-garde.

Chapter 1

Realism under Revision: Rudolf Schlichter and *Die Gruppe Rih* in Karlsruhe

Lines that track their subject—one might almost say their victim—as if prowling in a pair of silent moccasins. Suddenly, and with great precision, lines thrown like lassos during a treacherous ambush. Raping lines that throttle the depicted thing with a choking grip. But lines, too, that relish lingering slowly, infatuated with contour, prowling lustfully over and over again. Lines that cannot be sated by burrowing like ticks and sinking their claws into form itself.¹

—Wilhelm Fraenger, “Rudolf Schlichter,” *Heidelberger Zeitung*, 31 August 1918

In the late summer of 1918, as the German Army hobbled toward defeat in the First World War, the Heidelberg art historian Wilhelm Fraenger organized a solo exhibition of works by the young Karlsruhe artist, Rudolf Schlichter.² Fraenger framed the exhibition in decidedly affective terms, writing of kinetic pictures that unwind and circle, hop and explode. Insatiable, deathly precision was the hallmark of Schlichter’s line work, according to Fraenger’s curatorial statement in a local newspaper, and the images on view in the Heidelberg Art Union likely shocked contemporary viewers on two separate fronts: first, through their murderous, linear form and second, through their lurid, lowbrow content. This two-pronged attack battered the traditions of academic realism in

¹ Wilhelm Fraenger, “Rudolf Schlichter. Zu seiner Ausstellung im Heidelberger Kunstverein,” *Heidelberger Zeitung*, 31 August 1918. Cited in Susanne Himmelheber and Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, eds. *Neue Kunst, Lebendige Wissenschaft: Wilhelm Fraenger und sein Heidelberger Kreis 1910 bis 1937* (Heidelberg: Kurpfälzischer Verlag, 2004), 204: “Linien sind da, die ihren Gegenstand—fast sagt man ihr Opfer—wie auf geräuschlosem Mokassin umschleichen. Plötzliche, wie Lassos auf tückischem Hinterhalt zielsicher geschleudert. Vergewaltigende, die das darzustellende Ding mit erdrosselndem Griffen würgen.—Aber auch Linien, die genießerisch verweilen und in einen Umriß vernarrt, ihn immer wieder lüstern umstreichen. Die sich nicht ersättigen können, sich in die Formen zeckenhaft zu graben und krallig sich einzuhacken.”

² *Rudolf Schlichter. Gemälde und Grafik*, exhibition in the Heidelberger Kunstverein, 25 August - 25 September 1918.

Germany—typified by smooth, painterly surface finish and a preference for historical, allegorical, or religious subject matter—and thus distanced the upstart Schlichter from his years of training at the Karlsruhe fine arts academy, the *Großherzoglich-Badische Akademie der bildenden Künste*.

The watercolor drawing *Der schwarze Jack* (Black Jack, 1916) marks one likely example of the “fantastical and reckless Wild West events”³ Schlichter exhibited in Heidelberg: its titular hero, Texas Jack, rides on a dappled horse through a scene of violent pulp fiction, in which caricatured cowboys and American Indians⁴ do battle with rifles and revolvers (**fig. 1.1**).⁵ A figure in native dress lies prostrate on the ground, a long-barreled weapon just beyond the reach of his clawed, dead hand. Blood pools around his head and gaping mouth. Directly above this figure, Texas Jack clutches an ambiguously “rescued” damsel to his chest and squares off with a masked villain perched astride a black horse.⁶ Though they ride in the same direction, this is no friendly encounter, as Jack aims his revolver at the masked man and squeezes the trigger, firing a

³ Fraenger, “Rudolf Schlichter,” as in note 1, above. “Er findet es in dem Phantasieerlebnis verwegener Begebenheiten in Wildwest, der Schauer grausamer Chinoiserien, und der Fabelwelt des Orients.”

⁴ In this chapter, I use the incorrect term “Indian,” rather than “Native American,” as a closer translation of the German “*Indianer*”—the word used by Schlichter and his contemporaries and one that remains persistent in Germany to this day. On the history of this terminology see Katrin Sieg, *Ethnic Drag: Performing Race, Nation, Sexuality in West Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 115.

⁵ Rudolf Schlichter, *Der schwarze Jack* (Black Jack,) 1916. Watercolor and pencil on fixed vellum, 41.2 x 54.4 cm. Signed and dated lower right: “Rudolf Schlichter 1916.” Private collection, Offenbach am Main.

Lit: Kort, *I Like America*, cat.no. 362; Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 79 (cat.no. 12); Beeke Sell Tower, ed., *Envisioning America: Prints, Drawings, and Photographs by George Grosz and his Contemporaries 1915-1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 1990), cat.no. 11; Horn, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 19 (cat. no. 35).

⁶ John Baker Omohundro (1846-1880), AKA “Texas Jack,” was a historical figure of the American Old West, an associate of Buffalo Bill Cody who became a popular character of nineteenth-century trivial fiction, or *Schundliteratur*, in Germany. *Der schwarze Jack* (1919) was also the title of a German silent film starring the masked hero “Black Jack.” The film belongs to a series of Munich-produced Western films (so-called “Isarwestern”) including *Der rote Reiter* (1918), *Die Rache im Goldtal* (1919), and *Der Todescowboy* (1919). Schlichter’s drawing predates these films, but it participated in the general fascination with pulp fictional themes of interracial violence and Wild West adventure in the years surrounding World War I.

puff of smoke that displays its lethal outcome in the spray of blood emitting from the masked man's jawline. In the foreground, a small child wearing only a sailor shirt and tall black boots stands frozen as a mute witness; he faces away from the action with his eyes wide open and his left arm extended as if in a trance. This mode of grotesque reportage—the virtuosity of line degraded beneath pools of livid watercolor, and the sanctity of content debased by disjointed, pulp fictional incursions—defined Schlichter's project to reactivate and reconfigure the visual language of realism as a viable strategy of production and exhibition.

This chapter traces the climate of agitated vision following Germany's 1918 wartime defeat, examining the challenge to realism proffered by Rudolf Schlichter and his colleagues in the anti-academy secessionist group, *Die Gruppe Rih*. The collective's seven founding members met before the war as students at the Karlsruhe Academy and later connected with the Berlin-based *Novembergruppe* (November Group), a large artist association sympathetic to the 1918-19 leftwing revolutions in Germany. In its manifesto, the *Gruppe Rih* celebrated “children's art and the art of the insane” (*Kinder- und Krankenkunst*) as a powerful corrective to the outmoded art of pleasant society. This outsider mantra aligned the group with the visual and philosophical currents of German post-expressionism—from the futurist imagery that emerged from the wartime trenches to the nihilism of Berlin Dada—and afforded *Rih* artists exhibition opportunities well beyond their southwestern locale. Yet these exhibitions were by no means universally celebrated by the public. Whether maligned as the “crude scribblings of cannibals”⁷ or

⁷ D.B., “Galerie Moos-Karlsruhe,” *Karlsruher Tagblatt* (2. February 1919), 2. The exact phrase is “die plumpen Kritzeleien von Kannibalen.”

dismissed as second-rate imitators in an “Academy of Expressionism,”⁸ the members of *Die Gruppe Rih* struggled to place their work (and, often, their politics) within a postwar cultural landscape riven by shifting regional alliances and dizzying aesthetic plurality.

By reconstructing *Gruppe Rih* activities and exhibitions as part of period debates about painterly form and radical politics, this chapter uncovers how *Rih* artists positioned themselves as active, if geographically dislocated, participants in the struggle for Germany’s political and aesthetic identity. The writer Carl Zuckmayer recalled how the group jolted the city of Karlsruhe from its postwar slumber in a riot of images and crude phallic symbols, which they scrawled on house facades and tagged with a messy script to the spirit of “*Gruppe Rih*.”⁹ When the group banded together officially under this name, in April 1919, to show their work in the local Galerie Moos, their exhibition poster bore a similar set of abstractions (**fig. 1.2**).¹⁰ The placard’s crude graphics—designed by group member Wladimir Zabotin—aimed to launch a brand of purposive naiveté in the face of the academy and the conservative Karlsruhe art market, and by so doing, to reject the rules and regulations of bourgeois German society. As such, the young Zabotin and his Karlsruhe colleagues—Rudolf Schlichter, Georg Scholz, Oskar Fischer, Walter Becker, Egon Itta, and Eugen Segewitz—looked to a variety of visual forms that had recently

⁸ Curt Amend, “Galerie Moos: Ausstellung der Gruppe Rih,” *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 12 April 1919.

⁹ Carl Zuckmayer, *Als wär’s ein Stück von mir. Horen der Freundschaft*, (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1972), 247-48. “Wenn man um diese Zeit die biedere Stadt Karlsruhe betrat, gleich ob vom Bahnhof her oder aus irgendeiner ländlichen Umgebung, fand man überall, an Häuserwänden und Mauern, ein mit farbiger Kreide gezeichnetes—allerdings kubistisch verschlüsseltes—phallisches Symbol, in seinen Grundformen unmissverständlich, darunter einen Pfeil mit der in kindlichen Schriftzügen angebrachten Weisung: Zur Gruppe Rih!”

¹⁰ Wladimir von Zabotin, poster for the first exhibition of the *Gruppe Rih* at the Galerie Moos, Karlsruhe, April 1919. Lithograph on violet paper, pasted on cardboard 50 x 65 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

been embraced by the avant-garde (the art of children, of the unwell) to propose and to perform a new, closer, and more authentic relationship between art and life.

At the Karlsruhe Academy, professors Hans Thoma and Wilhelm Trübner had, since the turn of the twentieth century, advocated divergent realist styles that created a classed and political divide in the student body—between Thoma’s brand of *Heimatkunst*, or “homeland” art, and the French-inflected modernism espoused by Trübner. With nearly two decades of hindsight and no small dose of performative self-fashioning, Rudolf Schlichter would describe this clash of sensibilities as an “irreconcilable enmity” in his last of three published autobiographies, *Tönerne Füße* (Feet of Clay, 1933).¹¹ Schlichter’s richly textured self-narratives serve this chapter as a meta-contextual critical frame, and as primary source works filtered through the screen of memory—providing through word and image an alternate history of artistic practice and bohemian striving at one of Wilhelmine Germany’s most vibrant, yet understudied, regional academies.¹²

In the watercolor drawing *Black Jack*, as in the many scenes of bloody pulp fiction that Schlichter produced between 1910 and 1920, the depicted Wild West fantasy breaks with the genteel, painterly realism of the artist’s academic training in Karlsruhe. Yet it preserves crucial aspects of the qualities that were often associated with this institution in the early twentieth century: the “raping lines” and sharp draftsmanship identified by Fraenger in his curatorial essay were, for example, a well-known hallmark

¹¹ Rudolf Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße* (hereafter “Schlichter TF”), 92: “[...] Beide Parteien trafen sich hier zu löblichen Tun und zwischen beiden herrschte von Angebinn an unversöhnliche Feindschaft, die sich bei den Thomaschülern in kleinlichen Quertreibereien, bei den modernen in lärmenden Kundgebungen und aufreizenden Reden äußerte.”

¹² Rudolf Schlichter published two (of three planned) autobiographical volumes during his lifetime: the first, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch* (Obstinate Flesh), was published by the Ernst Rowohlt Verlag in Berlin in 1932 and reprinted by Edition Hentrich, Berlin, in 1991. The second volume, *Tönerne Füße* (Feet of Clay) was also published by the Rowohlt Verlag, in 1933, and reprinted by Edition Hentrich in 1992.

of the Karlsruhe Academy, which was lauded for its strength in the graphic techniques of drawing, etching, and lithography. As this chapter demonstrates, Schlichter and his fellow students used this training in the materials and techniques of reproduction to produce works in solidarity with Karlsruhe's marginal citizens and to project this posture of difference to political and institutional networks in Berlin and beyond. As such, their work placed the realism of their academic forebears under a necessary, and often an aggressive, form of revision.

Performing the Other: The Karlsruhe Academy

As a schoolchild I compared these Black Forest mountains, the seemingly marvelous surroundings of the city of Calw, with the Rocky Mountain canyons that had become legendary through Karl May and other Indian stories. These large, expansive German forests reminded me of the trusted hunting grounds of the Mingo and the Delaware, as described in Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*.¹³

—Rudolf Schlichter, *Obstinate Flesh*, 1931

Rudolf Schlichter was born in 1890 in the small Black Forest town of Calw to a Protestant mother, Rosine Pauline Schmalzried, and a Catholic father who died in 1893.¹⁴ At his father's wish, the six Schlichter children were raised in the Catholic faith—a somewhat unusual decision in the mainly Protestant region of *Schwaben*—and they attended Latin school until financial troubles forced the younger children to put their

¹³ Rudolf Schlichter, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch* (hereafter "Schlichter WF"), 35: "Als Schuljunge verglich ich diese [Bergen], mich phantastisch anmutende Umgebung der Stadt, mit den durch Karl May und andere Indianergeschichten berühmt gewordene Canyons des amerikansichen Felsengebirges. Die großen, weitausgedehnten Wälder gemahnten mich an die durch Coopers Lederstrumpf so vertrauten Jagdgründe der Mingos und Delawaren."

¹⁴ For the best biographies of Schlichter's early life and career in German, see Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 9-26 and 37-44; in English, see Granof, "Obstinate Flesh," 15-132.

education on hold to take up apprenticeship.¹⁵ Young Rudolf thus traveled in 1904 to the nearby manufacturing city of Pforzheim to work as an enamel painter in the factory of K  chler & Herion, where for the next two years he earned money painting landscapes and religious scenes on brooches and tea spoons.¹⁶ In his first published autobiography, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch* (Obstinate Flesh, 1931), Schlichter recalled the coarse manner of older factory coworkers who stuffed his pockets full of rotten apples or excrement, or who delighted in directing their flatulence at his face while he slept in the shared workers' quarters.¹⁷ Schlichter's escape from this dim existence came through the cheap pulp fiction he smuggled to lunch in the factory canteen: works of political intrigue and period commentary published in the satirical journal *Der wahre Jakob* (The Real McCoy),¹⁸ for example, or the titillating stories to be found in a variety of popular ten-cent *Schundbl  tter* (trashy magazines).¹⁹

With financial support from his older brother Max, and a home with his elder sister Gertrud, Schlichter was able to leave the enamel factory in 1907 to attend the School of Applied Arts (*Kunstgewerbeschule*) in Stuttgart, where he continued to take

¹⁵ Schlichter WF, 11-14 and 83-102.

¹⁶ Schlichter WF, 182: "Die beliebtesten und am h  ufigsten vorkommenden Darstellungen waren die Madonna Sixtina, die Madonna della Sedia, die Defregger-sche Gottesmutter, der Christuskopf von Carlo Dolci und die ber  hmten Putten von der Sixtinischen Madonna. Beliebte Sujets waren auch die 'K  nigin Luise, die Treppe herabsteigend', Doktor Martin Luther, General Bolivar, der Hirschsprung im H  llental, die Burg Stolzenfels am Rhein, Bismarck in K  rassieruniform."

¹⁷ Schlichter WF, 180.

¹⁸ *Der wahre Jakob* appeared weekly between 1879 until 1933, with an interruption in publication from 1923-27. See Udo Achten, ed. *Der wahre Jakob: ein halbes Jahrhundert in Faksimiles* (Bonn: Dietz, 1994).

¹⁹ Schlichter WF, 195: "Jeden Mittag zog ich den 'Wahren Jakob' oder ein von meiner Freundin geliehenes Zehnpfennigheftchen aus der Tasche und verbrachte die kurze Frist, bis das Essen aufgetragen wurde, mit Lesen. Die 'Wahre Jakob' war eine Entdeckung von mir, auf die ich nicht wenig stolz war, ich hatte ihn in einer Buchhandlung ausgeh  ngt gesehen und weil gerade die Titelseite dieser Nummer mit einem pathetischen Bild   ber die von mir mit so hei  em Interesse verfolgte russische Revolution geschm  ckt war, hatte ich diese Nummer f  r zehn Pfennig gekauft. Ich hatte gro  en Spa   an dieser Zeitschrift, die ich seitdem regelm   ig kaufte; die bunten Bilder, die pathetischen Freiheitsgedichte gefielen mir au  erordentlich..."

refuge in the world of pulp fiction.²⁰ Schlichter later described himself as an insatiable, rapacious consumer of tall tales and adventure novels set in faraway lands: stories by the Austrian writer Charles Sealsfield (pseudonym of Karl Anton Postl), the German Karl May, and the Americans Bret Harte and James Fenimore Cooper.²¹ Unhappy with the program of applied arts in Stuttgart, however, he left the city in 1910 for the ducal seat of Karlsruhe, where he lived once again on the charity of elder siblings. His sister Klara and her husband ran a bakery in the working-class section of town known as the *Dörfle*, the southern German diminutive for “little town.”²² Performing the role of the outsider in the orderly, fan-shaped streets of Karlsruhe meant aligning oneself with the city’s marginalized citizens and exploring its darkened alleyways; Schlichter found these sites in the red-light district of the *Dörfle* and in the working class *Südstadt*, southeast of the central train station.²³ In the spring of 1910, Schlichter moved into a small apartment with his mother, on Waldhornstrasse, and he enrolled in a fine arts preparatory course at the local “Block School,” which was run by the former Trübner student, Wilhelm Plock.²⁴ Here, he cultivated a pugnacious persona and a tight knit group of friends—including Willy Egler and Egon Itta—in whose company he opposed the neoclassicism of their snobbish classmates, the Winckelmann acolytes “Paul and Ludwig,” whom Schlichter

²⁰ On Schlichter’s obsession with Karl May, see Schlichter WF, 203-221 and 250-278.

Karl May’s *Winnetou* trilogy appeared in 1893, drawing from serial stories published in the 1870s and 80s. James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Leatherstocking Tales* (in German, *Lederstrumpf*), was first translated and published in German in 1826. Cooper’s conception of the duality of Indian nature—the dignified Mohican (the “noble savage”) and the barbaric Iroquois—would be deeply influential on later German writers such as Karl May.

²¹ For more on this aspect of Schlichter’s production, see Dieter Sudhoff, “Obsessionen eines Malers - Rudolf Schlichter und Karl May,” *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft*, Vol. 29 (1999): 360-421.

²² Schlichter TF, 11.

²³ After 1924, residents of the *Südstadt* took to calling themselves *Indianer* (Indians) after the newly erected “Indian foundation” on Werderplatz. See Michael Scholz-Hänsel, “Indianer im deutschen Südwesten” *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, Vol. 23 (1986): 128-144.

²⁴ Schlichter WF, 332. See also Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger, “Rudolf Schlichter in Karlsruhe 1910-1919,” in Horn, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 17a.

would malign with dripping sarcasm as two “false classicists” who had a pretentious quote ready for every social occasion.²⁵

Schlichter submitted the necessary drawings portfolio, gained admission, and began his studies in fine art at the Karlsruhe Academy in October of 1910, in the class of Professor Walther Georgi.²⁶ At the time, academy students entered a one-year drawing course (*Zeichenklasse*) and thereafter progressed to the *Naturklasse*, a second year of study after plaster casts and copies.²⁷ After two years, a student could begin working with oil pigments in the *Malklasse*, and in the first decades of the twentieth-century, the *alla prima* technique of wet-on-wet painting remained the standard. Schlichter bemoaned this program of “impressionistic *plein air* smear painting,” which by his reckoning merely produced hordes of uncreative copycats, who were schooled in painterly tricks and gimmicks:

In truth one learned nothing in such classrooms; neither an idea of how to manipulate the canvas surface nor the capacity of the materials. In terms of craftsmanship, the experience of instruction was likewise zilch...These gentlemen instructors knew nothing of the qualities of the different resins, finishes, and oils. What they instead tried to teach their students were laughable gimmicks in color application. One called this “painting technique” (*Maltechnik*). In such matters, naturally, each had his own special ruses and tricks. The success of such teaching methods was the

²⁵ Schlichter WF, 336. “Es konnte passieren, was wollte, sie hatten immer ein Zitat bereit.”

²⁶ Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (hereafter “GLA”) 235/40153, “Generalia, Kunst u. Wissenschaft, Jahr 1854-1920.” After a two-year drawing course with Walther Georgi (1909/10 and 1910/11) followed two years of painting study with Professor Caspar Ritter (1911/12 and 1912/13). Finally, Schlichter studied for three years as a *Meisterschüler* with Ritter (1913/14, 1914/15, and 1915/16).

Several sources claim that Schlichter studied as a *Meisterschüler* under Wilhelm Trübner, but the archives do not bear this out. The original reference for this information appears to be Hofmann and Präger, “Rudolf Schlichter in Karlsruhe,” 17a, which cites Schlichter’s unpublished *Lebenslauf* (1945) in the collection of the Galerie Alvensleben, Munich.

²⁷ On these preliminary years of study see Schlichter WF, 354-55 (on his drawing classes with Walther Georgi) and Schlichter TF, 88-92 and 283 (on the painting classes with Caspar Ritter).

cultivation of hordes of horrible dilettantes who were all more or less the cheap imitations of their professors.²⁸

This dismissive assessment contradicted the excellent reputation that the Karlsruhe Academy enjoyed in the first decades of the twentieth century; it was, for Schlichter's well-traveled and aristocratic classmate Ulrich von Sanden, "the most distinguished fine arts institution" in Germany.²⁹ This reputation could be attributed, in large part, to the efforts of a single individual, Hans Thoma, whose dual stewardship of the Karlsruhe Academy and the local *Kunsthalle* art museum made him one of the most popular and powerful figures in the regional art scene in the first decades of the twentieth century.³⁰ Indeed, by 1909, Thoma would be named the "favorite painter of the German people" (*Lieblingsmaler des deutschen Volkes*) in the major German encyclopedia, *Meyer's Lexicon*.³¹

²⁸ Schlichter TF, 89. "In Wirklichkeit lernte man an diesen Anstalten nichts; weder bekam man eine Ahnung von der Behandlung der Leinwandgründe noch von der Beschaffenheit des Materials. Handwerklich war das Ergebnis des Unterrichts gleich Null. Kein Wort erfuhr man von der Technik der Alten Meister oder von der Freskomalerei der großen Italiener. Nicht einmal über die Qualität der verschiedenen Harze, Firnisse und Öle wußten die Herren Bescheid. Was sie ihren Schülern beizubringen suchten, waren lediglich lächerliche individuelle Mätzchen im Farbauftrag. Das nannte man Maltechnik. Darin hatte natürlich jeder seine besonderen Kniffe und Tricks. Der Erfolg solcher Unterrichtsmethoden war das Heranzüchten von Horden schrecklicher Dilettanten, die alle mehr oder weniger der Abklatsch ihrer Professoren wurden."

²⁹ Schlichter WF, 354. He refers to the Kunstakademie in Karlsruhe as "die vornehmste Kunstanstalt des Landes."

³⁰ For the most comprehensive history of fine arts academies in western Europe and England, see Nicolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973); on the situation in Germany, see Ekkehard Mai, *Die deutschen Kunstakademien im 19. Jahrhundert: Künstlerausbildung zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde* (Köln: Böhlau, 2010). On the academy in Düsseldorf, which was considered a "mother faculty" to the fine arts school in Karlsruhe, see Marion Deshmukh, "Between Tradition and Modernity: The Düsseldorf Art Academy in Early Nineteenth-Century Prussia," *German Studies Review* (1983): 339-473.

For the best histories of the Karlsruhe Academy, see: Axel Heil and Harald Klingelhöller, eds., *150 Jahre. Die Geschichte der Kunstakademie Karlsruhe in Bildern und Texten* (Künzelsau: Swiridoff, 2004); Ulrike Grammbitter, "Die Großherzogliche Badische Akademie der Bildenden Künste um die Jahrhundertwende," in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 11-19; and Adolf von Oechelhäuser, *Geschichte der Großherzoglich Badischen Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Festschrift zum 50jährigen Stiftungsfeste*. Karlsruhe 1904.

³¹ Felix Krämer, "Hans Thoma," in *Hans Thoma. 'Lieblingsmaler des deutschen Volkes,'* ed. Felix Krämer and Max Hollein (Frankfurt: Wienand Verlag, 2013), 13.

Thoma's brand of painterly realism—often defined by its critics as *Heimatkunst*, or “homeland art,” for its preference for quaint regional scenes rendered in a naive, representational style—proffered an experience of immersive sensation that was rooted in the southwestern German landscape.³² Barefoot peasant children dance in a roundel, as in the famous *Kinderreigen* canvas now in the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (**fig. 1.3**), or single, introspective figures bend to pluck wildflowers from fields of white-stippled grass, as in the *Waldwiese* (Forest Meadow) paintings of the 1870s and 80s (**figs. 1.4 & 1.5**).³³

Thoma had joined the “Eleven” group of incoming students at the Karlsruhe Academy, in 1858, and he attempted to establish a career in the provincial city for over a decade. Unsympathetic critics referred to the altered green palette of his landscapes as “Thoma Salad,” and dismissed such works as “Japanese” in the regional press—an appellation that had far less positive resonance in 1869, as Thoma would later write, than it did at the turn of the twentieth century.³⁴ The artist relocated to Munich, in November 1870, where he moved in friendly circles with the artists Otto Scholderer, Arnold

³² For the most recent scholarly inquiry into Thoma's oeuvre and its place within broader trends in European modernism, see Krämer and Hollein, *Hans Thoma. 'Lieblingmaler des deutschen Volkes.'* On Thoma and German cultural identity, see Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, “Hans Thoma - ein ‘Kämpfer für Deutsche Kunst’? Ein Beitrag zur Wirkungsgeschichte Hans Thomas,” *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, Jg. 25 (1988): 160-187.

During his lifetime, Thoma published two autobiographies—*Im Herbste des Lebens: Gesammelte Erinnerungsblätter* (Munich: Süddeutsche Monatshefte, 1909), and *Im Winter des Lebens: aus acht Jahrzehnten gesammelte Erinnerungen* (Jena: Diederich, 1919)—that offer an overview of his early life, his schooling at the Karlsruhe Kunstakademie, his relationship with the Grand Duke of Baden, his philosophy as a teacher and director of art museums, and his thoughts on painting, along with a variety of other topics.

³³ Hans Thoma, *Der Kinderreigen* (The Children's Roundel), 1872. Oil on canvas, 161 x 115 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe; Hans Thoma, *Waldwiese* (Forest Meadow), 1889. Oil on canvas, 113 x 87.8 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt; Hans Thoma, *Auf der Waldwiese* (In the Forest Meadow), 1876. Oil on panel, 47.5 x 37.5 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle.

³⁴ Thoma mentioned this slight in his autobiography, *Im Herbste des Lebens*, 38. “Ich sah ein, daß ich nicht länger in Karlsruhe bleiben durfte; die Gesellschaft nannte einen gewissen Salat Thomasalat, ich wußte die Zeichen der Zeit wohl zu deuten; wohin gehen, wußte ich freilich jetzt wieder nicht.”

Böcklin, Wilhelm Trübner, and Wilhelm Leibl.³⁵ The far more famous Leibl looked askance at Thoma's painterly techniques of underdrawing, glazing, and scumbling; such tactics appeared to the Munich painter, as Thoma would later write, "like sins against his holy *alla prima* painting."³⁶ Painterly sins turned to civic virtues in turn-of-the-century Karlsruhe, however, when the prodigal son Thoma returned, at the invitation of Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden, to take on the dual appointment as director of the *Kunsthalle* and as a professor at the local fine arts academy, in the fall of 1899. In 1902, Thoma was promoted to academy director.³⁷

Thoma's altered color scale and his naive painterly vision differed, in crucial ways, from the optical model of realism espoused by Wilhelm Trübner, who relocated to Karlsruhe from Munich at Thoma's request, in the fall of 1903, to teach landscape and portrait painting at the local academy.³⁸ In portraits such as his *Lady from Brussels* (1874),³⁹ Trübner sculpted his sitter's facial features from fat and oily strokes of an overloaded paintbrush: from the carapace-like nose, to the heavily mottled forehead, to the burnt carmine lower lip that seems to bleed into the ridge of an impertinent chin (**fig. 1.6**). In 1911, a Karlsruhe newspaper critic described Trübner's painterly style as an

³⁵ Thoma, *Im Herbste des Lebens*, 46-50 and Thoma, *Im Winter des Lebens*, 60-62. In the latter text, Thoma discusses his visit to Courbet's studio on the occasion of the Exposition Courbet.

³⁶ Hans Thoma, *Im Herbste des Lebens*, 163. "Mit Leibl verkehrte ich viel und wir hatten uns gerne, jedoch merkte ich ein gewisses Mißtrauen gegen mich, weil ich im Verdachte stand, zu lasieren und andere Kunststücke beim Malen anzuwenden, die vor seinem ehrlichen Primamalen ihm wie Sünden erschienen."

On the academic situation in Munich (and its secessionist challenges) circa 1900, see Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

³⁷ On his philosophy of teaching and return to Karlsruhe in 1899, see Thoma, "Einiges über Farben," in *Im Herbste des Lebens*, 148.

³⁸ "Alla-Prima-Malerei" refers to the technique of oil painting without underpainting (*Untermalung*) or glazing (*Lasur*). Popularized by the impressionists in France, the technique is often associated with *plein-air* painting in natural light.

³⁹ Wilhelm Trübner, *Brüsslerin mit blauer Krawatte* (Lady from Bruxelles with Blue Tie), 1874. Oil on canvas. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Inv.Nr. G 654.

experience of the eye (*Augenerlebnis*), one that could not quite capture the inner content of things and thereby hovered at the “epidermis of nature.”⁴⁰ Thoma, meanwhile, was soon celebrated in Karlsruhe as the father of *badisch* painting and protector of its cultural institutions, receiving, on his 70th birthday, honorary titles from the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hessen and a dedicated “Thoma Museum” within the walls of the Großherzogliche Kunsthalle.⁴¹

Schlichter characterized the stylistic divide between the students of these two Karlsruhe masters as one with implications both classed and political. The Thoma adherents, as he saw it, were “strivers and paragons of virtue...one-time schoolmasters or trade instructors with a fondness for local scenes.”⁴² Trübner’s “mosaic” style of painting was, by contrast, considered to be the most modern in Karlsruhe: it was, as Schlichter put it, “healthily realistic without being off-putting.”⁴³ The battle to advance the correct kind of realism would continue to occupy Schlichter and his colleagues and to divide the Karlsruhe art public well into the 1920s.⁴⁴ Trübner attracted a cadre of talented students

⁴⁰ Hans Rott, “Über Trübner und seine Kunst,” *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 18 February 1911. Cited in Ulrike Grammbitter, “Die Großherzogliche Badische Akademie,” in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe*, 17. “Trübner gibt absolut künstlerisch die Gestalt—sagen wir die Epidermis der Natur—, das Augenerlebnis, aber nicht den vollen Inhalt der Erscheinungswelt. Erklärbar ist diese Phänomen wohl durch eine vorhandene Trockenheit im Phantasieleben des Meisters, dessen individuelles Konterfei eines Stiches ins Nüchtern-kalkulierende nicht ganz entbehrt. Daher auch des Künstlers äußere Physiognomie weit eher auf einen hochgebildeten Kaufmann oder sonstigen Vertreter des realen Lebens schließen läßt.”

⁴¹ Thoma, *Im Winter des Lebens*, 142.

⁴² Schlichter TF, 29. “Trübnermanier, d.h. ich setzte klar abgegrenzt Pinselstrich an Pinselstrich wie ein Mosaik auf den glatten Ölgrund. Diese Technik galt in Karlsruhe als die modernste, wer auf der Akademie etwas auf Modernität hielt, wandte diese Malweise an. Sie war kühn mit Maß und deshalb salonfähig, vermied allzuwilde Experimente, glitt aber auch nie ab ins volkstümlich Banale; sie war gesund realistisch, ohne abstoßend zu sein, voll sinnlicher Freude an der Farbe und exklusiv. Es war die Kunst des modernden saturierten süddeutschen Bürgertums mit liberalen Tendenzen. Weshalb sie auch auf der Schule von den Söhnen großbürgerlicher Familien eifrig gepflegt und gefördert wurde. Hingegen waren die Vertreter der Thoma-Schule meist Leute aus dem Kleinbürgertum, ehemalige Schulmeister oder Gewerbelehrer mit Neigung zur Heimatkunst.”

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ On the divide between German modern artists and their public in the late 19th century, see Beth Irwin Lewis, *Art for All? The Collision of Modern Art and the Public in Late-Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

who studied his modernist techniques and sought to emulate them in their own practice; Georg Scholz would later write appreciably of Trübner's prescient "Sachlichkeit" in both teaching and painterly method.⁴⁵ Scholz's portrait of the 23-year-old Schlichter demonstrates one outcome of this form of stylistic emulation (**fig. 1.7**).⁴⁶ At the time of its making, in 1913, Scholz had been studying with Trübner as a master student for almost one year,⁴⁷ and his deliberate, painterly facture echoed the style of his well-known teacher.⁴⁸ The rather traditional portrait depicts Schlichter as an introspective bohemian wearing an elegant suit and tie; with a cigarette in hand, the only hints of his artistic vocation are the crudely rendered paint palette and rumpled brown smock hanging on the wall. Schlichter proudly styled himself in those academic years as a *Stenz*—a swell, dandy, or pimp—a position he cultivated with encouragement from his friend and classmate, Julius Kasper.⁴⁹

The writer Carl Zuckmayer later likened Kasper to a "rougher" version of Vincent Van Gogh: an "odd, inaccessible person" with small and restlessly darting eyes.⁵⁰ Kasper was known to his friends simply as "Zack," and he reportedly kept a "habitual residence" at the local brothel, increasing his esteem in the eyes of less experienced colleagues such

⁴⁵ Georg Scholz, "Trübner-Anekdoten," *Das Kunstblatt* (January 1926): 22.

⁴⁶ Georg Scholz, *Portrait of Rudolf Schlichter*, ca. 1913. Oil on canvas, 98 x 74 cm. Private collection. Published as color plate no. XXIX in Dresch and Rößling, *Bilder im Zirkel*.

⁴⁷ GLA 235/40153. See also Schlichter TF 178: "Dieser [Scholz] war seit Weihnachten Meisterschüler, hatte also jetzt ein eigenes Atelier, das er sich mit Biedermeiermöbeln recht hübsch ausgestattet hatte."

⁴⁸ Scholz remained friendly with Trübner until his teacher's death in 1917, as correspondence in the artist's Waldkirch estate attest. See Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 26 and 30-31.

⁴⁹ Schlichter WF, 363. Around this time, the young artist took up smoking but worried that his glasses detracted from his foppish edge.

Julius Kasper entered the class of Walter Georgi in 1909, and remained there until the summer semester of 1911.

⁵⁰ Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir*, 248. "Dann und wann schien der Maler Kasper auf, ein verkaufter, schwer zugänglicher Mensch, der aussah wie ein vergrößerter van Gogh, kartoffelköpfig, die kleinen, ruhlosen Bärenaugen von den Vorfunkeln des Wahnsinns durchflackert, an dem er zugrunde ging."

as Schlichter.⁵¹ Indeed, he would become the early hero of this circle of academic n'er do wells, advocating a kind of *Alltagskunst* (everyday art) indebted to nineteenth-century French Naturalism and to the literature of Baudelaire, Zola, and Flaubert.⁵² Kasper favored techniques of color lithography over those of painting and celebrated scenes of urban life for their close connection to the images of Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Théophile Steinlen, and their Montmartre circle, as evinced in the lithograph *Betrunkener* (The Drunkard, 1910-12).⁵³ Here, a shadowy figure leans slumped against a gas-powered street light in a soft, foggy haze—silhouetted, presumably, by the waxing light of early morning after spending the night on the streets (**fig. 1.8**). Likewise, in his *Zirkus bei Nacht* (Circus by Night, 1908), Kasper sought to evoke the mournful silence of a darkened space normally teeming with bodies and excitement: a layer of caustic green ink casts a sickly evening light on the peak of a circus tent and on the grainy texture of a sagging wooden shack (**fig. 1.9**).⁵⁴

Under Kasper's influence, and with the eager tutelage of comrades including Schlichter, Wladimir Zabotin, Georg Scholz, and Oskar Fischer, color lithography became a practice of revolt at the Karlsruhe Academy, a way to experiment with and ultimately to challenge painterly norms in Baden.⁵⁵ The group of friends thereby

⁵¹ Schlichter WF, 354.

⁵² Corinne Granof has discussed these connections at length in the first chapter of her dissertation, "Obstinate Flesh," 15-75. Schlichter frequently discussed his affinity to the world of Montmartre in his autobiographies.

⁵³ Julius Kasper, *Der Betrunkener* (The Drunkard), ca. 1910-12. Color lithograph on paper. Private collection.

Lit: Goettl, *Realistische Kunst der 20er Jahren in Karlsruhe*, cat.no. 377.

⁵⁴ Julius Kasper, *Zirkus bei Nacht* (Circus by Night) 1909. Color lithograph on paper, 34.5 x 42.9 cm. Private collection.

⁵⁵ On the rich history of color lithography in Karlsruhe, see especially: Erika Rödiger-Diruf, ed., *Wie Malerei? Lithographie um 1900* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2006); and Susanne Himmelheber, "Vier Jahrzehnte Lithographie in Karlsruhe. Leopold von Kalckreuth und der Karlsruher Künstlerbund," in *Von Thoma bis Hubbuch. Lithographien aus einer Privatsammlung*, ed. Susanne Himmelheber and Karl-Ludwig Hofmann (Karlsruhe: Bezirksverband Bildender Künstler, 1991), 9-12.

continued the strong tradition of color lithography that could be traced in Karlsruhe to the Grötzingen Painters' Colony (*Malerkolonie*) and to its closely affiliated *Künstlerbund* (Artists' Union), a group of painters and printmakers who formed an unofficial secession from the Karlsruhe Academy in 1896. (The *Künstlerbund* founder, the academy professor Ludwig Graf von Kalckreuth, reportedly liked the term *Bund* for its revolutionary resonance.)⁵⁶ Indeed, the scores of high-quality, full-color lithographs produced by the *Künstlerbund* were seen not only as a way to improve the settings of middle class interiors—in their capacity as decorative *Wandschmuck*—but also as a direct means to provide work and economic capital for the “artist proletariat” in Karlsruhe.⁵⁷

Otto Fikentscher's delicate *Krähen im Schnee* (Crows in the Snow) and Hans Volkmann's colorful rendering of the *Hohenzollern* landscape are typical of the *Künstlerbund* lithographs that were produced on a large scale by fine arts printers in Leipzig in the 1890s (**fig. 1.10 & 1.11**).⁵⁸ These works adopted popular period styles of *japonisme* inflected *Jugendstil*, or “style of youth,” which was marked by strong diagonals, richly saturated colors, and a sophisticated palette of secondary and tertiary color combinations, which were made possible by advances in ink production and printing technology in the last decades of the nineteenth-century.⁵⁹ Concurrently, the head of the Karlsruhe Academy etching workshop, Wilhelm Krauskopf, established the *Verein*

⁵⁶ See Susanne Himmelheber, “Vier Jahrzehnte Lithographie in Karlsruhe. Leopold von Kalckreuth und der Karlsruher Künstlerbund,” in Himmelheber and Hofmann, *Von Thoma bis Hubbuch*, 9-12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 10. “Dadurch wird das Künstlerproletariat verringert.”

⁵⁸ Otto Fikentscher, *Krähen im Schnee* (Crows in the Snow), undated. Color lithograph on paper, 55.7 x 75.5 cm. Printer: Kunstdruckerei Künstlerbund Karlsruhe. Publisher: Verlag von B.G. Teubner, Leipzig. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe.

Hans Volkmann, *Der Hohenzollern* (The Hohenzollern), 1902. Color lithograph on paper. Printer: Kunstdruckerei Künstlerbund Karlsruhe. Publisher: R. Voigtländers Verlag, Leipzig.

⁵⁹ On these developments in printing technology, see Jeremy Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany: 1890-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 10-57.

für Originalradierung (Association for Original Etching) in 1894. The Association produced a portfolio of ten original etchings per year and supported the work of a broad range of freelance graphic artists in Karlsruhe and Baden.⁶⁰

Since 1892, the Karlsruhe Academy had offered its students an etching school (*Radierschule*) and since 1896, a dedicated workshop in lithography. In these two faculties, as Rudolf Schlichter would later describe, both the old-fashioned Thoma adherents—who created landscapes populated with “children’s roundels or mothers with thankful, upturned eyes”—and the “ultra-moderns” (a group in which young Rudolf included himself and his friends) set to learning the “arts of etching and scraping.”⁶¹ Georg Scholz preferred post-Symbolist scenes of naked figures dancing—a humorous rebuttal, perhaps, to the folksy mountain landscapes of Hans Thoma and his followers—and the eerily deserted rear courtyards of his *Hinterhäuser* (1910) (**fig. 1.12 & fig. 1.13**). Certainly, such works were a far cry from the “echte, gesunde, deutsche Kunst” (real, healthy, German art) that the Graf von Kalckreuth hoped might become the “eyes and heart” of young graphic artists in Germany.⁶² By contrast, Scholz, Schlichter, and their

⁶⁰ GLA 235/40174 “Unterricht in der Lithographien u. Verein für Originalradierung, 1896 - July 1920.” A number of original portfolios produced by the Verein are now held in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

⁶¹ Schlichter TF, 92. “Wie schon erwähnt, war der Akademie eine Radierschule und eine lithographische Antalt angegliedert. In diesen beiden Räumlichkeiten bemühten sich sowohl die treuherzig biedereren Geschäftesmacher der Thomaschule als auch die Ultramodernen, denen die graphische Technik die Möglichkeit immer neuer überraschender Wirkungen bot, um die Erlernung der Radier- und Schabekunst. Beide Parteien trafen sich hier zu löblichem Tun und zwischen beiden herrschte von Anbeginn an unversöhnliche Feindschaft, die sich bei den Thomaschülern in kleinlichen Quertreiberein, bei den modernen in lärmenden Kundgebungen und aufreizenden Reden äußerte... Nach ihrer Meinung waren einzig Landschaften mit Kinderreigen oder Mütter mit dankbarem Augenaufschlag und Schäfchenwölkchen würdige Motive.”

⁶² *Kunsterziehung. Ergebnisse des Kunsterziehungstages in Dresden am 28. und 29. September 1901* (Leipzig 1902), 110: “unserer Jugend Auge und Herz für echte, gesunde, deutsche Kunst zu öffnen.” Cited in Himmelheber and Hofmann, *Von Thoma bis Hubbuch*, 10.

Karlsruhe colleagues would turn this tradition on its head as they sought to picture and to perform their position as outsiders in the cultural milieu of prewar Karlsruhe.

Style as Performance: Karlsruhe Cowboys and Indians

Full of contempt, and certainly not without jealousy, the Thoma disciples looked down on my [lithographs and etchings]. For the most part they were Swiss students or individuals from the Baden countryside, who considered themselves chosen to further the work of the Old Master [Hans] Thoma. Most of them were insufferable strivers. Particularly awkward for me was their unabashed adherence to the German ideals of purity (*Reinheitsideal*). All their fuss about being “fresh-calm-happy” (*frisch-fromm-fröhlich*)...aggravated me to no end.⁶³

—Rudolf Schlichter, *Feet of Clay*, 1933

For Schlichter and his Karlsruhe companions, the sharpest attack against their perceived bourgeois foes was a purposive form of stylistic “othering”—performing through word and image the persona of the racially marginalized, the physically sick, the mentally unwell, the abject, or insane.⁶⁴ In a 1913 photo, the Russian Zabotin stands in his atelier flanked by his friends Willi Müller-Hufschmid,⁶⁵ Rudolf Schlichter, Egon Itta,

⁶³ Schlichter TF, 92. “Voll Verachtung, doch nicht ohne Neid, schauten sie auf meine Produkte herab. Vorwiegend waren es Schweizer oder Leute aus dem badischen Oberland, die sich vor allen anderen auserwählt dünkten, das Werk des Altmeisters Thoma fortzuführen. Die meisten von ihnen waren unleidliche Streber. Besonders unangenehm berührte mich die unverfrorene Inanspruchnahme des Reinheitsideals. Das Getue auf frisch-fromm-fröhlich-biderb, mit Nägeln an den Stiefeln und mit dem Herzen auf dem rechten Fleck, ärgerte mich maßlos.”

⁶⁴ Hanne Bergius posits this tactic of purposive othering as a weapon against bourgeois society, both in her read of Schlichter as a *Schelm*: the prankster, imp, or rogue in Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 260-262, and in Bergius, “Lederstrumpf,” 35a.

⁶⁵ Willi Müller-Hufschmid, born Wilhelm Müller in 1890, studied with Rudolf Schlichter and Egon Itta in the drawing class of Walter Georgi (1908-1910), and from 1911, studied for two years with Caspar Ritter. “Willi” plays a major role in Schlichter’s autobiographies and was a close friend of many who would go on to form the *Gruppe Rih* in Karlsruhe. He volunteered for a one-year military service in 1914, but the outbreak of World War I kept him away from Karlsruhe far longer. By 1915, he was in a Russian military prison, and only returned to Karlsruhe in 1921. By that time, his former friend group had dispersed, his parents had both died, and he became something of an autodidact, remaining closely tied to the Badische Landeskunstschule in Karlsruhe and, in the later 1920s, living there with his wife (Verena Hufschmid) and their young child. A large portion of his painterly oeuvre—over 100 objects—burned in a fire during World War II. See Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, “Willi Müller-Hufschmid. Außenseiter zwischen Verismus und Neuer Sachlichkeit,” in Büttner, *Kunst und Architektur in Karlsruhe*, 91-97.

and by his girlfriend, the Swiss singer and academy model, Rösli Weidmann (**fig. 1.14**).⁶⁶

The male artists wear natty suits and bow ties; the elegant female singer anchors the group and interrupts its procession of bohemian masculinity in a long black gown, her arms looped casually between those of Schlichter and Itta. Schlichter smokes a cigarette, which he displays for the photographer, and he seems poised to step forward or to engage in friendly conversation.⁶⁷

No matter how many friends he acquired or how much attention his work attracted in the local art market, however, Schlichter perceived himself as an outsider in Karlsruhe, contrasting the unpolished, *schwäbisch* aspect of his dialect and persona to those of the sharply dressed, sardonic northern transplant, Georg Scholz, or to Wladimir Zabolin, the elegant Russian emigré with the string of attractive, French-speaking girlfriends. Schlichter later described the intense feelings of embarrassment that overtook him in the company of his better-educated and better-heeled classmates, especially when their drunken atelier discussions turned to French, a language Schlichter had never studied and could not speak: “I discovered suddenly, and full of shame,” he reflected, “that I was not only a German but—horror of horrors!—a small-town hick from *Schwaben*.”⁶⁸ And yet a simple change of dress or personal affect could lend one an entirely new identity: a cigarette, a monocle, a touch of face powder or rouge, for example, could transform the small-town Swabian into an elegant, exciting leader of

⁶⁶ The Swiss Rösli Weidmann arrived in Karlsruhe in 1908-09 to study vocal performance at the local conservatory of music; she and Zabolin became lovers soon after. Their daughter, Halina, was born in 1910. See Annette Ludwig, *Wladimir von Zabolin 1884-1967* (Karlsruhe: Künstlerhaus Galerie, 1994), 49-54.

⁶⁷ On the iconography of the bohemian artist and the cigarette, see Patricia G. Berman, “Edvard Munch’s Self-Portrait with Cigarette: Smoking and the Bohemian Persona,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (December 1993): 627-646.

⁶⁸ Schlichter TF, 86: “Voll Scham entdeckte ich plötzlich, daß ich nicht nur ein Deutscher, sondern, schrecklicher Gedanke, ein schwäbischer Kleinstädter sei.”

men. In these moments of confidence and brio, Schlichter led his colleagues in an attack against bourgeois institutions of art and politics, from the well-established Karlsruhe *Künstlerverein* (Karlsruhe Artists' Union) to the local chapter of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).⁶⁹ On one particularly festive and debauched occasion, Schlichter and his friends donned an assortment of carnivalesque disguises to wreck havoc on the sleepy city of Karlsruhe:

Zack [Julius Kasper] pulled a waste basket over his head, from which he peered with eyes made out of candle stumps, Willy [Egler] stuck a long spectacle case on the tip of his nose, and I fashioned myself an artificial corncob schnoz out of Plasticine, through which I wore a dangling white curtain ring. [...] This disguise was the signal of an outbreak of total insanity.⁷⁰

For the Karlsruhe artists, style could be worn as a disguise—literally, as an ornament fashioned out of plastic and hung from the tip of one's nose. No longer the privilege of the trained academic who flaunted his tricks and techniques of painting, style, or *Manier*, became the plaything of the bohemian rebel.⁷¹ Moreover, the group of friends both pictured and performed their attack on pleasant society by treating race as a masquerade, a type of cultural appropriation that Katrin Sieg has defined, in the postwar German context, as a kind of “ethnic drag.”⁷² Carl Zuckmayer recalled that Wladimir Zabotin styled his hair in a quasi-Iroquois fashion—cut short on the top with long strands dipped in paint like an “exotic red-tailed bird”—and that the students' patron and primary

⁶⁹ Schlichter TF, 180-83. On the Künstlerverein party crashing see Goettl, *Um 1900*, 5-34. On Schlichter's dalliances with the local chapter of the Social Democratic Party in Baden, see Schlichter WF 344-347.

⁷⁰ Schlichter TF, 282. “Zack [Julius Kasper] stülpte sich einen Papierkorb über den Kopf, den er mit Augen aus Kerzenstummeln versah, Willy [Willy Egler] steckte sich ein langes Brillenfutteral auf die Nasenspitze, ich macht mir aus Plastelin eine künstliche Kolbennase, durch die ich einen weißen Vorhangring zog [...] Diese Verkleidung war das Signal zum Ausbruch völliger Narrheit.”

⁷¹ On the notion of style as ornament, in the early twentieth century German context, see Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 2000), 3-17 and 25-30.

⁷² Sieg, *Ethnic Drag*, 2-28.

curatorial supporter, the Heidelberg art historian Wilhelm Fraenger, referred to Schlichter with the affectionate title, “Big Chief Wigwam Splendor” (*Großer Häuptling Wigwamglanz*).⁷³

Like many artists born into the so-called Generation of 1890, Schlichter and his friends counted the German novelist Karl May among their childhood heroes and celebrated May’s fictitious Teutonic cowboy, Old Shatterhand, as a paragon of German masculinity and cross-cultural performance. Schlichter’s visions of the American West fed on the detritus of popular culture—from trashy novels to filmic Westerns screened in local *Wirtshaus* taverns—as a slap in the face to bourgeois propriety, a rejection of contemporary moral reformers’ fears about Americanization and the corruption of German youth.⁷⁴ Yet these were decidedly errant, pastiche constructions: visions cobbled together from a variety of sources ranging from the silent cinema to the dime novels that peddled the exaggerated fictions of heroes modeled after the American cowboys Texas Jack and Buffalo Bill Cody.⁷⁵

By the turn of the twentieth century, the German author Karl May was infamous for his own tall tales—claiming repeatedly that he had traveled to America twenty times

⁷³ Zuckmayer, *Als wär’s ein Stück von mir*, 247–49. “Am ganzen Kopf kurzgeschoren, hatte er sich eine einzige Haarsträhne so lang wachsen lassen, daß sie ihm wie ein Wedel auf die Schulter herabhing, und da er sie auch zum Pinselauswischen benutzte, schillerte sie in den Farben exotischer Tropenvögel.”

⁷⁴ For a rich study of the program of censorship and campaigns to protect children against “trash” forms of popular culture in Baden, see Kara L. Ritzheimer, “Protecting Youth from ‘Trash’: Anti-Schund Campaigns in Baden, 1900–1933” (PhD diss., Binghamton University, State University of New York, 2007).

⁷⁵ On these “lowbrow” American sources, and their impact on Germany’s interwar avant-garde, see especially: Bergius, “Lederstrumpf,” 33a–46a; Hanne Bergius, “Berlin: A City Drawn from the Linear Network to the Contour,” in Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings of the 1920s*, 15–30; Beeke Sell Tower, “Asphalt-cowboys and Stadtindianer: Imagining the Far West,” in *Envisioning America: Prints, Drawings, and Photographs by George Grosz and his Contemporaries, 1915–1933*, ed. Beeke Sell Tower (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 1990), 17–35; Helen Adkins, “George Grosz and the American Dream,” in *The 1920s: Age of the Metropolis*, ed. Jean Clair (Montreal: Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 284–98; and Barbara McCloskey, “From the ‘Frontier’ to the Wild West: German Artists, American Indians, and the Spectacle of Race and Nation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in *I Like America: Fictions of the Wild West*, ed. Pamela Kort (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, 2006), 299–318.

and could understand “more than 1,200 languages and dialects.”⁷⁶ In one of a series of widely-published, elaborate costume photos staged and snapped by the amateur photographer Alois Schießler, in 1896, May posed as Old Shatterhand and displayed between his legs the fictional hero’s “bear killer” shotgun, the comically oversized and double-barreled *Bärentöter* (**fig. 1.15**).⁷⁷ Having served a number of prison sentences for making false claims about his travels and his trans-cultural expertise, May finally renounced his tall tales after his first trip to the Near East, in 1899-1900.⁷⁸ Schlichter was aware of these inconsistencies in May’s personal narrative, as he recounted in his autobiographies; among other moments of reportorial reconnaissance, he asked his older brother Max to verify the “truth content” (*der Wahrheitsgehalt*) of May’s orientalist visions during a stay in Khartoum, where Max had landed a cooking job in a large English hotel. “With fanatical zeal I impressed upon him,” Schlichter wrote, “what a great service he could do for the legacy of Karl May if he tried to find out, through precise research, how close May’s descriptions of my cherished heroes came to actual reality.”⁷⁹ (He was thrilled when Max returned from his visit with weapons and other instruments depicting a Nile hippopotamus, which looked to Rudi’s eyes just as he imagined it from May’s novelistic descriptions.)⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Cited in Karl Markus Kreis, “German Wild West: Karl May’s Invention of the Definitive Indian,” in Kort, *I Like America*, 256-57.

⁷⁷ Alois Schießler, *Karl May als Old Shatterhand mit dem Bärentöter, 26 Pfund schwer* (Karl May as Old Shatterhand with the “bear killer,” 26 pounds heavy), 1896. Photograph with autograph inscription. Bamberg, Archiv Verlegerfamilie Schwind.

⁷⁸ May would eventually travel to the east coast of America only in 1908, where he visited a settlement of Iroquois in upstate New York. See Kreis, “German Wild West,” 257.

⁷⁹ Schlichter WF, 285-290.

⁸⁰ On the development of pulp fiction in this period, see Ronald Fullerton, “Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany: The Story of the ‘Colporteur Novel’ 1870-1890,” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Spring 1977): 265-283.

Schlichter later recalled that he had once seen a photograph of Karl May in “Mexican costume;” though he doubted the veracity of such documents, he embraced the aesthetic of “showing and playing” that Karl Kreis has ascribed as a central part of May’s appeal to German readers born in the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ At the turn of the century, Karl May faced a formidable adversary for the attention of such young consumers in the American “Buffalo Bill” Cody, who began touring Europe with his troupe of cowboys and Indians in 1889.⁸² “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” show toured twenty-three cities in Germany and Austria between 1890-91, stopping in Karlsruhe for a brief visit between 23 and 26 April 1891 (**fig. 1.16**).⁸³ The marketing blitz associated with Cody’s European shows—colorful posters, newspaper advertisements, and promotional short films—exerted a powerful fascination on the generation of German children who grew up in the 1890s. In a contemporary Frankfurt poster, titled “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West,” a group of five horse-riding, lasso-wielding cowboys herd a charging group of long-horned cattle (**fig. 1.17**).⁸⁴ A central figure raises his right arm in the air and loops

⁸¹ Schlichter WF, 210-211. “...außerdem wisse ich genau, daß Bilder von ihm in mexikanischer Tracht existierten, sogar eine Photographie gäbe es von ihm...”

⁸² On the period rivalry between Karl May and Buffalo Bill, see Karl Markus Kreis, “Buffalo Bill: Old Shatterhands Herausforderer, Rivale oder Vorbild?” *Jahrbuch der Karl May Gesellschaft* (2004): 121-138.

⁸³ Newspaper announcement for *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, Karlsruhe, 23 April 1891. In *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 19 April 1891. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe. These tour dates are cited in H. Glenn Penny, “Illustrating America: Images of the North American Wild West in German Periodicals, 1825-1890,” in Kort, *I Like America*, 242-247.

On contemporary displays of Native Americans and other “foreign peoples” in Germany, see Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck’s Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). On the post-WWII phenomenon of “Indian clubs” in Baden and West Germany, see Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez, “Cheyennes in the Black Forest: A Social Drama,” in *The Americanization of the Global Village: Essays in Comparative Popular Culture*, ed. Roger Rollin (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989), 70-86. For a general study see Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop, eds. *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

⁸⁴ *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, ca. 1891. Frankfurt, Palmengarten. Lithograph poster, 104.1 x 71.5 cm. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt a.M.

Lit: Kort, *I Like America*, cat.no. 213.

the rope in a dramatic gesture, while a big-horned steer charges toward the viewer and threatens to break the fourth wall of the posterly frame.⁸⁵

Siegfried Kracauer later surmised that the heroes of American western cinema—figures such as Broncho Billy and his counterpart, Tom Mix, had “conquered the hearts of the young German generation, which had devoured, volume after volume, the novels of Karl May.”⁸⁶ For Kracauer, writing in exile in the 1940s, these American screen cowboys attracted a German intelligentsia that was “suffering from lack of purpose...mentally tossed about,” and thus a ready target for simplistic stories that offered the hero (and his empathetic viewers) only one obvious outcome.⁸⁷ In the period between 1907 and 1914, the American film company Essanay produced more than 350 films featuring the cowboy character “Broncho Billy,” a morally virtuous “cowboy loner” created and performed by the actor Gilbert M. Anderson.⁸⁸ Like Karl May’s Old Shatterhand, Billy embodied the manly ideals of his bourgeois audience, which was primarily white, middle class, and Protestant; Essanay marketed the films as “uplifting entertainment for the whole family.”⁸⁹ In the years just after World War I, when American imports were banned in Germany, Heidelberg filmmakers produced so-called

⁸⁵ Recall, for example, Schlichter’s *Black Jack* (1916/18, **fig. 1.1**), with its charging horses and frenetic conflict staged with rifles and revolvers.

⁸⁶ Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Broncho Billy first showed up as a character in serial fiction by the American writer Peter B. Kyne, who wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Anderson used these stories to develop his on-screen persona, but neither he nor the Essanay company ever purchased rights for the character from Kyne. See Andrew Brodie Smith, “The Making of Broncho Billy: Gilbert M. Anderson Creates the Western-Film Hero,” in his *Shooting Cowboys and Indians: Silent Western Films, American Culture, and the Birth of Hollywood* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003), 133-156.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 134.

“Sauerkraut” films starring German actors with titles such as *Bull Arizona* and *Der Wüstenadler* (The Desert Eagle).

Rudolf Schlichter viewed these types of “very simple and very amusing” commercial films and their cinematic predecessors in “primitive” theaters during his time at the Stuttgart School of Arts and Crafts.⁹⁰ During his preparatory studies at the Karlsruhe “Block School,” in 1910, the artist began to transfer these cinematic visions to paper—mapping out elaborate scenes of horse-riding cowboys and Indians on discarded notebook pages and on long rolls of paper, which he pieced together “in the style of the murder ballads.”⁹¹ Such “*Moritäten*” referred to a sung form of performance narrative developed in the seventeenth century, in which the singer used a simple melody and straightforward language to describe gruesome crimes with a moralistic undertone. The

⁹⁰ Schlichter WF, 110. “Der Inhalt dieses ersten Films, den ich in meinem Leben sah, war ein sehr einfacher und sehr komischer...” See also Schlichter WF 272-274. “Diese Filmtheater waren damals noch recht primitiv; sie glichen eher festen Jahrmarktsbuden wie ordentlichen Theatern. Das Programm bestand gewöhnlich aus drei oder vier komischen Filmen, einen Naturfilm und zwei Dramen. Da sich der Inhalt dieser Filme fast durchweg auf dem Niveau der Kolportageliteratur bewegte, wurden die Lichtspiele Jahre hindurch vom gebildeten Publikum gemieden, man traf dort nur Angehörige der unteren Schichten, die mit gespanntem Interesse unter lärmendem Beifall oder Ablehnung die Vorgänge auf der Leinwand verfolgten.”

To name one example from the Karlsruhe cinemas: On 2 July 1917, the Karlsruhe Residenz-Theater offered its viewers the comic film, *Richard schwärmt fürs Türkische*, alongside the propaganda vehicle *Erlebnisse eines Kriegsfreiwilligen in russischer Gefangenschaft* and the folksy nature film, *Das Okertal. Herliche Aufnahmen aus dem Harz*. (The following week, *Homonculus* opened in the first of four segments). Film announcements in the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 2 - 9 July 1917. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe.

⁹¹ Schlichter mentioned these innovative drawings at two points in his autobiographies. See Schlichter WF, 338. “Ich hatte um jene Zeit angefangen, auf zehn Meter lange Papierrollen in einer Reihe fortlaufender Bilder das Leben bedeutender Scouts und Waldläufer zu illustrieren; es waren richtige Bildergeschichten, wozu ich den Text selbst erfand; oder ich dichtete das Leben eines Heiligen und Welteroberers in Fortsetzungen.”

See also Schlichter TF, 274: “Ich fing an, im Dunklen Skizzen nach den rasch vorüberwirbelnden Bildern anzufertigen. Diese Skizzen verwendete ich zu Hause für meine selbsterfundenen Abenteuergeschichten, die ich entweder auf zehn bis fünfzehn Meter langen Papierrollen in einer Reihe von Bildern nach Art der Moritäten zeichnete oder in Schulheften verewigte. Auch auf Aquarellen und Lithographien tobte ich meine Lust an blutrünstigen und abenteuerlichen Wildwestszenen aus, zum großen Staunen meiner Mitschüler, von denen keiner den Mut zu solchen verpönten Themen aufbrauchte. Ich ahnte damals noch nicht, daß diese Indianerei einstmals als Äußerungen eines originellen Zeitgeistes museumsfähig würden, allerdings auch nicht, daß der Ruhm der Urheberschaft Leuten zufallen sollte, die viel später als ich mit diesem Stoff bekannt wurden.”

watercolor drawing *Wild West* (1916-18) rejects the moral takeaway to focus on—indeed, to fetishize—an elaborate scene of Wild West violence (**fig. 1.18**).⁹²

In the first years of World War I, Schlichter was one of a very few colleagues who remained at the Karlsruhe Academy, called up for military service only in 1916, and sent home after enacting a hunger strike in 1917.⁹³ As he later recalled, he would spend several months in a military hospital recovering from this “violence cure” (*Gewaltkur*).⁹⁴ His deployment of the German word *Kur* is ironic, evoking the rest cures and elaborate courses of spa treatment that had become popular for “hysterical” men and women during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁹⁵ During these years of unrest, Schlichter created scores of violent images in which a small child disrupts the narrative with a pointing hand or crying face; usually, the child of indeterminate or trans-gender wears only a sailor shirt or short tunic and a smart pair of tall button boots, as in the watercolor

⁹² Rudolf Schlichter, *Wild-West* (Wild West), 1916-18. Watercolor on smooth vellum, 28.9 x 35.9 cm. Private collection, Offenbach am Main.

Lit: Barbara McCloskey, “From the ‘Frontier’ to the Wild West: German Artists, American Indians, and the Spectacle of Race and Nation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in Kort, *I Like America*, 313-315 and cat.no. 366; Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 76-77; Granof, “Obstinate Flesh,” 92-96; Berguis, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 265; Michael Karl Albert Rabe, “Linien, die ihre Opfer wie auf Mokassins umschleichen. Zur ästhetischen und politischen Funktion des Tagtraums im Werk Rudolf Schlichters” (PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 1987), 137; Horn, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 1984, 18 (cat. no. 51, ill. no. 19).

⁹³ GLA 235/40153. In 1914-15, Schlichter was one of 43 students enrolled at the academy (down from 102 in the previous year), and in 1915-16, one of only 29 students.

⁹⁴ On Schlichter’s war service, see “Attachment to Military Questionnaire, 1945,” Rudolf Schlichter Estate, Galerie Alvensleben, Munich. Cited in Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 10. “Während des Weltkrieges 1914-1918 war ich von Anfang an Kriegsgegner. 1916 wurde ich zum Militärdienst eingezogen und kam 1917 [als Munitionsfahrer] an die französische Front. Ich machte einen Hungerstreik, was zur Folge hatte, dass ich in ein Heimatlazarett abgeschoben wurde, wo ich an den Folgen dieser Gewaltkur monatenlang darniederlag.”

⁹⁵ From this retrospective position, Schlichter likely also intended to evoke General Paul von Hindenburg’s infamous assertion that “War agrees with me like a stay at a health resort.” This quote was later lampooned as a caption in Ernst Friedrich’s 1924 illustrated photo essay, *Krieg dem Kriege* (War Against War). The pendant photo was titled, with dark irony, “The health resort of the proletariat, almost the whole face blown away.” For a thorough overview of these medical photographs, see Dora Apel, “Cultural Battlegrounds: Weimar Photographic Narratives of War,” *New German Critique*, No. 76 (Winter 1999): 49-84.

drawing *Black Jack* (**fig. 1.1**).⁹⁶ While his friends went off to the fields and trenches of France, Galicia, and Macedonia, Schlichter would continue to turn his attention inward, protesting German militarism and bourgeois stupidity through the mute cry of the child witness.

Revolution and Revolt: November 1918 - January 1919

Most Honorable Sir!

The future of art and the seriousness of the present hour force us revolutionaries of the spirit (Expressionists, Cubist, Futurists) to unification and close alliance.

We therefore direct an urgent call to all visual artists who have shattered the old forms in art to declare their membership in the “Novembergruppe.”

The formulation and the realization of a wide-ranging program that will be carried out by trusted people in various art centers should bring us the closest interaction between art and the people. [...]⁹⁷

—Circular Letter of the November Group, 13 December 1918

Over the fall months of 1918, four years of bloody conflict began to grind to a stuttering halt, as German leaders entered negotiations with American delegates to end the First World War. On 29 October, German sailors rejected their orders to stoke the boilers and set to sea in the northern harbor city of Kiel, a mutiny that set in motion the

⁹⁶ In his autobiography, Schlichter described his jealousy and lust for the sailor outfits and smart boots of the bourgeois kids who vacationed in Calw. See Schlichter WF, 17.

⁹⁷ “Circular Letter of the November Group, 13 December 1918” in *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, ed. and trans. Rose-Carol Washton Long (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 213.

events that would spark the German revolutions.⁹⁸ On 9 November, Kaiser Wilhelm II fled to Holland in a move that would lead to his formal abdication, and on 11 November, the First World War ended in German defeat. During the frenzied period of activity between November 1918 and January 1919, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) politician Friedrich Ebert assumed the chancellorship with the blessing of the departing Prince Maximilian of Baden, and the SPD leader Philipp Scheidemann, seeking to block potential opponents from the socialist Spartacus League from coming to power, proclaimed Germany a democratic republic shortly after taking lunch with Ebert on 9 November. Two hours later, the Spartacus League co-founder Karl Liebknecht proclaimed the German Free Socialist Republic (*Freie Sozialistische Räterepublik*) from a balcony of the Berlin City Palace. The seat of the new republic broke out in a riot of political activity and image dispersion, a veritable civil war founded in street-level agitations. The art historian Joan Weinstein has referred to this period as the “first phase” of the German revolution: largely optimistic, seeking unity and brotherhood, and aiming to rebuild society after the trauma of war.⁹⁹

In this spirit of optimism, the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Workers’ Council for Art, or AfK) formed on 13 November 1918 and published its manifesto, “A New Artistic Program,” in the SPD newspaper *Vorwärts* on 11 December 1918.¹⁰⁰ The AfK called for a

⁹⁸ For a concise overview of this period of revolutionary transition see Eric D. Weitz, “A Troubled Beginning,” in his *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy*, 7-39. On the revolution and the contested images it produced, see especially: Stephanie Barron, ed., *German Expressionism 1915-1925: The Second Generation* (New York: Prestel, 1988); Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*, 1-22; Sherwin Simmons, “Grimaces on the Walls: Anti-Bolshevist Posters and the Debate about Kitsch,” *Design Issues*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 1998), 16-40; and Zervigón, “A Spectacular Reflection,” in Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 147-152.

⁹⁹ Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*, 4.

¹⁰⁰ The manifesto appeared one day later in *Die Freiheit*, the paper of the USPD.

new unity between art and the German people—for creative expression that would no longer be the pleasure of a few, but that could embody the very happiness and life of the masses in forms ranging from architecture and city planning to the design of single coins and postage stamps.¹⁰¹ The manifesto continued with a list of “demands” rejecting the memory of Wilhelmine institutions and patronage, the royal academy system, and the “artistically worthless monuments” and “precipitously planned war memorials” that accompanied the cessation of conflict.¹⁰² Moreover, it called for the preservation and support of *Handwerk*, or craft, as part of this new unity between art and life, a call that would be common to many revolutionary artist groups including *Die Gruppe Rih* in Karlsruhe. Indeed, when the AfK published its “New Artistic Program,” in April 1919, the cover bore an expressive woodcut engraving by the artist Hermann Max Pechstein.

Political posters further branded the public identity of revolutionary groups seeking to forge a closer relationship between art and life.¹⁰³ In a contemporary poster by Max Pechstein, produced in support of the SPD *National-Versammlung*, a triumphant worker crouches on the ground stone of the new socialist republic, a trowel in his right hand and his left arm raised ecstatically as red flags fly behind him (**fig. 1.19**). Formed shortly after the AfK by Pechstein and César Klein, the *Novembergruppe* (November Group) held its first public meeting in Berlin on 3 December 1918. The name

¹⁰¹ This manifesto is printed in Manfred Schlösser, ed., *Arbeitsrat für Kunst Berlin, 1918-1921* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1980), 87. It reads, in part: “Kunst und Volk müssen eine Einheit bilden. Die Kunst soll nicht mehr Genuss weniger, sondern Glück und Leben der Masse sein. Zusammenschluss der Künste unter den Flügeln einer grossen Baukunst ist das Ziel. Fortan ist der Künstler allein als Gestalter des Volksempfindens verantwortlich für das sichtbare Gewand des neuen Staates. Er muss die Formgebung bestimmen vom Stadtbild bis herunter zur Münze und Briefmarke.”

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ On the history and development of the political poster in Germany, see Peter Paret and Beth Irwin Lewis, eds. *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) and Frank Kämpfer, *Der rote Keil: das Politische Plakat, Theorie und Geschichte* (Berlin: Mann, 1985).

commemorated the end of wartime conflict and forged for the group an identity based on liberal pacifism, with a membership more narrowly defined than that of the AfK, which included among its ranks painters, sculptors, and architects as well as government officials, art critics, and patrons. The November Group, by contrast, defined its membership base in its first circular letter as a group of “expressionist, cubist, and futurist” artists; its founders were established painters of this aesthetic stripe: Pechstein and Klein along with Georg Tappert and Heinrich Richter-Berlin. As postwar expressionist fervor spread across Germany, artists in various cities banded together as regional chapters (*Ortsgruppen*) of the November Group and proclaimed their revolutionary intent with names evoking youth, change, and visceral impact: *Kräfte* (Strength) in Hamburg, *Der Wurf* (The Throw) in Bielefeld, *Die Kugel* (The Bullet) in Magdeburg, the *Junge Rheinland* (Young Rhineland) in Düsseldorf, the *Hallische Künstlergruppe* in Halle and *Sezession Gruppe 1919* in Dresden, and the *Üecht-Gruppe* (Daybreak Group) in Stuttgart, as well as the Karlsruhe *Gruppe Rih*, whose name evoked the horse of the fictional hero, Kara Ben Nemsî, made famous in a series of novels by the German writer Karl May.¹⁰⁴

As revolution spread across northern Germany, fed by the wave of strikes and the rapid creation (and state-sponsored suppression) of sailors’, soldiers’, and workers’ councils from Kiel and Bremen to Berlin and Braunschweig, cities in southwestern Baden remained, by contrast, both subdued and “undramatic” in the first weeks of

¹⁰⁴ On the Stuttgart group, see Susanne Jakob, “Die Stuttgarter Üecht-Gruppe (1919-1924). Zwischen Avantgardismus und Provinzialität” in *Südwestdeutsche Kunst zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, ed. Wendelin Renn, et al (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993), 33-38.

November 1918.¹⁰⁵ Already on the afternoon of 9 November, a coalition of Social Democrats, conservatives, and business leaders had formed a “Committee of Public Safety” (*Wohlfahrtsausschuß*) to reject the “primarily upsetting, negating, when not indeed wholly destructive tendencies” of the mass worker strikes.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, it seemed at first that revolution might pass over the ducal seat of Karlsruhe, until the evening of 11 November. According to one historian, a drunken sailor named Heinrich Klumpp led a handful of hooligans to call for the abdication of the Grand Duke by throwing a volley of gunfire into the air outside the Karlsruhe palace. Klumpp pounded on the door, yelling in *badisch* dialect: “Friedrich, gröschder Lump von Bade, komm’ runner!” (Friedrich, you big rascal from Baden, come down here!)¹⁰⁷ The *Großherzog* and his family did not descend the stairs, in fact, but instead fled under cover of darkness through the extensive palace gardens to the nearby town of Schwetzingen. He would not return to Karlsruhe until his death.¹⁰⁸

The Karlsruhe Academy Director, Hans Thoma, and Grand Duke Friedrich of Baden had been closely linked, through both politics and friendship, for nearly two decades by the time of the *Großherzog*’s abdication.¹⁰⁹ It was the Grand Duke, as Thoma

¹⁰⁵ On the so-called “quiet revolution” in Baden, see Gerhard Kaller, “Die Revolution des Jahres 1918 in Baden und die Tätigkeit des Arbeiter- und Soldatenrats in Karlsruhe,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* Nr. 114 (1966): 301-335. Carl Zuckmayer called the situation in Baden “undramatic” (*undramatisch*) in Zuckmayer, *Als wär’s ein Stück von mir*, 220.

¹⁰⁶ W.E. Oeftering, *Der Umsturz in Baden 1918* (Konstanz 1920). Cited in Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, “Von der Ausstellung der Gruppe Rih zur ‘Kunstaussstellung 1930-Das Badische Kunstschaffen’ . Kunst in Karlsruhe 1919 und 1930,” in Rödiger-Diruf, *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, 74.

As Gerhard Kaller has described, various committees formed in November 1918 to organize and provide for returning soldiers. Warnings against the Bolshevik threat in Berlin were published in the local *Karlsruher Tagblatt* newspaper on 24 and 28 November 1918. Kaller, “Die Revolution des Jahres 1918,” 318.

¹⁰⁷ Cited in Doerrschuck, *Karlsruhe, so wie es war*, 61-62.

¹⁰⁸ Kaller, “Die Revolution des Jahres 1918,” 305.

¹⁰⁹ Hans Thoma discussed this close and friendly relationship at length in his autobiographies; see, for example, “Großherzog Friedrich, ein Freund der Kunst” in Thoma, *Im Herbst des Lebens*, 178-181.

later noted with appreciation, who made it possible for “a modest Black Forest clock painter” to attend the Karlsruhe Academy as a young art student in 1859, and who called him back to the *Residenzstadt* to teach at the academy and to direct the local *Kunsthalle* in 1899.¹¹⁰ Thoma’s grand portrait of Friedrich (1901-09) and his own self-portrait etching, completed on his seventieth birthday in 1909, aimed to meld their identities and metaphorically to fuse these two institutions even further (**fig. 1.20 & 1.21**).¹¹¹ (Indeed, as the historian Gerhard Kaller has noted, the public in Karlsruhe remained so deferential to its beloved *Großherzog* that even the revolutionary *Soldatenrat* ran its list of demands by the Grand Duke before making anything public.)¹¹²

Shortly after the Grand Duke’s official abdication, in December of 1918, a conservative organization known as the Art and Culture Council for Baden (*Der Kunst- und Kulturrat für Baden*) formed to promote the interests of regional art and to preserve German visual culture in the *badisch* tradition.¹¹³ Comprised primarily of supporters or former students of Hans Thoma, the group’s goals echoed those of the AfK and the November Group, albeit from a decidedly rightwing, nationalistic perspective.¹¹⁴ They strove, as their manifesto read, for the “unified construction of a true culture of the people

¹¹⁰ Thoma, *Im Herbst des Lebens*, 180. He uses the phrase “einen bescheidenen Schwarzwälder Uhrenschildmaler.”

¹¹¹ Hans Thoma, *Portrait of Grand Duke Friedrich I von Baden*, 1901-09. Oil on canvas, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Hans Thoma, *Self-portrait at the age of 70*, 1909. Engraving on paper, 18 x 13.5 inches. Private collection.

¹¹² Gerhard Kaller noted that the *Räte* never had the power in Karlsruhe that such councils enjoyed in Berlin, and had dissolved themselves by the summer of 1919. Kaller, “Die Revolution des Jahres 1918,” 326.

¹¹³ The Badische Nationalversammlung voted on 5 January 1919 to support the so-called “Weimar Coalition,” which was comprised of Zentrum (40), SPD (36), Demokraten (25), and the Deutsch-Nationale-Volkspartei (6). The USPD did not receive enough votes for a *Mandat*. See Kaller, “Die Revolution des Jahres 1918 in Baden,” 324.

¹¹⁴ In this rightwing perspective, the association’s goals more closely echoed those of the *Deutsche Kunstgesellschaft*, which formed in 1920 to protect “rein deutsche Kunst” against the “Verrotung der Kunst” at the hands of progressive tendencies in modern art.

(*einer wahren Volkskultur*), which makes the spiritual heritage of the nation and of humanity accessible to all and that no longer recognizes the privilege of money and education (*Bildung*).¹¹⁵ A founding member of the council and author of its first *Programm*, the Heidelberg literary historian Richard Benz, formulated his appreciation of Thoma's work in his 1919 text, *Volk und Kultur* (People and Culture) as one that came closest to "*das Volk*" in its simplicity and directness.¹¹⁶

For the German political right, in 1918, terms such as "Volk" and "Kultur" were both intentionally loaded and inherently conservative, rejecting international modernism and "classical correctness" for such beloved notions as the eternal German "soul": a word that appears frequently in German philosophy and histories of culture as *Seele* or *Geist*.¹¹⁷ The Art and Culture Council for Baden led the charge for what came to be known as the *Kulturkampf*, or culture war, in 1920s Karlsruhe, a battle in which progressive modern artists, curators, and critics found themselves attacked by the press, the public, and by their own institutional colleagues.¹¹⁸ Yet in the brief and heady post-revolutionary period just after World War I, a group of young artists would embrace an opposing notion of *Geist* — a performative spiritual sickness that drew on their experiences of combat, both in the trenches and on the home front, and that sought to degrade and reconfigure the

¹¹⁵ "Der Kunst- und Kulturrat für Baden" in *Die Pyramide* Nr. 10 (9 March 1919), 1-2: "einheitlichen Aufbau einer wahren Volkskultur, die das geistige Erbe der Nation und der Menschheit allen zugänglich macht und die Vorrechte des Geldes und der Bildung nicht mehr anerkennt."

¹¹⁶ R. Benz, *Volk und Kultur* (Berlin 1919), 11. Cited in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 48. "So haben wir es doch an den Bildern eines Hans Thoma erlebt, daß auch hier, fern von aller Bildungskonvention und klassischen Korrektheit, das Tiefste der deutschen Seele wieder in einer Sprache gesagt werden kann, die dem einfachsten Verständnis des Volkes nahe ist."

¹¹⁷ On the history of these terms in the context of discussions of "culture" in nineteenth- and early twentieth century Germany, see Raymond Geuss, "Kultur, Bildung, Geist," *History and Theory*, Vol. 35, Nov. 2 (May 1996): 151-164.

¹¹⁸ On the "culture war" in Karlsruhe, see Michael Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe—Zur Ausstellung 'Regierungskunst 1919 bis 1933'" in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe*, 102-128; and Hofmann, "Von der Ausstellung der Gruppe Rih," 84-85.

forms of realism they had learned as fine arts students at the Karlsruhe Academy. The seven young men who would coalesce around the anti-academy secessionist group, *Die Gruppe Rih*, in the years between January 1919 and December 1920, would indeed set the tone for the coming decade in Karlsruhe, in which individuals seen as “too modern” waged battle for their positions at the Karlsruhe Academy and at the local *Kunsthalle*.¹¹⁹

“For the Normal Viewer”: Schlichter and Zabotin at the Galerie Moos

[...] The poster on the advertising pillar is a grimacing abomination [*eine ‘Frozzelei’*] and, what is worse, a thoroughly tasteless thing. It appears that a young negro boy busied himself there with helpless paint strokes...Indeed, the crude scribbles of cannibals find their resonance [in this exhibition], without possessing any of their naiveté...These drawings and paintings are stuff for a graphologist...For the normal viewer (Mr. Artist, please don’t grimace at the word “normal”), who is not acquainted with the secrets of this art of graphology, it is at best merely a picture-puzzle, comparable to deciphering the ancient cave paintings or the Egyptian hieroglyphs...¹²⁰

—D.B. in the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 2 February 1919

After the war, students returned to the Karlsruhe Academy and the regional art scene slowly, if indeed they returned at all. The raconteur Julius Kasper came back from the front psychologically damaged, lived for a time with his parents in Pforzheim, and

¹¹⁹ These culture wars culminated in the so-called “*Schandausstellung*” (shaming exhibition) titled *Regierungskunst 1919-1933*, which opened in April 1933 at the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle and would become a model for the Nazi *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich, in 1937.

¹²⁰ D.B., “Galerie Moos,” *Karlsruher Tagblatt* (2 February 1919), 2: “[...] Das Plakat an den Anschlagssäulen ist eine ‘Frozzelei’ und, was noch übler ist, eine Geschmacklosigkeit. Die Phantasie eines kleinen Negerknaben scheint sich da in hilflosen Strichen betätigt zu haben...Die plumpen Kritzeleien von Kannibalen finden hier ihre Nachahmung, ohne deren Naivität zu besitzen. [...] Diese Zeichnungen und Bildlein sind Stoffe für einen Graphologen...Für den normalen Beschauer (Herr Künstler, schneiden sie keine Grimasse bei dem Wort ‘normal’), der nicht mit den Geheimnissen dieser Art von Graphologie vertraut ist, handelt es sich um Bilderrätsel, im Vergleich mit denen urzeitliche Höhlen-Malereien oder die Hieroglyphen ägyptischer Grabkammern im Reize einer abgeklärten Schönheit erstrahlen, deren Sinn zu entziffern sich lohnt [...]”

threw himself from a balcony in the summer of 1922.¹²¹ Karl Hubbuch, the skilled draftsman whose work so impressed Rudolf Schlichter during their school years with its “thin, exacting pencil stroke,”¹²² served in a field artillery regiment, contracted malaria in Macedonia, and spent nearly a year recovering from the illness at his parents’ home in rural Neuenbürg, thus missing out on the provocations of his former classmates in *Die Gruppe Rih*.¹²³ Georg Scholz entered the German Army in 1915 as a freely enlisted soldier in a reserve infantry regiment, where he saw front line action in Galicia, Narosz (modern-day Belarus), and eastern France.¹²⁴ In December of 1918, the wounded Scholz moved with his wife and young son to Grötzingen, near Karlsruhe, where he struggled to make ends meet and took odd jobs designing cigar boxes and advertising posters, and illustrating children’s books for the Abel & Müller press in Leipzig.¹²⁵ Rudolf Schlichter avoided military service for nearly two years, studying well into the conflict with Casper Ritter at the Karlsruhe Academy.¹²⁶ When he was finally called up to service, in late

¹²¹ Kasper committed suicide on 15 June 1922. See Helmut Goettl, “Alltag in der badischen Residenz,” in Goettl, *Realistische Kunst der 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, 15.

¹²² Schlichter TF, 95. “Außer dieser wenig erfreulichen Erscheinung befand sich unter der Schar der Akademiker nur noch ein Mann, der uns nicht nur angenehm war, sondern sogar Achtung abnötigte. Er zeichnete sehr präzise, aber ohne die auf die Nerven gehende Pedanterie der Fleißbolde. Obgleich er den Eindruck eines Sonderlings machte, war sein Benehmen doch frei von der hochmütigen Absonderungssucht, die innerhalb solcher Kollektivs stets zu unguten Reibereien führt. Seinen Mitschülern gegenüber befehligte er sich eines korrekten kameradschaftlichen Verhaltens, vermied aber jede intime Annäherung. Wir merkten auch bald, daß er unsere Gruppe den anderen vorzog. Doch beteiligte er sich nie an unseren rauen Scherzen; er lächelte nur verständnisvoll, wenn wir hin und wieder einen dieser Streber zum Platzen brachten. Das einzige, woran er sich beteiligte, waren Diskussionen über Kunst. Hierbei fiel er jedesmal durch kühne Behauptungen und komplizierte Gedankengänge auf.”

¹²³ GLA 235/40153. Hubbuch returned to the academy in the winter semester of 1919/20, where he studied as a *Meisterschüler* under Walter Konz. On his war service, see Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, EA 3-150/Bü 3203, “Personalakten, Prof. Karl Hubbuch.” Hubbuch recalled the sites and specifics of his military service in a letter sent to the Bundesarchiv in October 1956, shortly before his retirement from the Kunstakademie in Karlsruhe on 1 December 1956.

¹²⁴ For an extensive overview of Scholz’s war experience, including excerpts from his war diaries, see *Georg Scholz. Ein Beitrag*, 16-42; and Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 28-35.

¹²⁵ For more on Scholz’s work in book illustration and advertising, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹²⁶ GLA 235/40153. In the academic year 1916/17, Schlichter was one of only 29 students enrolled at the Academy. (The school would reach its lowest enrollment numbers in 1917/18, when only 20 students were on the roll books and the academy suffered serious shortages in heating and coal.)

1916, and sent as a munitions driver to the western front, in 1917, Schlichter enacted a hunger strike and was soon after sent home to recover in a military hospital in Karlsruhe.¹²⁷ There, he renewed contact with former classmates from the local fine arts academy, including Wladimir Zabotin and Walter Becker, with whom he would go on to form the core of the secessionist association, *Die Gruppe Rih*.

These young artist-veterans approached the task of rejuvenating their production for a new exhibition context from a set of vastly different personal backgrounds: Schlichter, the Swabian rabble rouser and avowed shoe fetishist whose public persona rested, increasingly, on his willingness to push the boundaries of aesthetic and sexual propriety;¹²⁸ Zabotin, the Russian cosmopolitan whose realist portraits had, in the prewar years, earned him a measure of renown as a talent in the model of his well-known teacher, Wilhelm Trübner;¹²⁹ and Becker, the playful watercolorist and political cartoonist whose close friendship with the Heidelberg art historian, Wilhelm Fraenger, linked this circle of friends to the most progressive avant-garde networks of southwestern Germany.¹³⁰ Fraenger's wide-ranging connections included the influential Mannheim

¹²⁷ See "Attachment to Military Questionnaire, 1945," Rudolf Schlichter Estate, Galerie Alvensleben, Munich. Cited in Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 10. "Während des Weltkrieges 1914-1918 war ich von Anfang an Kriegsgegner. 1916 wurde ich zum Militärdienst eingezogen und kam 1917 [als Munitionsfahrer] an die französische Front. Ich machte einen Hungerstreik, was zur Folge hatte, dass ich in ein Heimatlazarett abgeschoben wurde, wo ich an den Folgen dieser Gewaltkur monatenlang darniederlag."

¹²⁸ On Schlichter's prewar "love variations," a cycle of erotic and pornographic lithographs produced under the pseudonym, Udor Rétyl, see Dirk HeiBerer, "Eros und Gewalt. Schlichters 'Liebesvariationen,'" in Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 27-36.

¹²⁹ For an excellent, comprehensive account of Zabotin's life and career, see Annette Ludwig, *Wladimir von Zabotin 1884-1967* (Karlsruhe: Künstlerhaus Galerie, 1994).

¹³⁰ On Becker's friendship with Fraenger, see: Himmelheber and Hofmann, *Neue Kunst. Lebendige Wissenschaft*, 195-197. Most likely, Walter Becker met Fraenger during their military service in Karlsruhe, in the period between 1915 and 1916. Becker later designed a number of posters for "Gemeinschaft" events and worked closely with this Heidelberg/Mannheim circle.

Reinhard Bentmann has suggested that Becker met Rudolf Schlichter and Wladimir Zabotin during World War I, while they were all stationed in Durlach, near Karlsruhe. See Bentmann, "Erinnerungen an die Gruppe 'Rih'. Walter Becker stellt in der Galerie Apfelbaum aus," *Badische Neueste Nachrichten* (28. August 1978). Copy in the Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Kunsthalle director, Fritz Wichert, as well as the artists Hans Arp and Sophie Taeuber, who were members of the exile community in Zurich.¹³¹ Here, in the Dada movement's founding provocations in the Cabaret Voltaire, Hugo Ball had infamously donned a cardboard "cubist costume" and performed his sound poem, "Elephant Caravan," already in June of 1916.¹³²

Such notions of madness—of a performative primitivism that aimed to break down the structures of visual and verbal language—were in the air in the months and years following the cessation of German military conflict, as a number of scholars have shown in their studies of Dada's emergence in Zurich, Berlin, and Cologne.¹³³ Yet the mantle of spiritual sickness was by no means limited to its earliest Dada proponents. Instead, as this section demonstrates by examining the reception of *Die Gruppe Rih* in Baden, and beyond, the Karlsruhe artists sought to stake their position within this shifting terrain of art and politics by adopting a style of making that degraded academic realism to the status of a found object, one that would appear to be unfinished, broken, *informe*, or wholly insane.¹³⁴ My purpose in tracking this reception history and attending closely to its period commentary is to isolate a discourse of style (or rather, a politics of style) at a

¹³¹ I thank Dr. Christof Baier of the Wilhelm-Fraenger-Archiv, Potsdam, for bringing this relationship to my attention. Portions of Fraenger's later correspondence with Hans Arp have been published in *Sinn und Form*, Jg. 57 (May/June 2005): 294-436.

For a general overview of Zurich Dada, see Leah Dickerman, "Zurich" in Dickerman, *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, New York, Paris*, 16-83.

¹³² On Hugo Ball's sound poetry and the tactic of mimesis, see T.J. Demos, "Zurich Dada: The Aesthetics of Exile," in Dickerman, *The Dada Seminars*, 7-30.

¹³³ See, for example, Dickerman, "Zurich," 29-32; Doherty, "Berlin," 87-90; and Roth, "The Cologne Progressives," 35-43.

¹³⁴ My read of the fraught history between the traditions of the academy, and the interventions of anti-academic or secession movements such as *Die Gruppe Rih*, is informed by Richard Shiff's cogent analysis of the "end of Impressionism," particularly his discussion of artistic originality and notions of style in "Academics and Independents: Theories of Making and Theories of Finding," in Shiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism: A Study of the Theory, Technique, and Critical Evaluation of Modern Art* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 70-98.

moment when these critical categories were beginning to lose their meaning—when terms such as “expressionist,” “futurist,” or “realist” no longer held a solid purchase on either the intention or the effect of the modernist work of art.

Curator Wilhelm Fraenger aimed to link the Karlsruhe artists to these postwar discourses through a series of exhibitions: the first, a provocative show of works by Wladimir Zabotin and Rudolf Schlichter, held at the Galerie Moos on Karlsruhe’s main Kaiserstrasse thoroughfare (**fig. 1.22**).¹³⁵ Galerie Moos offered a progressive hub for modern art, an alternative to the more conservative spaces of the local *Badischer Kunstverein* (Baden Art Union).¹³⁶ In July of 1917, for example, the gallery featured the work of several alumnae of the Karlsruhe Academy, including abstract compositions by Zabotin and Georg Scholz’s “colorful sketches sent from the Eastern Front”—a set of

¹³⁵ *Der Cicerone*, 6 Jg. 1914, 341. “Am 16. April wurde in Karlsruhe die Galerie Moos (Kaiserstraß) eröffnet, die nun neben dem Kunstverein eine zweite offizielle Ausstellungsmöglichkeit bietet.” Cited in Hofmann, “Von der Ausstellung der Gruppe Rih...,” 78.

The brothers Iwan and Friedrich Moos were court photographers with a postcard business, and from these earnings, they were able to open their eponymous gallery in Karlsruhe in 1914. For background on the Moos family in Karlsruhe see Josef Werner, *Hakenkreuz und Judensterne. Das Schicksal der Karlsruher Juden im Dritten Reich* (Karlsruhe: Badenia Verlag, 1988), 25, 255, 467. Iwan and Friedrich’s brother, Max Moos, opened a gallery in Geneva, Switzerland, and in the 1930s started Éditions Moos handling prints and reproductions; Iwan later ran this gallery. In 1908, sister Babette (Betty) Moos and her husband Leon Bollag opened a gallery in Zurich with Leon’s brother, Gustav. After the *Machtergreifung*, in 1933, increased pressure on the Moos family and their activities forced the brothers Iwan and Friedrich to sell their business, in 1936. In the fall of 1940, most of the family was sent to the southern French internment camp, Gurs; Iwan Moos and his wife Lina were able to escape to Switzerland. Friedrich and Clara Moos, along with the youngest, unmarried sister Edith, were deported in summer 1942 and most likely died at Auschwitz.

¹³⁶ Established on 1 May 1818, the *Badischer Kunstverein* was the first organization of its kind in Germany. Dedicated to promoting and supporting the arts—especially contemporary art—through exhibitions, tours, lectures, and publications, the *Kunstverein* aimed to expand the reach of royal art patronage in the ducal city and to provide art market access to “bourgeois friends of art.” For a provincial city of relatively small size, Karlsruhe supported a disproportionately large number of institutions, organizations, and affinity groups devoted to the exhibition and sale of modern art: at the turn of the century, more than fifteen dedicated artist groups and related *Vereine*, and more than twenty by 1927. See Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, “Der institutionalisierte Kunstbetrieb: Kunstverein und Künstlervereinigungen in Karlsruhe,” in Dresch and Rößling, *Bilder im Zirkel*, 153–164.

grotesque realist caricatures that compelled a local newspaper critic to note with appreciation their “somewhat grisly humor.” (fig. 1.23)¹³⁷

Wladimir Zabotin designed a poster for the Galerie Moos exhibition that echoed the style of contemporary political placards, with its text aligned on an axis of strong diagonals and with its oversized, slightly abstracted human form anchoring the composition (fig. 1.24).¹³⁸ As was customary for small gallery exhibitions during the period, the Galerie Moos did not produce a catalog for the Schlichter/Zabotin exhibition, but its layout can be partially reconstructed based on contemporary newspaper reviews and critical commentary.¹³⁹ Rudolf Schlichter exhibited a diverse selection of new and older works including *Kaffeehauskonzert* (Café Concert), *Mörder und Weiber* (Killer and Tramps), *Der Leopard* (The Leopard), a self-portrait, a “female portrait with a cat,” and several images depicting imagined scenes from the French revolutions. Zabotin exhibited, among other works, the still-life *Narzissen* (Narcissus Flowers) and the paintings *Negerin* (Negro Woman), *Rosalinde*, *Der Traum* (The Dream), and *Komposition mit Pferden* (Composition with Horses). Yet where the public expected to see accomplished realist portraits by young academicians, they were delivered instead a set of curious stylistic

¹³⁷ *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 21 July 1917. “Georg Scholz schickte farbige Skizzen von der Narozs-Front, die zum Teil über einen grausigen Humor verfügen.” On Zabotin, the same critic wrote: “Den formlosen Bildern von Zabotin stehe ich ziemlich ratlos gegenüber.”

Between 1918 and 1920, the Galerie Moos mounted solo exhibitions dedicated to the young Karlsruhe artists Adolf Luntz, August Gebhard, Arthur Grimm, and Erich Krause. Cited in Ludwig, *Wladimir von Zabotin*, 42.

¹³⁸ Wladimir von Zabotin, poster for the exhibition ‘R. Schlichter-W. Zabotin.’ Galerie Moos Karlsruhe, 25 January - 15 February, 1919. Hand-colored lithograph on paper, 33 x 51 cm. Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg, loan from a private collection.

¹³⁹ In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger first located and collected many of these reviews for publication in the exhibition catalogue, *Kunst in Karlsruhe, 1900-1950* (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1981). For the purposes of this dissertation, original newspaper reviews have been consulted, whenever possible, in the Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe.

disjunctions: strange and scribbled drawings of horses and cats, amorphous paintings of floating nude bodies and flowers, and crudely-rendered studies of smug jungle leopards.

To this panoply of styles, critics responded with cantankerous bile in the Karlsruhe press. Reviewers tended to focus on the “primitive” or “childlike” quality of the works on display, a reaction that must have pleased the young modernists seeking to position their work in the legacy of such dissident associations as *Der blaue Reiter* (The Blue Rider), the Munich-based collective whose 1911 *Almanach* famously juxtaposed works of modern art with those of “primitive” cultures, of children, and of the unwell.¹⁴⁰ Writing in the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, the reviewer “D.B.” compared the exhibition poster to the “crude scribbings of cannibals,”¹⁴¹ and he faulted Zabotin for the use of “dirty” colors that lacked the sophistication and refinement of his teacher, the late Wilhelm Trübner.¹⁴² (Indeed, when Trübner died in 1917, his departure from the local art scene had sparked intense debates about the future of academic training in Karlsruhe.)¹⁴³

Moreover, the *Tagblatt* reviewer’s derogative reference to “a certain Freudian direction” in the exhibition drew upon a much larger contemporary debate about abstraction, the primitive, and the unconscious mind, one in which curator Wilhelm

¹⁴⁰ Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds. *Der blaue Reiter Almanach* [1911]. New documentary edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

¹⁴¹ This reviewer’s racist tone evoked period notions about the “primitive” as a visual language that was both exotic and foul; as such, his critique sought to insulate the provincial from the contagion of the big city. “Was wir hier sehen, ist zudem Nachahmerei von Großstadt-Hervorbringungen...”

¹⁴² D.B., “Galerie Moos,” 2: “Seine Farben sind meist schmutzig und verraten wenig von der Kultur, die sein Lehrer Trübner hatte.”

Published by the C.F. Müller Verlag, the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*’s weekly feuilleton, *Die Pyramide* was edited by Karl Joho and recruited the best writers and scholars from Baden to contribute to its pages in the early twentieth century.

¹⁴³ GLA 235/40171.

Fraenger was already an active participant.¹⁴⁴ Fraenger left his own academic post at the Heidelberg Institute of Art History, in the winter of 1918, to begin a nearly ten-year stint as a freelance art historian and lecturer, a job he approached, as his friend Carl Zuckmayer would later recall, as a chance to “empty out the spirit” (*einen geistigen Entrümpelung*) and to blast into thin air the “outmoded academicism of the professorship.”¹⁴⁵ Thus, Fraenger’s iconoclastic interests aligned with those of the young Karlsruhe artists seeking to emerge from the shadow of their famous teachers, elder academic statesmen who were associated, in the public imagination, with the heritage of *badisch* realism as one of freshness, health, and vitality. Indeed, writing in the journal *Kunst für Alle* (Art for All), the critic and later Nazi architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg had once ranked Karlsruhe’s artistic production second only to Munich in its freshness and vitality (*die frischeste und gesundeste Deutschlands*).¹⁴⁶

In the Zabotin painting *Tanzende Narzissen* (Dancing Narcissus Flowers, 1917), an arrangement of delicate white blooms breaks free of its container and floats in mid-air,

¹⁴⁴ As part of the so-called *Mannheimer Bewegung*, a major group of artists and writers active in Mannheim and Heidelberg in the 1910s and 20s, Fraenger and his peers gathered around the influential Kunsthalle Mannheim director, Fritz Wichert, who led the informal, anti-academic association, *Akademie für Jedermann* (Academy for Everyone) and its associated intellectual circle, *Gemeinschaft* (Society). On these Mannheim associations, including documentation of Fraenger’s lectures at the “Freier Bund. Akademie für Jedermann,” see Himmelheber and Hofmann, *Neue Kunst, Lebendige Wissenschaft*, especially 98-100 and 214-229; and Jenks Eric Howoldt, “Der Freie Bund zur Einbürgerung der bildenden Kunst in Mannheim. Kommunale Kunstpolitik einer Industriestadt am Beispiel der ‘Mannheimer Bewegung’” (PhD diss., Universität Heidelberg, 1977).

¹⁴⁵ Zuckmayer, *Als wär’s ein Stück von mir*, 243: “[Fraenger] selbst hatte in Heidelberg bald nach dem Umsturz eine ähnlich radikale Gründung inspiriert, die sich nicht um eine Zeitschrift formierte, sondern eine geistige Verbindung darstellte, eine Art von Verschwörung gegen den herkömmlichen Leisetritt und Mühlengang der Universität. Die Brisanz modernen Kunstschaffens, neuer, provokativer Literatur, einer kühneren Forschung und geistigen Entrümpelung sollte den Akademismus des altmodischen Professorentrotts in die Luft sprengen und eine unserer Zeit und unserem Lebensstil gemässe ‘pädagogische Provinz’ von gesellschaftskritischem und socialrevolutionärem Elan an ihre Stelle setzen.”

¹⁴⁶ Schultze-Naumburg cited in Rudolf Theilmann, “Von den Anfängen bis zum Jahr 1920,” in Heil and Klingelhöller, *150 Jahre*, 20. Schultze-Naumburg would go on to write the racial hygienic treatise, “*Kunst und Rasse*” (Art and Race) in 1928. For an English translation of this essay, see Kaes et al, *Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 496-499.

the stems scratching a crude geometric pattern in the canvas surface (**fig. 1.25**).¹⁴⁷ The background is roughly scrubbed with purply grey pigment, and the visible brushstrokes lend the composition a pulsating energy. The critic for the *Karlsruher Tagblatt* preferred Zabotin's realist portraits to his expressionistic experimentations, however; by referring to the exhibition poster as "*eine Frozzelei*," a crude joke or provocation, and to the *Dancing Narcissus Flowers* as the "preparatory study for a carpet pattern," this reviewer dismissed Zabotin's newest work as an instance of bad taste—a perversion of style that was not to be taken seriously.¹⁴⁸

Schlichter's work likewise presented the "normal" viewer with a difficult conundrum: how to place this disjointed post-expressionism in the trajectory of academic realism in Karlsruhe? Many of the pictures Schlichter exhibited in the exhibition are now lost; of those that survive, perhaps the most curious example is the oil painting, *The Leopard* (1916).¹⁴⁹ Compared to the contemporary watercolors and pen-and-ink drawings Schlichter had devoted to Wild West themes, in the period between 1916 and 1918, this leopard seems a bit retrograde: a futuristic riot of shapes and colors anchored by the eponymous jungle cat, which perches awkwardly above a stand of spiky vegetation with a knowing look in its eyes (**fig. 1.26**). For an artist whose drawn work could, according to

¹⁴⁷ Wladimir Zabotin, *Tanzende Narzissen* (Dancing Narcissus Flowers), 1917. Oil on canvas, 65 x 56.8 cm. Private collection.

¹⁴⁸ D.B., "Galerie Moos," 2.

Curt Amend, writing in the *Karlsruher Zeitung*, noted that the Narcissus picture, if not entirely "technically successful," was far better than the "realist kitsch" that had flooded the Karlsruhe art market for decades "[...] Selbst die wilddewordenen Narzissen Zabotins, die mir auch technisch nicht ganz gelungen scheinen, sind immer noch hundertmal besser und 'schöner', als der übliche, seichte, verlogene Kitsch, mit dem wir seit Jahrzehnten überschwemmt werden." Curt Amend, *Karlsruher Zeitung* (7 February 1919).

¹⁴⁹ Rudolf Schlichter, *Der Leopard* (The Leopard), 1916. Oil on canvas, 46 x 52 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Hofmann, "Von der Ausstellung Gruppe Rih...", 79 and ill. 91; Granof, "Obstinate Flesh," 67-69; Hofmann and Präger, "Rudolf Schlichter in Karlsruhe," 29a; and Kühne, "Von der Dada Revolte," 74-75.

Wilhelm Fraenger's slightly earlier curatorial assessment, produce lines that stalk their prey with the stealth of a moccasin-wearing assassin, this painted predator appears instead to be merely mute, oily, and tame.¹⁵⁰ By contrast, the "spirited" and "punchy" scenes of the French Revolution,¹⁵¹ which Schlichter contributed to the same exhibition, buzz with energy in overlapping washes of watercolor and livid pencil strokes, as in his *Straßenkampf, Französische Revolution* (Street Battle, French Revolution, ca. 1912, **fig. 1.27**).¹⁵²

Like *The Leopard*, however, such works did not represent Schlichter's latest production in the winter of 1919, and the revolution they depict is not the one that had recently bloodied the streets of Berlin, but rather, a long-past and romanticized vision of French political revolt in the July Revolution of 1830.¹⁵³ Indeed, in the years just after World War I, Schlichter preferred the violent, yet historically detached, imagery of works such as *Um eine Kuh/Republik* (About a Cow/Republic), a pencil drawing the artist likely completed before his move to Berlin in the fall of 1919 (**fig. 1.28**).¹⁵⁴ This strange composition recalls the nineteenth-century tradition of the French *images d'Épinal*, as

¹⁵⁰ Schlichter described his interest in large cats and his affinity to these "wildschweifenden Tieren" in his autobiographies; see, for example, Schlichter WF 315. For this reason, Karl-Ludwig Hofmann has suggested that the leopard be read as a "verstecktes Selbstbildnis." Hofmann, "Von der Ausstellung Gruppe Rih." 79. Both Corinne Granof and Andreas Kühne link *Der Leopard* to Schlichter's interest in Nietzschean Vitalism; see Granof, "Obstinate Flesh," 67-69 and Kühne, "Von der Dada Revolte," 74.

¹⁵¹ Amend, *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 7 February 1919.

¹⁵² Rudolf Schlichter, *Straßenkampf, Französische Revolution* (Street Battle, French Revolution), ca. 1912. Watercolor on paper, 31.2 x 24.1 cm. Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv.Nr. GL 2527.

¹⁵³ Schlichter's "street battle" image refers to Eugene Delacroix's famous canvas, *Liberty Leading the People* (1830). Schlichter wrote frequently and rapturously about the French revolutions (and the erotic potential of battle scenes) in his autobiographies; see, for example, Schlichter WF 92 and 223-26.

On the many re-imaginings of Delacroix in 19th century German history painting see Peter Paret, *Art as History: Episodes in the Culture and Politics of Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 93-104.

¹⁵⁴ Rudolf Schlichter, *Um eine Kuh/Republik* (About a Cow/Republic), 1918-19. Pencil on paper, 49 x 63 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 85.

Gunter Metken has noted—though drained of the bright color usually associated with these popular prints, Schlichter borrowed from the Épinal tradition the naive depiction of adjacent and non-continuous narrative vignettes¹⁵⁵ Such formal tactics degraded the realist surface, to be sure, but they also solidified Schlichter’s desired position as an anti-German, anti-academic modernist in the wake of the nationalistic style-mongering that would come to define the reception of German Expressionism after 1918.¹⁵⁶

By the spring of 1919, “Expressionism” was beginning to be understood and framed as a distinctly German style, one that could be embraced to counter the preeminence of French modernism in museum exhibitions and in the network of art dealers operating in Germany’s major cities. This anti-French sentiment traced its origins to 1911, when a group of German artists under Carl Vinnen had signed the *Protest deutscher Künstler* in defiance of contemporary museum collecting strategies and against German art dealers who preferred to acquire and sell works of French modernism.¹⁵⁷ (As Georg Scholz would later recount, Wilhelm Trübner signed both the *Protest* and its Berlin-generated counter protest, the *Antwort*. When asked why he changed his position, Trübner reportedly quipped, in *badisch* dialect, that the second protest simply “pleased

¹⁵⁵ This differed from the war imagery of his Karlsruhe colleague, Georg Scholz, who produced a handful of sketches from the eastern front, and who kept an extensive war diary, portions of which later appeared in *Der Gegner* (1920), and in the 1975 exhibition catalogue, *Georg Scholz. ein Beitrag zur realistischen Kunst* (1975), esp. 17-42.

¹⁵⁶ On the relationship between Schlichter’s oeuvre and ideas, and the Decadent tradition in 19th century France, see Granof, “Obstinate Flesh,” 21-47.

¹⁵⁷ On Carl Vinnen’s *Protest* (1911) and the counter-protest published by Wilhelm Worringer, see Long, *German Expressionism*, 3-13.

me better.”)¹⁵⁸ Moreover, for many critics, expressionism was seen as the genuine cry of a German society still bloody from its defeat in World War I. When the Karlsruhe critic Hugo Roller visited the Schlichter-Zabotin exhibition and published his own take on expressionism in a local newspaper, he characterized it as a style befitting the postwar spirit, when the world remained “wet from the blood of the million men murdered in the war.”¹⁵⁹

Over the course of the exhibition, Wilhelm Fraenger delivered two lectures that aimed to decode the formal operations of the works on view and to unravel “the meaning of expressionism” for the Karlsruhe art-going public.¹⁶⁰ These lectures placed the movement within a broader avant-garde trajectory... For Rudolf Schlichter, playing at style was a means to experiment with private themes of lust and longing, but increasingly, it was also a way to broadcast his artistic intentions to institutional networks well beyond his *badisch* locale. To do so, he formed a group that would take on his childhood

¹⁵⁸ Scholz, “Trübner-Anekdoten,” 21: “Im Jahre 1912 [sic] hatte der Worpssweder Vinnen eine Protestschrift gegen die französische Kunst verfaßt. Galeriedirektoren wurden angegriffen, weil sie ‘flüchtige Skizzen’ und ‘Atelierreste’ von Van Gogh und Cézanne, schlechte Bilder von Manet und Renoir für horrend Summen gekauft hätten. Unter der großen Anzahl von Unterschriften der Leo Putz, Franz v. Stuck etc. fand man auch Wilhelm Trübner: ‘Ich stimme voll und ganz ihrem Proteste zu!’ Kurz darauf erschien von Berlin aus ein Gegenprotest von dem Kreise um Liebermann, Slevogt usw. Auch hier war Trübner mit einer Korrektur seines ersten Standpunktes vertreten. Als im Café die Rede auf diesen Doppelprotest kam, meinte er harmlos: ‘Ja, wisse’ Sie, wie ich den ersten Protest gelesse’ hab’, hat er mir ganz gute gefalle’, und da hab’ ich ihn unterschrieben, als mir aber die Berliner Herre’ ihren Protest geschickt haben, da hat der mir noch besser gefalle’ und da hab’ ich den auch unterschriebe!’”

¹⁵⁹ Hugo Roller, “Der Sinn des Expressionismus,” *Karlsruher Zeitung* (8 February 1919), 2. “Dieser Expressionismus ist nichts künstlich Gemachtes. Er ist Ausdruck unserer Zeit, geboren aus der Not der Gegenwart. Man macht ihm zum Vorwurf, daß er das Häßliche vor unserer Augen zerzt. Soll er uns etwa nochmals die widerliche Süßlichkeit, den übertünchten Schwindel, die erbärmliche Gefühlsduselei einer hohlen, von Grund aus morschen, verlogenen Zeit auftischen? Dafür ist sie zu schwer...Noch ist die Welt feucht von dem Blut der Millionen Männer, die der Krieg gemordet, noch ist der Bruderkampf nicht beendet, noch rafften Hungerseuchen Tausende armer Menschen täglich hin. Soll unsere schöpferische Jugend vor diesen Dingen die Augen verschließen? Dann hat man den Begriff Kunst falsch verstanden, oder man fordert von ihr etwas Unwahres! Dafür ist sich der Expressionismus zu gut.”

¹⁶⁰ Fraenger’s first lecture, “Der Sinn des Expressionismus” took place in the Galerie Moos on 6 February 1919; the second, on “Abstrakte Kunst,” followed on 13 February. These lectures were discussed in many of the major newspapers in Karlsruhe, including the *Badische Landeszeitung* (articles on 1 Feb, 8 Feb, and 17 Feb 1919); the *Karlsruher Tagblatt* (8 February 1919); and the *Karlsruher Zeitung* (8 February 1919).

nickname (*Rih*) and thus announce to the Karlsruhe public that its traditions of academic realism were put on immediate notice.¹⁶¹

Madness and Modernity: *Die Gruppe Rih* in Baden

Freedom of the subject as a corrective to the art of pleasant society (*Gesellschaftskunst*) that is preserved by the labile ethics of business interests. Freedom and self-sufficiency of the individual.

Denial of those fantasy forms that grant the philistine pleasure. Freedom in the means to reach these goals. This art departs from strict rules and value judgements, as does any true art.

This art wants to overcome conventions, this means differentiation, a setting apart (*Abgrenzung*). This art strives to follow the rules of society-rejecting art, of the art of children and the insane, not as a rational form of consciousness, but as its own rule of subdued expression, to whose recognition and appreciation the sensory organ should be receptive.¹⁶²

—Manifesto of *Die Gruppe Rih*, April 1919

In the spring and summer of 1919, the Karlsruhe artist Oskar Fischer would twice write to his Berlin patron, the *Sturm* editor and gallery owner Herwarth Walden, to describe a series of recent artistic rumblings in Baden: “Seven men from Karlsruhe and the surrounding area discovered each other, calling themselves Expressionists,” he wrote.

¹⁶¹ The “political ambivalence” of expressionism is a central theme in Jill Lloyd, *German Expressionism: Primitivism and Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), vii-ix.

¹⁶² First published in Will Grohmann, *Kunst der Zeit. Organ der Künstler-Selbsthilfe*, III. Jg. (1928), Vol. 1-3 (Sonderheft: Zehn Jahre Novembergruppe, Berlin 1928): 24. “Freiheit des Subjekts als Korrektiv gegenüber der mit labiler Ethik Geschäftsinteressen wahrenenden Gesellschaftskunst. Freiheit und Selbstleben des einzelnen. Aberkennung der Phantasieformen, die dem Philister das Genießen gewähren. Freiheit in den Mitteln, diese Ziele zu erreichen. Sie geht von ebenso festen Gesetzen und Wertvorstellungen aus, wie jede andere wahrhafte Kunst. Sie will die Konvention überwinden, das bedeutet Abgrenzung. Sie ist bestrebt, die Ausdrucksformen der gesellschaftsfeindlichen, der vermeintlichen Kinder- und Krankenkunst, nach ihren Gesetzen anzuerkennen, nicht als rationale Bewußtseinsleistung, sondern als eigenem Gesetz unterworfenen Ausdruck, zu dessen Erkennung und Wertschätzung das Organ freigelegt werden soll.”

“They formed a group, and because they recognized my strengths despite their beastly egotism, they requested that I join them...Schlichter and Zabotin have already sold very well and so I hope that I can also get something out of it.”¹⁶³

The seven founding members of *Die Gruppe Rih* were former students of the Karlsruhe Academy: Oskar Fischer, Rudolf Schlichter, Egon Itta, Georg Scholz, Wladimir Zabotin, Eugen Segewitz, and Walter Becker.¹⁶⁴ Their name pointed to one specific member, Rudolf Schlichter, whose childhood nickname (*Rih*)¹⁶⁵ recalled the faithful stallion of Karl May’s fictional Arabian hero, Kara Ben Nemsî. Beginning in 1892, in novels ranging from *Der Schut* to *Im Reiche des silbernen Löwen*, May recounted the exploits of Kara Ben Nemsî as he fought off thieves and assassins across the Ottoman empire. Literary scholars agree that Kara Ben Nemsî and Old Shatterhand are essentially the same character (both with recognizably “German” qualities), one styled as Arabian and one American, and both functioning as alter egos for the author

¹⁶³ Letter Oskar Fischer to Herwarth Walden, 15 March 1919. Cited in Ludwig, *Wladimir von Zabotin*, 60f. “Es haben sich zusammengefunden, sieben Herren in Karlsruhe und Umgebung, die sich nennen Expressionisten; da bin ich auch dabei. Sie haben eine Gruppe gebildet, und da Sie [sic] meine Stärke trotz Ihrem [sic] saumäßigen Egoismus anerkennen, haben Sie [sic] mich gebeten mitzumachen. Die Gruppe nennt sich ‘Ost-West’ und hat hier in Karlsruhe, bei diesem Kunsthändler wo die obig genannte Ausstellung stattgefunden hat [Galerie Moos] eine Ausstellung zustande gebracht. Ich wurde gebeten mit auszustellen, was ich natürlich annahm. Schlichter u. Zabotin hatten ganz schön verkauft und so hoffe ich, daß ich vielleicht auch etwas losbringe.”

¹⁶⁴ On the *Gruppe Rih*, see: Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger, “Kunst in Karlsruhe von 1919 bis 1933 -- Texte, Bilder, Kommentare” in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe*, 50-62; Kühne, “Von der Dada-Revolution zur Neuen Sachlichkeit,” 37-44; Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, “Die Gruppe Rih” in Renn, *Südwestdeutsche Kunst zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, 53; Granof, “Obstinate Flesh,” 70-75; Ellen Kipple, “Chronologie” in Heil and Klingelhöller, *150 Jahre*, 268-270; Hubert Portz, *Walter Becker: Frühe Werke 1914-1933* (Hochstadt: Kunsthaus Désirée, 2008), 27-39; and Annette Ludwig, “Provinz oder Metropole? Ein Exkurs über die Ortsgruppen und ihre Programmatik am Beispiel der Karlsruher ‘Gruppe Rih’” in *Novembergruppe*, ed. Bodo Niemann (Berlin: Galerie Bodo Niemann, 1994), 23-27.

¹⁶⁵ Schlichter WF 284. As Schlichter described, his sister Gertrud had recently given birth to a son who was having trouble sleeping. Schlichter lived at the time with his sister and brother-in-law, and describes their collective effort to soothe the child—the young Rudolf often passed these long hours reading aloud from novels by Karl May: “Wir schaukelten also zu dritt abwechselnd oft stundenlang, bis der Racker endlich einschlief. Um diese geisttötende Tätigkeit etwas zu eliminieren, las ich dabei aus Karl May oder Gerstäcker vor, was von Gertrud mit großem Beifall aufgenommen wurde...Mich nannte er [Karl] seit diesen Abenden überhaupt nur noch ‘Rih, der Rappenhengst’ (nach dem famosen arabischen Renner Kara ben Nemsî).”

Karl May. In his public persona, May embodied this brand of playful, performative realism—blurring the lines between truth and fiction, author and subject—as when he claimed, in a letter of 1897: “I really am Old Shatterhand and Kara Ben Nemsi and have experienced the stories I tell.”¹⁶⁶ For Schlichter and his Karlsruhe colleagues, the *Rih* moniker would serve as both “program and fanfare,” an announcement to the public that their practice of modern art-making would be aligned with popular culture—with the fancies of children and exotic outlaws—rather than with the staid traditions of the academy.¹⁶⁷

Adopting a position of “childlike” sensory awareness or a “primitive” vision was certainly not a new stance for a hopeful avant-garde artist in the spring of 1919, whether in expressionist exhibitions or in major journals such as Paul Westheim’s Berlin monthly, *Das Kunstblatt*.¹⁶⁸ Already in 1905, the architect (and future Berlin “Oberdada”) Johannes Baader self-published his first literary work, *Briefe eines Toten* (Letters of a Dead Man) as an outsider’s critique against the hierarchies and rigid boundaries of Wilhelmine professional society.¹⁶⁹ As Adrian Sudhalter has noted, Baader’s letters

¹⁶⁶ Letter Karl May (15 April 1897) cited in Kreis, “German Wild West,” 256.

¹⁶⁷ In her study of Wilhelmine censorship in Baden, Kara Ritzheimer notes that the danger of *Schund*, in the minds of moral reformers, was that it muddled reality, a so-called “Trübung des Wirklichkeitssinnes.” Ritzheimer, “Protecting Youth from Trash,” 35.

¹⁶⁸ In the period between 1919 and 1920, a number of essays appeared in major art journals regarding modern art and its relationship to marginal mental states. See, for example: Ernst Jolowicz, “Expressionismus und Psychiatrie” *Das Kunstblatt* (September 1920): 273-276; L. Zahn, “Über den Infantilismus in der neuen Kunst” *Das Kunstblatt* (March 1920): 84-86; and “Der Genius im Kinde,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (April/May 1920): 238.

On the topic of performative madness and the Berlin avant-garde, see Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 68-72. On madness and modernity more broadly, see: Gemma Blackshaw and Sabine Vieber, eds., *Journeys into Madness: Mapping Mental Illness in the Austro-Hungarian Empire* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); and Jacqueline Strecker, ed., *The Mad Square: Modernity in German Art 1910-1937* (New York: Prestel, 2011).

¹⁶⁹ On Baader and the *Briefe eines Toten*, see Adrian V. Sudhalter, “Johannes Baader and the Demise of Wilhelmine Culture: Architecture, Dada, and Social Critique, 1875-1920” (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts-NYU, 2005), 77-83.

appeared in the wake of German popular attention to Friedrich Nietzsche's *Wahnbriefe* (Letters of Insanity), which Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche described in a biography of her brother as "the work of a fevered brain."¹⁷⁰ George Grosz famously performed mental breakdown and criminal insanity in a series of wartime sketchbooks, which he titled "Medical Journals,"¹⁷¹ and in 1914, Wieland Herzfelde published his essay "The Ethic of the Insane," in the Berlin journal *Die Aktion*.¹⁷² As Barbara McCloskey has argued, Herzfelde went beyond period notions that considered the mentally ill as artistically gifted, asserting that the avant-garde artist shares with the insane access to unfettered creativity. For Herzfelde, the mentally unwell possessed an altered "sensitivity" that differed from the normative and thus, like the true artist, appeared to the uncomprehending bourgeois society to be "strange, bizarre, and grotesque: crazy."¹⁷³

Artists of the German avant-garde, as well as historians and cultural critics, recognized the creative possibilities of a performative *Geisteskrankheit*, or spiritual sickness. Yet for the *Gruppe Rih* this position had decidedly local roots. Through their connections to curator Wilhelm Fraenger and the Mannheim *Gemeinschaft* circle, the

¹⁷⁰ Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche, *Das Leben Friedrich Nietzsches*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: C.G. Naumann, 1904), 921. Cited in Sudhalter, "Johannes Baader," 82.

¹⁷¹ On Grosz's "medical" sketchbooks, see Barbara McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party: Art and Radicalism in Crisis, 1918 to 1936* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 18; and Beth Irwin Lewis, "'The Medical Journal of Dr. William King Thomas. U.S.A. 15 Oct. to 15 Nov 15' Sketchbook 1915/2," in *George Grosz Sketchbooks*, ed. Peter Nisbet (Cambridge, Mass: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1993), 42-47.

¹⁷² Wieland Herzfelde, "Die Ethik der Geisteskranken," *Die Aktion* (4 April 1914): 298-302. On this essay, see McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 19.

Herzfelde's brother, John Heartfield (born Helmut Herzfeld) would declare himself insane as a means to forestall, and ultimately to prevent, ever serving at the front during World War I. On Heartfield and his circle, and their notions of collective, performative madness, see Zervigón, "Heartfield: The Performance, 1914-1917," in his *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 66-94.

¹⁷³ "Since their [the mentally ill] sensibility differs from ours, the forms, colors and relationships of their works appear to us strange, bizarre, and grotesque: crazy. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the possessed can work creatively ... even though there is little tradition or influence on them." Translated in Luke Heighton, "Reason Dazzled: Klimt, Krakauer and the Eyes of the Medusa," in Blackshaw and Vieber, *Journeys into Madness*, 147.

Karlsruhe artists visited and viewed the Hanz Prinzhorn collection of art by the mentally ill in the months between 1919 and 1920.¹⁷⁴ The psychiatrist Hans Prinzhorn arrived in Heidelberg in February of 1919, at age 32, to work as an assistant doctor in the university's psychiatric clinic. (The institution's director, Karl Wilmanns, met Prinzhorn while both men worked as military doctors during World War I.) Prinzhorn had studied philosophy and art history before turning to medicine, and he held a special interest in the art of the mentally ill. By 1921, he had assembled a collection of objects and artworks produced by psychiatry patients in Heidelberg that numbered more than 5,000 items.¹⁷⁵ The artist Alfred Kubin visited the Heidelberg collection in September 1920 and reported on it in the essay "Die Kunst der Irren" (The Art of the Insane), which he published in *Das Kunstblatt* with several illustrations from the collection in May 1922 (**fig. 1.29**).¹⁷⁶

When the *Gruppe Rih* opened its first exhibition to the Karlsruhe public, at the Galerie Moos, visitors were given a hand-printed copy of the group's manifesto on a

¹⁷⁴ For this information, I thank Prof. Dr. Christof Baier of the Wilhelm-Fraenger-Archiv, Potsdam. When the *Gemeinschaft* met for the first time on 23 Feb 1919, Prinzhorn was listed as a member of the board of directors. Prinzhorn gave two lectures for *Gemeinschaft*: the first on "Anfänge der Kunst" (3.2.1920) and the second on "Die Bildnerie der Geisteskranken" (4.1.1921). A planned exhibition on "Irrenzeichnungen" never came to fruition. Cited in Thomas Röske, "Außerhalb der Kontinuität geschichtlicher Prozesse". Wilhelm Fraenger und Hans Prinzhorn blicken auf Kunst von Außenseitern," in Himmelheber and Hofmann, *Neue Kunst, lebendige Wissenschaft*, 131.

¹⁷⁵ Hans Prinzhorn, "Das bildnerische Schaffen der Geisteskranken" *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 52 (Berlin 1919): 307-326. In 1922, Prinzhorn published *Bildnerie der Geisteskranken. Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Psychopathologie der Gestaltung* (Berlin 1922). This text has recently been republished and translated into English: see Hans Prinzhorn, *The Art of Insanity: An Analysis of Ten Schizophrenic Artists*, ed. and trans. Candice Black (Solar Books, 2011).

¹⁷⁶ Alfred Kubin, "Die Kunst der Irren," *Das Kunstblatt* (May 1922): 185-189. Wilhelm Fraenger and Alfred Kubin had been good friends since the 1910s; their correspondence is preserved in the Wilhelm-Fraenger-Archiv, Potsdam.

small piece of paper.¹⁷⁷ Its language of “freedom and self-sufficiency” echoed the strident calls to arms made by contemporary artist groups that had embraced anti-bourgeois and anti-corporate art, rejecting societal norms and turning instead to the visual expressions of children and the unwell. The sheer plurality of styles on view in the exhibition, and the range of visual languages indicates the extent to which the *Rih* artists attempted to sensitize their “sensory organs” to the effects and jostles of modern life. Eugen Segewitz had abandoned the bright, Dutch-style realism of his 1913 *Self Portrait* (**fig. 1.30**) for the swirling brown tones of *Gewalt* (Violence, 1919), an expressionist composition reminiscent of works by the *Blaue Reiter* founder Franz Marc (**fig. 1.31**).¹⁷⁸ Walter Becker exhibited a series of playful watercolor grotesques, including *Das Ferkel* (The Piglet, 1918), in which a demure, long-lashed piglet sits couched in a painterly nest of lurid peach and carmine (**fig. 1.32**)¹⁷⁹—certainly, a far cry from the realist products Schlichter attributed to the instruction in animal painting (*Tiermalerei*) at the prewar academy, where the professor Julius Bergmann had learned how to expertly paint cows and did nothing else for the rest of his career.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Oskar Fischer claimed that he had not been consulted about the content of the manifesto, and that his name had simply been appended with the other participating artists. Letter Oskar Fischer to Herwarth Walden, 10 April 1919. Cited in Ludwig, *Wladimir von Zabolotin*, 61.

The reviewer for the *Karlsruher Tagblatt* mentioned the hand-distributed manifesto in his review of the April 1919 exhibition: “In einigen Leitsätzen betonen sie ihren Willen zu Gegensatz und Abgrenzung. Gegensatz gegen den Akademismus, gegen die Gesellschaftskunst und gegen Philister-Ansprüche. Sie stellen sich bewußt auf den Boden der ‘gesellschaftsfeindlicher Kunst’.” See D.B., “Expressionismus in der Galerie Moos,” *Karlsruher Tagblatt* (6. April 1919), 2. The *Karlsruhe Zeitung* critic Curt Amend also mentioned the manifesto in his review: “Was die Vereinigung Karlsruher Künstler, die sich ‘Gruppe Rih’ nennt, will, sagt sie selbst auf dem kleinen bedruckten Zettel, der dem Besucher der Ausstellung überreicht wird.” Amend, “Galerie Moos,” *Karlsruhe Zeitung* (12. April 1919).

¹⁷⁸ Eugen Segewitz, *Selbstbildnis des Malers* (Self-Portrait of the Painter), 1913. Oil on canvas, 100 x 59 cm; and Eugen Segewitz, *Gewalt* (Violence), 1919. Oil on canvas, 87 x 106 cm. Private collection.

¹⁷⁹ Walter Becker, *Das Ferkel* (The Piglet), 1918. Watercolor on paper, 32 x 48 cm. Galerie Apfelbaum, Baden-Baden.

¹⁸⁰ Schlichter TF, 90.

Likewise, Schlichter's works on view in the exhibition trafficked in the iconography of primitive or childlike vision: his series of abstract "grotesques," from 1918-19, reduced description to its basic forms: in *Verfluchung* (Execration, 1919), a stick-limbed figure vomits from its crescent-shaped head into a cesspool that generates a series of crude lines and symbols (**fig. 1.33**).¹⁸¹ Carl Zuckmayer described the Schlichter painting *Joho* (ca. 1919, now lost) as a larger-than-life-size fantasy scene, one cobbled together from countless colorful cubes that "stomp over house fronts and roof gables—a demon of city noise and foreboding destruction."¹⁸² Georg Scholz's now-lost painting *Galizische Beerdigung* (Galician Burial, 1919) was a futurist *mise-en-abyme* comprised of fractured planes that resembled shards of broken glass (**fig. 1.34**).¹⁸³ In this dizzying, collapsing landscape, a group of hooded and unsmiling mourners—rendered with a dash of caricatural realism—lead a funeral procession in which a gaunt team of horses pulls the shrouded corpse, and a singing woman arcs a smoking censer through the air. This citation of futurist style likely had two intentions: first, to experiment with painterly form using a subject that was close at hand (Scholz had seen front line action in Galicia), and

¹⁸¹ Rudolf Schlichter, *Verfluchung* (Execration), 1919. Ink drawing on paper, Wilhelm Fraenger Archiv, Potsdam.

¹⁸² Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir*, 248: "eine überlebensgroße Phantasiegestalt, aus unzähligen farbigen Kuben zusammengesetzt, über bröckelnde Häuserfronten und Dachgiebel daherstampfend--Dämon des Stadtlärms und einer vorgeahnten Zerstörung."

¹⁸³ The critic for the *Badische Landeszeitung* found this work to be the strongest in the exhibition. S.Sp., *Badische Landeszeitung*, 13 April 1919. "Scholz ist in der Ausstellung am stärksten vertreten in bezug auf künstlerische Qualität seiner Bilder, und er ergeht sich in so starken Abstraktionen wie die meisten seiner Genossen. Von seinen Arbeiten wäre vor allem 'Das Begräbnis' zu verzeichnen."

second, as a provocation to a Karlsruhe art milieu that had either ignored or rejected *Sturm*-style futurism when it arrived at the local *Kunstverein* in a 1913 exhibition.¹⁸⁴

Indeed, a sympathetic reviewer noted that Scholz and his fellow artists “seem to find a satanic pleasure in lobbing their new art at the feet of the bourgeoisie like so many hand grenades,” a manipulation of style that would soon travel beyond the borders of the *Residenzstadt*.¹⁸⁵ At Scholz’s initiative, all works on view in the Moos exhibition (with the exception of those by Eugen Segewitz) traveled directly to the Mannheimer Kunstverein, and thereafter to the Frankfurt gallery, M. Goldschmit & Cie.¹⁸⁶ Writing for the Leipzig art journal, *Der Cicerone*, the critic Fritz Hoeber maligned Schlichter’s works on display as cut-rate copies after Picasso, asserting that the Karlsruhe artist’s formal tactics resulted in a “decomposition” of the pictorial whole, one in which “small and naively realistic little objects” litter the colorful geometric surface.¹⁸⁷ This likely referred to such contemporary works as Schlichter’s *Apokalyptische Landschaft mit Fabelwesen*

¹⁸⁴ Letter Oskar Fischer to Herwarth Walden, 13 January 1918. First published in *Der Sturm. Herwarth Walden und die europäische Avantgarde* (Berlin: Nationalgalerie, 1961), 70. “1913 hatte ich mit meinem Freunde Z. [Zabotin] i. Karlsruhe alles ausgeschnüffelt, um etwas zu finden was uns unserem inneren Streben näher bringen könnte. So entdeckten wir in einem Buchhandel die Zeitschrift d. Sturm. Einesteils konnte ich mir finanziell bereits nicht bieten, andererseits kam die Zeitschrift in jenem Laden sehr spärlich zur Ausgabe und somit schief die Sache wieder ein. Einmal war in Karlsruhe im Kunstverein eine Ausstellung der Futuristen vom Sturm, welche wir selbstverständlich besuchten und diese Wunderbarkeiten reichlich genossen.”

¹⁸⁵ Amend, “Galerie Moos: Ausstellung der Gruppe Rih.” “Die Künstler dieser Richtung...finden eine schier satanische Befriedigung daran, ihre neue Kunst dem Spießbürger wie eine Handgranate vor die Füße zu werfen.”

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Hofmann, “Von der Ausstellung Gruppe Rih...,” 82-83.

The Goldschmidts were a prominent and well-established German-Jewish family in Frankfurt, co-managers, with the Bischoffsheim family, of the bank Bischoffsheim, Goldschmidt & Cie, which was merged into Banque de Crédit et de Dépôt des Pays-Bas in the nineteenth-century. Maximilian “Max” von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1843-1940) was a banker, art patron, and art collector, and he was a co-inheritor of the family bank along with his brother Adolphe Goldschmidt. He married Minna Karoline Freiin von Rothschild, the daughter of Wilhelm Carl von Rothschild, in 1878 and later adopted the Rothschild name. In 1937, Goldschmidt was forced to sell his home and real estate to the National Socialists for a deeply discounted price, after which he was permitted to stay as a renter until his death, at age 96, in 1940. In 1938, he and his wife were forced to sell their art collection of nearly 1,400 objects to the German state.

¹⁸⁷ Fritz Hoeber, “Die Gruppe Rih in Frankfurt a.M.,” *Der Cicerone. Halbmonatsschrift für die Interessen des Kunstforschers und Sammlers* (Leipzig 1919): 630.

und Figurine (Apocalyptic Landscape with Mythical Creatures and Figurines, 1916), in which a central figure with an egg-shaped skull dances through a shattered landscape of tilting house fronts and strange mythical creatures (**fig. 1.35**).¹⁸⁸ Schlichter pushes here against the accepted boundaries of both form and content: transforming the figure into a “figurine” and setting him loose in an apocalyptic landscape that is neither fully expressionist—in the tradition, for example, of Ludwig Meidner or Max Beckmann—nor wholly representational, stuck in an experimental netherworld of boundless play.

The stylistic plurality of such works seemed to confuse the viewing publics in Karlsruhe, Mannheim, and Frankfurt. One reviewer commented, in a probable reference to the legacy of *Sturm*-style expressionism: “I’ve been told that *Rih* is Arabic and means ‘wind.’ This is in any case somewhat tamer than a ‘storm.’”¹⁸⁹ Decades later, Rudolf Schlichter still rankled at this critical slight, which seemed to miss the point for an artist who claimed he had never intended to be seen as an “expressionist” artist:

The name [*Rih*] was meant to be both program and fanfare. A critic in the Baden press wrote after our first exhibition that what we actually offered was less a “wind” than a light rustle. Despite this invidious accusation, the group had quite a success, achieving in the slough of *badisch* art at the very least a ripple on the surface.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Rudolf Schlichter, *Apokalyptische Landschaft mit Fabelwesen und Figurine* (Apocalyptic Landscape with Mythical Creatures and Figurines), ca. 1916. Oil and watercolor on varnished paper, 24.5 x 17 cm. Private collection, Offenbach am Main.

¹⁸⁹ D.B. “Expressionismus in der Galerie Moos.” “Eugen Segewitz “wechselt seine Kunstformen mit unheimlicher Verwandlungsfähigkeit und hängt seinen Mantel immer nach dem Wind.” ... Man sagt mir, *Rih* sei arabisch und heiße Wind. Das ist immerhin etwas zahmer als der ‘Sturm’.”

¹⁹⁰ Rudolf Schlichter, handwritten draft, ca. 1930. Estate of Rudolf Schlichter, Galerie Alvensleben, Munich. Cited in Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 11. “Im Jahre 1918 [Dezember 1918/Januar 1919] gründete ich mit sechs Malern zusammen in Karlsruhe die Gruppe *Rih*; der Name stammte aus Karl May; bekanntlich hieß der arabische Rapphengst, der den famosen Kara ben Nemsî durch die Länder des Orientes trug, *Rih*, d.h. Wind. Der Name sollte Programm u. Fanfare sein. Ein Kritiker in der badischen Post schrieb nach der ersten Ausstellung, eigentlich wäre das, was hier geboten würde, weniger ein Wind als vielmehr ein leichtes Säuseln. Trotz dieses gehässigen Anwurfes hatte die Gruppe einen ziemlichen Erfolg, sie erzeugte in dem badischen Kunsttümpel wenigstens einen Wellenschlag. [...]

By the late spring of 1919, the winds of change indeed were rustling, and the *Gruppe Rih* would take their show on the road: exhibiting a selection of new works in the November Group galleries at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition. Here, they would situate their paintings and their politics alongside the most progressive tendencies in Berlin, where the exhibition received an overwhelming—but by no means an enthusiastic—reception.

Lunatic Asylums: *Die Gruppe Rih* in Berlin and Beyond

Scribbling based on an artistic theory is by no means painting, certainly by no means art. And when we see in exhibitions over and over again the same geometric compositions with the same old colorful triangles, squares, and circles, this means only that style (*Manier*) and senseless copycatting have annihilated independent artistic ability.¹⁹¹

—Curt Amend in the *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 27 March 1920

In Karlsruhe, conservative and progressive critics alike took aim at an art they saw as a degradation of realism—as a kind of stylistic lunacy on view in the Galerie Moos and at further locations in Mannheim and Frankfurt. This reflected a public conviction that the artists had rejected their academic training to embrace the fancies of a diseased and addled brain. When several members of *Die Gruppe Rih* sent their latest works to exhibit with the November Group in Berlin, in the summer of 1919, critics likewise agreed that this section of the Great Berlin Art Exhibition (*Große Berliner*

¹⁹¹ Curt Amend, *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 27 March 1920. “Schmiererei nach etwelchen künstlerischen Theorien ist noch lange keine Malerei, ist noch lange kein Kunst. Und wenn uns in den Ausstellungen immer wieder dieselben geometrischen Kompositionen von allerlei farbenreichen Dreiecken, Rechtecken und Kreisen begegnen, so beweist das nur, daß hier Manier und sinnlose Nachahmungsgier selbständiges Können vernichtet haben.”

Kunstaussstellung) represented a degenerate scene of “tumult.”¹⁹² Critical reaction to the exhibition was swift and unkind, with the critic Fritz Stahl writing in the *Berliner Tageblatt* that the November Group galleries resembled a “lunatic asylum.”¹⁹³ Even sympathetic critics agreed that many younger artists had not quite mastered the art of expressionism, and that the older generation had submitted paintings that were far below their best standard.

Since 1893, the Great Berlin Art Exhibition had been held each summer in the galleries of the Berlin *Lehrter Bahnhof*.¹⁹⁴ A prestigious, juried exhibition, in the tradition of the Paris Salon, the *Große Berliner Kunstaussstellung* featured thousands of painting and pieces of sculpture. In 1919, the exhibition offered to the public two galleries featuring works by unaffiliated artists (“Gemeinsame Säle”), fifteen rooms to the Verein Berliner Künstler, and a total of ten rooms to be divided among members of the Berliner Secession, the Freie Secession, and the November Group.¹⁹⁵ The *Gruppe Rih* contributed eight works in total to the November Group galleries in the summer of 1919: two paintings by Oskar Fischer, one painting each by Egon Itta and Rudolf Schlichter, three

¹⁹² A. von Montbe, “Berliner Bilder,” *Dresdner Nachrichten* 63, no. 254 (14 September 1919). Cited in Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*, 90. Weinstein has located this exhibition in the “third” phase of the German revolutions: a time in which violent street battles and striking workers had quieted, the Paris Treaty had been signed (in June of 1919), a new constitution ratified, and a new coalition government set in place under President Friedrich Ebert.

For an overview of the critical reaction to the exhibition, see Kliemann, “Pressestimmen zu Ausstellungen der Novembergruppe,” in Kliemann, *Novembergruppe*, 84-89.

¹⁹³ Fritz Stahl, “Kunstaussstellung Berlin 1919,” *Berliner Tageblatt* 48 (24 July 1919). Cited in Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*, 90. “Nach der billigen Psychologie der ungebildeten Periode, in der wir leben, muss die Kunst in einer politisch wilden Zeit auch ihrerseits wild sein. [...] Dann kommt die tröstliche Erkenntnis, dass doch wohl die grosse Mehrheit der jungen Herren bloss Simulanten sind, die mit kalter Methode Züge von fremder Tollheit reproduzieren.”

¹⁹⁴ On the Berlin exhibitions, see Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980).

¹⁹⁵ Exhibition catalogue for the *Große Berliner Kunstaussstellung 1919* (Berlin: Verlag Kunstaussstellung Berlin, 1919). Copy in the Bibliothek der Berlinischen Galerie, Berlin.

paintings by Georg Scholz, and one collage “composition” by Wladimir Zabotin.¹⁹⁶

Eugen Segewitz had already left the group and was replaced by the painter Emil Kapferer, whose abstract composition—an oil painting reminiscent of recent work by Wassily Kandinsky—was reproduced in the exhibition catalogue.¹⁹⁷ Georg Scholz made a splash in Berlin with the colorful and futuristically faceted oil painting, *Nächtlicher Schrei* (Nighttime Scream, 1919).¹⁹⁸ On a darkened street, a red-clad figure cries out into the night, his fractured face generating two separate planes of sound and vision: the gaping mouth, upturned nose, and squinting eye lead the composition toward a widening triangle, which acts as a megaphone for projection (**fig. 1.36**).¹⁹⁹ Like Edvard Munch’s well-known painting series, *Der Schrei der Natur* (The Scream/The Scream of Nature, 1893-1910), Scholz’s picture evokes a highly internalized, multi-sensory frenzy.

In March of 1920, the *Gruppe Rih* returned to Karlsruhe, where they joined a *Badischer Kunstverein* exhibition featuring works by the most progressive artists of the day: members of the Berlin November Group, the Stuttgart *Üecht-Gruppe*, and the Dresden Secession. This exhibition was the largest of its kind in Germany—a gathering

¹⁹⁶ These works are listed in the catalogue of the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung* 1919, all from the “Ortsgruppe Karlsruhe”: Oskar Fischer *Haus am Meer* (#1156) and *Der Sprung* (#1157); Egon Itta Sarrai (#1196); Rudolf Schlichter *Komposition* (#1248); Georg Scholz *Freudige Familie* (#1257), *Nächtlicher Lärm* (#1258); and *Säugende Hündin* (#1259); and Wladimir Zabotin *Komposition* (#1280). None of these works were reproduced in the catalogue.

Herta Wescher has described Zabotin’s atelier-based collages from this period in *Die Geschichte der Collage. Vom Kubismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Köln: DuMont Schauberg, 1974), 179f. According to Wescher, Zabotin put together collages “an die Wände seines Ateliers zu heften und freigiebig auch an seine Freunde zu verschenken. Einige davon stellt er 1919 in der Berliner ‘Novembergruppe’ aus, an der er mit der Gruppe Ri [sic] teilnimmt.” Cited in Ludwig, *Wladimir von Zabotin*, 35.

¹⁹⁷ In the catalogue, Kapferer’s “Bild 7” is listed as no. 1197 and illustrated on 69. On Kapferer’s brief dalliance with the Gruppe Rih, see Hofmann, “Von der Ausstellung Gruppe Rih,” 82-83.

¹⁹⁸ Georg Scholz, *Nächtlicher Schrei* (Nighttime Scream), 1919. Oil on canvas, 56.8 x 50.9 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 118-119; Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 117.

¹⁹⁹ Like Edvard Munch’s well-known painting series, *Der Schrei der Natur* (The Scream/The Scream of Nature, 1893-1910), Scholz’s picture evokes a highly internalized, multi-sensory frenzy and evinces the “laboratory” in which he experimented with style in the immediate postwar period.

of the regional factions of the November Group into one venue—and aimed to serve as a model for other traveling exhibitions.²⁰⁰ Representative works on view included Georg Scholz’s oil paintings *Glockenturm* (Bell Tower, 1919) and *Farbsymphonie in Gelb* (Color Symphony in Yellow, 1919), both now considered lost, but likely similar to contemporary works such as *Hahnenkampf* (Cockfight), a futuristic riot of brown-tinted feathers and red concentric circles (**fig. 1.37**).²⁰¹ Like the *Nighttime Scream*, this highly abstracted composition provides little hint of the sharply political works Scholz would soon begin to produce in connection with Berlin Dada, suggesting that—at least in the summer of 1919—such incursions against realism remained firmly within the post-expressionist vernacular.

A certain Herr Oeftering, writing for the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, nevertheless expressed his surprise at an art world seemingly turned upside down in the *Kunstverein* exhibition; although one typically expected to see “so-called modern art” in the Galerie Moos and “more conservative art” in the Baden Art Union, he wrote, “now it’s all been turned on its head” (*jetzt ist’s gerade umgekehrt*).²⁰² In a contemporary photograph, Scholz poses with his *Hahnenkampf* painting—his head peeks around the corner of the canvas to cast a sly look at a young woman—and he cuts the figure of a young artist at ease in his atelier, seemingly immune to such rumblings in the local exhibition landscape (**fig 1.38**).²⁰³ Yet as a contemporary meeting protocol makes clear, the board of the

²⁰⁰ “Badischer Kunstverein,” *Badische Presse*, 27 March 1920. “In Deutschland war bisher überhaupt noch keine so große Ausstellung dieser Art, ihre Zusammenstellung erfolgte in Karlsruhe und wird von hier nach allen größeren Städten des Reiches gehen...”

²⁰¹ Georg Scholz, *Hahnenkampf* (Cockfight), 1919. Oil on canvas, 76 x 75 cm. Private collection.

²⁰² WEO [W.E. Oeftering], “Karlsruher Kunstbericht,” *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 28 March 1920, 2.

²⁰³ Photograph of Georg Scholz with *Hahnenkampf*, Badisches Archiv der Staatlichen Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Kunstverein was itself divided about the value of putting on these modern exhibitions, and thus, of supporting the experimental work of Scholz and his Karlsruhe peers.²⁰⁴ The report concluded, however, that a modern Artist Union must support the latest trends in contemporary art, and that one was bound to find in the list of exhibiting artists the names of “artists worth taking seriously” (*ernst zu nehmender Künstler*).²⁰⁵

What would it mean to be an artist worth taking “seriously” in Karlsruhe? And what if one were never taken seriously: what options then remained for exhibition and career-making outside the provinces? For artists such as Georg Scholz and Rudolf Schlichter, this desire would increasingly become an imperative in the years after 1919. In the essay “*Der Kunstlump*” (The Art Scab), published in the leftwing satirical journal *Der Gegner* in the spring of 1920, authors George Grosz and John Heartfield attacked with bitter bile the spaces of exhibition and the types of detached subject matter—“the twitter of birds and evening twilight”—that gave the bourgeois art collector pleasure.²⁰⁶ “What,” they asked, “is the worker supposed to do with the spirit of poets and

²⁰⁴ Badischer Kunstverein Karlsruhe. “Protokoll der Generalversammlung, 24 March 1920.” Cited in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 61. “Als dann entspinnt sich eine längere Debatte über den künstlerischen Wert und die Zulassung von Ausstellungen, wie eine solche derzeit im Kunstverein (Rih-Gruppe) besteht. Ein Teil ist für Verbot solcher nach Auffassung verschiedener Mitglieder an Irrsinn grenzender Ausstellungen und spricht ihnen jeden künstlerischen Wert ab, während der andere Teil der Ansicht ist, daß man jeder Kunstrichtung Eingang verschaffen müsse; eine Ansicht, welche auch vom Vorstand verstehen wird. [...] Der Vorsitzende und der Kunstmaler Engelhardt als Konservator geben Aufklärung über die Zulassung solcher Ausstellungen und heben hervor, daß die Jury bei geschlossenen Ausstellungen nicht eingreifen dürfe. Da auch in anderen Städten solche Kunstrichtungen vertreten und solche Ausstellungen zugelassen werden, könne sich der hiesige Kunstverein nicht ausschließen, zumal auch sonst der ganze Ausstellungsplan über den Haufen geworfen würde. Wenn einem Teil der Vereinsmitglieder eine solche Ausstellung nicht zusage, finde er dafür an anderen Ausstellungen, die dem anderen Teil weniger zusagen, Erbauung und Befriedigung. Jedenfalls befinden sich unter den Ausstellern Namen ernst zu nehmender Künstler.”

²⁰⁵ On the contested exhibition history in the Kunstverein during the 1920s and 30s, see Andreas Voswinckel, “Der Badische Kunstverein vor und nach der Machtergreifung im Spiegel seiner Ausstellungen 1919-1945,” in *Stilstreit und Führerprinzip: Künstler und Werk in Baden 1930-1945*, ed. Wilfried Rößling (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1987), 181-184.

²⁰⁶ First published as George Grosz and John Heartfield, “Der Kunstlump,” in *Der Gegner* 1, nos. 10-12 (1920): 48-56. Translated as “The Art Scab” in Kaes et al, eds., *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 483-86. See also McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 65-69.

philosophers, who, in the face of everything that constricts his life breath, feel no duty to take up battle against the exploiters?" They had seen this type of detachment poison the Berlin art scene, as their essay proclaimed: Grosz and Heartfield sharpened their metaphorical claws against the Viennese artist and Dresden Academy professor Oskar Kokoschka, the titular *Kunstlump*, who raised their ire when he called for the public to protect works of art from the bullets that tore through Berlin gallery walls during the Kapp Putsch, in March of 1920. Led by Wolfgang Kapp and Walther von Lüttwitz, this failed rightwing coup attempted to undo the results of the revolutions of 1918-19, to overthrow the Weimar Republic, and to establish an autocratic government supported by the Reichswehr.²⁰⁷

For Grosz and Heartfield, the Viennese Kokoschka was the ultimate bourgeois philistine (*Spießler*) who produced "psychological *Spießlerporträts*" with a second-rate "*Realschule*" education and a laughable Austrian accent, which they satirized in their essay.²⁰⁸ Their sharp words rang out in artistic circles far beyond Berlin, as *Der Gegner* landed on the shelves of progressive book shops, art galleries, and communist party circles throughout Germany. They called for the working class to reject the "swindle" that had been presented to them as art, and they exhorted their fellow artist-producers to reject the title "artist" as an insult to true action and political struggle.²⁰⁹ Kokoschka's brand of

²⁰⁷ On the failed Kapp Putsch, and its resonance in German art circles, see Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 42-43.

²⁰⁸ Grosz and Heartfield, "Der Kunstlump," 55. "Oskar Kokoschka, der Schöpfer 'psychologischer' Spießlerporträts, vergeudet seinen psychologischen Impetus natürlich nicht an seelenlosen Mob. Seine Realschulkenntnisse genügen ihm, um in wahrer historischer Einsicht Links- und Krumm- und Grade- und Rechtsradikale aufzufordern, ihre politischen Theorien 'mit dem Schiasprügel in da Hond auf den Schiaßplätzen auf der Heide oobzuholen, so zum Spurt, damit die oiten Moitabüida net valetzt wern und da Mönschheit koa Schodn zuagefügt wird."

²⁰⁹ In the period between 1919 and 1921, Grosz and Heartfield increasingly outlined this position in the Dada and post-Dada journals, from *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* to *Die Pleite* to *Der Gegner*.

painterly expressionism had begun to run its course by the summer of 1920—associated, as it was by Grosz and Heartfield, with the artistic establishment and with the bourgeois art collector—and both artists and their public began to crave a different avant-garde approach.

For the members of *Die Gruppe Rih*, held together by a shared desire to exhibit their work and by a regional affiliation with the November Group in Berlin, these winds of change were enough to pull the association apart at the seams. This was not a dramatic implosion, but rather, a slow unraveling, based largely on matters of politics and aesthetic disposition. Within the *Gruppe Rih*, two stylistic and political factions had emerged from the early days of their alliance: on the one hand, a more conservative circle including Wladimir Zabolotin, Walter Becker, Egon Itta, and Eugen Segewitz, and on the other, the more radical Rudolf Schlichter, Georg Scholz, and Oskar Fischer. These three men joined the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1919, and both Schlichter and Fischer would eventually move to Berlin, where Fischer gave up painting entirely in 1924 to work as a graphic artist for various leftwing causes, including the KPD.²¹⁰ Georg Scholz remained in Grötzingen, the idyllic home of the 19th century artist colony, but he retained active ties to Berlin throughout the 1920s. Walter Becker left Karlsruhe for the Dresden Academy and later settled in France.²¹¹ Zabolotin, Itta, and Segewitz remained in Baden, where they continued to exhibit their work into the late 1920s. When Schlichter arrived in

²¹⁰ On the post-Karlsruhe career of Oskar Fischer, see Mirko Heipek and Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, eds., *Oskar Fischer: Karlsruhe-Berlin, 1892-1955* (Karlsruhe: Bezirksverband Bildender Künstler, 2007).

²¹¹ Walter Becker left Karlsruhe for Dresden at the invitation of his friend, Karl Albiker, in 1922. For a biography of Becker and his early career, see Hubert Portz, *Walter Becker: Frühe Werke 1914-1933* (Albersweiler: Edition Strasser, 2008).

Berlin, he found a city of chance and opportunity, one in which the realist provocations of his Karlsruhe years could find new expression under the wing of Berlin Dada.²¹²

Rudolf Schlichter's Berlin *Cabaret* (1920)

Certain pictures by Schlichter flicker past with the bumping haste of an unwinding film reel. Others rotate with the circling monotony of a carousel. A third type stir with the rigid hops of marionettes. And many others are nothing more than abruptly bursting explosions.²¹³

—Wilhelm Fraenger, introduction to the exhibition catalogue,
“Rudolf Schlichter,” Galerie Burchard Berlin, May-June 1920

When he relocated to Berlin from Karlsruhe, at the age of 30, Rudolf Schlichter left behind his academic training and his small-town identity to embrace the opportunity and depravity of the big city, where he would create and perform a new artistic persona—one that would be based, in large part, on his avowedly eccentric sexual proclivities and that would carry over his long-held interests in Wild West violence and pulp fiction from the provinces to the metropolis.²¹⁴ In Berlin, Schlichter soon gained contact to the leading personalities of Berlin Dada through his older brother Max, who had moved to the city already in the early 1910s and who worked as a chef and proprietor at his own “Restaurant Schlichter.”²¹⁵ Here, Max cultivated a large circle of left-leaning friends,

²¹² For a thorough recounting of Georg Scholz's engagement with Berlin Dada from the regional margins, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

²¹³ Fraenger, “Rudolf Schlichter” *Heidelberger Zeitung*, 31 August 1918. Cited in Himmelheber and Hofmann, *Neue Kunst - lebendige Wissenschaft*, 204. “Bilder von Schlichter gibt es, die zucken vorüber in der stoßenden Hast sich abspulender Filme. Andere drehen sich vorbei in dem kreisenden Einerlei der Meßkaruselle. Dritte regen sich im starren Hüpfen puppiger Marionetten. Und viele sind nichts anderes als jäh aufplatzende Explosion.”

²¹⁴ Corinne Granof considers this period of Schlichter's Berlin-based production in the second chapter of her doctoral dissertation. See Granof, “Obstinate Flesh,” 76-132.

²¹⁵ On the Restaurant Schlichter, see Greschat and Lange, *Rudolf Schlichter: Großstadt, Porträt, Obsession*, 17-20 and Schebera, *Damals im Romanischem Cafe*, 116-133.

including the composer Kurt Weill and the dramatist, Bertolt Brecht.²¹⁶ Brecht's wife, the actress and singer, Lotte Lenya, later remembered Restaurant Schlichter as a place where Berlin's most progressive artists and writers could gather together to eat, drink, and socialize in friendly company; Max Schlichter also used the restaurant as an unofficial gallery to display his younger brother's artwork.²¹⁷

While Max provided the financial support and the social milieu, the curator Wilhelm Fraenger once again facilitated Schlichter's artistic debut—this time, by writing the catalogue introduction for the artist's first solo exhibition at the Galerie Otto Burchard, in May 1920.²¹⁸ The show featured five new paintings, thirteen watercolor drawings, and a selection of graphic works, most of which dealt with themes of the American West, the modern city, or violent rebellions in the Far East.²¹⁹ Fraenger sought to frame the provincial artist for a new metropolitan audience as talented upstart whose works could, by turns, explode like bombs, unreel like film strips, or rotate with the seductive monotony of a carousel. The watercolor drawing, *Cabaret* (now known as *Tingel-Tangel*) placed on display the thematics of gender bending, theatrical performance, and sexual perversion—motifs and stock characters that Schlichter had developed in

²¹⁶ Rudolf Schlichter, *Der Schriftsteller Bertolt Brecht* (The Writer Bertolt Brecht), 1926. Oil on canvas, 75.5 x 46 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

²¹⁷ The Berlin actor Ernst Josef Aufricht later wrote about the Restaurant Schlichter, its walls bedecked with works by Rudolf Schlichter: "Wir gingen also zu Schlichter in die Lutherstraße. An den Wänden hingen die Bilder des Malers Rudolf Schlichter, des Bruders des Restaurateurs, zum Verkauf." Ernst Josef Aufricht, *Erzähle, damit du dein Recht erweist* (Munich 1969), 108. Cited in Schebera, *Damals im Romanischen Café*, 123.

²¹⁸ *Rudolf Schlichter*, catalogue for the exhibition at the Galerie Otto Burchard, 20 May - 15 June 1920.

²¹⁹ The exhibition catalogue lists a total of 42 works on view: five paintings (including *Liebesleben in Berlin W.* and the collage-painting *Phänomen-Werke*, which was pictured in the catalogue but not listed with this title -- it is likely that the work corresponds to the painting listed as no. 4, *Der Maschinenmann*); thirteen watercolor drawings (including no. 11 *Das Cabaret*, now known as *Tingel-Tangel*); and twenty-four graphic works.

Karlsruhe, but that he unleashed on the Berlin public with a newly liberated fury.²²⁰ In a cabaret interior, three pairs of male audience members look away from the stage and from each other, anxiously and intently staring off in different directions (**fig. 1.39**).²²¹ The Berlin “Tingel-Tangel” was a lowbrow space associated with prostitution and nude dancing, what Peter Jelavich has called a “third-rate variety show,” while the classier “revue” had more in common with modern-day conceptions of the Roaring Twenties cabaret.²²² In *Cabaret*, Schlichter mapped a realist idiom onto such earlier, fragmented compositions as the drawing *Tanz*, which appeared in a special issue on “verism” in the Berlin journal *Das Kunstblatt*.²²³ (This drawing, of course, was a precursor to the *Phänomen-Werke* collage painting Schlichter would exhibit in his solo exhibition and in the Dada Fair one month later.)²²⁴

Schlichter had first published the watercolor drawing, under the pseudonym “J. Rétyl,” in the March 1920 issue of the journal *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke).²²⁵ Edited by the poet Walter Mehring, it served as the journal for the Berlin cabaret of the same name. Max Reinhardt founded *Schall und Rauch* in 1901 as a progressive theater

²²⁰ Rudolf Schlichter, *Tingel-Tangel*, 1919/20. Watercolor on paper, 53 x 45.5 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Voermann, *Das Auge der Welt*. Otto Dix und die Neue Sachlichkeit, 158; Strecker, *The Mad Square*, ill. 209; Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 106; Buderer and Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 124-131; Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 266; Granof, “Obstinate Flesh,” 83-86.

²²¹ Hanne Bergius reads the powdered faced man with the slick, parted black hair as a possible Schlichter self-portrait, and the dancers as projections of his sexual fantasies. Bergius, “Lederstrumpf,” 38a.

²²² Peter Jelavich has noted that the German language (in the 1990s) distinguished between the “Cabaret” (a strip show) and “Kabarett” (satirical political theater). In the 1920s, the words were used interchangeably, and “nude dancing” referred to the seedier variety of cabaret. See Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1-2.

²²³ Rudolf Schlichter, *Tanz* (Dance), title illustration in *Das Kunstblatt*, April 1920.

²²⁴ On the problematics of materiality and “verism” in the *Phenomenon Works*, see the Introduction of this dissertation.

²²⁵ *Schall und Rauch* appeared for a total of thirteen issues between December 1919 and February 1921. In the first issues, texts appeared by Mehring, Wieland Herzfelde, Max Hermann-Neisse, Klabund (Alfred Henschke), Peter Panter (Kurt Tucholsky), Raoul Hausmann, Munkepunke (Alfred Richard Meyer), Paul Erkens. On the history of the *Schall und Rauch* cabaret theater, see Peter Jelavich, “From Artistic Parody to Theatrical Renewal: Reinhardt’s Sound and Smoke,” in his *Berlin Cabaret*, 62-84.

that sought to move beyond the hyper-realism of contemporary Berlin productions, embracing instead what the art historian Peter Jelavich has termed “exuberant play.”²²⁶ Indeed, in the years between December 1919 and February 1921, the journal served as a primary forum for Dadaist experiments in prose, poetry, drawing, and photomontage, testing the fixed boundaries between reading and seeing, art and experience.²²⁷

In his 1933 autobiography, *Feet of Clay*, Schlichter recalled that he spent his first visit to Berlin lingering in the “musty, poorly ventilated spaces” of Castan’s *Panoptikum*, a four-story wax museum and “chamber of horrors” housed in the former Pschorr-Brauerei Building on the Lindenpassage.²²⁸ In a February 1921 issue of *Schall und Rauch*, the poet Walter Mehring sang the wry praises of this environment in his “Panoptikum Ballad,” which described a “broad public whose souls await peace,” but never find it, as they circle through the attractions in the famous house of wax.²²⁹ These spaces of spectacle would entice and liberate Schlichter’s realism, which flourished in Berlin in the circle of such Dada companions as George Grosz, John Heartfield, and Raoul Hausmann. When Schlichter’s former schoolmate, Karl Hubbuch, arrived in Berlin in 1912, he would likewise discover in the mirrored rooms of the *Panoptikum* the means to develop an innovative, hypnotic form of allegorical montage that pushed back against the demands of realism as it was traditionally constituted.

²²⁶ Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*, 62.

²²⁷ *Schall und Rauch*, 1919-1921. Reprint edition issued with *Einfach klassisch und noch mehr: eine Nachbetrachtung* by Kurt Wafner (Berlin: Buchverlag der Morgen, 1985).

²²⁸ Schlichter TF, 225. “in den muffigen, schlecht gelüfteten Räumen.”

²²⁹ Walter Mehring, “Die Ballade vom Panoptikum,” *Schall und Rauch* (February 1921): 14-15.

Chapter 2

Mesmerized: Karl Hubbuch's Somnambulist Realism

I was before, during, and after the war always convinced by the basic principles of the Communist Party. My biggest mistake was that I never publicly documented this conviction in my work. I now feel obligated, after nine years of restlessness, by the ever more slick and vulgar attempts to hypnotize the unsuspecting public with the most despicable lies.¹

—Karl Hubbuch to George Grosz, May 1923

In May of 1923, the Karlsruhe artist Karl Hubbuch mailed his allegorical self-portrait etching, *Wissend und Blind* (Knowing and Blind, 1922), to his former schoolmate George Grosz in Berlin (**fig. 2.1**).² Hubbuch hoped to publish the image in the left-wing satirical journal, *Die Pleite*, where Grosz and his Dada colleagues had been publishing essays and artworks of biting propaganda since 1919.³ In this work of dreamlike narration, Hubbuch's dark-eyed doppelgänger is a figure of two bodies tied together at the waist. These alter egos map a path of possible viewing in multiple directions, and suggest the possibility of seeing not as a detached observer, but instead as an embodied

¹ Letter Karl Hubbuch to George Grosz, undated (May 1923). Akademie der Künste (hereafter "AdK"), Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 175: "Trotzdem ich vor, während & nach dem Kriege immer von den Gründideen des K. überzeugt war. Mein größter Fehler war, daß ich meine Überzeugung nicht durch Arbeit in diesem Sinne öffentlich dokumentiert habe. Ich fühle mich heute dazu verpflichtet durch die immer raffinierter & gemeiner werdenden Versuche die Ahnungslosen nach 9 jähriger Ruhelosigkeit immer wieder mit übelsten Lügen zu hypnotisieren."

² Karl Hubbuch, *Wissend und Blind* (Knowing and Blind), second version, 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 32.7 x 46 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Wolfgang Hartmann, "'Wissend und Blind'. Eine 'allégorie réelle' von Karl Hubbuch," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* XXXVII (1983): 141-155; Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, "Karl Hubbuchs 'Kino sozialer Klitterungen' 1922-1924," in *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, ed. Erika Rödiger-Diruf, et al. (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1993), 131-144; and Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, "Der Blick auf den Zuschauer. Über ein Schlüsselmotiv bei Hubbuch," in *Ibid.*, 146.

³ *Die Pleite*, edited by Wieland Herzfelde, George Grosz, and John Heartfield in Berlin, Zurich, and Vienna: 1919, and 1923-1924. 11 numbers in 10 (including double no. 10/11). *Die Pleite* ran as *Der Gegner* from late 1919 - September 1922. *Der Knüppel* began publication in 1923, with official support from the German Communist Party (KPD), and continued printing until 1927. See Sabine T. Kriebel, "Radical Left Magazines in Berlin: *Die Pleite* (1919, 1923-4), *Der Blutige Ernst* (1919), *Der Gegner* (1919-22), *Der Knüppel* (1923-7), *Eulenspiegel* (1928-31), *AIZ/VI* (1924-38)," in *Modernist Magazines: A Critical and Cultural History. Volume 3: Europe 1880-1940*, ed. Peter Brooker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

somnambulist who feels and fumbles his way through a maze of fornicators, prostitutes, and suited businessmen. A telescope points to the possibility of knowledge, but the Janus-faced protagonist remains blind, his eyes obstructed on one side by a pair of dark glasses, and on the other by a fabric blindfold. Hubbuch's layered techniques of drypoint and etching further obfuscate a surface in which disparate vignettes hang together through the force of multiple incisions. The boundaries between interior and exterior realms muddle and conflate, as lightly-incised areas of pigment seem to burn away adjacent inky patches with their unfiltered brightness.

This chapter considers Hubbuch's decision to portray himself repetitively, almost compulsively, as a dark-eyed somnambulist in such drawn and printed works as *Knowing and Blind* and posits Hubbuch's realism not as a practice of detached observation—the common mode for understanding the fiercely typological portraits of the German 1920s—but of immersive sensation, one in which the artist may be both knowing *and* blind. It therefore situates Hubbuch's practice within the contemporary modes of visual culture that surrounded and stimulated the young artist, from the silent film to the serial novel, aiming to reposition Hubbuch's pictorial language as more than a nascent or underdeveloped formal way station on the road from Dada to *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (The New Objectivity). Though he studied in Berlin and Karlsruhe alongside better known modernist practitioners such as George Grosz, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz, Hubbuch remains at the margins of art historical scholarship on Weimar Germany—defined, by turns, as a “collective loner” (*der kollektive Einzelgänger*),⁴ a “happy

⁴ Diether Schmidt, “Der kollektive Einzelgänger,” in Goettl, *Karl Hubbuch, 1891-1979*, 43-46.

loner” (*fröhlichen Einzelgänger*),⁵ or a “verist with hesitation” (*Verist mit Verzögerung*).⁶

This chapter aims to reinsert both Hubbuch’s practice and his pictures into the broader network of modernist experimentation and pop cultural consumption that defined his generation, both in Karlsruhe and in Berlin.

Responding to Weimar Germany’s cultural fascination with hypnotism and doubling, false identities and criminal masterminds, the cinephile Hubbuch performed the dual roles of hypnotic Svengali and mesmerized agent in pictures marked by unseeing eyes, torpid limbs, and non-linear narration.⁷ In *Knowing and Blind*, for example, Hubbuch fused multiple embedded narratives through a technique of “somnambulist montage”: a term I use to differentiate Hubbuch’s practice of realist allegory from the chance pairings, shock tactics, and corporeally-driven chaos of Berlin Dada.⁸ Indeed, when the “Propagandada”⁹ George Grosz declined to sponsor Hubbuch’s submission for publication in *Die Pleite*, in May of 1923, he did so on grounds that its message was too complex and obtuse: “not clear enough (*nicht klar genug*)” as he explained to Hubbuch, for the type of readily legible propaganda he and his colleagues had been printing in *Die*

⁵ This phrase is Hubbuch’s own, from a letter to the art historian Hans Kinkel, 19 February 1970. Cited in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch. Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik 1911 bis 1925* (Bremen: H.M. Hauschild, 1973), np.

⁶ Ursula Merkel, “‘Bilderpredigten über das Leben, wie es heute wirklich ist’: Verismus und Neue Sachlichkeit in Karlsruhe,” in Rödiger-Diruf, *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, 110.

⁷ Stefan Andriopoulos links these formal tactics to a broader obsession with secret corporations and unseen machinations in *Possessed: Hypnotic Crimes, Corporate Fiction, and the Invention of Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). On German literary engagement with themes of hypnotism and the unconscious mind, see Maria Tatar, *Spellbound: Studies on Mesmerism and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

⁸ For the most programmatic and comprehensive analysis of the tactic of “simultaneity” in Dada montage, see Hanne Bergius, “Simultane Montage—Kunst unter der Optik des Lebens,” in Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik*, 55-232. On the problem of allegory as a melancholic or exclusionary mode of art historical interpretation, see Linda Nochlin’s classical essay, “Courbet’s Real Allegory: Rereading ‘The Painter’s Studio,’” in *Courbet Reconsidered*, ed. Sarah Faunce et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 17-41.

⁹ For more on Grosz’s central position within Berlin Dada and this self-appointed title, see Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 166-176.

Pleite and its companion journal, *Der Gegner*, and would continue to publish in the satirical journal, *Der Knüppel*, the officially sanctioned propaganda outlet of the German Communist Party, the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD).¹⁰

Grosz further admonished Hubbuch to adopt a more clear and strident visual language to match his leftist politics: “I’m quite pleased that you stand with us in unified front,” he wrote, “but you are correct when you would say of your works: I should have attacked more directly.”¹¹ Grosz’s use of the German word *angreifen*—to attack, charge, or assault—carries with it a distinctly military connotation.¹² Leah Dickerman has suggested that one of Berlin Dada’s primary revolutions was its reconceptualization of artistic practice as a form of “tactics,” an assertion that links the written and formal language of Dadaist assault to the traumatic experience of World War I.¹³ This analysis has reshaped our understanding of Dada’s corporeal disjunctions and cyborg recombinations, yet the pressure that such tactics placed on realism to signify directly after Dada’s intervention, in the early 1920s, has not been well understood. This chapter suggests that Hubbuch’s brand of curious, combinatory realism marks one such site of contact. It thus tracks the development of his somnambulistic montage alongside the work of artist-colleagues such

¹⁰ Letter George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, 23 May 1923. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe. Portions of this letter have also been cited in Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 110.

¹¹ Letter George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, 31 May 1923. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe. “Ich freue mich sehr, dass Sie mit uns in gemeinsamer Front stehen, und dass Sie eingesehen haben, dass es wohl eine Aktivität gibt, die diese entsetzliche Dummheit und die unsinnige Anarchie, diese verfaulte bürgerliche Welt ändern kann. Sie haben Recht, wenn Sie von Ihren Arbeiten sagen, ‘ich hätte direkter angreifen sollen’.” Portions of this letter have previously been cited in Crockett, *German-Post Expressionism*, 189f.

¹² Increasingly, in the later 1920s, this assaultive language also became the *Sprache* of advertising: in 1927, the trade journal *Reklamekunst* changed its name to *Propaganda*. In his reply to Hubbuch’s submission, in 1923, Grosz noted that *Die Pleite* was “in erster Linie” a “Propagandablatt.”

¹³ Dickerman, “Introduction (Dada Tactics),” 7-9. See also Doherty, “See: ‘We Are All Neurasthenics!’,” 82-132 and Biro, “Introduction: Cyborgs, Hybridity, and Identity,” in Biro, *The Dada Cyborg*, 1-24.

as George Grosz, John Heartfield, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz, whose pointed political satire receives closer attention in the following chapter.

In Hubbuch's self-portrait drawings and printed montages, created with particular intensity between 1919 and 1924, masks, veils, and other devices of impaired vision provide an iconographic echo to material expressions of layered embodiment: hand-wrought and sutured techniques of printing, pressing, gluing, and folding. These formal strategies follow from an understanding of realism as a productive, stumbling process in which the work of the hand precedes the primacy of the eye and thus challenges understandings of Germany's interwar realism as univocally static, sober, or objective. Indeed, Hubbuch's reply to Grosz's critique of *Knowing and Blind* delimits a terrain of formal experimentation that would define his realist practice into the later 1920s, clarifying the "problem of politics"¹⁴ for a regional artist seeking to produce radical artworks in the wake of Berlin Dada: "I was before, during, and after the war always convinced by the basic principles of the Communist Party," Hubbuch wrote to Grosz in the spring of 1923. "My biggest mistake was that I never publicly documented this conviction in my work. I now feel obligated, after nine years of restlessness, by the ever more slick and vulgar attempts to hypnotize the unsuspecting public with the most despicable lies."¹⁵

Hubbuch's choice to write here of a body politic "hypnotized" certainly refers to the broad cultural fascination with and anxiety concerning the practice of hypnosis, and to its specific iteration in the political realities of 1923, one of the most turbulent years of

¹⁴ Doherty, "The Work of Art and the Problem of Politics in Berlin Dada," 73-92.

¹⁵ Letter Karl Hubbuch to George Grosz, undated (May 1923). AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 175.

the Weimar Republic in which Germany's masses—in the minds of leftists such as Hubbuch and Grosz—were being lulled into a false sense of security under a constantly-shifting guard of Weimar chancellors. Money lost its value and gained almost comical junk status as inflation “trotted,” “galloped,” and reached hyperinflation over the course of the year, reaching the dumbfounding exchange rate of 4.2 trillion marks to one U.S. dollar in November 1923.¹⁶ German filmmakers from Robert Wiene (*Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*, 1920) to Fritz Lang (*Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler*, 1922) pictured this postwar upending through the use of frame stories, multiple embedded narratives, off-kilter film sets, and fast-paced montage, deploying the formal thematics of hypnosis or restless fever—what contemporary German critics referred to as “Tempo” or “Rasch”—to create filmic worlds in which protagonists cannot be trusted, and in which doctors are mentally ill.¹⁷

For Hubbuch, as this chapter aims to show, hypnosis functioned as a kind of creative practice, a dynamic theoretical construct that supported the visual expression of his closely-held and regionally-inflected leftist politics. What this did for Hubbuch was allow him to challenge the signifying practices of commonly recognized realist picture making in the 1920s and to test, question, and reconsider the usefulness of post-Dada strategies advocated by his friends. By embracing the mass cultural models and modes of vision that have come to be associated with the interwar avant-garde—cinema, trash

¹⁶ Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929) was elected Chancellor on 14 August 1923, and served in office for just 102 days until 23 November. Hyperinflation in Germany had reached its peak that month, and Stresemann introduced the Rentenmark to stabilize the German currency. On the cultural politics of the hyper-inflation in Weimar Germany, see Feldman, *The Great Disorder*, 631-697.

¹⁷ On the conception of “Tempo” in 1920s German visual culture, see Janet Ward, “Electric Stimulations: The Shock of the New Objectivity in Weimar Advertising,” in Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 92-141.

novels, and spaces of spectacle such as the modern art museum and the wax figure *Panoptikum*—Hubbuch transformed the specular language of realism into an embodied force.

Specular Vision: Karlsruhe Beginnings

Born in Karlsruhe in 1891, Hubbuch studied alongside Rudolf Schlichter and Georg Scholz at that city's Großherzoglich-Badische Akademie der Bildenden Künste from 1908-1912.¹⁸ In the three years from October 1909 until June 1912, Hubbuch enrolled in the class of Walther Georgi (1871-1924), a former member of the Munich-based artist organizations *Jugend* and *Scholle* who had joined the faculty of the Karlsruhe Academy in 1908. Georgi was, according to Hubbuch's later recollection, a rather weak but unoffensive teacher who allowed his most capable students to advance at their own pace with few interruptions.¹⁹ In an academic drapery study from 1909, Hubbuch demonstrates his facility in close observation and draftsmanship; compared to a similar study by his classmate, Wladimir Zabotin, Hubbuch's drawing seems capable but largely unexceptional—an exercise in confident line work, solid proportions, and proscribed subject matter (**fig. 2.2**).²⁰

¹⁸ See Wolfgang Hartmann, "Karl Hubbuch," in *Baden-Württembergische Biographien*. Vol. I, ed. Bernd Ottnad (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1994), 155-157. Karl Hubbuch was born on 21 November 1891 to a father, Pius, who was a civilian officer and telegraph operator in Karlsruhe. His mother, Amalie (née Wild), was born in the Baden town of Lahr. Hubbuch attended *Volksschule* and later *Gymnasium* in Karlsruhe, before entering the *Großherzoglich-Badische Akademie der bildenden Künste* in Karlsruhe in the winter semester of 1908/09 in the class of Professor Ernst Schurth. He remained at the academy in the class of Professor Walter Georgi in 1909/10, 1910/11, and 1911/12. Karlsruhe Academy classroom rolls in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (hereafter, "GLA"), 235/40153.

¹⁹ Schmidt, *Karl Hubbuch*, unpaginated footnote 1: "In dieser Gruppe [von Akademieprofessoren] war er sicher der schwächste—es war wirklich nichts von ihm zu lernen. Sobald er merkte, daß man so ungefähr wußte, was man wollte, dann ließ er einen in Ruhe."

²⁰ Karl Hubbuch, *Gewandstudie* (Drapery Study), 1909. Charcoal with white highlights on paper. Private collection.

In his witty and verbose autobiographical novel, *Tönerne Füße* (Feet of Clay, 1933), Rudolf Schlichter recalled his schoolmate Hubbuch as a talented loner who dutifully produced the required academic studies while creating fanciful and phantasmagoric scenes in his spare time. These extracurricular works shocked even the unflappably bohemian Julius Kasper, a Karlsruhe academy student who discovered a selection of Hubbuch's drawn works hanging in a local shop window and urged his academy colleagues to visit them in person. Schlichter later recalled an impressive and uncanny experience of viewing Hubbuch's "otherworldly fantastic":

With interest we decided to check out these singular pictures. In them one saw mysterious empty rooms, strewn about with pieces of eerie furniture or unearthly instruments, or rumpled beds, which resembled the teleplasma of spiritualist apparitions rather than repositories for actual human bodies. Bare walls bedecked with uncanny crucifixes or devices leered back at the viewer. In other pictures one saw bleak rear houses, facades bedecked with repugnant ornaments, and staring black window cavities. Everything was drawn with a thin, very exact pencil line and through light coloration elevated into a sort of spiritual realm. Yet it was exactly the sober precision of his line which elevated the effect to one of the otherworldly fantastic. We were all shocked and somewhat thrown back on our heads. Our respect for him grew.²¹

Few works remain from this early period of Hubbuch's academic production. It is likely, however, that the drawings Kasper and Schlichter so admired (and envied) in the Karlsruhe display window resembled works such as *Ich* (Me, 1911), perhaps the earliest

²¹ Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße*, 95-96. "Interessiert schauten wir uns die seltsamen Blätter an. Da sah man mysteriöse leere Zimmer, in denen gespenstige Möbel standen oder schauerliche Instrumente herumlagen, zerknüllte Betten, die eher dem Teleplasma spiritistischer Erscheinungen glichen als wirklichen menschlichen Lagerstätten. Kahle Wände, mit unheimlichen Kruzifixen oder Apparaten behangen, grinsten einem entgegen. Auf anderen Blättern sah man trostlose Großstadthinterhäuser, Fassaden, bedeckt von widerwärtigen Ornamenten mit glotzenden schwarzen Fensterhöhlen. Das alles war mit dünnen, sehr exakten Bleistiftstrichen gezeichnet und durch eine leichte Kolorierung in eine geisterhafte Sphäre gehoben. Gerade die nüchterne Präzision seines Striches erhöhte die Wirkung schauerlicher Phantastik. Wir waren alle überrascht und etwas vor den Kopf geschlagen. Unser Respekt vor ihm wuchs."

known self-portrait produced by Hubbuch (**fig. 2.3**).²² In a strange and airless room, seemingly without depth, items of clothing hang for inspection in an outward-facing closet. A chair sits nearby piled with objects of domestic use. Floral-patterned wallpaper further reduces the image to mere surface, and a false frame demarcates a space both flattened out and eerily empty. The absent, titular “ich” populates the carefully arranged objects and is doubly present through two heads suspended from a string.²³ Their dark-ringed eyes mark them as self-portraits, and inaugurate a characteristic physical attribute Hubbuch would continue to develop with increased complexity in the decade to follow.

After completing his four-year course of academic training, in June 1912, Hubbuch left Karlsruhe to continue his studies at the Museum of Arts and Crafts (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*) in Berlin.²⁴ He there enrolled in Emil Orlik’s drawing course alongside the young George Grosz, who had recently joined the school from the Dresden Academy.²⁵ Grosz made a strong impression on Hubbuch, who admired the artist’s confident demeanor and “American” style of dress replete with a wide shouldered jacket, wedge-shaped trousers, gold wire glasses, and a pocket watch suspended nattily from a

²² Karl Hubbuch, *Ich* (Me), 1911. Pencil on paper, dimensions and present location unknown. Reproduced in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch*, unpaginated title illustration.

²³ In a letter to Hans Kinkel, dated 25 March 1970, Hubbuch wrote of this image: “Es ist alles drauf (außer den Händen), was zur äußeren ‘Erscheinung’ gehört: Kopf in 2erlei Stimmung, Kleidung und Schuhe. Ich bin damals in ‘selbstentworfenen’ Kleidern rumgelaufen (in Berlin habe ich mirs dann sehr schnell abgewöhnt).” Cited in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch*, np.

²⁴ Copy of Hubbuch’s school-finishing “Zeugnis,” signed by Professor Walther Georgi on 19 June 1912, Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

²⁵ Grosz was 18 years old when he moved to Berlin—according to Hans Hess, probably on 4 January 1912—after completing his studies at the Dresden Academy in the late spring of 1911. See Hess, *George Grosz* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 260. On Hubbuch’s studies with Grosz in Berlin, see Uwe Schneede, “Hubbuch, Grosz, Nerlinger” in *Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979*, ed. Helmut Goettl et al. (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1981), 39-42.

leather band.²⁶ He likewise shared the aesthetic predilections of the eclectic draftsman Grosz, whose early sketchbooks provide the testing ground for visions of pustule-covered giants, human-size meat grinders, and fantastic adventures on the high seas.²⁷ Hubbuch later described the Orlik school as one that differed in crucial ways from a typical academic atelier: a setting “almost like an elementary school classroom” with chairs arranged row after row in ascending levels.²⁸ George Grosz held a seat in the very last row at a desk that he seldom used, while Orlik supervised from a table at the room’s center, wandering among his students to offer suggestions or to make corrections to drawings-in-progress.²⁹ The Orlik course consisted, primarily, of observational study from life-sized dummies or still life; a group of students around Grosz and Bernhard Hasler organized their own self-financed “Aktklub” — focused on observation and representation of the naked model — to supplement their academic study in the evenings.³⁰ Hubbuch’s watercolor sketches from these drawing clubs are rendered in a loose and gestural style, with curiously truncated bodies. Such studies after the female

²⁶ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Diether Schmidt, 4 September 1974. Cited in Schmidt, *Karl Hubbuch*, 3. “Grosz fiel damals eigentlich nur durch sein sicheres Benehmen auf (nicht arrogant). Durch seine moderne Kleidung, amerikanischer Stil: breite Schultern, keilförmig geschnittene Hosen, goldene Brille, Uhr am Lederriemchen in der oberen Außentasche.”

²⁷ Peter Nisbet has written a detailed overview of Grosz’s sketchbook from this first year in Berlin; see Nisbet, “Marks of a New Beginning: Allegory and Observation in Sketchbook 1912/1” in *The Sketchbooks of George Grosz*, ed. Peter Nisbet (Cambridge, Mass.: Busch-Reisinger Museum, 1993), 13-40.

²⁸ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Diether Schmidt, 4 September 1974. Cited in Schmidt, *Karl Hubbuch*, 3. “...Bei Orlik: fast eine Oberschulklasse mit Sitzpulten, Reihe hinter Reihe. Dann einige niedere Zeichengestelle...In der hintersten Reihe stand der Tisch von George Grosz, den er kaum benützte.”

²⁹ Kunstsammlung, AdK, Berlin. George Grosz Skizzenbuch Nr. HZ 2068, 9 November - 18 December 1912. This sketchbook contains a number of drawings in the Orlik-Klasse, beginning on 11 December with a sketch of Hubbuch drawing a life-size dummy. On the same day, a pencil study titled “Emil Orlik” shows the amphitheatre style seating, and another sketch shows the dummy alone, slumped on a chair.

³⁰ Hubbuch described the self-financed “Aktklubs” in a 1974 letter to the art historian Diether Schmidt. Cited in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch*, np. “Im Winter, gegen Abend, zeichneten wir (nur einige Leute) 5-Minuten-Bewegungsakt. Das war eine der positivsten Einrichtungen dieser Klasse...Ein gemeinsames ‘Ausrücken vors Motiv’ war für uns undenkbar...”

nude display an early fondness for the purposive fragmentation that would mark Hubbuch's figure studies in the later 1920s (**fig. 2.4**).³¹

In a sketchbook page from December 1912, Grosz drew his classmate Hubbuch at work in this very setting, studying a life-sized dummy (**fig. 2.5**).³² Variations on this dark-skinned figure appear in a number of Hubbuch's drawings from the Orlik class, one of which appears to imagine the figure into life, with turban and caftan. Two additional drawn fragments—a *Negerkopf* (Head of a Negro, 1912/14) and a self-portrait (1912/14) with mesmerizing green eyes—evinced a fluidity between Hubbuch's classroom studies and his self-portraiture: an early melding of content, process, and performative self-fashioning (**fig. 2.6**).³³ In what follows, I suggest that this confusion between the live model and the dummy would become for Hubbuch a deliberate tactic, marking a critical conflation of observation, imagination, and embodiment that would carry the artist from the classroom in Karlsruhe to the spaces of spectacle in prewar Berlin.

Into the Panopticon: Berlin 1912-1914

Here the horror of a debased, denatured humanity reached its high point. The first reaction that hit me was one of nausea. The grisly naturalism of these wax figures, together with the lifelessness of their ossified gestures, aroused in me of feeling of utter dread. I had the impression that one had brought together from the morgue a collection of old and newer corpses,

³¹ Karl Hubbuch, untitled sketch ca. 1912/14. Pencil and watercolor on paper. Private collection, Karlsruhe.

³² George Grosz, *Karl Hubbuch drawing in the Kunstgewerbeschule*, 1912. Grosz Sketchbook 1912/6 [27], 9 November - 18 December 1912. Blue ink on cream wove paper, 20.3 x 12.8 cm; page 30 recto, dated 11 December 1912. Kunstsammlung Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Inv.Nr. HZ 2068. The title "Karl Hubbuch zeichnet in der Orlik-Klasse," appears to have been added to the page at a later date, in Grosz's hand.

³³ Karl Hubbuch, *Negerkopf* (Head of a Negro) and *Self-Portrait (Augen)* (Self portrait eyes), pencil and colored pencil on paper, various dimensions. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

wrapped them up in rented costumes, and placed them on display simply to terrify people.³⁴

—Rudolf Schlichter on Castan's Panopticon, *Feet of Clay*, 1933

As Michael Leja has suggested, in his study of vision and modernity in America around 1900, the realm of visibility beyond the reach of the naked eye (what Walter Benjamin would later call the “optical unconscious”), was drastically extended in this period with advances in technology, photography, printmaking, and advertising.³⁵ In Germany around the *Jahrhundertwende*, as in America during its Gilded Age, the limits of “surface vision” were continuously exposed and tested by such innovations as X-ray technology, trick photography, and the early cinema. Pre-filmic spaces such as vaudeville and variety shows, *Tingeltangel* music halls, and tavern theaters (so-called *Wirtshaustheater*)³⁶ prepared modern German viewers for the early “cinema of attractions,” defined by Tom Gunning as a phenomenon (largely apparent before 1906) in which filmmakers harnessed visibility as its own reward, celebrating the “act of showing and exhibition” over narrative editing: a cinema that shows, in other words, rather than tells.³⁷ Part of the pleasure in deciphering such images is precisely their laid-bare visual

³⁴ Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße*, 225: “Hier erreichte das Grauen eines geschändeten, denaturierten Menschentums in der unfreiwilligen Selbstpersiflage seinen Höhepunkt. Die erste Reaktion, die sich bei mir einstellte, war Übelkeit. Der gräßliche Naturalismus dieser Wachsfiguren wirkte, vereint mit der Leblosigkeit des erstarrten Gestus, grauenerregend. Ich hatte den Eindruck, als ob man sämtliche alten und neuen Leichen der Morgue hierhergebracht und, in Leihkostüme gehüllt, zur Abschreckung aufgestellt hätte.”

³⁵ See Michael Leja, *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 1-18.

³⁶ On the early cinematic spaces of the tavern *Wirtshaus* and so-called *Ladenkinos* in provincial Germany, see Gerhard Bechthold, *Kino: Schauplätze in der Stadt. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Kinos in Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: von Loeper Verlag, 1987), 137.

³⁷ Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, its Spectator, and the Avant-Garde” in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 56-62.

process, what Neil Harris has referred to as an “operational aesthetic.”³⁸ German illustrators such as Lyonel Feininger exploited this type of visual humor and its aesthetic of visible operation in satirical drawings for magazines that ran the gamut of political affiliations and social classes: from the relatively light-hearted *Ulk* and *Lustige Blätter* to the more sardonic, politically-informed pages of *Simplicissimus*.³⁹ George Grosz deeply admired Feininger, as his early sketchbooks and journal entries attest; Hubbuch, likewise, drew inspiration from the whimsical, repertorial style of the German satirical weeklies and from popular press publications such as *Das Buch für Alle* (The Book for All).⁴⁰

In the title page from a 1912 sketchbook, Grosz presents himself as a dapper, suit-wearing dandy setting off from the Dresden Academy to make a new start in Berlin (**fig. 2.7**).⁴¹ Holding a whirring zoetrope before his face as if wielding a mechanically-driven prosthesis, Grosz draws attention to the new forms of vision that emerged from the 19th century and remained resonant for his time—one in which seeing in fragments was no longer the exception but the norm. William G. Horner’s zoetrope appeared around the same time as the German stroboscope (attributed to Simon von Stampfer) in the 1830s, concurrent with the early years of photography. The zoetrope was a turning cylinder scored with a series of evenly-spaced slits, around which several spectators could view

³⁸ This term comes from Neil Harris; for Gunning’s re-deployment of it see Gunning, “Crazy Machines in the Garden of Forking Paths: Mischief Gags and the Origins of American Film Comedy,” in *The Origins of American Film Comedy*, ed. Kristine Brunovska Karnick et al. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 87-104.

³⁹ On the postwar shift in political content, see Sherwin Simmons, “War, Revolution, and the Transformation of the German Humor Magazine, 1914-27,” *Art Journal* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 46-54.

⁴⁰ On two consecutive pages of a 1912 sketchbook, Grosz and his friend Herbert Fiedler faced off to depict Feininger’s painting, *Dorfstraße in der Bretagne*, both as they imagine it (“Wie ich mir Feiningers Bild Dorfstrasse in der Bretagne vorstellte,” Fiedler) and as it appeared in reality (“Nach Feininger. Dorfstrasse in der Bretagne,” Grosz). See Nisbet, “Marks of a New Beginning,” 15.

⁴¹ George Grosz, title page to Sketchbook 1912/1 (page 1 recto), ca. January 1912. Mixed media on paper, 16.8 x 25 cm. Kunstsammlung der Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin.

Lit: Nisbet “Marks of a New Beginning,” 19.

simultaneously a simulated action: usually tumbling acrobats, jugglers, or circus performers, as in a nineteenth-century Berlin example now in the Salzburg Museum (**fig. 2.8**).⁴² The “moving” figures were arranged consecutively on long strips of paper (thus lending them their oft celebrated, proto-filmic quality) and could be substituted at will for a new viewing experience. Like the phenakistoscope, the stroboscope, and the stereoscope, the zoetrope was a non-projective optical device: in modes of observation such as these, as Jonathan Crary suggests, “it is a question of a body aligned with and operating an assemblage of turning and regularly moving wheeled parts.”⁴³ The body thus becomes a part of the machine.

Grosz’s self-portrait explores the uneasy confluence of physical corpus and modern technology with a philosophical twist—a portrait bust of Friedrich Nietzsche hangs conspicuously on the background wall.⁴⁴ Karl Hubbuch, by contrast, chose to picture himself arriving in Berlin as a wary observer immersed fully in the aesthetic present. In a self-portrait marking the title page of the exhibition catalogue *Moderne Graphik* (Graphisches Kabinett, Galerie I.B. Neumann Berlin, 1913), Hubbuch plays the inquisitive gallery visitor who engages the viewer directly with his trademark, dark-

⁴² In the English-language press, the zoetrope was often referred to as the “wheel of life;” in German it was known as the *Wundertrommel* —the “miracle-” or “wonder drum.”

⁴³ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1990), 110.

⁴⁴ Following a personal conversation with Myriam Hubbuch, Dirk Blühbaum noted that copies of books by Rousseau, Voltaire, and Nietzsche could be found in the so-called “Vorkriegsbibliothek” of Hubbuch’s parental home in Neuenbürg; apparently the copy of *Zarathustra* had been heavily marked by the artist. See D. Blühbaum, “Bekam hier ihre Kunst zu fressen? Beckmann, Dix und Hubbuch im Ersten Weltkrieg,” in *Beckmann-Dix-Hubbuch: auf Papier*, ed. Dirk Blühbaum (Bayreuth: Kunstmuseum, 2006), 10.

ringed stare (**fig. 2.9**).⁴⁵ Like Grosz, he presents vision as a central, if by no means an untroubled, mode of modern experience. In a contemporary watercolor study, Hubbuch complicates this problematic of seeing by allowing the very instrument of vision to decay, to glaze over, to bruise in the socket. A fashionable woman sits in profile, wearing an oversized feathered hat; her large and cloudy, blue-grey eyes stare ahead with unseeing ferocity. Muddied rings of taupe-based watercolor and dark graphite suggest a kind of injury—a bruising to the eyes that lends the portrait an uneasy violence (**fig. 2.10**).⁴⁶

Although no intact sketchbooks remain from Hubbuch's stay in Berlin between 1912 and 1914, a large number of individual pages and fragments can be found in German private collections and in the Städtische Galerie in Karlsruhe.⁴⁷ Hubbuch's eerie rendering of *Castans Panoptikum* (1913/14), the famous wax figure museum in Berlin's Lindenpassage extends his exploration of embodied vision through the uncanny replicas of the philosopher Friedrich Schiller, seated at center, and the diminutive painter Adolph Menzel, standing in profile to Schiller's left (**fig. 2.11**).⁴⁸ Schiller's strange, unseeing eyes

⁴⁵ Karl Hubbuch, annotated copy of *Moderne Graphik*, exh.cat. 1913. Graphisches Kabinett I.B. Neumann, Berlin. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

Israel Ber Neumann opened his gallery on the Kurfürstendamm in Berlin in 1912 and presented there the first successful exhibition of *Die Brücke* in Berlin. In 1913, he exhibited Max Beckmann's "Sechs Lithographien zum Neuen Testament" (1911) and in April 1919 hosted the first Dada-Abend in the Graphisches Kabinett, followed by the first Dada-Ausstellung in May 1919. For a history of the Galerie I.B. Neumann and its later iterations in Berlin and New York, see Anja Walter-Ris, *Kunstleidenschaft im Dienst der Moderne. Die Geschichte der Galerie Nierendorf Berlin/New York 1920-1995* (Zürich: Zurich InterPublishers, 2003), 45-46.

⁴⁶ Karl Hubbuch, *Modellstudie (Frauenkopf mit Hut)* (Model study/Female head with hat), 1912-14. Pencil and watercolor on paper, 21 x 16 cm. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

⁴⁷ The art and architectural historian Johann Friedrich Geist used these monuments as placeholders to track Hubbuch's movements across Berlin in 1922 and 1924: see J.F. Geist, "Ankunft am Nollendorfplatz. Karl Hubbuch reist nach Berlin" in *Karl Hubbuch. Stadtbilder, Menschenbilder*, ed. Sylvia Bieber et al. (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2000), 37-49.

⁴⁸ Karl Hubbuch, *In Castans Panoptikum (Schiller und Menzel)* (In Castan's Panopticon/Schiller and Menzel), 1913/14. Pencil on paper, 25.3 x 31.7 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe.

stare directly at the viewer without seeming to “see” in any kind of sentient way.⁴⁹ This unresolved space of mismatched angles and untrustworthy mirrors requires a mode of slow, patient looking, and it rewards this gaze with a series of delightful formal ruptures: from the upper frame of a looking glass which seems to dissolve in a series of pencil hatches, for example, to the diamond-patterned wallpaper that seeps through the boundary of an unreflective mirror.

Indeed, like Adolph Menzel’s classic enigma of 19th century realism, *The Balcony Room* (1845)—famously purchased by Hugo von Tschudi for Berlin’s *Nationalgalerie* in 1903—Hubbuck’s drawing denies the primacy of the surveilling eye and offers in its place an experience of off-kilter embodiment. Michael Fried has described this operation of false reflection in Menzel’s picture as one that is “aspectual” in its mode of operation: in other words, the mirror does not truthfully reflect the interior scene but instead calls attention to the viewer’s implied location relative to the image as a whole (**fig. 2.12**).⁵⁰ Hubbuck’s vision of Castan’s *Panoptikum*—a space of unreliable seeing par excellence—proffers a similar lack of certainty that the subjectivity we are led to intuit in the picture is in any sense our own. Deliberate moments of “unfinish” further trip up and slow down the process of specular (panoptic) vision. Schiller’s right hand and left foot, for example, remain curiously absent: a purposeful amputation Hubbuck would correct and clarify in a related version of the scene.

⁴⁹ On the “unheimlich” in contemporary German thought, see Sigmund Freud’s classic essay on “The Uncanny” (1919) in *Writings on Art and Literature*, ed. Neil Hertz (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 193-233.

⁵⁰ Michael Fried, *Menzel’s Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 84-91.

Of course, the *Panoptikum* was more than simply a space in which to look at the wax figures on display: it was a decidedly public setting in which to mingle amidst a diverse cross section of Berlin society.⁵¹ Already in 1883, Paul Lindberg noted that one went to Castan's not only to marvel at the wax dummies, but also to observe the "interesting mix of provincial and metropolitan figures" who gathered there to see them.⁵² The brothers Louis and Maurice Castan opened their wax figure museum in Berlin's Kaiserpassage in 1873, and it remained open in various buildings until February 1922. (The Castan brothers also managed museums in Cologne, Frankfurt, Dresden, Breslau, and Brussels.) The largest iteration, which Hubbuch would have visited while in Berlin in 1912-14, operated since 1888 in the former Pschorr-Brauerei building and sprawled over four stories (**fig. 2.13**).

In 1890, the popular broadsheet journal *Das Buch für Alle* (The Book for All) devoted an entire issue to the new installation of Castan's Panoptikum, and provided a succinct overview of its highlights—from the traditional wax figures to the golden rococo

⁵¹ Castan's Panoptikum closed in February 1922, and the inventory was sold off throughout the course of the year. The café and the anatomical museum remained open to the public. On the history of the Panoptikum, see: "Das alte Panoptikum in der Lindenpassage" *Querschnitt* 16 (1936), 245; *Berliner Panoptikum. Das Wachsfiguren-Kabinett im Ku'Damm Eck* (Berlin 1977); Hannes König and Erich Ortenau, *Panoptikum: vom Zauberbild zum Gaukelspiel der Wachsfiguren* (Munich: Isartal-Verlag, 1962); Johann Friedrich Geist, *Die Kaisergalerie. Biographie der Berliner Passage* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1997); Anne Dreesbach, *Gezähmte Wilde. die Zurschaustellung 'exotischer' Menschen in Deutschland 1870-1940* (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2005), 84-89; and Angelika Friederici, *Castans Panopticum. Ein Medium wird besichtigt* (Berlin: Schütze Verlag, 2008).

⁵² Paul Lindberg, "Ein Stündchen im Panoptikum," in *Neu-Berlin -- Ein Stündchen im Panoptikum* (Leipzig 1883). Cited in Geist, *Die Kaisergalerie*, 121. "[...] ein Stündchen haben wir noch übrig, verbringen wir's in Kastan's Panopticum [...]. Und es verlohnt sich wirklich. An keinem anderen Orte in Berlin treffen wir eine so interessante Mischung von provinziellen und großstädtischen Figuren wie hier. Der Berliner selbst besucht gern für ein Viertelstündchen die glänzenden Säle; er weiß, daß es fast immer etwas Neues hier zu sehen gibt, er kann hier flanieren, bald einen Blick auf die ausgestellten Gegenstände werfend, bald durch die mächtigen Fenster auf das tief unter denselben wogende Gewühl der Passage blickend oder die Besucher musternd. Den überwiegenden Theil der letzteren bilden die Fremden, namentlich die Landbevölkerung. Diese Besucher gehören jedenfalls zu den aufmerksamsten des Panopticum und ihre Verwunderung über die hier angehäuften Kunstwerke zeigt sich theils in lauten Ausrufen, theils in stillem, fast andächtigen Staunen."

dresser of Frederick the Great to the “countless weapons from the Franco-Prussian wars.”⁵³ To accompany this special issue, the popular artist and illustrator, Wilhelm Busch, produced a series of sketches to advertise the new highlights at the Panoptikum. Assembled together as an etching montage, these vignettes depict well-dressed, bourgeois men and women viewing varied scenes of *Prunk* and politics: the towering Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, for example, engages in debate with the diminutive Catholic Centre Party politician, Ludwig Windthorst, while a fashionable couple look on from behind a velvet partition (**fig. 2.14**).⁵⁴ When the photographer Theodor Joost documented the contemporary galleries of Castan’s Panoptikum for the Verlag Gebrüder Castan in Berlin, in the 1870s, he trained his camera on static spaces populated with silent, stoical figures: the *Ruhmes Halle* (Hall of Fame) filled with notable figures of military and political history, the gallery of newly married nobility, and the display of Pope Pius IX surrounded by Wlodimir Ledóchowski and Giacomo Antonelli (**fig. 2.15**).⁵⁵ In each photograph, the wax figure “vignette” remains separated from the viewer with a velvet rope or a small raised platform.⁵⁶ In Castan’s famous *Schreckenskammer*, or chamber of horrors, visitors witnessed scenes and instruments of torture from the Middle Ages, and after 1913, a wax

⁵³ “Ausstellung in Castans Panoptikum in der Friedrichstraße in Berlin,” *Das Buch für Alle. Illustrierte Familien-Zeitung. Chronik der Gegenwart*, Jg. 25, Heft 20, 1890 (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft), accessed 9 April 2014, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Castans_Panoptikum. “Der große goldene Rococo-Schrank mit Reliquien Friedrich’s des Großen, die Sedan-Sammlung mit dem vollständigen Original-Tafelservice Napoleon’s III., zahlreichen Waffen aus dem deutsch-französischen Kriege, die bedeutende Goethe-Sammlung, der Krönungswagen Napoleon’s I. u.a.m. verliehen der Gesamt-Ausstellung neuen Reiz...”

⁵⁴ *In Castans Panoptikum zu Berlin* (In Castan’s Panopticon in Berlin). Etching after a series of sketches by Wilhelm Busch, published in “Ausstellung in Castans Panoptikum,” 481.

⁵⁵ Th. Joop, *Ruhmes Halle* (Hall of Fame) in Castan’s Panopticon, Berlin, 1878. Publisher: Verlag Gebrüder Castan. Photograph in Geist, *Die Kaisergalerie. Biographie der Berliner Passage* (Munich: Prestel, 1997).

⁵⁶ In Karlsruhe, Hubbuch likely saw the animatronic wax figures on display at the annual Messe, which made a strong and uncanny impression on the young Rudolf Schlichter. See Schlichter, *Tönerne Füße*, 24. “Die geheimnisvollen Wachsfiguren, die in großen Glaskästen auf den Holztterrassen der Buden standen und die, von einer unsichtbaren Maschinerie bewegt, in erschreckender Starrheit die Bewegungen lebendiger Menschen nachäfften, übten eine seltsam erregende Wirkung auf mich aus.”

figure of the infamous German murderer August Sternickel (**fig. 2.16**).⁵⁷ Around the Christmas holidays, the Panoptikum welcomed groups of live “exotic peoples” (*fremder Völkerschaften*) and offered, as a specialty of the Brothers Castan, “manifold experiments based on optical illusion by a system of mirrors, which act most surprisingly on the beholder.”⁵⁸

Hubbuch’s studies in the Panoptikum focus neither on shocking images of murderers or medical oddities, nor on heroes of the military or aristocratic class. Instead, he trains his eye on the mirrored interiors surrounding Friedrich Schiller and Adolph von Menzel. In a contemporaneous version of the panopticon scene, Hubbuch “corrects” the reflection in the mirror so that the nearby German officer can be identified in full regalia (**fig. 2.17**).⁵⁹ Here, it becomes clear that Schiller’s right hand is not missing, but rather, concealed out of view in his right coat pocket. From this angle, the wax figure of Menzel no longer stands in profile, but faces the viewer directly, with his left hand outstretched as if to make a friendly introduction. Hubbuch delineates a space with clear boundaries between interior and exterior: mirrors perform their expected function, reflecting “truthfully” the figures placed in front of them. Closer cropping allows for closer observation, and a fictive dialogue emerges between the figures on view and the implied spectator position; Weimar Germany’s “raging reporter,” Egon Erwin Kisch, imagined

⁵⁷ *Schreckenskammer* (Chamber of Horrors) in Castan’s Panopticon, Berlin, ca. 1913. Photograph in König and Ortenau, *Panoptikum. Vom Zauberbild zum Gaukelspiel der Wachsfiguren* (Munich: Isartal Verlag, 1962).

⁵⁸ “Ausstellung in Castans Panoptikum.” “...vielfachen Experimenten die auf optischer Täuschung durch ein System von Spiegeln beruhenden ‘Illusionen’ — zuerst die ‘Galathea’ und dann die ‘Magna’ — erfanden, die außerordentlich überraschend auf die Zuschauer wirken.”

⁵⁹ Hubbuch made an additional version of *Schiller und Menzel in Castans Panoptikum*, which is reproduced in Goettl, *Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979*, 137. This work was also reproduced as an illustration in *Querschnitt* 14 (1934), Heft 4, 247. Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

just such a conversation in his 1922 essay “Versteigerung in Castans Panoptikum” (Auction in Castan’s Panopticon), in which the wax figures of Goethe, Rothschild, August Sternickel, and Edward VII chat about Frankfurt — am Main and an der Oder — and the unwelcome prospect of being auctioned off and boiled into soap.⁶⁰

Indeed, throughout the 1910s and early 1920s, Castan’s was a cultural landmark for those interested in mass culture and “middlebrow” consumption. The German cinematographer Guido Seeber wrote that his first encounter with 35mm film came in Castan’s Panoptikum, in 1895.⁶¹ In a February 1921 issue of the Dada cabaret journal, *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke), the writer Walter Mehring published his “Panoptikum Ballad,” which sang the wry praises of a “broad public whose souls await peace,” but never find it, as they circle through the attractions in the famous house of wax.⁶² The art historian and Weimar cultural minister Edwin Redslob recounted that it was the silence of the wax figures—otherwise so lifelike with their dress uniforms and wide-open mouths — that both impressed and frightened him as a small child visiting Castan’s Panoptikum in the late 1880s.⁶³ The “loud silence” of these vignettes—the

⁶⁰ Goethe is especially concerned about this prospect, and indeed meets the cruel fate when he is sold (under the opening bid) for 900 marks to “A.B. Schaum & Co. Fettsiederei, Moabit.” Egon Erwin Kisch, “Versteigerung von Castans Panoptikum am 24. Februar 1922” in *Der rasende Reporter* [1925] (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2010), 84.

⁶¹ Guido Seeber, “Meine erste Filmkamera,” originally published in *Film-Kurier* (1 November 1935). Cited in Helmut Herbst, “The *Altmeister* Guido Seeber, 1879-1940: Film Pioneer, Cameraman, Technician and Publicist,” in *Before Caligari: German Cinema 1895-1920*, ed. Paolo Cherchi Usai (Pordenone: Edizioni Biblioteca dell’immagine, 1990), 268: “My first encounter with 35mm film came during the summer of 1895. I saw it in an Edison Kinetoscope, which was installed at Kastans [sic] Panoptikum. This equipment was set up as a slot machine and after inserting a 10 Pfennig coin it allowed a single viewer to watch the natural portrayal of a cinematographic scene, e.g. a boxing match. The film image was viewed through a built-in magnifying glass. At least 30m of film could run through this machine and by virtue of my father’s good contacts I was able to see inside the machine, as well as the film strip which was fed through a series of sprockets.”

⁶² Walter Mehring, “Die Ballade vom Panoptikum,” *Schall und Rauch* (February 1921): 14-15.

⁶³ Redslob, “Gruss der Wachsfiguren,” 2. “Längs der Wand stand auf erhöhter Rampe der Kaiser, umringt von den Fürsten und Generälen. Alle, mit Ausnahme des Kaisers, rissen den Mund weit auf, ohne daß doch ein Ton zu hören war. Die Lautlosigkeit all der aufgesperrten Münder war wohl das, was das Kind erschreckte.”

upended visuality of mirrors and their infinite doubling—must have proved attractive to Hubbuch, who forged during these early Berlin years a self-representation attuned to the liminal zones between seeing and hearing, observation and embodiment.

The Artist as Performer: *Hand-Werk*

Returning to southwest Germany in the fall of 1918, following four years of military service, Hubbuch spent nearly a year recovering from war exhaustion and malaria at his parents' home in rural Neuenbürg, near Bruchsal.⁶⁴ There, he sketched small-town scenes and self-portraits as a brooding invalid pursued by his ghostly double. Hubbuch's *Selbstporträt als Malariakranker* (Self-Portrait as Malaria Sufferer, 1918) presents a subject split in two—recall his fondness for doubling already evident in the 1911 self-portrait *Ich* (Me), with the dangling heads—but here the split between two personas remains foggy and unresolved (**fig. 2.18**).⁶⁵ Does the sick, blank-faced body stalk the more intact and recognizable figure “on the mend,” threatening the return of disease and ill health after so many months of recovery? Or does this sickness run deeper, a spiritual *Geisteskrankheit* looming like a shadow in the background? I suspect that Hubbuch intended to impart to this image the full spectrum of ambiguity: that this spectral “double” is more than a study of corporeal lack, that it serves a larger narrative function. Reading the malaria self-portrait in this way, we see the film enthusiast

⁶⁴ Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart EA 3-150/Bü 3203. “Personalakten, Prof. Karl Hubbuch.” Hubbuch recalled the sites and specifics of his military service in a letter sent to the Bundesarchiv in October 1956, shortly before his retirement from the Kunstakademie in Karlsruhe (1 December 1956). On the artist's military service, see also Wolfgang Hartmann, “Karl Hubbuch. Leben und Werk,” in *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, ed. Erika Rödiger-Diruf (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1993), 36.

⁶⁵ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis als Malariakranker* (Self-Portrait as Malaria Sufferer), 1918. Ink and pencil on paper, 23.5 x 18.5 cm. Karl-Hubbuch-Stiftung, Schloß Gochsheim, Kraichtal.

Hubbuch pursued by his ghostly double, recalling, for example, such early cinematic types as the tortured Balduin in Stellan Rye's pioneering German art film, *Der Student von Prag* (The Student of Prague, 1913).⁶⁶

In a letter written to his art school friend, Bob Bell, just after his medical discharge from the German Army as "unfit for service," George Grosz linked the performance of split, scarred, and doubled selves in his own artistic practice to the shocks and traumas of World War I. But he also connected these multiple personalities to the realm of popular culture and the cinema. "I am infinitely alone," he wrote to Bell, "that is, alone with my doubles, Fantômas-like figures, in which specific dreams, ideas, inclinations, etc., become real."⁶⁷ Grosz's assertions in the wake of war point to his desire to recuperate and to recover bodily wholeness, whether as the artist Grosz, the aristocratic "Count Ehrenfried," or the American "Dr. William King Thomas," a murderous physician-alter ego to whom Grosz devoted a total of eight "medical journals" between his first discharge, in May 1915, and his recall into military service in January 1917.⁶⁸ These sketchbooks chronicle Grosz's anxieties about his physical health (and enact elaborate fantasies of grotesque or pathological masculinities). For Hubbuch, the performance of physical illness, as a *Malariakranker*, is a far more subdued and

⁶⁶ On the tactic of doubling in German Romantic literature, and its connection to early 20th century cinema, see Stefan Andriopoulos, "The Terror of Reproduction: Early Cinema's Ghostly Doubles and the Right to One's Own Image," *New German Critique* 99, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Fall 2006): 151-170. See also Otto Rank, *The Double: A Psychoanalytic Study* [1914/1924] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 3-9; and Heide Schlüpmann, "The First German Art Film: Rye's *The Student of Prague*" in *German Film & Literature: Adaptations and Transformations*, ed. Eric Rentschler (New York/London: Methuen, 1986), 9-24.

⁶⁷ Letter George Grosz to Robert Bell, late September 1915. Cited in Schneede, *George Grosz: His Life and Work*, 42. "From my imagination I snatch, as it were, three different persons. I believe in these imagined pseudonyms. Gradually three firmly outlined types have emerged: 1. Grosz. 2. Count Ehrenfried, the nonchalant aristocrat with well-manicured fingernails, exclusively preoccupied with becoming more cultivated—in a word, the elegant aristocratic individualist. 3. The medical man, Dr. William King Thomas—the more American materialist compensation for the mother figure of Grosz."

⁶⁸ Lewis, "The Medical Journal of Dr. William King Thomas," 42-47.

melancholy affair; a related self-portrait etching as an invalid, *Der Invalide* (1919), shows the artist in his military uniform, smoking a cigarette as he slumps against a low rock wall.⁶⁹ In the background, a small group gathers in conversation before a modest farm house (presumably, the artist's family abode); the dark-eyed invalid crosses his hands and stares at the assembled figures with detached and resentful resignation.

Hubbuch re-enrolled at the Karlsruhe Academy as a master student (*Meisterschüler*) in October 1919.⁷⁰ In his year in the etching class taught by Professor Walter Conz, Hubbuch developed a sharp-edged realism that simultaneously exposed and troubled the operations of the healthy mind as a product of the activated hand. His self-portrait drawing of 1920 includes conspicuous pentimenti—pencil traces erased but still visible on the page—of his right hand gripping a drypoint etching needle (**fig. 2.19**).⁷¹ (Drypoint and etching would remain the artist's favored techniques of production until he began experimenting with lithography in 1923.) The erasure of this productive hand is significant, generating a compositional tension between the primacy of the eye (the typical organ of modernist innovation) and the workmanlike power of the hand. Hubbuch's 1920 etching, *Der Stumme* (Self-Portrait Mute), performs the flip side of this role: no longer the active agent, his dark eyes and unfocused gaze evoke instead the hypnotized subject, as the right-handed artist displays his slack and unproductive fingers

⁶⁹ Karl Hubbuch, *Der Invalide* (The Invalid), 1919. Drypoint and etching on paper, 13 x 19.3 cm. Karl Hubbuch Stiftung, Schloss Gochsheim/Kraichtal.

Lit: Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 122; Galerie Michael Hasenclever, ed., *Karl Hubbuch. Druckgraphik* (Munich: Galerie Hasenclever, 1983), cat.no. 10.

⁷⁰ GLA 235/40153 (Generalia, Kunst u. Wissenschaft, Jahr 1854-1920).

⁷¹ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait), 1920. Pencil on paper, 32.6 x 25.2 cm. Private collection, New York.

Lit: Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 18-19; Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings from the 1920s*, ill. no. 59; Rewald, *Glitter and Doom*, 198-99.

to the viewer with a kind of torpid resignation (**fig. 2.20**).⁷² In his *Selbstbildnis, wütend* (Angry Self-Portrait, 1922) Hubbuch would further develop this motif of outraged silence around an active, elevated fist; residual marks on the etching plate create a sense of frustrated movement, and his gaze now connects directly with the viewer over a menacing snarl (**fig. 2.21**).⁷³

Hubbuch's mixed technique of etching (*Radierung*) and drypoint (*Kaltnadel*) lends a decidedly sculptural, multi-layered quality to the process of printmaking. Unlike a traditional etching, which requires a "hot" acid bath, drypoint is created "cold"—entirely without the use of acid—and thus requires an especially strong pressing to draw a positive impression from the incised plate. Using a steel-tipped needle, the artist scratches the drawing directly into the unprepared surface of a *Druckplatte* (usually a copper plate); the needle pushes the copper to a raised edge on both sides, creating a trough surrounded by a raised burr. As a result, the printed line is not clearly contoured (as in a traditional etching or a lithograph), but instead remains feathery, imprecise, and evocative. Because the work is most closely aligned to pencil draftsmanship, it works in positive rather than negative incision. Moreover, pure drypoint is one of the most ephemeral of the printing

⁷² Karl Hubbuch, *Der Stumme* (The Mute), 1920. Drypoint and etching on paper, 22.8 x 15.9 cm. Private collection.

⁷³ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis, wütend* (Angry Self Portrait), 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 18.5 x 23 cm. Kunstmuseum Bayreuth.

The iconography of the tense and slackened fist, moreover, may have held special resonance for the left-leaning Hubbuch: as Eric Weitz has suggested, "the iconography of the hand—often two hands linked together—and the powerful arm stood both for brotherhood and the power and productivity of labor...The clenched fist, an increasingly common symbol of the labor movement, extended proletarian strength into overt political struggle." Weitz, *Creating German Communism*, 50.

media: never intended for large quantities of reproduction like the *Kupferstich*, the drypoint plate is nearly destroyed after a series of 10 pressings.⁷⁴

Hubbuchi's haunting self-portraits from this period deploy a combination of *Kaltnadel* and *Radierung*: a multiple manipulation and incision of the printing plate that operates on both a formal and a thematic level. These works of embodied realism allow the artist to split the difference between intentionality and abandon—to play the role of the passive, silent *Stumme* as well as the active mesmerist with the commanding stare. (The German word “Stumme,” of course, recalled the *Stummfilme*, or silent films, of the 1910s and 20s.)⁷⁵ Hubbuchi later described his bivalent position in such self-portraits as that of a “Spielleiter” in “selbstgeschaffenen Spielhäusern...”: the actor who performs in theaters of his own creation.⁷⁶ The etching *Im Hassen erstarrt* (Ossified in Hate, 1920/21) further enacts this notion of performative hypnosis: a male figure (a *Variété* actor bearing a strong resemblance to the artist) extends his stiff, clawed hands toward his female counterpart, who raises her left hand and closes her eyes as if to wish him away (**fig. 2.22**).⁷⁷ A number of related figure studies denote this as a remembered scene from the Berlin variety theater; the male figure's staring, yet unfocused gaze further recalls the

⁷⁴ Due to the difficult-to-preserve and raised-edge burr, a run of 10-20 prints is common in drypoint. The Housebook Master and, later, Rembrandt, were masters of this technique; other artists who worked in drypoint in the early 20th century included Max Pechstein, Erich Heckel, and Max Beckmann. I thank Dr. Astrid Reuter at the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe for looking closely at Hubbuchi's drypoint etchings with me to analyze their process of incision and multiple printing.

⁷⁵ In her dissertation on Hubbuchi's photography, Karin Koschkar notes the influence of the “Expressivität der Stummfilme” in self-portraits such as the 1920 example, the 1922 “angry self portrait,” and in lithographs such as *Im Rasch des Irrens*. See Koschkar, “Karl Hubbuchi als Modell- und Straßenfotograf der Moderne,” 25 and 133-134.

⁷⁶ Letter from Karl Hubbuchi to Hans Kinkel, 27 August 1970. Cited in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuchi*, np.

⁷⁷ Karl Hubbuchi, *Im Hassen erstarrt* (Ossified in Hate), 1920/21. Drypoint and etching on paper, 25.2 x 26.2 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2007/686.

neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot's period formulation of a state of "grand hypnotism" that emphasized the mesmerized subject's open eyes.⁷⁸

Hubbuch learned the tactics and techniques of theatrical performance (as well as those of etching) from his famous and well-connected teacher, Emil Orlik, who participated regularly in two important artist gatherings in Berlin: before World War I, at the *Donnerstagstisch* (Thursday roundtable) in the Weinstube Eugen Steinert on the Kurfürstendamm, and after 1916, at the *Maler-Stammtisch* (painters' roundtable) organized by the artist Max Slevogt at the Romanisches Café.⁷⁹ Already by 1905, Orlik was a regular contributor of set and costume design to Max Reinhardt's Deutsches Theater.⁸⁰ These two spaces of performance—the Berlin theater and the local *Künstlercafé*—were central to Orlik's sense of observation and caricature, and they provided a key environment for young artists such as Hubbuch and George Grosz.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Charcot and his students at the Salpêtrière School in Paris considered the ability to be hypnotized as a clinical feature of nervous disorders such as hysteria, i.e. as a pathological condition synonymous with disease. Charcot differentiated "grand hypnotism," as manifested in hysterics, from "small hypnotism" that could be effected in and upon well people. The strong visual element to Charcot's clinical education (Freud studied under him in 1885) has led a number of historians of art and visual culture to seek connections between his practice and broader artistic culture in France and Germany. See, for example: Andriopoulos, *Possessed*, 95; Susan Sidlauskas, "Emotion, Color, Cézanne (The Portraits of Hortense)," *19th Century Art Worldwide: a journal of nineteenth-century visual culture*, Vol. 3, Issue 2 (Autumn 2004); and Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), especially 82-93.

⁷⁹ On the *Malerstammtisch* and the hierarchical spaces of the Romanisches Café, see Schebera, *Damals im Romanischen Café*, 44-51.

⁸⁰ For a close study of Emil Orlik and the theater in Berlin, see Birgit Ahrens, "'Denn die Bühne ist der Spiegel der Zeit': Emil Orlik (1870-1932) und das Theater" (PhD diss., Universität Kiel, 1999).

⁸¹ Orlik and Reinhardt met in Prague, probably in 1895, the date of Orlik's first portrait of the young actor, who was traveling with the Deutsches Theater on "Gastspielreise." In 1896, Orlik drew Reinhardt in his role as "Dr. Scholz" in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Das Friedensfest*. One year later, Orlik designed the infamous "Weber-Plakat" for the Hauptmann show of the same name. (In 1921, the Große Schauspielhaus in Berlin re-used Orlik's poster for a new production of the show by Karl Heinz Martin.) See Birgit Ahrens, "...Und für das Theater Max Reinhardts entwarf ich die Dekorationen und Kostüme," in *Emil Orlik. Leben und Werk 1870-1932: Prag, Wien, Berlin*, ed. Eugen Otto et al. (Wien: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1997), 35-36.

Moreover, these institutional and social networks brought Orlik students close to German theater actors and rising film stars to whom they would otherwise not have had ready access. Until 1911, Orlik regularly contributed set design and costumes to Max Reinhardt productions ranging from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (1905) to Theodor Wolff's *Die Königin* (The Queen, directed by Felix Hollaender in 1911).⁸² Orlik became well known as "hunter of heads,"⁸³ and he sketched hundreds of caricature portraits depicting stars of the Berlin theater world, many of whom eventually crossed over into film: Lil Dagover, Asta Nielsen, Marlene Dietrich, and Emil Jannings, to name several well-known examples, as well as portraits of the artist Oskar Kokoschka and the director Max Reinhardt "at rehearsal" (*bei der Probe*) in the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.⁸⁴ Orlik's portrait of Jannings in his leading role as Rodrigo in *Die Büchse der Pandora* (Pandora's Box), a Frank Wedekind production at the Deutsches Theater in 1919, typifies the genre of the *Rollenportrait* (role portrait), which experienced a revival around the turn of the century: alongside photography, it was seen as the preferred method to capture the mimicry and transformative potential of the actor (**fig. 2.23**).⁸⁵ Tom Gunning notes that

⁸² Ahrens, "...Und für das Theater Max Reinhardts," 39. Between 1919 and 1929, Orlik produced a series of *Mappen* (print portfolios) after productions by Max Reinhardt, including "Die Büchse der Pandora" (1919), "Das Mirakel" (1924), "Vom Teufel geholt" (1929), and "Gespenstersonate" (1929). Orlik also produced a portfolio on the occasion of the "Reigen-Process," in 1921, which documented the scandal-laden production of Arthur Schnitzler's play "Reigen" in December 1920 in Berlin. The majority of these portfolios contained lithographs of portraits or so-called "Rollenportraits," which depicted lead actors in their famous roles. They were printed and distributed by the Berlin publishers Neue Kunsthandlung, Amsler & Ruthardt, and Bruno Cassirer in editions of 60 - 130; the portfolios to "Das Mirakel" and "Gespenstersonate" remained unpublished.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 43. A 1930 review of his work called him "Der Jäger" (the hunter), a café creature who sought out aesthetically pleasing heads.

⁸⁴ Many of these portrait studies appear as lithographs in Emil Orlik, *95 Köpfe* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Kunsthandlung, 1920) and Emil Orlik, *Neue 95 Köpfe* (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1926).

⁸⁵ Emil Orlik, *Emil Jannings in der Probe*, 'Die Büchse der Pandora' (Emil Jannings at rehearsal for 'Pandora's Box'), ca. 1919. Lithograph in Orlik, *95 Köpfe* (1920).

George Grosz filled a sketchbook with such role-portraits in the Berlin Lindenkabarett. George Grosz sketchbook Nr. 29 (1913/2) HZ 2070, early May 1913. AdK Kunstsammlung, Berlin.

this tactic (in the form of the “actor’s prologue”) was also popular in the early twentieth century as a way to introduce famous stage actors to cinema audiences seeing them on screen for the first time; this is the case, for example, in Stellan Rye’s *Der Student von Prag* (1913), in which the lead actor Paul Wegener and the director Rye can be seen clowning around in the titular city.⁸⁶ Indeed, during the early and mid-1910s, it was common to list both the actors’ names and their theatrical affiliations in advertising and in the credits of the films themselves. (Wegener got his start in theater under Max Reinhardt, as did the *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* star Conrad Veidt.) As Kristin Thompson has noted, reviews of *Der Student von Prag* treated it as a film by Hans Heinz Ewers (its scriptwriter) and/or Paul Wegener (its star), overlooking the director Stellan Rye almost completely.⁸⁷

In her influential, yet often criticized formalist history of the German cinema, *The Haunted Screen*, Lotte Eisner posited a direct connection between the Max Reinhardt theater and the dramatic lighting effects of German Expressionist cinema, particularly in

⁸⁶ Tom Gunning, *The Films of Fritz Lang: Allegories of Vision and Modernity* (London: British Film Institute, 2000), 99-100. The actor’s prologue appeared ca. 1910 and was especially popular between 1914-16 when companies introduced stars as a way to market their films. Often, the actors are shown out of costume, bowing to the camera or chatting with the director (as in *Der Student von Prag*). Gunning writes that “these prologues stress their non-diegetic nature with intertitles identifying the actors *as actors* and often by taking place in an abstract setting against a blank background (as in *Fantomas*) or on a stage set.” As Gunning notes, Fritz Lang plays with this technique in the famous opening scene of *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1922), in which Mabuse selects a new identity from a spread of *cartes des visites* depicting his various disguises.

⁸⁷ Kristin Thompson, “Im Anfang War...: Some Links between German Fantasy Films of the Teens and the Twenties” in Usai, *Before Caligari*, 140.

such “classical” films as *The Student of Prague* (1913) and *The Golem* (1920).⁸⁸ Beyond such formal correspondences—a dialogue Eisner anchors in the German Romantic taste for dramatic light-dark contrasts (the celebrated tactic of *chiaroscuro*)—were the facts of cultural consumption in the period between 1913 and 1920:

We should remember that Max Reinhardt, from 1907 to 1919...was a sort of “Kaiser” of the Berlin theatre. He had become so important that in solid middle-class families everybody skipped the newspaper headlines to read Alfred Kerr’s article on the previous night’s performance. Berliners often went to the Reinhardt theatre several times a week, for the programme changed daily. When the cinema became an art-form, it quite naturally took advantage of Reinhardt’s discoveries, using the *chiaroscuro*, the pools of light falling from a high window into a dark interior, which people were used to seeing every evening at the Deutsches Theater.⁸⁹

As a young art student in Berlin, Hubbuch visited Reinhardt performances on numerous occasions; the theater reopened in a dazzling new space, with seating for 5,000 spectators and architectural design by Hans Poelzig, in November 1919.⁹⁰ On a visit to Berlin in 1922, Hubbuch captured this distinctive interior in the drypoint etching, *Berlin, das große Schauspielhaus* (**fig. 2.24**).⁹¹ A performer rehearses his lines from atop a rectangular podium, while a small group of individuals watch from chairs scattered across the stage floor, and interested onlookers peer down from the tiered theater seating.

⁸⁸ Lotte H. Eisner, *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1973), 39-74. Like Siegfried Kracauer, Eisner wrote her study of the German cinema from exile, and subsequent historians have considered (and often, discounted) both texts as flawed critical lenses based on this experience. Thomas Elsaesser provides an insightful reconsideration of both Kracauer’s and Eisner’s approaches in “Expressionist film or Weimar cinema? With Siegfried Kracauer and Lotte Eisner (once more) to the movies,” in Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany’s Historical Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 2000), 18-60.

On Max Reinhardt and Weimar cinema, see Jo Leslie Collier, *From Wagner to Murnau: The Transposition of Romanticism from Stage to Screen* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 77-104.

⁸⁹ Eisner, *The Haunted Screen*, 47.

⁹⁰ In her study of German Expressionism at its “end,” Joan Weinstein calls the *Großes Schauspielhaus* a triumph of Expressionist ideals, but one that existed only as a “dazzling illusion,” or a “revolutionary spectacle.” Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*, 242.

⁹¹ Karl Hubbuch, *Probe im Großen Schauspielhaus, Berlin* (Rehearsal in the Deutsches Theater, Berlin), 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 14.2 x 18.9 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1974-34.

The large dangling *maquernas*—honeycombed stalactites that adorned the massive interior dome and pillars—seem to glow and pulsate beneath a scrim of delicate cross hatching. As a series of etchings produced between 1919 and 1921 serve to demonstrate, Hubbuch would test and develop these tactics of printmaking with inspiration from cinema and late expressionist theater, exploring the porous boundaries between these two realms of opticality and embodiment.

Expressionist Set-Pieces: *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920)

For weeks now screeching posters cling to advertising columns and to the walls of underground train stations, colorfully assembled and fascinating. A distorted visage, a pair of feverishly ecstatic outstretched hands. And from wildly formed letters emerge the mysterious words: “You must become Caligari” (*Du mußt Caligari werden*), which wrest the public under its influence. A new piece of theater? A revue? The sensational name of a bar? Insiders knew that it was the name of a film. An expressionist film. Without being able to imagine what that might mean. Now the veil of mystery have been lifted. “Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari” presented itself to an invited circle of spectators and effected a magical power.⁹²

—Eugen Tannenbaum, *Danziger Zeitung*, 6 March 1920

Hubbuch’s drypoint etching, *Theaterszene mit Conrad Veidt* (Theater Scene with Conrad Veidt, 1921) presents a fanciful melding of stage and screen that is anchored by the famous Reinhardt theater actor (**fig. 2.25**).⁹³ Above Veidt’s head, a female diva figure

⁹² Eugen Tannenbaum, *Danziger Zeitung*, 6 March 1920. Copy in the Deutsche Kinemathek, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 251 “Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari, 1919,” Folder 1/7. “Seit Wochen kleben an den Litfaßsäulen, an den Reklamewänden der Untergrundbahnhöfe marktschreierische Plakate, grellbunt aufgemacht, faszinierend. Eine verzerrte Fratze, fieberisch-ekstatisch ausgereckte Hände. Und aus wirren Buchstaben formen sich die geheimnisvollen Worte: ‘Du mußt Caligari werden’, die das Publikum in ihren Bannkreis reißen. Ein neues Theaterstück? Eine Revue? Der sensationelle Titel einer Bar? Eingeweihte wußten, daß es sich um einen Film handelt. Einen expressionistischen Film. Ohne sich jedoch darunter etwas vorstellen zu können. Nun ist der Schleier des Geheimnisses gelüftet. ‘Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari’ (ein Filmspiel von Karl Mayer und Hans Janowitz) hat sich vor einem geladenen Kreis von Zuschauern aufgetan und eine große Zauberkraft ausgeübt...”

⁹³ Karl Hubbuch, *Theaterszene mit Conrad Veidt* (Theater Scene with Conrad Veidt), 1921. Drypoint and etching on paper, 15.5 x 23.8 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe.

floats through midair, her half-naked torso draped in a short, translucent black cloak and her legs sheathed in tall silk stockings. She extends her left arm to an audience member who seems to take the veiled wrist between her teeth in an act of taut-limbed and unconscious aggression, as Veidt looks on knowingly with dark and expressive eyes.

Conrad Veidt was a Max Reinhardt actor who had trained at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin; in the two years between 1919 and 1921, he starred or appeared in leading roles in fifteen German language films, including *Anders als die Anderen* (Different from the Others, 1919) and *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, 1919-20), in which he starred as the titular doctor's murderous somnambulist, Cesare.⁹⁴ Indeed, the confused and collapsing *mise-en-scène* in Hubbuch's etching, with its moated tower and Gothic church spire, recall not so much the high-contrast sets of Reinhardt's Berlin theater as they do the expressionist set design of *Caligari*—the style of so-called “caligarisme” that by 1921 had become strongly associated with the film's angular, high-contrast architecture and exaggerated medieval townscapes.⁹⁵

Despite its driving subtext of hypnotic crime, the plot of *Caligari* is rather traditional, concerning a love triangle in which two friends, Francis and Alan, vie for the affections of their beloved Jane. The tale unfolds within a framing narrative that casts doubt on the narrator's credibility and that has spawned countless interpretations

⁹⁴ Conrad Veidt made his debut at the Deutsches Theater Berlin in May 1913 and continued performing in small roles until being called up for war service in 1915. Veidt returned to the Deutsches Theater in September 1916 and signed a “Rollenvertrag,” or role contract, with the Max Reinhardt company. From 1917, he performed on both stage and on screen, making 15 films in one year alone. For general biographies, see: John T. Soister and Pat Wilks Battle, eds., *Conrad Veidt on Screen: a Comprehensive Illustrated Filmography* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2002); and Wolfgang Jacobsen, ed., *Conrad Veidt, Lebensbilder: ausgewählte Fotos und Texte* (Berlin: Argon, 1993).

⁹⁵ On the style of “caligarisme” and the film's much-emulated visual form, see Mike Budd, “Modernism and the Representation of Fantasy: Cubism and Expressionism in *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*,” in *Forms of the Fantastic*, ed. Jan Hokenson et al. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986), 15-21; and Walter Kaul, ed., *Caligari und Caligarismus* (Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1979).

(famously, Siegfried Kracauer's analysis of Dr. Caligari as the original German proto-fascist in his 1947 film study published from exile, *From Caligari to Hitler*.)⁹⁶ As Anton Kaes has argued, the *Caligari* director Robert Wiene made deliberate use of earlier, even outmoded, cinematic conventions—in particular, the so-called “iris-in” and “iris-out” shots that frame the filmic image through a circular or rhomboid opening—and thus forced the viewer to consider the frame as an integral, insistent component of the film's narrative structure.⁹⁷ Indeed, such formal tactics would continue to prove useful into the 1920s, in films such as Fritz Lang's *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler, 1922), in which the director encouraged his audience to see with a specialized, and sometimes a penetrating, form of targeted vision.⁹⁸

The titular Dr. Caligari (played by the Reinhardt alum Werner Krauss) first appears in the 1920 film as a memory recounted by the narrator, Francis, whom we meet in an asylum where he is haunted by the ghostly apparition of his dead fiancée, Jane. “I will tell you...” Francis intones to an older companion, as he promises to recount the

⁹⁶ Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947). For subsequent discussions of the framing narrative in *Caligari*, see: Dietrich Scheunemann, “The Double, the Decor, and the Framing Device: Once More on Robert Wiene's *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*,” in *Expressionist Film: New Perspectives*, ed. D. Scheunemann (Rochester, NY: Camden, 2003), 125-56; Neil H. Donahue, “Unjustly Framed: Politics and Art in *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*,” *German Politics and Society* 32 (July 1994): 76-88; and Barry Salt, “From Caligari to Who?” *Sight and Sound* 48, no. 2 (Spring 1929): 119-23.

⁹⁷ Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema*, 56-57. “The frequent use of the iris also produces a claustrophobic peephole effect that allows us to glimpse only what the storyteller wants us to see; the rest remains literally in the dark. Reminiscent of the camera obscura, the iris both illuminates and obscures, highlighting the extreme artificiality of cinematic representation.”

The screenwriter Hans Janowitz wrote the 105-page unpublished manuscript “Caligari: The Story of a Famous Story” from his emigration in Prague, most likely in 1939, and sent it to New York, where it now resides in the Theater Collection of The New York Public Library. This text allowed Janowitz to claim ownership of the “original” screenplay and to claim that the director Robert Wiene added the frame to the story as a way of taming down its radical symbolism. This highly informed Siegfried Kracauer's read of the film as reactionary and proto-fascist. See Uli Jung and Walter Schatzberg, *Robert Wiene: Der Caligari Regisseur* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 1995), especially 65-67.

⁹⁸ This is the case, for example, in the famous opening scene, in which the viewer gains special access (almost X-ray vision) to the contents of a briefcase containing important business documents.

events that led to the death of his two friends and to his incarceration in the asylum. As the film continues, we discover that Dr. Caligari is a traveling showman, a fairground huckster who presents to the assembled crowds at the town fair in Holstenwall a somnambulist called Cesare (played by Conrad Veidt). In an intertitle, Caligari directs the crowd to “Step right up, folks. Here, for the first time anywhere, you can see Cesare, the somnambulist!”⁹⁹ Inside a primitive circus tent, Cesare stands motionless, with closed eyes, in an upright coffin. The dramatic moment of awakening comes only at Caligari’s command, as Cesare slowly opens his eyes and stares directly into the camera (**fig. 2.26**).

In this starring role, Conrad Veidt wowed contemporary reviewers as “durchweg glänzend” (consistently radiant), particularly when they compared his performance as Caligari’s somnambulist to his recent roles in so-called “enlightenment” films such as *Die Prostitution* (Prostitution, 1919), directed by Richard Oswald, or in the self-directed horror film *Wahnsinn* (Madness, 1919).¹⁰⁰ Veidt was known as an actor who could convey powerful emotion solely through his physical presence, especially through his dark-lined and expressive eyes. For the critic Kurt Tucholsky, who celebrated the film as “something totally new,” Veidt was the main attraction, an actor who “stalks thin and otherworldly through his insane world: at one point casting a radiant look, then again as if

⁹⁹ Anton Kaes has suggested that Caligari toys with the audience’s anticipation and endlessly delays the revelation of his attraction—the film likewise cuts to and away from the fairground several times before the viewer “meets” Cesare in person. Kaes thus connects Wiene’s directorial tactic to the earlier “cinema of attraction,” in which filmmakers engaged their audiences in a show-and-tell that allowed them to revel in a succession of tricks. Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema*, 56-58.

¹⁰⁰ Balthasar (Roland Schacht) in *Freie Deutsche Bühne*, Berlin, 1 Jg, Nr. 29 (14 March 1920), 695. Copy of review in the Deutsche Kinemathek, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 251 “Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari, 1919,” Folder 1/7. “Veidt ist fast durchweg glänzend. Sein Erwachen aus dem Schlaf, die Prophezeiung, wie er die Gartenmauer entlang schleicht, den Berg emporkeucht, das ist überaus eindrucksvoll, und wer den Künstler in so schwachen Leistungen wie ‘Prostitution’ und ‘Wahnsinn’ gesehen hat und nun mit der im ‘Reigen’ (Ostwald-Lichtspiele), und der jetzigen vergleicht, stellt mit Vergnügen eine Entwicklung zum Guten, ja künstlerisch Bedeutsamen fest.”

out of [Alfred] Kubin, black and shadowy and sinewy as he creeps wraith-like behind a wall...”¹⁰¹

The strategies and tactics of contemporary cinema exerted a particular fascination on the group of Dadaists around Tucholsky; in January of 1921, the Berlin journal *Schall und Rauch* devoted a special issue to the topic of film, complete with a series of photomontages depicting popular actors such as Pola Negri, Asta Nielsen, Emil Jannings, and Paul Wegener (**fig. 2.27**).¹⁰² Presciently, Tucholsky surmised that the film would find greater resonance outside of Germany than within its own borders, where its public oscillated between “exhilaration and misunderstanding.” In western Europe and in America, however, the film would come to symbolize Expressionism as a distinctly German cultural product, one that represented a Teutonic will-to-art marked by its highly exaggerated Neo-Gothic style. “A provincial product it is not,” Tucholsky wrote, “and I fear, not quite a Berlin product either. That said—and this the largest of all rarities—a good film. More of the same!”¹⁰³

Caligari premiered at the Marmorhaus theater in Berlin on 26 February 1920.

Produced and promoted by the Decla-Bioskop company, the film opened in cities across Germany throughout the winter and spring and became a national sensation. In Berlin, Decla-Bioskop introduced *Caligari* with a massive publicity campaign in which posters

¹⁰¹ Kurt Tucholsky in *Die Weltbühne* Jg. Nr 11 (1920), 347. Copy of review in the Deutsche Kinemathek, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 251 “Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari, 1919,” Folder 1/7. “Veidt stelzt dünn und nicht von dieser Erde durch seine wirre Welt: einmal ein herrlicher Augenaufschlag, einmal wie von Kubin, schwarz und schattenhaft und ganz lang an einer Mauer hingespensternd...”

¹⁰² “Als ich das Leben einer Malayenfrau kennen lernte (Paul Wegener)” (The time I got to know the life of a Malayan woman - Paul Wegener), photomontage in *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke), January 1921.

¹⁰³ Tucholsky, review of *Caligari* in *Die Weltbühne*, 347. “Das Publikum schwankte zwischen Heiterkeit und Unverständnis: der Berliner hat, wenn er sich grault, einen Lacher zur Verfügung, der durch die Nase geblasen wird, das ist höchst effektiv. Ein Provinzgeschäft ist es nicht, und ich fürchte, nicht einmal ein berliner Geschäft. Aber - die größte von allen Seltenheiten - : ein guter Film. Mehr solcher!”

and newspaper advertisements directed the unsuspecting public: “Du musst Caligari werden!” (You must become Caligari!) (**fig. 2.28**).¹⁰⁴ The film critic Eugen Tannenbaum described this tactic of provocation as one quite powerful in its suggestive ambiguity, accessible to those in the know before it exerted its strange magic on the broader public.¹⁰⁵ One month after its Berlin premiere, *Caligari* continued to play an average of five times per day at the Marmorhaus theater, which celebrated its 150th screening of the film on 29 March 1920: an unusually high number of showings for the period.¹⁰⁶ In 1920, twelve movie theaters served an active movie-going public in Karlsruhe; it is likely that *Caligari* premiered early that summer at one of the city’s largest theaters: the Palast-Theater on Herrenstrasse, with 430 seats, or the Union-Lichtspiele on Kaiserstrasse, with room for 310 attendees.¹⁰⁷ Already in February of 1920, Karlsruhe moviegoers could take in the Stern-Film “enlightenment” production *Alkohol* (Alcohol, 1919) and the Richard Eichberg thriller *Sklaven fremden Willens* (Slaves of a foreign will, ” 1920) at the popular “Resi” Theater on Schillerstrasse.¹⁰⁸ Karl Hubbuch likely took in the premiere of

¹⁰⁴ “Du musst Caligari werden!” (You must become Caligari!), poster for the film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920), 1919. Designer: Stahl & Arpke. Publisher: DECLA Film Gesellschaft, Berlin.

¹⁰⁵ Eugen Tannenbaum, *Danziger Zeitung*, 6 March 1920.

¹⁰⁶ Klaus Peter Heß, *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari. Materialien zu einem Film von Robert Wiene* (Duisburg: Atlas Film + av, 1988), 20.

¹⁰⁷ Gerhard Bechtold provides an overview of the existing movie theaters in Karlsruhe ca. 1920 in his *Kinogeschichte in Karlsruhe*, 30. According to newspaper announcements in the *Caligari* archive at the Deutsche Kinemathek, the film premiered outside of Berlin starting in June/July 1920. In Stuttgart, for example, it opened at the Kammer-Lichtspiele (Marienstrasse 18) on 23 July. Announcement in the Deutsche Kinemathek Berlin, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 251 “Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari 1919,” Folder 1/7: “Programme u.a.” Folder “Vorweise auf Originalmaterialien.”

¹⁰⁸ Directed by Alfred Lind and Ewald Andre Dupont, and starring Hanny Weisse, Jean Moreau, Maria Zelenka, and Anton Rückert, *Alkohol* was one of a series of Weimar “enlightenment” films (*Aufklärungsfilme*) aiming to teach the public about social problems from a cautionary, often highly exaggerated, fictionalized perspective.

On these films, see Bruce Murray, *Film and the German Left in the Weimar Republic: From Caligari to Kuhle Wampe* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 27. “*Aufklärungsfilme* functioned indirectly to support the moral and political status quo. Films [...] attracted large audiences because they appealed to the sexual fantasies created by the constraints of conventional morality. Such films did not call into question the values of the traditional patriarchal and Christian moral system or to initiate discussions about the need for social change.”

Caligari at one of these theaters when it arrived in Karlsruhe that spring, situated as he was at the centrally-located Academy with an atelier on Westendstrasse.¹⁰⁹

In the first decades of the twentieth-century, hypnosis emerged as a powerful trope in literature, as well as in the newly emerging medium of cinema. Films such as D.W. Griffith's *The Criminal Hypnotist* (1909), Harry Harvey's *Spellbound* (1916), *Hypnose* (1919), and Eichberg's *Slaves of a Foreign Will* (1920) all dealt with the theme of hypnotic crime.¹¹⁰ In contemporary allegorical montages such as *Das dritte Gesicht* (The Third Eye, 1921), Karl Hubbuch transferred these thematics of demonic possession to the medium of printmaking, producing a series of somnambulist self-portraits in which the artist moves through scenes of memory and melancholy with an ostensible loss of agency. Scholars have attributed the indeterminate forms and deeply encoded content of these allegorical montages to a kind of "dream" state—one in which disparate visions float unconnected through a web of personal memory.¹¹¹ By contrast, I wish to suggest that these works by Hubbuch do not operate as proto-surrealist dream images, but rather as somnambulist montages far more closely aligned with the projective and illuminated

¹⁰⁹ According to a library loan slip from 1920, Hubbuch rented a room at Winterstrasse 50, in the working-class section of Karlsruhe known as the *Südstadt*. In 1921, he moved to a room on the west side of town at Uhlandstrasse 26. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

¹¹⁰ See Andriopoulos, *Possessed*, 92 and Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema*, esp. 58-61.

¹¹¹ On these aspects of the drypoint etching "Knowing and Blind," see: Hartmann, "'Wissend und Blind'. Eine 'allégorie réelle' von Karl Hubbuch," 141-155; Hofmann, "Karl Hubbuchs 'Kino sozialer Klitterungen,'" 131-144; and Heusinger von Waldegg, "Der Blick auf den Zuschauer," 146.

Dennis Crockett has called these allegorical works "dream/nightmare images," linking them to the influence of Bosch and Breughel, as well as de Chirico and Carra. Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 123.

vision of contemporary German film.¹¹² For Hubbuch, working in techniques of layered printmaking that mirrored the emulsion processes and projections of celluloid film, the parallel between hypnotic and filmic simulation would prove to be a powerful narrative device, one that resisted post-expressionist and post-Dada imperatives to proclaim one's political position through formal acts of cutting, slicing, or suturing.

Allegories of Modernity: The Cinephile-Reporter

The world that opens up before our eyes in this film is the world in which we all live. Only it is condensed, exaggerated in detail, concentrated into essentials, all its incidents throbbing with the feverish breath of those years, hovering between crisis and convalescence, leading somnambulistically just over the brink, in the search for a bridge that will lead over the abyss...¹¹³

—Uco Film promotional flyer for *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1922)

In March of 1922, Karl Hubbuch left Karlsruhe for an extended stay in Berlin—the second of three recorded visits he would make to the *Hauptstadt* during his lifetime.¹¹⁴ He there began plotting a series of drawn montages that capture the city's

¹¹² Thomas Elsaesser notes that cinematic lighting, in the German UFA tradition celebrated by Lotte Eisner in *The Haunted Screen*, “turns the image into an object endowed with a special luminosity (being lit and at the same time radiating light) which is to say, light appears as both cause and effect, active and passive.” Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After*, 44.

As Stefan Andriopoulos has noted, the historical specificity of the emergence of cinema as a medium and the cultural interest in hypnotism and fake crimes lends itself more readily to the period of German film production between 1910-33 than do the “frequently strained” analogies of film and the dream. Andriopoulos, *Possessed*, 110.

¹¹³ Original program from Uco-Film/Decla Bioscop. Deutsche Kinemathek Berlin, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 4407 “Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler, 1. Teil: Der große Spieler, 1921/1922 G,” Folder 1/3: “Programme/Verleihmaterialien.” “...Die Welt, die sich in diesem Film vor unseren Augen auftut, ist die Welt, in der wir Heutigen alle leben. Nur zusammengedrängt, Einzelnes übersteigert, das Ganze konzentriert, alles Geschehen erfüllt von dem fiebernden Atem der Jahre, die zwischen Krisen und Genesung wie im Halbschlaf an Abgründen entlang taumeln, um eine Brücke zu suchen, die hinüberführt.”

¹¹⁴ Already in the summer of 1921, Hubbuch wrote to the Kunsthalle Karlsruhe director Willy Storck that he would take a trip of some months to Berlin. While the exact date of Hubbuch's departure is not clear, we know that he was officially registered (*angemeldet*) on 27 March 1922 at a new residence in Berlin (Lützowstr. 29, bei Dünner). This address was in close proximity to the Kunstgewerbemuseum on Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse, now in the vicinity of Potsdamer Platz. Registration papers from the Ernährungsamt der Stadt Berlin, 10 May 1922. Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

metropolitan energy with the dark but detailed eye of a cinephile-reporter. Hubbuch's enigmatic picture, *Berlin und Abreise* (Berlin and Departure, 1922), positions the artist at a crossroads that is at once both aesthetic and geographic, personal and political (**fig. 2.29**).¹¹⁵ Johann Friedrich Geist has called this drawing a "Schlüsselbild," or key image, in the oeuvre of Karl Hubbuch, one which might be read as a visual mapping of the artist's biographical transition from the provinces to the metropolis.¹¹⁶ Certainly, the narrative markers of self-portraiture lend the image a reassuring legibility: we see Hubbuch pictured at the lower right, staring with dark, unfocused eyes and brandishing a walking stick, as he prepares to leave his parental home in Baden. A wooden chair, a cuckoo clock, and a modest church steeple populate the lower register as foils to the Berlin landmarks pictured above: the opulent dome of the old Nollendorfplatz U-Bahn station, for example, rises behind a profile portrait of the artist's Bruchsal patron, Otto

¹¹⁵ Karl Hubbuch, *Berlin und Abreise* (Berlin and Departure), 1922. Pencil on paper, 33.5 x 26 cm. Private collection, Nürnberg.

Lit: Johann Friedrich Geist, "Ankunft am Nollendorfplatz: Karl Hubbuch reist nach Berlin," in Bieber, *Karl Hubbuch. Stadtbilder, Menschenbilder*, 39-42; Heusinger von Waldegg, "Der Blick auf den Zuschauer," 145; Hofmann, "Kino-sozialer Klitterungen," 47; Hanne Bergius, "Berlin: A City Drawn from the Linear Network to the Contour," in Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings of the 1920s*, 21-22; and Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 274.

¹¹⁶ Geist, "Ankunft am Nollendorfplatz," 39. Geist provides an excellent overview of Hubbuch's sketches of Berlin landmarks and cafes in this essay; my attempt is to provide another interpretation of the images Hubbuch produced just after returning from Berlin, the memory pictures or 'Nach-Bilder' produced in Karlsruhe.

Oppenheimer.¹¹⁷ Dangling a single, 10,000 mark note in his outstretched hand, Oppenheimer visually and practically facilitates Hubbuch's move from small town Baden to the thriving northern metropolis.¹¹⁸

Beyond these moments of iconographic juxtaposition, a set of deeper structural fissures rise to the surface in Hubbuch's drawing. By looking at this work and its contemporaries at both the level of form and that of process, the final portion of this chapter aims to interrogate the pressures that were placed on realist art production to signify in the wake of politically radical, formally explosive practices such as collage and photomontage. How did Hubbuch refine his tactic of somnambulist montage, and to what ends, during his second and third visits to Berlin in 1922 and 1924? The conditions and experiences the Karlsruhe artist chronicled in these montage works were simply too "unreal," too unprecedented—from inflation and post-revolutionary social upheaval to workaday urban "Rasch" and "Tempo"—for any traditional form of realism to take their measure. As such, Hubbuch continued to embrace the language of allegory-heavy cinema

¹¹⁷ Otto Oppenheimer was born on 7 September 1875 in Bruchsal (Baden), and died on 8 February 1951 in New York. He spent most of his life and career in Bruchsal, where he was a successful textile merchant dealing primarily in uniform materials. Otto and Emma Oppenheimer had two daughters, Suse (born 1903) and Annie (born 1906). After the 1923 inflation, the Firma Louis Oppenheimer expanded its offerings to include both civilian and military clothing materials and exported products to Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Finland, Yugoslavia, and Latvia. Otto Oppenheimer began collecting art before World War I and served as an important patron of the graphic arts in Bruchsal, where he co-founded the city's Städtischer Kunstverein. In 1933, the Jewish Oppenheimer was fired and in 1938, forced to sell his business and emigrate with his family to Switzerland. It is likely that they secured a place on a passenger ship to Cuba in 1941, and from Havana traveled to the United States, reaching New York on 12 December 1941. There, Oppenheimer rented an apartment on Henry Hudson Parkway in the Bronx, where he remained until his death in 1951. See Thomas Adam, Thomas Moos, and Rolf Schmitt, eds. *Oppenheimer - Eine jüdische Familie aus Bruchsal: Spuren - Geschichten - Begegnungen* (Bruchsal: Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Bruchsal, 2012).

The archives of the Oppenheimer Family (letters, photographs, business documents, and private correspondence) are now housed in the Baer-Oppenheimer Family Collection, Leo Baeck Institute, New York. I thank Karin Koschkar for drawing my attention to this archive.

¹¹⁸ Hubbuch's choice to depict money in this way likely points not only to Oppenheimer's financial support, but also to the broader German inflation: his patron holds a symbolic single note of exceedingly high value.

to accommodate this new reality, specifically by adopting a cinematic trope that itself tried to cope with the transfixing allure and hypnotic effect of the present, at least as perceived on that present's surface.¹¹⁹

In *Berlin and Departure*, Hubbuch portrays himself as a dark-eyed wanderer not fully in control of his vision. (Based on two preparatory sketches in the collection of the Städtische Galerie in Karlsruhe, the artist added this anchoring self-portrait only later, along with a steam-powered train to connect the Karlsruhe “lower” register to its “upper” Berlin counterpart) (**fig. 2.30**).¹²⁰ His Berlin self-portrait, in the upper-left section, trades in the provincial top hat and cane for a modest newsboy cap, the *Schirmmütze* that would mark the artist-observer in a number of allegorical self-portraits to follow. Prominent in both preliminary sketches and in the finished drawing is the Badish cuckoo clock, a decidedly old-fashioned timekeeper that abuts the train engine on its journey to Berlin. Both the speeding train and the clock would become key montage devices in contemporary cinema, used to great effect by Fritz Lang in the opening sequence to *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler) in 1922 and in the famous factory scene

¹¹⁹ On the tension between “academic” and “allegorical” representations of the self in 1920s German portraiture see Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, “Einführung. Das Porträt als Dokument der Epoche,” in *Die zwanziger Jahre im Porträt. Porträts in Deutschland 1918-1933*, ed. J.H.v. Waldegg et al. (Köln/Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag, 1976), 17-21.

¹²⁰ See also Max Beckmann's *Berliner Reise 1922*, 1922. Portfolio of eleven lithographs on cream wove paper, each sheet approx. 55.8 x 53.7 cm. Publisher: J.B. Neumann, Berlin. Printer: C. Naumann's Druckerei, Frankfurt a.M. Edition of 100. Museum Ludwig, Köln. On the cover page of this portfolio, Beckmann depicts himself holding a briefcase of drawings and looking at an advertising column, on which the contents of his portfolio have been listed.

in *Metropolis* (1927).¹²¹ With his *Berlin and Departure*, Hubbuch joins two vignettes along the spine of a steaming locomotive and assumes a reader attuned to such shifts and sutures of modern vision.

Soon after Hubbuch arrived in Berlin, in March of 1922, Fritz Lang's *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* opened at the Ufa Palast am Zoo theater on 27 April.¹²² This hugely popular movie was based on an already bestselling novel by Norbert Jacques – initially published as a nineteen-part serial in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (BIZ) between 25 September 1921 and 29 January 1922. Jacques' novel brought the *BIZ* its highest circulation since the newspaper's founding in 1892, and when the book version appeared, in February 1922, it became one of the greatest successes of the Ullstein Publishing Company with more than half a million copies sold.¹²³ Uco-Film GmbH released a breathlessly worded publicity flyer to coincide with the film's premiere, seeking to encapsulate (and to promote) the spirit of wild speculation, pleasure seeking, and somnambulism that characterized the early 1920s and could be seen reflected in Lang's "portrait of our time."¹²⁴

¹²¹ Clocks, in Tom Gunning's analysis of the filmic oeuvre of Fritz Lang, are "destiny machines" that move the narrative forward, as in *Mabuse* and *Metropolis*; for Hubbuch, a *badisch* cuckoo clock marks his departure from Neuenbürg for the big city. See Gunning, *The Films of Fritz Lang*, 96. "Lang places Mabuse in the centre of the terrain of modernity and its network of events and messages against a background of the rationalised space and time of the contemporary environment [...] Lang creates an image of the new 'empty' and standardised space and time of modernity, based on uniform measurement and systematic interrelation, in a manner unmatched in any earlier film I have seen and unmatched in any other art form. The dominant mechanisms employed are the pocket-watch, the railway and the telephone -- interacting with the cinematic device of parallel editing."

¹²² The second part of the film opened in Berlin on 26 May 1922. Press reviews of this premiere are collected in the Deutsche Kinemathek Berlin, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 4408 "Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler, 2. Teil: Inferno, ein Spiel von Menschen unserer Zeit," Folder 1/2.

¹²³ See Günter Scholdt, *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler: Roman, Film, Dokumente* (St. Ingbert: W.J. Röhrig, 1987), 131. Moreover, the *BIZ* functioned in the 1920s as a sort of talisman of the modern urban experience; Jacques' serialized novel was likely seen by Ullstein as a perfect fit for its modern, photo-driven periodical.

¹²⁴ Uco-Film/Decla Bioscop promotional program, as in note 114, above.

In his study of the German inflation, Gerald D. Feldman calls 1922 "The Year of Dr. Mabuse." See Feldman, *The Great Disorder*, 513-630.

In the film version of *Dr. Mabuse*, as in the earlier *Caligari*, a mad “doctor” with powers of mesmerism compels human actors to commit crimes (including murder) on his behalf. Yet unlike Dr. Caligari, who exists in an off-kilter, ahistorical world of painted film sets, Dr. Mabuse moves through the “real” world of people and things: from streetcars to secret gambling rooms to underground lairs in which blind workers print piles of fake money to fuel his criminal enterprise. Mabuse plays with people and with their lives, and as such, he is the quintessential modern villain: a shape shifter who blends with ease into the crowds of the metropolis.¹²⁵ Throughout the film, with its rather traditional narrative based on Norbert Jacques’ serial novel, Fritz Lang sought to engage viewers with cinematic tricks and treats for the eye: extreme close-ups, masking and iris shots, superimposition, and trick photography (**fig. 2.31**).¹²⁶ Writing in *Der Roland*, a breathless reviewer cited the immediate and urgent connection to reality achieved by Lang’s film (“hier sagt jeder Titel, jedes Bild: ‘Das bist Du!’”), a clear reference to the tactics employed by the publicity team behind *Caligari* just a few years prior (“Du musst Caligari werden”).¹²⁷ How are these tactics of compulsion and direct address especially well suited to the visual experience of modernity? What are the stakes of a cinema that mimics the very tactics of hypnosis? For many commentators and critics, realism that was

¹²⁵ For recent analyses of the film, see especially: Andriopoulos, *Possessed*, esp. 103-116; Erik Butler, “Dr. Mabuse: Terror and Deception of the Image,” *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (Fall 2005): 481-495; and Sara Hall, “Trading Places: ‘Dr. Mabuse’ and the Pleasure of Role Play,” *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (Autumn 2003): 381-397. For a compendium of period documents, including Norbert Jacques’ serial novel and a selection of contemporary reviews, see Günter Scholdt, *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler: Roman, Film, Dokumente* (St. Ingbert: W.J. Röhrig, 1987).

¹²⁶ Four film stills from *Dr Mabuse, der Spieler* (Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler), 1922. Director: Fritz Lang; Production: Uco-Film GmbH.

¹²⁷ H.B. “Fritz Langs größter Erfolg” in *Der Roland*, 1 June 1922. Deutsche Kinemathek, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 4408, Folder 1/2.

too real, too powerful, would literally hypnotize the audience, which sits in a darkened room susceptible to suggestion.¹²⁸

Berlin reviewers constantly noted the nefarious power of the gaze in *Dr. Mabuse*; as one wrote, “It is astonishing how a title is used as an expressive means, how the hypnotic gaze of Dr. Mabuse casts its spell over the public as it does over his victim, how psychological processes are externalized.”¹²⁹ The title this critic referred to—the magical words *Tsi Nan Fu*—appears at several points throughout the film, but first and most memorably in the card game between Mabuse (disguised as the Dutch professor, Hugo Belling) and the Berlin *Staatsanwalt* von Wenk (**fig. 2.32**).¹³⁰ Mabuse’s filmic counterpart is the elegant, phlegmatic Countess Told—*die Unaktive*, or “the inactive one,” as she is known in Berlin’s underground gambling circles; she haunts the secret gaming rooms but never rolls the dice herself, until the State Attorney involves her in his plot to bring down Mabuse. Her husband, the wealthy and effeminate Count Told, collects Expressionist paintings and sculpture and fills their enormous home with these primitivist spoils. In the pivotal scene that closes the film’s first half, Dr. Mabuse—for the first time using his “real” name and arriving in public without a disguise—attends a card party at the Told residence. Asked by the Count for his opinion of Expressionism, Mabuse replies

¹²⁸ On the notion of cinematic darkness redeployed in works and performances by the European avant-garde, see Noam Elcott, “Into the Dark Chamber: Avant-Garde Photograms and the Cinematic Imaginary” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009), 100–181.

¹²⁹ *B.Z. am Mittag*, 28 April 1922. Deutsche Kinemathek, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 4408, Folder 1/2.

¹³⁰ Film still from Fritz Lang’s *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1922): the magical words “Tsi Nan Fu.”

sarcastically, in an intertitle: “Expressionism is just a game - but why not? Everything today is a game.”¹³¹

In 1922, the German physician Ernst Kretschmer characterized the mental process taking place in light hypnosis and free association as “picture strip thinking” (*Bildstreifendenken*), a fragmentary but orderly mental experience in which memory unrolls like a picture strip, “film-like” (*filmartig*).¹³² Citing Kretschmer, Stefan Andriopoulos has suggested that Lang’s *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* conceives of cinema as a form of hypnosis—that it appropriates contemporary medical and psychological debates about mesmerism to describe the “cinematic apparatus” as itself a powerful conveyer of hypnotic influence.¹³³ In his allegorical montages, Hubbuch likewise appropriated the apparatus of cinema in its hypnotic effects — by alternately suturing together and breaking the continuity of the scene, and by littering these allegories with his self-portrait presence: irritating, staring, livid, sightless. This differed from Dada strategies that rejected metaphor and allegory as too subtle for the pressing political concerns of the day, as did the Berlin critic and Dada supporter Carl Einstein, in the essay, “An die Geistigen!” (To the Intellectuals), published in the first issue of *Die Pleite* in 1919.¹³⁴

In a later interview with the film critic Lotte Eisner, Fritz Lang asserted that the original cut of *Mabuse* opened with a fast-paced montage of recent political events:

[...] a brief, breathless montage of scenes of the Spartacus uprising, the murder of Rathenau, the Kapp *putsch* and other violent moments of recent

¹³¹ “Expressionismus ist eine Spielerei — aber warum nicht? Heute ist alles Spielerei!”

Based on her interviews with Fritz Lang, conducted in the 1970s, Lotte Eisner concluded that the director inserted this dialogue as an ironic reference to the contemporary art scene, one that he feared might be too subtle for his period viewers. See Lotte Eisner, *Fritz Lang* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976), 60.

¹³² Ernst Kretschmer, *Medizinische Psychologie* (1922), 71. Cited in Andriopoulos, *Possessed*, 113.

¹³³ Andriopoulos, *Possessed*, 116.

¹³⁴ Carl Einstein, “An die Geistigen,” *Die Pleite*, Nr. 1 (1919): 2.

history [...] Originally, Lang recalls, the opening montage was linked to this scene [of Mabuse choosing a disguise and handing the playing card to Spoerri] by two titles: the first,

WHO IS BEHIND ALL THIS?

The second title, a single word which rushed towards the spectator, growing and growing until it filled the entire screen:

I.¹³⁵

Scholars have since pointed out the inaccuracy of Lang's recollection of the historical timeline, or his possible confusion of *Mabuse* with the opening to his 1928 film *Spies*.¹³⁶ Rathenau's murder occurred on 24 June 1922, two months after the Berlin premiere of *Mabuse* and one month after its final cut went before the Berlin censorship board.¹³⁷ Yet his statement reinforces the contemporary understanding of montage, as a tactic of narrative suture, that would have the power to encapsulate the fast pace of modernity and to pull the captivated audience into the structure of the film.¹³⁸ Contemporary reviews and film magazine synopses of *Mabuse* suggest that such press materials left the public little room for narrative surprises: German film fans went to the movies prepared to be shocked, titillated, scared, or hypnotized not by powerful or elegant dramatic writing, but by the seductive imagery as it unfolded on the screen.¹³⁹

Karl Hubbuch dedicated the drypoint etching entitled *Mörderzentrale* (Murderer HQ, 1922) to the journalist and editor Maximilian Harden, who was severely injured in an attack by Freikorps members several days after the Rathenau assassination in Berlin

¹³⁵ Eisner, *Fritz Lang*, 59.

¹³⁶ See, for example: Gunning, *The Films of Fritz Lang*, 117-118; and Sara Hall, "Trading Places: 'Dr. Mabuse' and the Pleasure of Role Play," *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (Autumn 2003): 382.

¹³⁷ Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin, Schriftgut Archiv, Nr. 4407, Folder 1/3. "Abschrift Filmoberprüfstelle Berlin, 30. Mai 1922."

¹³⁸ For an excellent theorization of suture in the history of photomontage, see Sabine Kriebel, "Manufacturing Discontent: John Heartfield's Mass Medium," *New German Critique* No. 107 (Summer 2009): 55-72.

¹³⁹ As it had done to promote the release of *Caligari*, the trade magazine *Der Illustrierter Film-Kurier* offered complete plot synopses and extensive "Rollenporträts" in the preview edition for *Mabuse*, leaving little room for surprise when readers attended the film premiere in April 1922.

(fig. 2.33).¹⁴⁰ (Harden is also pictured at the center of the composition hoisting a stiff and lifeless body—perhaps a life-size dummy—atop a tall ladder.) The title and dedication thus referred directly to contemporary events in the first turbulent years of the Weimar Republic, and to Hubbuch's time in Berlin: the murders of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogisches, and many others of the political left, in the first year of the revolution, culminating in the assassinations of Reichsminister Erzberger in the Schwarzwald, in 1921, and Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau in Berlin, in June 1922.¹⁴¹ Hubbuch's fictive, montaged *Mörderzentrale* takes place on Exerzierplatz in Berlin, a site located near the Lehrter Bahnhof in the northern neighborhood of Moabit. The view looks southeast over the *Siegessäule* (Victory Tower) toward the Brandenburg Gate and the Reichstag government building, and electrical power lines cross the empty sky to frame the Wilhelmine *Siegessäule* in ironic counterpoint.

The titular murder plays out in the right middle ground, under a large sign reading “Exerzierplatz.” In the historical event, Walter Rathenau was shot from a passing automobile and killed with a hand grenade as he sat in his car on the way to the Ministry; Hubbuch altered the scene by having the culprit attack from a balcony and by repositioning the figure of Rathenau so that he stands rigidly upright in his chauffeured cabriolet. It seems, indeed, that the body performs a kind of pre-death rigor mortis, or a dummy-like somnambulism, a player caught up in the charging, unstoppable tempo of Weimar political events. As in so many self-portrait etchings from this period, Hubbuch

¹⁴⁰ Karl Hubbuch, *Die Mörderzentrale* (Murderer HQ), 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 21.1 x 28.8 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 80/061.

¹⁴¹ Karl-Ludwig Hofmann notes that the term “Mörderzentrale” may refer to Franz Wilhelm Seiwert's “Sieben Antlitze der Zeit,” which includes the line: “Die deutsche Mörderzentrale. Nieder mit der Quasselbude. Hoch der Revolver!! Der Dank des Vaterlands ist Euch gewiß.” Hofmann, “Hubbuchs Kino-sozialer Klitterungen,” 133.

inserted himself into the scene, but only as a passive observer: note the way he turns away from the murder, in the central foreground, dressed in worker's clothing with a newsboy cap and balled fists, his face dark and unscrupulous, seemingly gouged away under the pressure of the drypoint needle. Not only does this "witnessing" Hubbuch fail to see the events unfolding just behind him, but the very agent of vision has been blinded by the force of the day's events. Truly, this figure is both knowing and blind.

The Weimar-era flood of images, in Siegfried Kracauer's slightly later formulation, had the potential to "blind" its inundated and shell-shocked audience, who sat in darkened movie theaters as ready receptacles for the stream of entertainment.¹⁴² Yet Kracauer separated the objects and images of UFA City—of filmic realism and fast-paced reportage—from those of lived reality:

But the things that rendezvous here do not belong to reality. They are copies and distortions that have been ripped out of time and jumbled together. They stand motionless, full of meaning from the front, while from the rear they are just empty nothingness. A bad dream about objects that has been forced into the corporeal realm.¹⁴³

Hubbuch seemed to have a similar, cynical sense of the potential of allegorical montage to register the effects of modernity at a surface level that could pierce the superficial, exposing some hidden truth about objects in their felt and embodied connections. By opting for these deeply-encoded images, Hubbuch resisted the imperative for art to do away with metaphor and allegory (to use Carl Einstein's

¹⁴² Siegfried Kracauer, "Film [1928]" in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, ed. and trans. Thomas Levin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 311. "Someday this audience will go completely blind."

¹⁴³ Siegfried Kracauer, "Calico-World: The UFA City in Neubabelsberg" in Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament*, 281. He continues: "We find ourselves in the film city of the UFA studios in Neubabelsberg, whose 350,000 square meters house a world made of papier-mache. Everything guaranteed unnatural and everything exactly like nature."

formulation), or for it to hold up a cruel “mirror” to the face of society, as George Grosz would demand in the 1925 portfolio, *Der Spießer-Spiegel* (The Philistine’s Mirror).¹⁴⁴

The sixty pen-and-ink drawings contained therein focused Grosz’s critique of the German bourgeoisie through a realist sleight-of-hand: a new “verism” that would begin to define the Berlin artist’s work after 1923. In these years, Karl Hubbuch would find himself compared to his former schoolmate in the regional press. Yet if Hubbuch’s work functioned as a mirror of society, it was a broken one at best—a skeptical and warped reflection of Weimar modernity.

The Broken Mirror: Memory, Melodrama, and the Return to Karlsruhe

Hubbuch, the cold cynic of a meticulously exacting drypoint needle. He spoofs *Faust* as a grotesque figure salad, more out of Wedekind’s “Retorte” than of Goethe’s world, privileges the idea over the form (and thus remains through and through literary) and pleases himself in a tantalizingly pointed material affinity with the Berliner George Grosz—without, however, betraying any whiff of the formal prank-making or the sophisticated child’s handwriting of that bile-bitter satirist.¹⁴⁵

—F. Sch., “Exhibition in the Kunsthau Schaller,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Stuttgart), 15 March 1923

[...] In both mood and formal language, this young artist [Karl Hubbuch] has taken the Berlin satirist George Grosz as a model. But it’s quite enough when one George Grosz bears witness, when he reflects back to us the full unhappiness of our chaotic, corrupt, jealous, and hate-mangled time with the demonically sharp and fully uncharitable eyes of an artist; to

¹⁴⁴ George Grosz, as cited in Michalski, *New Objectivity* 27-28. “The Verist holds up a mirror to the faces of his contemporaries. My drawings and paintings were done as an act of protest; I was trying by means of my work to convince the world that it is ugly, sick, and hypocritical.”

¹⁴⁵ F. Sch., “Ausstellung im Kunsthau Schaller,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Stuttgart), 15 March 1923. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 159.

an entire generation of “Grosz enthusiasts” (*Gerne Groszen*) we say, no thank you!¹⁴⁶

—Lh., “Karlsruhe Artists at Schaller,” *Schwäbischer Merkur* (Stuttgart), 8 March 1923

In the 1922 drawing, *Zwei Männer im Café Vaterland* (Two Men in Café Fatherland), Hubbuch revisited the off-kilter embodiment of such earlier Berlin pictures as *In Castans Panoptikum* (1913/14) and riffed on a classical modernist trope: the drinker in the café (**fig. 2.34**).¹⁴⁷ Two men sit at a wide bar set with two tall glasses of beer on matching trays. The men’s bodies are sketchy, barely perceptible in penciled contour line; one man frowns with his hand on his hip, and the other sports a mask-like grin as he places his left hand on the bar. To their right, another male figure rendered in scrubbed and smudged pencil disappears into the background. As in so many Berlin studies, Hubbuch muddled the boundaries between interior and exterior realms: behind the seated drinkers, a large glass window reflects the lavish café interior with its ornate ceiling and hanging chandeliers. Well-dressed patrons mingle in dark silhouette. But below these reflected figures, the exterior space encroaches, cutting a curious seam through the reflecting window to expose the street scene below. (The optical illusion here, as Sylvia Bieber has noted, is that the interior light from the chandeliers causes the top half of the glass to reflect “toward” the viewer, while the exterior light from the street illuminates “through” the glass in its lower half.¹⁴⁸)

¹⁴⁶ Lh., “Karlsruher Künstler bei Schaller,” *Schwäbischer Merkur* (Stuttgart), 8 March 1923. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 158-159.

¹⁴⁷ Karl Hubbuch, *Zwei Männer im Café Vaterland* (Two Men in Café Vaterland), 1922. Pencil on paper, 23.7 x 32.1 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 96/70.20.

¹⁴⁸ Sylvia Bieber, “Stadtbilder - Menschenbilder. Zu den Berlin-Zeichnungen Karl Hubbuchs im Besitz der Städtischen Galerie Karlsruhe,” in Bieber, *Karl Hubbuch. Stadtbilder - Menschenbilder*, 30 and 59.

What is the history this flawed mirror reflects? The historical Café Vaterland was located on Potsdamer Platz, part of the six-story “Haus Potsdam” built in 1911-12 as an office building.¹⁴⁹ In 1917, the Ufa movie studio moved its headquarters to the site: the lower floors contained a huge cinema (the *Lichtspieltheater im Piccadillyhaus* or, later, the *Kammerlichtspiele im Haus Potsdam*), as well as the Café Piccadilly. (Hubbuck’s drawing depicts, in reflection, the grand two-story entrance to this popular café.) Located directly adjacent to the Potsdamer Bahnhof, Café Piccadilly could accommodate 2,500 guests and, with its lavish decorations and lively entertainment, aimed to rival the Moulin Rouge in Paris. After World War I, the Piccadilly was renamed as the more patriotic “Café Vaterland.”

In a 1923 New Year’s card, Hubbuck presented himself to his Karlsruhe public as a man changed by his experiences in Berlin—namely, as a wide-eyed somnambulist with his hand extended in an uncanny greeting (**fig. 2.35**).¹⁵⁰ Based on extant correspondence, Hubbuck most likely returned to Karlsruhe from Berlin by the late fall or winter of 1922, where he began printing etchings and lithographs based on his memories and sketches of Berlin.¹⁵¹ Hubbuck’s first significant group exhibition opened in January 1923 at the Kunsthandlung Sasse in Karlsruhe, followed shortly thereafter by a group show in the

¹⁴⁹ Sherwin Simmons chronicles the significance of this café during the German revolutionary period in Simmons, “‘Advertising Seizes Control of Life’: Berlin Dada and the Power of Advertising,” *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1999): 137. In a 1919 issue of *Die Pleite*, George Grosz satirized German anti-Bolshevist posters and rightwing militarism in an ad for the “Ebert Film A.G.,” which “called for 2000 German males to report to the Café Vaterland to work as extras in a silent film entitled ‘Wilhelm’s Return.’” Thomas Elsaesser has noted Siegfried Kracauer’s interest in the Café Vaterland and his specific writings about it in Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After*, 50.

¹⁵⁰ Karl Hubbuck, *Herzlichen Glückwunsch* (Heartfelt Congratulations), 1923. Lithograph on paper, 13.9 x 9 cm. Signed, dated, and titled “My New Year’s Card, 1923.” Private collection.

¹⁵¹ Hubbuck received a letter at his Karlsruhe address from V. Habicht, of the Kunsthandlung Lohmannhaus in Elberfeld, on 11 December, 1922. Based on this letter, and the large number of etchings Hubbuck produced based on Berlin themes in 1922 (the artist did not have ready access to printmaking facilities in Berlin), it can be assumed that Hubbuck was back in Karlsruhe by late fall/winter 1922. Copy of letter from Habicht to Hubbuck in collection of the author.

Stuttgart Kunsthaus Schaller.¹⁵² Among other works, Hubbuch exhibited the drypoint etchings *Der Dollar* (The Dollar, 1922) and *Jannowitzbrücke* (Jannowitz Bridge, 1922), the lithograph *Statisten der konventionellen Sehnsucht* (Film Extras of Conventional Longing, 1922/23), selections from his recent *Faust* portfolio (1922), and the self-portrait etching *Wissend und Blind* (Knowing and Blind, 1922).¹⁵³ Writing in the 1970s, the artist described this final picture as a synthetic image depicting the two sides of a man, with the central telescope serving as an “instrument of verism”—an object with which to see objects clearly, and no more.¹⁵⁴ Yet this retrospective focus on content obscures Hubbuch’s innovative formal strategies of narration and pictorial decomposition, as well as his debt to contemporary innovations in narrative cinema. Indeed, as much as the telescope provides the compositional hinge to a picture about the problems of seeing, it fades in comparison to the inky black expanses from which vignettes emerge into light, recalling projections cast in the darkened rooms of a theater.¹⁵⁵

When he shared this picture and several others with his friend George Grosz, in the spring of 1923, Hubbuch hoped to publish his work in the Berlin journal, *Die Pleite*,

¹⁵² In the summer of 1922, Hubbuch was present (in work if not in person) in two shows in Baden: in the *Deutsche Kunstausstellung* Baden-Baden and as part of the ‘Karlsruher Herbstwoche’ exhibition in Karlsruhe. Reviews cited in Rödger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 157.

¹⁵³ J.A. Beringer, “Besprechung der ersten Ausstellung der neueröffneten Kunsthandlung Sasse im Schönleberhaus,” *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 18. January 1923. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 157. Translation is my own: “Karl Hubbuch appears on the scene with a rich dose of ‘modernity.’ At first glance, his modernism asserts itself in a sort of formal regression, in that he presents multiple motifs in and upon a single sheet of paper, like the early medieval masters. But his formal parlance is of its time, satirical-ironic, focused on the tangible and the psychologically compromised (*aufs Tatsächliche und seelisch Anteilslose*).”

¹⁵⁴ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Hans Kinkel, 26 February 1973. Cited in Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch*, np (5): “Die zwei Hauptfiguren ergeben in ihrer Summe einen Menschen: halb energisch, zielbewußt, halb sentimental und erdulend, mit unbarmherzigen Stricken zusammengefaßt...Das Fernrohr: die Dinge besser sehen wollen, deutlicher, auch die entfernt liegenden. Werkzeug, Instrument für den Verismus.”

¹⁵⁵ On the cultural history of cinematic darkness, see Ritzheimer, “Protecting Youth from ‘Trash,’” 205. Ritzheimer notes that Karlsruhe’s “Rep. Siebert,” at a July 31, 1919 meeting of the Badische Landtag, noted that certain theaters competed to offer viewers the “darkest screen in town.”

where Grosz as well as Hubbuch's Karlsruhe colleague, Georg Scholz, had been publishing artworks and essays of fierce propaganda since 1919.¹⁵⁶ In *Knowing and Blind*, projective light illuminates selective vignettes, double pressing of drypoint and etching on the plate; detail emerges as if on photo sensitive paper. A turbaned death's head provides cruel comfort to a beautiful young woman who sees ugliness reflected in a handheld mirror. Female figures emerge from the darkness, a muddle of cross hatching. If a telescope is an instrument for clearer vision, it seems significant that this telescope sits unused. It points out a curtained window to a fictional, cinematic world.¹⁵⁷ What did the artist hope to communicate with this work, which seems on its surface to have very little to say to the politics and poetics of a communist journal in Berlin? Grosz put his finger on the problem in his reply of May 1923:

[...] In your pictures—this may sound a bit harsh, but please don't take it the wrong way—there remains in large part a kind of 'cobbler's philosophy' (*Schuster-Philosophie*). How could you otherwise draw a page, 'knowing and yet blind'? In this case it has nothing to do with a deeper political view, in this case it is simply your own blindness, your own stupidity (*Dummheit*). [...] Because our journal [*Die Pleite*] is above all else a propaganda paper...the idea that you wish to represent is still too deeply encoded and does not come out clearly enough."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ On these satirical works by Georg Scholz, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹⁵⁷ Wolfgang Hartmann has related these formal choices to the allegorical tactics of medieval literature, specifically, to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In Botticelli's illustrations of the *Divine Comedy*, Virgil is seen leading Dante by the hand, often in modes of continuous narration. Hartmann further suggests that the left side of the image represents Hubbuch's "real life" and experience (thus bathed in darkness and uncertainty), while the right side represents a dream world bathed in light. See Hartmann, "Wissend und Blind," 152-155.

¹⁵⁸ Letter George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, 23 May 1923, as cited above. "In Ihren Blättern ist, es klingt zwar etwas hart, aber nehmen Sie es nicht übel, noch ein großer Teil Schuster-Philosophie. Wie könnten Sie sonst ein Blatt zeichnen, 'Wissend und doch blind'. In diesem Falle handelt es sich um keine tiefere Einstellung, in diesem Falle ist es Ihre Blindheit, Ihre eigene Dummheit. [...] da unser Blatt in erster Linie ein Propagandablatt ist die Idee, die Sie darstellen wollen, noch zu verschachtelt [ist] und nicht klar genug herauskommt."

By calling it a form of “cobbler’s philosophy,” Grosz seemed to suggest that Hubbuch deployed a folksy and unclear wisdom; on the lithograph *Wedlock’s Emergency Exits*,¹⁵⁹ with its “subtlety” and “elaborate cleverness,” Grosz wrote that he simply could not understand, that he was, in the end, “no philosopher.”¹⁶⁰ In contemporary drawings such as *Früh um 5 Uhr!* (Dawn), which Grosz published in the Malik Verlag portfolio, *Im Schatten* (In the Shadows, 1921), the artist deployed a clear example of the “split-screen” technique that Hubbuch ostensibly failed to perfect (**fig. 2.36**).¹⁶¹ For Grosz, blindness had to have bite, as it did in a contemporary image from the *Face of the Ruling Classes* portfolio, *Etappe Gent*, in which a blinded war cripple limps along a street with the assistance of a guide dog.

As Uwe Fleckner has noted, Carl Einstein later interpreted Grosz’s early allegorical drawings as a productive form of “graphic simultaneity,” a “metaphor for the play of associations,” and thus as a Freudian interpretation that allowed Grosz’s verism to be understood as “a verism of form”—one that penetrated the surface and thus differed from the “affirmative” version of *Neue Sachlichkeit* that Einstein rejected.¹⁶² By 1923, Grosz’s work had become a staple of the Berlin-based Malik Verlag, with his

¹⁵⁹ Karl Hubbuch, *Notausgänge der Ehe* (Wedlock’s Emergency Exits), 1923. Lithograph on paper, 50.3 x 47.7 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 80/060.

Lit: Hofmann, “Hubbuchs ‘Kino-sozialer Klitterungen,’” 131-144.

¹⁶⁰ Letter George Grosz to Karl Hubbuch, 23 May 1923, as above.

¹⁶¹ George Grosz, *Früh um 5 Uhr!* (Dawn), 1920/21. One from a portfolio of nine photolithographs and one photolithographed title page, *Im Schatten* (In the Shadows), 1921. Edition of 100. Publisher: Malik-Verlag, Berlin. Museum of Modern Art, New York, Inv.Nr. 139.1945.8.

¹⁶² Fleckner, “The Real Demolished by Trenchant Objectivity,” 76-78. He cites and translates Einstein on Grosz’s simultaneity of drawing as follows: “A pessimism of drawing, here and there glazed with transparent paint. Figures intersect as if illuminated by x-rays, things flow through one another. A piece of contour bearing a defect that has become transparent. *Simultané*, a moral agency, one that rivets the scene; brain anatomy. One figure crosses another as its content or imagining. Transparency of the figures, a means of coupling opposites in one breath; *gugelhupf* between social-club-brain, gramophone, and female thigh.” For the original text, see Carl Einstein, *Werke*, Vol. 2, 1919-1928, ed. Rolf-Peter Baake (Berlin: Medusa Verlag, 1980), 334.

controversial *Ecce Homo* portfolio (print run of 10,000) generating interest in artist communities far beyond the borders of the German capital.¹⁶³ In a series of florid letters, Hubbuch's Karlsruhe Academy colleague, Georg Scholz, praised Grosz's achievement and none-too-subtly begged for a *gratis* copy of the portfolio.¹⁶⁴ Hubbuch, likewise, admired the work ("an denen ich mich mit Scholz zusammen erfreute") and reserved special praise for the drawing *Promenade* (**fig. 2.37**)— an interesting choice, and a covetous one perhaps, for its efficiency of line and clarity of message differs markedly from the work Hubbuch shared with Grosz for publication.

As we have seen, Grosz declined to sponsor Hubbuch's submission on grounds that its message was too complex and obtuse: not clear enough for the type of readily legible propaganda he and his Dada colleagues were publishing in journals such as *Der Gegner* and *Die Pleite*.¹⁶⁵ Yet this exchange marks an early attempt by Hubbuch to prevail on his Berlin connections to extend his artistic and political reputation beyond Karlsruhe and Baden. It further highlights a crucial, if arguably an unsuccessful, engagement with the formal tactics of montage, as they were then being practiced by artists in the circle of Berlin Dada.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ George Grosz, *Ecce Homo*, 1923. Illustrated book with 100 offset lithographs, overall dimensions 35.5 x 26.2 x 3.3 cm. Publisher: Malik-Verlag, Berlin. Edition of approx. 10,000 in 5 editions.

¹⁶⁴ For a discussion of Scholz's correspondence with George Grosz, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁵ Perhaps as a means of sharpening his friend's critical eye, Grosz sent Hubbuch a copy of Henri Barbusse's book, *An die Intellektuellen. Das Messer zwischen den Zähnen*. Copy in Private Hubbuch Archive, Karlsruhe.

¹⁶⁶ Letter Karl Hubbuch to George Grosz, undated (May 1923). AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 175. "Bezüglich der Dummheit mag es schon richtig sein. Über den Sinn des Blattes irren Sie sich aber; er ist nicht allgemein menschlich. Die Anregung & der Titel gehen auf ein Erlebnis mit einen 'schönen Mädchen' zurück. Daher das sentimentale Kissen (Geschenk), daher die Blumen, daher die Wut, daher der Dolch, daher die Blindheit. ('Umso üblicher' werden Sie denken. 'Meinetwegen' denke ich.) Die Zeit ist vorbei."

When he returned to Berlin for a final visit, in 1924, Hubbuch arrived on his own terms, no longer to study with Emil Orlik but to promote an exhibition of his work at the local Akademie der Künste. With a new confidence, Hubbuch refined the allegorical realism of his earlier works toward a seductive, smooth form of cinematic realism in which the model of the film still replaced that of the fast-paced montage—a technique of surface fragmentation he would continue to develop from his position within the Karlsruhe Academy, where he returned as a lithography assistant in 1924.¹⁶⁷ As this chapter demonstrates, Hubbuch appropriated the visual tropes of contemporary narrative cinema and the thematics of hypnosis as a dynamic theoretical construct, one that supported the visual expression of a realism under pressure to perform acts of disjuncture and deconstruction of the surface. This allowed the Karlsruhe artist to challenge the signifying practices of Dada montage, as it was practiced by artist-colleagues such as George Grosz in Berlin, and to offer in their place a form of somnambulist realism that drew from the realm of contemporary visual culture. By embracing these mass cultural models and modes of vision, and by enacting them through hatches of pencil and drypoint needle, Hubbuch transformed the optical language of realism into a felt and embodied force.

¹⁶⁷ On Hubbuch's formal experimentation at the Badische Landeskunstschule, see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

Chapter 3

Kunst und Kitsch: Georg Scholz and Satirical Realism after Dada

Recall that I once said to you: A modern picture is ultimately the placard for an idea about humanity or a worldview. [Ernst] Würtenberger constantly criticizes the “posterly quality” (*das Plakatartige*) of my pictures. But I think that the poster is the expression of our time.¹

—Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 23 January 1923

In October of 1922, Georg Scholz wrote to his Berlin colleague, John Heartfield, to describe his plans for a satirical drawing to be entitled “Circus Germany.” Inspired by Heartfield’s photo layout for a recent cover of the leftist political journal, *Das Forum*, Scholz envisioned a biting, adversarial composition in which rightwing politicians and military leaders play the roles of a whip-wielding circus director and a clown walking the tightrope, while General Paul von Hindenburg leads the choir in a rousing rendition of “Deutschland über Alles.”² It would take the form of an advertising poster, Scholz reckoned, and would thus emulate the formal strategies of artists such as Heartfield and George Grosz, whose work Scholz admired from his position in the German southwest. From this peripheral perch, Scholz developed a formal lexicon and a set of laws for painting that reflected the Berlin model, yet employed terms familiar to his Karlsruhe audience. This chapter examines a word used frequently by the artist, *Plakatmäßigkeit*—

¹ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 23 January 1923. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Erinnern Sie sich, daß ich Ihnen einmal sagte: Ein modernes Bild ist letzten Endes das Plakat für eine Menschheitsidee oder eine Weltanschauung. Würtenberger moniert immer das ‘Plakatartige’ an meinen Bildern. Ich halte das ‘Plakat’ für den Ausdruck unserer Zeit.”

² Letter Georg Scholz to John Heartfield 31 October 1922. AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 400.

roughly translated as “posterliness”—to uncover the ways in which Scholz spoke form to politics using a regionally inflected visual language of advertising and painterly kitsch.

Though not uncommon in period discourse about art and advertising, the term *Plakatmäßigkeit* has been largely forgotten in recent discussions of Germany’s politically strident brand of interwar realism, known as *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (The New Objectivity).³ For Scholz, *Plakatmäßigkeit* embodied the idea that works of art could deliver a “percussive” visual punch and thereby convey a clear political message.⁴ He believed, however, that they must do so by adopting the highly legible techniques of modern advertising and kitschy mass cultural production—postcards, posters, illustrated novels, cigar box covers, and “photo realist painting,” among others—rather than by adopting uncritically the laws of technically proficient, Old Master-style realism, as did many artists who transitioned from Dada to *Die neue Sachlichkeit* as the decade progressed.⁵ Indeed, Scholz proclaimed in a 1922 essay that it would be the task of his generation to bridge the gap between “art” and “kitsch”—to develop a new visual language that could register the effects of modernity for viewers attuned to reading advertising posters, photo essays, and colorfully illustrated pulp fiction. This chapter posits Scholz’s tactic of *Plakatmäßigkeit* and his embrace of painterly kitsch as a challenge to the brand of cool, detached vision commonly associated with German realism after Dada. Drawing on extensive primary research, including unpublished

³ On the origins of the term “Neue Sachlichkeit,” and on its use and critical reception in the later 1920s, see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

⁴ In a letter to his friend Theodor Kiefer, Scholz described the formal operations of successful modern advertising posters in terms of “percussive” (*erschütternd*) imagery that worked like pop music “hits” (*Schlager*).

⁵ Scholz cited these specific media of reproduction in Scholz, “Kunst und Kitsch,” *Die Pyramide. Wochenschrift zum Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 11. Jr., Nr. 14 (2 April 1922), 97-98.

correspondence and previously little known works of art, it reconsiders Scholz's relationship to better-known practitioners of vernacular modernism, such as Grosz and Heartfield, and to critics such as Paul Westheim in Berlin. As this chapter suggests, the ideas and artworks Scholz dispatched from his Grötzingen atelier to the metropolitan capital complicate our understanding of both Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit*, demonstrating an unexamined continuity between these modernist modes of vision and the contemporary developments in mass culture to which they responded.

Based on an examination of extant sketches and documents in the archive, I can conclude that Scholz never completed his planned-for "Circus Germany." But what would it mean to take an artist at his word—to situate a carefully constructed lexicon of ideas and images within the historical realm of politics and practice?⁶ Scholz's fervent wish to integrate himself and his work into Berlin circles, as well as his familiarity with the iconography of Berlin Dada and the terms of post-Dada cultural production, demonstrate that the artist saw himself as a peer. Though at times he played up his northern heritage as a foil to the provincial backwaters of the Karlsruhe "*Kunscht*" scene, at others he embraced his position in Grötzingen and Karlsruhe as a crucial respite from the frenetic pace of life and politics in the northern capital.⁷ By tracking Scholz's

⁶ In letters to his friends and artist colleagues, the verbose and highly analytical Scholz often described detailed plans for works of art that would never come to fruition, whether due to constraints on time or economic hardship. By taking his plans "at their word," and by comparing these abstract constructions and theoretical concepts to the artworks Scholz did produce between 1919 and 1923, this chapter aims to situate Scholz's ideas and images more firmly within the German avant-garde.

⁷ In a letter to Theodor Kiefer (24 October 1921), Scholz wrote that the earnings from a variety of pop cultural projects—book illustration and poster design—would allow him to turn his attention back to the concerns of "high art" ("so kann ich wieder an die hohe 'Kunscht' denken"). I read this as a sarcastic riff on the local *badisch* dialect, which favors the slushy consonant cluster of "Kunscht" over the crisp, high German "Kunst." Sergiusz Michalski has suggested that this word, in period discourse, was a deliberate verbal mashup of "kitsch" and "kunst," as in a contemporary letter from George Grosz to Harry Graf Kessler. See Michalski, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 35-36.

epistolary, political, social, and aesthetic moves between Baden and Berlin in the years between 1919 and 1923, this chapter aims to illuminate the problem of politics for a satirical artist working from the regional margins: from Scholz's contentious exhibition of his *Bauernbild* (Farmer Picture, 1920) in the First International Dada Fair of 1920 and the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1921, to his furious production of political paintings and lithographs aimed at current events and audiences in Berlin, to his eventual nomination as a lithography assistant at the Badische Landeskunstschule in Karlsruhe, in January 1923.⁸ Scholz developed a public identity as an artist-producer—and as a kitsch practitioner—that would place him on equal footing with his colleagues in Berlin.⁹

⁸ As such, this chapter is framed around the extensive correspondence between Georg Scholz and various friends and patrons: namely, his written exchanges with Dr. Theodor Kiefer, in Kaiserslautern (Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch); with Dr. Willy Storek at the Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe); with various curators at the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim (Bestand Altakten, "Neue Sachlichkeit, Ordner L-Z"); and with George Grosz in Berlin (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv).

Portions of the Scholz-Kiefer correspondence have been published in Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz. Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, esp. 43-81; and in Gerd Presler, "Georg Scholz an Dr. med. Theodor Kiefer. Ein Briefwechsel entlarvt die zwanziger Jahre," in Mück, *Georg Scholz 1890-1945*, 10-12; an edited volume of Scholz's correspondence and selected writings is currently in press: Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Ursula Merkel, eds., *Georg Scholz. Schriften, Briefe, Dokumente* (Karlsruhe: Info Verlag, 2014). I thank Friedel Scholz, Ursula Merkel, Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, and Gerd Presler for generously providing and facilitating access to various portions of this archive.

⁹ On the notion of the artist as producer, in the context of revolution and in the service of radical politics, see Maria Gough, *The Artist as Producer: Russian Constructivism in Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

Finding one's place: Between Berlin and "Provinz"

I'm actually quite happy at the moment to be sitting here in Grötzingen removed [from all the action]. In Berlin, one would without a doubt be so distracted by the hubbub that one could not get the peace necessary to continue working.¹⁰

—Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 June 1921

Born in 1890 in the northern German city of Wolfenbüttel, near Braunschweig, Georg Scholz experienced both trouble and tumult in his early life.¹¹ His father Carl, a private school teacher, hanged himself in 1896 and in the spring of 1898 his mother, Sophie (née Lampe), gave up her eight-year-old son Georg to a local orphanage.¹² Soon after, he was taken in by the physicist Julius Elster and his wife Emilie (née Fink). Though never formally adopted by the couple, Scholz grew up with their financial support in comfortable bourgeois surroundings and was able to attend *Gymnasium*, the highest level of secondary school in the German education system.¹³ Scholz matriculated and studied briefly at the School of Applied Arts (*Gewerbeschule*) in Braunschweig, and in the fall of 1908, the 18-year-old moved to Karlsruhe to begin his training at the local academy of art, the *Großherzoglich Badische Akademie der bildenden Künste*. Here, Scholz studied in the drawing class of Professor Ernst Schurth alongside Karl Hubbuch

¹⁰ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 June 1921. George Scholz Estate, Waldkirch: "[...] Ich bin jetzt eigentlich ganz froh, so abseits in Grötzingen/Amt Durlach zu sitzen. Wäre man in Berlin, so würde man ohne Zweifel durch den Klimbim abgelenkt und würde nicht die Ruhe haben, die zum weitermachen erforderlich ist."

¹¹ Georg Scholz (10 October 1890 - 27 November 1945) lived briefly with relatives in Wolfenbüttel before being placed by his mother in an orphanage, in 1898. For the most comprehensive biography of his early life before his move to Karlsruhe, see Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 17-25.

¹² His two sisters attended a public boarding school and his brother remained in the house with his mother. Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 7.

¹³ Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 17-22. From 1908 until 1913, Scholz spent the winter holidays with his adoptive family in Braunschweig.

and Wladimir Zabotin.¹⁴ He remained in Schurth's drawing class in the following year, and from 1910-12 studied painting under Casper Ritter and Ludwig Dill, in whose classes he caroused with fellow students (and future *Gruppe Rih*¹⁵ associates) Rudolf Schlichter and Egon Itta.¹⁶ In October of 1912, Scholz entered the master class of the well-known painter Wilhelm Trübner, where he remained as a *Meisterschüler* with a private atelier from 1913-15. Scholz spent the summers of his school years in the idyllic rural setting of Berghausen near Durlach, the home of his future wife Elise "Luschle" Hildinger. The two were engaged in August 1913 and married in Berghausen on 17 February 1914; their only child, a son named Georg, was born that September.¹⁷

In a 1908 self-portrait, Scholz presented himself as a dapper, suit-wearing dandy with an intensely focused gaze sharpened through his wire pince-nez (**fig. 3.1**).¹⁸ Rudolf Schlichter later described Scholz (whom he called "Wolfgang Fuchs" in his 1933 autobiography, *Feet of Clay*) as a sharp dresser with a cold, stiff personality reminiscent of a "budding Prussian tax assessor."¹⁹ Unlike his recollections of classmates such as Julius Kasper or Karl Hubbuch, to whom he credited, respectively, a generous artistic talent and a mysterious personal appeal, Schlichter dismissed Scholz as a "bourgeois

¹⁴ Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (hereafter "GLA"), 235/40153: "Generalia, Kunst u. Wissenschaft, Jahr 1854-1920."

¹⁵ On the *Gruppe Rih*, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

¹⁶ According to the artist's daughter-in-law, Friedel Scholz, Georg Scholz also studied for a short time with Lovis Corinth in Berlin. (Given his program of study at the *Kunstakademie* in Karlsruhe, this was most likely in the summer of 1911.) Personal conversation with the author, June 2012. See also Hans Curjel, "Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz," *Das Kunstblatt* (September 1923): 260.

¹⁷ Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 27.

¹⁸ Georg Scholz, *Selbstporträt* (Self-Portrait), 1908. Pencil and white crayon on paper, 16 x 10.5 cm. George Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

¹⁹ Schlichter *Tönerne Füße* (hereafter "Schlichter TF"), 74.

hiding behind a bohemian facade,”²⁰ a striver whose technical skill lagged far behind his theoretical knowledge:

In contrast to our rather sloppy style of dress and posture, Fuchs fashioned himself with nuanced propriety in his outward appearance. Whether sober or drunk, his character always adhered somewhat to the stiffness and brute cockiness of a choir student. His stature was thin, almost haggard, his body robbed of every sensuous grace. His movements were awkward and jittery. The not very large head was round and bedecked with black hair. The face appeared, on first glance, to be rather commonplace; yet with closer scrutiny one discovered in its contours certain irregularities and strange forms that could be indicative of a hereditary defect. The receding forehead; the stumpy, fleshy nose adorned with a sharp pince-nez; the ruddy, chubby cheeks; and the small trumpet player’s mouth lent him a fatal resemblance to a budding Prussian tax assessor. But his gaze affected me most of all. Never had I seen such cold eyes. They were large, somewhat bulbous, so that at first one thought he might suffer from Grave’s disease.²¹ If eyes are the mirror of the soul, then the soul of this man was indeed poorly presented.²²

Schlichter’s colorful autobiographies mark the Swabian artist’s attempt to secure his position within a complex network of aesthetics and politics, as much as they offer hints to historical events in prewar Stuttgart and Karlsruhe. Published retrospectively in the 1930s, free of an editor’s obvious hand, and intended as Schlichter’s transitional *pièces de resistance* from the visual arts community to the literary world, both *Feet of Clay* (1933) and its predecessor volumes, *Das widerspenstige Fleisch* (Obstinate Flesh,

²⁰ Schlichter TF, 77. “Unser allezeit waches Mißtrauen witterte den Bürger hinter der Bohemefassade.”

²¹ An autoimmune disease often marked by goiter and bulging eyes.

²² Schlichter TF, 74. “Im Gegensatz zu unserer recht saloppen Art in Kleidung und Haltung zeichnete sich Fuchs durch betonte Korrektheit in seinem Äußern aus. Ob nüchtern oder betrunken, immer haftete seinem Wesen etwas von der Steifheit und dem rohen Übermut des Chorstudenten an. Von Gestalt schlank, fast hager, entbehrte sein Körper doch jeder sinnlichen Grazie. Seine Bewegungen waren eckig und fahrig. Der nicht sehr große Kopf war rund und mit schwarzen Haaren bedeckt. Das Gesicht wirkte beim ersten Anblick banal; bei näherem Hinsehen allerdings entdeckte man in seinen Zügen gewisse Unregelmäßigkeiten und Formen, die auf erbliche Belastung schließen lassen konnten. Die fliehende Stirne, die stumpfe, fleischige, mit einem scharfen Zwicker gezierte Nase, die roten Pausbacken und der kleine gewölbte Trompetermund gaben ihm eine fatale Ähnlichkeit mit einem angehenden preußischen Assessor. Am meisten fiel mir sein Blick auf. Noch nie hatte ich so kalte Augen gesehen. Sie waren groß, etwas glotzend, so daß man zuerst auf den Gedanken kam, er leide an der Basedowschen Krankheit. Wenn Augen der Spiegel der Seele waren, so war es um die Seele dieses Mannes schlecht bestellt.”

1932) and *Zwischenwelt. Ein Intermezzo* (Netherworld: An Intermezzo, 1931), are texts born of a kind of performative self-fashioning.²³ Schlichter's flippant dismissal of Scholz's technical abilities, in the 1930s, surely reflected not merely on his initial impression of the young artist, but on the work Scholz had produced in the intervening years: sharply political pictures that challenged Schlichter's preeminence in Berlin's progressive exhibition circles.²⁴ Moreover, Scholz was a clever operator, navigating between Karlsruhe and Berlin and betwixt a number of powerful personalities. The artist carefully managed his reputation in regional exhibition circles through contact with the Karlsruhe *Kunsthalle* director Willy Storck;²⁵ with his friend and patron in Kaiserslautern, the physician Theodor Kiefer; and through the collector and gallery owner Dr. Herbert Tannenbaum²⁶ in Mannheim, all while dispatching scores of pages to George Grosz in Berlin, in which he lamented the stagnant art scene in Karlsruhe and planned his eventual getaway. (In a somewhat treacly touch, Scholz often signed these letters "Your Georges II.")

²³ For a thorough grounding of these autobiographies within their historical context, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

²⁴ Georg Scholz likewise had some choice words for Schlichter in his later 1920s correspondence, intimating to his friend Theodor Kiefer, for example, that Schlichter was a hopeless joiner who latched on to every new cause that rolled through town. See, for example: Postcard Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 11 May 1925; Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 May 1926; Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 19 December 1929. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

²⁵ Dr. Willy Storck had been, since 1920, director of the *Kunsthalle* in Karlsruhe, and had previously worked as an assistant curator at the *Städtische Kunsthalle* in Mannheim. In Karlsruhe, he replaced the departing Hans Thoma as director and would oversee a massive reorganization at the art museum, in 1920. The archives related to this reorganization are collected in GLA 235/40177. See also Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, "Die Karlsruher Kunsthalle - Der Beginn einer modernen Sammlung," Willy F. Storck (1920-27), Teil 1, *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, Jg. 34 (1997).

²⁶ For an excellent study of Tannenbaum and his Mannheim gallery, see Karl-Ludwig Hoffmann, ed. *Für die Kunst! Herbert Tannenbaum und sein Kunsthaus: ein Galerist, seine Künstler, seine Kunden, sein Konzept* (Heidelberg: Vits & Kehrer, 1994).

In the winter of 1919, following four years of military service,²⁷ Scholz joined up with Schlichter and their Karlsruhe Academy colleagues Walter Becker, Egon Itta, Oskar Fischer, Eugen Segewitz, and Wladimir Zabotin to form the anti-academy secessionist association, *Die Gruppe Rih*.²⁸ The group operated as a regional arm of the Berlin-based *Novembergruppe* (November Group) and afforded its members a crucial foothold in the progressive art spaces of Karlsruhe and in exhibition halls in Mannheim, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, and Berlin. Scholz's work garnered particular attention at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1919, where he and his colleagues exhibited work in the galleries of the November Group.²⁹ Although the *Gruppe Rih* had effectively disbanded by the final months of 1919, its members continued to draw on these connections and to seek exhibition opportunities in venues well beyond their *badisch* locale. For Schlichter, this meant relocating to Berlin, where he produced satirical drawings and lush watercolor confections for a variety of Dada publications, and where he embarked on a career as a successful book illustrator.³⁰ Scholz chose to remain with his young family in Grötzingen, a ten minute train ride from Karlsruhe, but he would increasingly seek to engage with the Berlin center from this regional position: sending artworks, letters, and essays to colleagues including George Grosz, John Heartfield, and Hans Siebert von Heister, and

²⁷ For a detailed account of Scholz's military service, including excerpts from his war diary, see *Georg Scholz. Ein Beitrag zur realistischen Kunst* (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1975), especially 16-28.

²⁸ On the *Gruppe Rih*, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

²⁹ These artworks are listed in the exhibition catalogue of the *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung 1919*, all from the "Ortsgruppe Karlsruhe": Oskar Fischer *Haus am Meer* (#1156) and *Der Sprung* (#1157); Egon Itta *Sarrai* (#1196); Rudolf Schlichter *Komposition* (#1248); Georg Scholz *Freudige Familie* (#1257), *Nächtlicher Lärm* (#1258); and *Säugende Hündin* (#1259); and Wladimir Zabotin *Komposition* (#1280). Catalog in the library of the Berlinische Galerie, Berlin.

³⁰ For a comprehensive bibliography of Schlichter's work in book and journal illustration, see Dirk Heißen, ed., *Rudolf Schlichter - Bibliographie. Literarische, Zeit- und Kunstkritische Publikationen, illustrierte Bücher, Schriftstellerporträts, Sekundärliteratur, Briefe, Schriften von Speedy Schlichter* (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2006); see also Katharina Koop, "Der Maler Rudolf Schlichter als Buchillustrator," Hausarbeit zur Prüfung für den höheren Bibliotheksdienst, Fachhochschule Köln, Fachbereich Bibliotheks- und Dokumentationswesen (Calw: Stadtbibliothek, 1995).

exhibiting with Heister's November Group a total of four times between 1919 and 1922.³¹

Indeed, if Weimar Germany was a pluralistic "laboratory" of cultural production and political allegiances, as scholars such as Peter Fritzsche have suggested, for Georg Scholz, this testing ground lay primarily in Berlin, where he dispatched his latest experiments in word and image.³² In the spring of 1920, Scholz published the evocative sound poem "Réunion" in the Berlin cabaret journal *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke).³³ Edited by the poet Walter Mehring, it served as the journal for the Berlin cabaret of the same name. Max Reinhardt founded *Schall und Rauch* in 1901 as a progressive theater that sought to move beyond the hyper-realism of contemporary Berlin productions, embracing instead what the historian Peter Jelavich has termed "exuberant play."³⁴ In the years between December 1919 and February 1921, the journal served as a primary forum for Dadaist experiments in prose, poetry, drawing, and photomontage, testing the fixed boundaries between reading and seeing, art and experience.

Scholz's poem captured the pace and tempo of modern life as the disharmony of strangely staffed orchestra, one in which yellow frogs leap out of clarinet bells, mice scamper from flute valves, and an elephant keeps the beat on a dark blue bass:

³¹ For an overview of his participation, see Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe*, 50-52.

³² Fritzsche, "Did Weimar Fail?," 629-656.

³³ *Schall und Rauch* appeared for a total of thirteen issues between December 1919 and February 1921, with texts and illustrations by Walter Mehring, Wieland Herzfelde, Max Hermann-Neisse, Klabund (Alfred Henschke), Peter Panter (Kurt Tucholsky), Raoul Hausmann, Munkepunkte (Alfred Richard Meyer), and Paul Erkens. See Kurt Wafner, ed., *Schall und Rauch*, 1919-1921. Reprint edition issued with *Einfach klassisch und noch mehr: eine Nachbetrachtung* (Berlin: Buchverlag der Morgen, 1985).

On the history of the *Schall und Rauch* cabaret theater, see Peter Jelavich, "From Artistic Parody to Theatrical Renewal: Reinhardt's Sound and Smoke," in Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*, 62-84.

³⁴ Jelavich, "From Artistic Parody to Theatrical Renewal," 62.

Réunion

I'm leaving these painted ladies
 whose eyes contain empty houses.
 Kettle drums prophesy doom down in the swamps
 as the violin soap suds whisk over.
 The tips of girls' tongues glisten lasciviously,
 I'm leaving - -

The virgin pours pearls on the triangle
 while swamps of perfume incubate in the folds of her skirt.
 Radish eyes gape bulging and lusty at legs,
 the semaphore screams blind trumpet tones,
 and an elephant squeaks on a dark blue bass,
 BUM -- BUM --

Yellow frogs spring from clarinets,
 and from flute valves scamper spry little mice.
 Thus am I quickly far away,
 and the electrical train
 cuts through houses, lights, bodies, souls.
 Now it's gone dead.³⁵

Scholz's language evoked the speeding, jolting, cubo-futurist imagery of his contemporary picture making—paintings such as *Das Liebespaar* (The Lovers, 1920), for example, which he exhibited in the November Group galleries in the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1920 (**fig. 3.2**).³⁶ In a riot of adjacent crescent forms and heart shapes, two lovers embrace; they seem to share a single body that unfolds like tulip petals from a central female organ. Such works remained tied to the futurist breakdowns of the *Rih* phase; as such, Scholz's poem can be seen as a transition point—an attempt to distill his expressive visual imagery into a new form of evocative literary realism. In the same issue

³⁵ Georg Scholz, "Réunion," *Schall und Rauch* (May 1920). The original German text is also reprinted in Bergius, *Das Lachen Dadas*, 270.

³⁶ Georg Scholz, *Das Liebespaar* (The Lovers), 1920. Oil on wood, 49.5 x 51.5 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Exhibited with the title "Stambul" in the Große Berliner Kunstausstellung 1920, Kat.Nr. 1452, ill. p. 65.

of *Schall und Rauch*, Rudolf Schlichter published the watercolor drawing *Cabaret* (now known as *Tingel-Tangel*), under the pseudonym, J. Rétyl (**fig. 1.39**).³⁷ Its realist idiom sharpened the visual language of theatrical constructions such as *Tanz* (Dance), which Schlichter had published as a lithographic title illustration in the Berlin journal *Das Kunstblatt* only one month prior.³⁸

Scholz, likewise, was sharpening his satirical knife in the spring months of 1920. That June, he published an excerpt from his war diary as the essay “German Documents” (*Deutsche Dokumente*), in the Berlin political journal, *Der Gegner*.³⁹ These excerpts chronicle the experiences of the fictional Karl Bosse (Scholz’s literary pseudonym), who observes life in the German trenches with a wry, sardonic wit. Bosse’s realist language alternates between the mundane—describing his work assignment providing “artistic adornment” for a regimental menu listing such traditional German dishes as *Königsberger Klops*—and the comically grotesque, as Bosse casually shifts his language from this itemization of “meatballs in caper sauce” to an observation of the maggots seething from a fetid wound in a comrade’s neck.⁴⁰ Such language-based experiments connected Scholz to the networks of Berlin Dada, which sought in the immediate postwar years to forge a new kind of creative practice that would replace the

³⁷ Rudolf Schlichter, *Tingel-Tangel*, 1919/20. Watercolor on paper, 53 x 45.5 cm. Private collection.

Schlichter published the drawing under the pseudonym “J. Rétyl,” in the March 1920 issue of *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke).

³⁸ Rudolf Schlichter, *Tanz* (Dance), lithograph of an original drawing published in *Das Kunstblatt*, April 1920.

³⁹ Georg Scholz, “Deutsche Dokumente,” *Der Gegner* Jg. 2, Heft 1/2 (June 1920): 35-42.

⁴⁰ Scholz, “Deutsche Dokumente,” 35. “Ich wurde zum Regiments-Stab kommandiert, um eine Speisekarte künstlerisch zu verzieren: Suppe à la reine, Hecht blau mit Remouladensauce, Königsberger Klops mit Spargel, Zunge mit Rahmsauce und *pommes frites*, Süße Speise, Butter, Käse. Nach vollbrachter Arbeit im Burschenzimmer erfuhr ich, daß ein Kamerad meiner Kompanie auf dem Regiments-Verbandsplatz auf Abtransport warte. Ich ging hinüber. Er hatte einen Schuß unterhalb der Kinnlade durch den Hals. Es krabbelte ihm dort so eigentümlich. Wir machten den Verband los. Die Wunde wimmelte von fetten Schinkenmaden. Es gab dort viele Schmeißfliegen.”

musty, outmoded institutions of the German art market with the detritus of popular culture and with peals of cynical laughter. George Grosz was among the primary innovators of this form of *Lach-Arbeit* (laugh work), as Hanne Bergius has shown, and it was to he and his closest Berlin colleagues that Scholz would address his dispatches from the regional margins.⁴¹

Farmer Picture: The First International Dada Fair (1920)

Dear Georg!

[...] Should you be an honorable gentleman, send the farmer picture right away for the DAdA schow [sic], biggest show on earth—because it is important—but quickly, quickly, or else there’s no point. Above all else, make the “Farmer Picture” (costs will be paid!!!!)⁴²

—George Grosz to Georg Scholz, 16 June 1920

On 16 June 1920, George Grosz and John Heartfield sent an urgent dispatch to Georg Scholz at his home in Grötzingen, urging the artist to send his “Bauernbild” (Farmer Picture) to Berlin for the First International Dada Fair (**fig. 3.3**). This irreverent exhibition featured more than 170 Dadaist “products” (*Erzeugnisse*) that its organizers hoped would shock and agitate bourgeois aesthetic taste while undermining

⁴¹ Like Scholz, Grosz had joined the November Group in 1919, but the Berlin artist did not exhibit with the organization until 1929. See Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe*, 50.

⁴² Postcard George Grosz and John Heartfield to Georg Scholz, 16 June 1920. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. The postcard is also reproduced in Adkins, *Stationen der Moderne*, 166. On the front side is a wedding photograph of George and Eva Grosz with John Heartfield and Grosz’s brother-in-law, Otto Schmalhausen. The text from Grosz and Heartfield reads as follows: “Bln, 16. Juni 1920, Lieber Georg, kannst Du Bauernbild nicht doch noch machen u. schicken, so dass es vor der Eröffnung der Ausstellung am 25. Juni 20 (Freitag) hier noch eintrifft. Sendungskosten sowie Anfertigungskosten ersetzen wir Dir gern. Dein John Heartfield. Schreib sofort! Buchvorschlag sehr gut. Lieber Georg! habe Grüße [ill.] habe hier, sei du auch ein vornehmer Herr, schicke doch wieder [ill.] zum ausstellen für DAdA schow, biggest show on earth, schicke sofort bauernbild—denn es ist wichtig—aber schnell genug, schnell genug, sonst hats keinen Zweck. [ill.] Überall, [ill.] -- mach das “Bauernbild” (Kosten werden bezahlt!!!!) Dein George.”

traditions of academic art production, consumption, and circulation.⁴³ Many of these objects—collaged or assembled with visible seams and ruptures—assaulted the smooth, finished surface that had come to be associated with painterly realism as it was handed down in European academies of fine art. Instead, the organizers of the Dada Fair aimed to operate directly upon the viewer’s sensory organs to jolt them into a new experience of reading and seeing.⁴⁴ Cyborg bodies pasted together of newspaper fragments and press photographs, advertising posters with screeching constructivist slogans, and collage compositions proclaimed art to be dead, an outmoded corpse crushed beneath the feet of the new “machine art” of Tatlin.⁴⁵ The exhibition took place in Otto Burchard’s newly opened Berlin art gallery from 30 June to 25 August 1920.⁴⁶

Many of the works on view in the Dada Fair reenacted the experience of war trauma and bodily dismemberment, as Brigid Doherty has argued in a series of powerful essays.⁴⁷ Scholz’s *Farmer Picture* participated in this tradition of traumatic recombination, to be sure, but it did so with a subversive realist twist—deploying Dada’s preferred strategies of collage, photomontage, and surface fragmentation in nearly seamless juxtaposition with the smooth finish of a traditional family portrait. Yet this was

⁴³ Wieland Herzfelde, “Introduction to the First International Dada Fair,” trans. Brigid Doherty, *October* 105 (Summer 2003): 93-104.

⁴⁴ In this way, the Dada project linked up to the concerns expressed in the Karlsruhe *Gruppe Rih* manifesto, with its interest in an art of experience, “to which the sensory organ must be receptive.”

⁴⁵ “Die Kunst ist tot. Es lebe die neue Maschinenkunst Tatlins”

⁴⁶ For the best general histories of Berlin Dada, in English, see Brigid Doherty, “Berlin” in Dickerman, *Dada*, 84-112; and Matthew Biro, “Berlin Dada: Origins, Practices, and Institutions,” in Biro, *The Dada Cyborg*, 25-64. In German, see Hanne Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik: Dada Berlin—Artistik von Politaritäten* (Berlin: Mann, 2000).

For overviews of the First International Dada Fair, see Doherty, “Berlin,” 99-110; and Helen Adkins, “Erste Internationale Dada-Messe, Berlin 1920,” in *Stationen der Moderne. Die bedeutenden Kunstaussstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, ed. Helen Adkins (Berlin: Nicolai, 1988). For a comprehensive recounting of the *Dada Messe* and an analysis of key artworks on view, see Bergius, *Montage und Metamechanik*, 233-304.

⁴⁷ See especially: Doherty, “See: We are all Neurasthenics!” 82-132; Doherty, “The Work of Art and the Problem of Politics in Berlin Dada,” 73-92; and Doherty, “Berlin,” 87-112.

no typical farming family, as Scholz's brutal satire made clear.⁴⁸ At left, the acne-spattered, snot-nosed child attempts to blow up a toad with a straw; a paper label pasted across his open skull describes a patent for a piece of expensive farming equipment, a hay drescher (*Kurzstrohzuführung*), which plays on the double meaning of the German word *Stroh* or "straw."⁴⁹ The mother, with porcine physiognomy and a piglet resting in her lap, stares dumbly ahead with a screw drilled into the folds of her broad forehead; her black netted gloves only draw attention to the dirtiness of her fingernails.⁵⁰ Situated at the apex of this compositional triangle, the father clutches a Bible, but he has money on the brain—quite literally, in fact, as Scholz has collaged strips of paper currency above the man's left eye.⁵¹ The father's long, bony fingers taper off into the same grubby fingernails as his wife, presenting a stark counterpoint to the white-washed, mass-produced enamelware mug sitting on the nearby table. It reads *Der Hausvater* (Master of the House), a nearly illegible but highly sardonic detail that Scholz would clarify in the lithographic versions to follow.

In the background, a white bust of the Kaiser rests on the wooden sideboard, and a framed photomontage of a soldier hangs directly above; presumably, this presence hints

⁴⁸ Georg Scholz, *Bauernbild* (Farmer Picture), also known as *Industriebauern* (Industrial Peasants), 1920. Oil on wood with collage and photomontage, 98 x 70 cm. Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal.

Lit: Georg Scholz, *Ein Beitrag zur realistischen Kunst*, 90-92; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 38-39 and 121; Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 17-19; Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 44-45; Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 129-133; Fleckner, "The Real Demolished by Trenchant Objectivity," 68; and Doherty, "Berlin," 90-93.

⁴⁹ The eponymous piece of modern farming equipment can be seen on display through the window.

⁵⁰ These fingerless *Stäucherle* gloves are Scholz's nod to bourgeois fashion in small-town Baden. See Angermeyer Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 38.

⁵¹ Scholz may have intended to link this patriarchal figure to the contemporary *Kunstlump-Debatte*, the so-called "Art Scab Debate," that unfurled in the wake of the Grosz-Heartfield satirical essay, "Der Kunstlump," published in *Der Gegner* in the spring of 1920. There, the writers described the titular Kunstlump as a burgher "with the Bible in his hand" ("mit der Bibel in der Hand"). See Grosz and Heartfield, "Der Kunstlump," *Der Gegner* 1, nos. 10-12 (1920): 48-56.

at the conspicuous absence of the family's own faithful soldier.⁵² Scholz would later recall his experience as a hungry veteran returning home from World War I: in seeking food for himself, his wife, and his small child, he approached a well-to-do *badisch* farming family who suggested that he turn to their compost heap for nourishment.⁵³ This repugnant family with dumb, staring eyes and empty heads hoards livestock and bags of grain while a country preacher approaches with a gleaming and haloed roast chicken in his see-through belly. Such moments of visual rhyming and double entendre—in which grain sacks become bodies, people become piglets, and “straw” operates as an implement of modern farming and of animal torture—distinguish Scholz's satire from that of his Dada peers. In this work, and in a series of biting lithographs to follow, Scholz enacted a preference for a visual language of “reading” over “seeing,” one that rewarded the slow burn of a joke that unfolds on multiple visual and verbal levels.

Scholz intended for a set of strategic interventions to bring the *Farmer Picture* in line with Berlin Dada's interest in collage as both formal rupture and corporeal fragmentation: these collage elements include regional newspaper clippings, pieces of paper currency, an industrial patent, cut-out appliqués of farm and household devices, and the photomontage portrait of the German soldier hanging behind the painted marble bust

⁵² Brigid Doherty has discussed these souvenir soldier portraits at length in her essays on Berlin Dada and suggests a link between the invention of photomontage in Germany and the hand-colored photomontage portraits produced during World War I to commemorate fallen soldiers. Moreover, it was Doherty who first pointed out that this photographic portrait is, in fact, a photomontage. See Doherty, “Berlin,” 90-99. Sherwin Simmons also discusses the link between the soldier portraits, so-called *Klebebilder*, and the avant-garde taste for kitsch production in Simmons, “Chaplin Smiles on the Wall: Berlin Dada and Wish-Images of Popular Culture,” *New German Critique*, No. 84 (Autumn 2001): 15.

⁵³ Cited in *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 90: “Aus Berichten eines Schülers von Scholz geht hervor, daß der Anlaß zur Entstehung des Bildes in einem Nachkriegserlebnis von Scholz liegt. Er versuchte, für sich und seine Familie bei Bauern Nahrungsmittel zu organisieren. Dabei wurde er grob abgefertigt mit dem Hinweis, er solle sich sein Essen vom Komposthaufen holen.”

of Kaiser Wilhelm II.⁵⁴ On close inspection, these pasted additions are subtle and somewhat easy to miss; the eye moves rapidly over the shiny, pleasing surface and tends to concentrate on the virtuosic *trompe l'oeil* details of painted yellow flypaper and translucent glass. Perhaps Scholz, ever the painterly technician, was disturbed by the pasted intrusions and sought with brush and varnish to glaze and suture the surface into a more seamless whole. Compare the farming father, to example, to the “Victim of Society” in George Grosz’s collage painting *Ein Opfer der Gesellschaft (Remember Uncle August the Unhappy Inventor)* (1919), whose face disappears behind its glued-on mechanical appendages (**fig. 3.4**).⁵⁵ Brigid Doherty has noted that the sitter in this montage portrait is actually the German President Fritz Ebert, culled from a press photograph and reimagined as a grotesque cyborg monster. In Doherty’s formulation, the violent cuts and alterations to the presidential face recall the horrific facial injuries suffered by German soldiers in World War I. Thus, in Grosz’s hands, the violence of montage superseded that of straight caricature—the traditional tool of aesthetic-political combat in the nineteenth-century and Grosz’s preferred method of satire in contemporary journals such as *Die blutige Ernst* and *Die Pleite*—and thereby acted as a more effective critique for the Dadaists exhibiting their latest “products” on the walls of the Burchard gallery.⁵⁶

Certainly, Scholz knew the stakes—and the opportunities—of exhibiting his work with the Dadaists in Berlin. But did he participate wholly in their project of formal violence? In the preparatory drawing, *Wucherbauer* (Profiteering Farmer, 1919), Scholz

⁵⁴ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 26 October 1920. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Mein Bauernbild ist recht amüsan geworden.”

⁵⁵ Felicia Sternfeld also notes the similarity to Grosz’s *Victim of Society* in Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 131.

⁵⁶ Brigid Doherty, “Figures of the Pseudorevolution,” *October* Vol. 84 (Spring 1998): 75.

denoted with two contiguous triangles of opaque white pigment the space where paper currency would be glued onto the farmer's head (**fig. 3.5**).⁵⁷ This tactic of corporeal exposure—a show and tell of opened heads and severed bellies—brought Scholz's collage painting in line with several works Grosz had published in Berlin satirical journals between 1919 and 1921, many of which would appear in the Malik Verlag portfolio, *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (The Face of the Ruling Class), in 1921. In one exemplary page, *Wir treten zum Beten vor Gott den Gerechten!* (We tiptoe to pray before God the Righteous!), a businessman holds a beer mug in one hand and an oversized screw in the other, while his open skull sprouts curled arabesques resembling mechanical springs (**fig. 3.6**).⁵⁸ The scribbled words "Hurra.." emit from his tiny mouth, lampooning this figure as an uncritical bourgeois nationalist swept up in the "hurrah" politics of the reactionary rightwing in Germany.⁵⁹ Behind him, a man holding a tricolor German flag stares blankly while a pile of excrement steams in his open skull.

From the text of their postcard invitation (**fig. 3.7**), we know that Grosz and Heartfield were familiar with Scholz's plans to create the *Farmer Picture*, and that they wanted desperately to include the finished work in their exhibition; Grosz referred to it with the fanfare of a circus hawker as the "biggest show on earth."⁶⁰ Both men offered to cover the costs of shipment from Grötzingen and urged Scholz above all else to finish the

⁵⁷ Georg Scholz, *Wucherbauer* (Profiteering Farmer), 1919. Ink, colored pencil, and pencil on paper, 21 x 13.5 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

⁵⁸ George Grosz, *Wir treten zum Beten vor Gott den Gerechten!* (We tiptoe to pray before God the Righteous!), published in the Malik Verlag portfolio, *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (The Face of the Ruling Class), 1921.

⁵⁹ On the type of so-called "hurrah kitsch" that emerged from this rightwing movement, see Simmons, "Grimaces on the Walls," 19.

⁶⁰ Postcard George Grosz and John Heartfield to Georg Scholz, 16 June 1920. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

work and to send it quickly, as Grosz exclaimed: “or else there’s no point” (*sonst hat’s keinen Zweck...*). The notion that the *Bauernbild* had a purpose *only* if it were shown in Berlin is an important one, shedding light both on the Dadaists’ hopes for their art fair and on Scholz’s wish to integrate himself and his work into this powerful circle of centrally-located individuals. To that end, the Grötzingen artist quickly sent the painting to Berlin, where it would prove to be one of the standouts of that summer’s exhibition, attracting both critical attention and, one year later, a small legal question in the Reichstag.⁶¹

At the Dada Fair, Scholz also exhibited an oil painting titled, *Hindenburg-Jelly: An Aromatic Birthday Gift for Field Marshall Hindenburg* (Hindenburgsülze. Ein duftendes Geburtstagsgeschenk für den Feldmarschall Hindenburg). Now lost/destroyed, and apparently never photographed, the work likely mimicked the *Farmer Picture* in its tactic of smooth, painterly realism, as a critic noted in a local newspaper:

On a large plate lies the deathly pale, bruised, and battered head of a general under a glass cover, next to it a long knife and a copy of the German newspaper. The whole thing painted with a realism that seems to mock the Dadaist stammering of the remaining works on view.⁶²

Though we cannot be certain, it seems likely that the *Hindenburg Jelly* included collage elements (the “copy of the German newspaper,” for example) that critics noticed

⁶¹ See Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 132-133. On the broader topic of legal complaints against visual artists in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany, see Wolfgang Hütt, *Hintergrund: mit den Unzüchtigkeits- und Gotteslästerungsparagraphen des Strafgesetzbuches gegen Kunst und Künstler, 1900-1933* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1990).

⁶² Georg Scholz, *Hindenburgsülze. Ein duftendes Geburtstagsgeschenk für den Feldmarschall Hindenburg*, ca. 1920. Painting now considered lost/destroyed. Dada Messe cat.no. 92.

The picture was mentioned in an exhibition review by Kurt Borsdorff in the *Ostpreußische Zeitung*, 8 August 1920. Reprinted in Adkins, *Stationen der Moderne*, 165; and Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 127-129. “Da liegt auf einem großen Teller unter einer Glasglocke ein totenbleiches, blutunterlaufenes, zerquetschtes Soldatenhaupt, daneben ein langes Messer und ein Exemplar der Deutschen Zeitung. Das Ganze mit einem Realismus gemalt, der dem Dadaistengestammel der übrigen Ausstellungswerke Hohn zu sprechen scheint.”

after the fact of its brutal and exactingly rendered realism. Moreover, the reporter for the *Ostpreußische Zeitung* noticed what has often been overlooked in the scholarship on Georg Scholz and his relationship to the Berlin avant-garde: that satire could still hold relevance for political critique after Dada, especially when it appeared as a form of what the communist critic Lu Märten would call “the material body of capitalism”—the thing in and of itself, rendered in a language of bald and unapologetic realism.⁶³

In a limited edition, hand-colored lithographic version that followed the *Farmer Picture*, Scholz smoothed out its surface disjunctions and introduced a far more seamless brand of visual satire rooted in harsh, caricatured realism: the father sports a severe, slicked-back hairdo in place of the bills of paper money; his wife lacks the screw drilled into her broad and wrinkled forehead (**fig. 3.8**).⁶⁴ The odious young son still tortures a toad with a cruelly placed straw, but he does so with skull and bright yellow hair intact—unlike the earlier painting, in which Scholz opened up the boy’s head to display its empty contents. Scholz likely produced these works from a home base at the Karlsruhe Academy, where he had been working as a guest student (*Hospitant*) in the lithography workshop since the winter of 1920.⁶⁵ The lithographic versions lack the direct visual connections between industrial farming and graft, but they bear the more forceful title:

⁶³ Lu Märten, “Geschichte, Satyre, Dada und Weiteres,” *Die Rote Fahne* 164 (25 August 1920). Cited and translated in McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 82. “Dada is a phenomenon of the times, no mere invention: what it attempts with satiric means represents itself oddly enough beyond the parameters of Dada itself. That is: that no particular means, much less any art, appears necessary any more in order to present satire or caricature. [...] But that time and society, the material body of capitalism in all things—is, in and of itself, satire. It is the simple reproduction of the given situation.”

⁶⁴ Georg Scholz, *Wucherbauernfamilie* (Profiteering Farmer Family), 1920. Hand-colored lithograph on paper, 98 x 70 cm. Berlinische Galerie, Berlin.

Lit: Brigid Doherty, “Dada in Germany: ‘The Disfiguration of the Contemporary World,’” in Strecker, *The Mad Square*, 84; Bezirksverband bildender Künstler, *Georg Scholz. Das Druckgrafische Werk*, 34.

⁶⁵ GLA 235/40176 “Unterricht in der Lithographie.” Scholz was a “guest student” (*Hospitant*) in the Lithographieabteilung, with an honorarium of 60 Marks, for the winter semester of 1920/21, and again for the summer semester of 1922.

Wucherbauernfamilie (Profiteering Farmer Family). Scholz referred to the painting in private correspondence as his “*Bauernbild*”—literally, “Farmer Picture”—but the painting appeared in contemporary exhibitions with the title “*Industriebauernbild*” or “*Industriebauern*” (Industrial Peasants), which it retains to this day. After World War I, German farmers were largely self-supporting and produced a surplus of goods, which they could trade for luxury items and modern equipment: the hay drescher or hole punch of Scholz’s *Farmer Picture*, for example, or the bulging feed bag in the corner of the family dining room, point to these visions of postwar excess.⁶⁶ Thus, it seems likely that either Grosz or Heartfield suggested the title *Industriebauernbild* to Scholz as a means to clarify the specificity of his attack on the wealthy and well-connected bourgeois farming families they aimed to skewer at the Dada Fair.⁶⁷

In this spirit of renewed realism, the leading satirists of Berlin Dada began to place the movement under revision, in the late summer and early fall of 1920.⁶⁸ George Grosz and his closest colleagues began to turn their attention to more overtly political agitations, in journals such as *Die Pleite* and *Der Gegner*, and to books, pamphlets, and portfolios published through the Malik Verlag in Berlin. In September of 1920, Rudolf Schlichter, Raoul Hausmann, George Grosz, and John Heartfield signed their names to the manifesto, “Die Gesetze der Malerei” (The Laws of Painting), an unpublished

⁶⁶ On these elements of Scholz’s attack, see *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 90-92.

⁶⁷ Another title, “Wucherbauer” points to the notion of profiteering. “Wucherbauernfamilie, Durlacher Schwarzbuckelfamilie” is an alternate title of the hand-colored lithograph; see *Georg Scholz. Das Druckgrafische Werk*, 34.

⁶⁸ Dennis Crockett discusses the “post-Dada” moment in his *German Post-Expressionism*, 48-58. Crockett suggests that the series of theoretical essays published between the summers of 1920 and 1921 pointed the Dadaists in a new direction, one far more closely aligned with the Italianist impulses of *Valori Plastici*, de Chirico, Carra, and their peers.

manifesto saved by Hannah Höch in her copious personal archive.⁶⁹ They rejected Dada's montage strategies just a few short months after the fair had opened, and posited in their place a form of purified, painterly realism. For the centrally located Dada artists, this ushered in a period of intense, if short-lived, experimentation with painterly form, an ostensible rejection of the content-heavy political artworks they produced in the service of Dada nihilism. In their place, they offered a harsh and biting new form of *Tendenz*.

Tendenzkunst: Picturing Art and Politics

Initially, one fought against every rule and every theoretical formulation of the term “art” through the irony of Dada. Unfortunately, this irony started to be taken seriously and Dada was promptly queued up in line with all the existing, art historically legitimated methods of making “art.” Thereafter, one tried [...] to dispose himself of all preexisting “isms” through an “art”-less cultivation of the newest communist ideas. To my mind, this is where the approaches to new possibilities lie. There is, however, an ever present danger that circumstances will only be exchanged, namely: the parade ground of form [...] for the parade ground of content [...]⁷⁰

—Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 29 November 1921

In the wake of the Dada Fair, the artists who had staked their claim with Grosz. & Co. would find themselves in a crosshairs of art and politics—one in which manifestoes and anti-manifestoes seemed to appear almost daily, taking contradicting views on the

⁶⁹ Raoul Hausmann, Rudolf Schlichter, George Grosz, and John Heartfield, “Die Gesetze der Malerei,” in *Hannah Höch: Eine Lebenscollage*, Vol. 1, Part 2, ed. Cornelia Thater-Schulz (Berlin: Argon, 1989), 696-98.

⁷⁰ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 29 November 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch: “Man wehrte sich gegen jede Kunstregel u. gegen jede theoretische Formulierung des Begriffes “Kunst” zunächst durch die Ironie des Dadaismus. Leider wurde aber auch diese Ironie ernst genommen und der Dadaismus in die Reihe der bestehenden, kunsthistorisch legitimierten Methoden zur Anfertigung von “Kunst” prompt eingereiht. Danach versuchte man (“man” = Scholz – George Grosz) sich aller bisherigen durch “-ismus” formulierten Begriffe zu entledigen durch eine “Kunst”-lose Pflege der neuen kommunistischen Gedanken. Hier liegen nun m. M. die Ansätze zu neuen Möglichkeiten. Es liegt aber die Gefahr nahe, daß nur getauscht wird, nämlich: der Exerzierplatz der Form (genannt: Im- Ex- etc. -pressionismus) gegen den Exerzierplatz des Inhalts (gen. Kommunismus etc.)”

relationship between painting and politics, and the artist and the worker.⁷¹ The *Gegner* editor and Malik Verlag publisher, Wieland Herzfelde, would later assert that he had joined the German Communist Party (KPD)—alongside his brother, John Heartfield, and their close friend, George Grosz—at the founding congress in Berlin on 31 December 1918.⁷² Barbara McCloskey has traced these shifting dynamics through the work and political affiliations of George Grosz, who, by the early winter of 1921, had become thoroughly committed to his agitational work for the political journal, *Der Gegner*—a successor to the banned magazine, *Die Pleite*, in which Grosz and his closest artist-comrades published their biting critiques of despised politicians, military leaders, and titans of industry.⁷³

Georg Scholz had joined the center-left Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), a splinter group of the German Social Democrats (SPD), shortly after returning from combat in World War I.⁷⁴ He likely joined the KPD in the spring of 1920, sometime before exhibiting with Grosz and Heartfield in the First International Dada Fair.⁷⁵ He likewise began to hone his language of satire *after* Dada, adopting the forms and strategies of mass cultural production—book illustration, poster design, and the like—to

⁷¹ On the emergence of the German Communist Party and the early schisms within its ranks, see Weitz, *Creating German Communism*, 103-05.

⁷² Barbara McCloskey recounts these dates in McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 3 and 55, citing Wieland Herzfelde, “John Heartfield und George Grosz, Zum 75. Geburtstag meines Bruders,” *Mitteilung der deutschen AdK Berlin* (DDR), Nr. 4 (July/August 1966): 2-4.

⁷³ *Die Pleite*, edited by Wieland Herzfelde, George Grosz, and John Heartfield in Berlin, Zurich, and Vienna: 1919, and 1923-1924, 11 numbers in 10 (including double no. 10/11). *Die Pleite* ran as *Der Gegner* from late 1919 - September 1922. *Der Knüppel* began publication in 1923, with official support from the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD), and continued printing until 1927.

⁷⁴ The USPD collapse over 1920-21 likely saved the KPD from extinction, as Eric Weitz recounts in his *Creating German Communism*, 98. The USPD voted to join the KPD at its Halle Congress in October of 1920.

⁷⁵ The first public gathering of the KPD in Grötzingen took place on 14 November 1920 in the local Gasthaus Ochsen. See Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 35-36. According to Sternfeld, Scholz left the Communist Party in October or November of 1921 (Sternfeld, *Ibid.* 159).

effect immediate recognition in the eyes and minds of his reading public.⁷⁶ Scholz's watercolor drawing, *Zeitungsträger* (Newspaper Carriers, 1921), serves as a visual manifesto of this newly sharpened political position, and of his commitment to realist caricature as a means to communicate these beliefs.⁷⁷ The modestly scaled watercolor depicts two newspaper carriers with sunken chests and lined faces trudging through an industrial landscape while a porcine, monocle-wearing capitalist surveys them from the seat of a red cabriolet (**fig. 3.9**). (This figure would become a stock character in Scholz's satirical work as the greedy fat cat with squinting eyes, blemished skin, and trademark fedora.) In a preparatory drawing of 1920 (**fig. 3.10**), Scholz concentrated on the hunched posture and starkly bald heads of the two newspaper carriers—a young boy with an upturned nose and an older man with a full mustache—in a sketch that resembles the reportorial naturalism of period studies by Heinrich Zille or Käthe Kollwitz, both of whom trained their attention on the plight of Berlin's working classes.⁷⁸ For the finished watercolor, Scholz opted not for this gentler style of draftsmanship, but instead for the sharply contoured, colorful language of popular book illustration, an activity and an industry in which he was just then beginning to take part.

Scholz had worked as a newspaper carrier in his youth, and in the *Newspaper Carriers*, he rendered legible the broadsheet tucked under the older man's arm: the word

⁷⁶ As Scholz would write to his friend, Theodor Kiefer, such side jobs were necessary in order to earn enough money to turn his attention back to "high art." In the same letter, Scholz noted that he had recently sold a version of the *Zeitungsträger* watercolor to Director Willy Storck at the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle. Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 October 1921.

⁷⁷ Georg Scholz, *Zeitungsträger/Arbeit schändet* (Newspaper Carriers/Work Disgraces), 1921. Watercolor, pen-and-ink, black crayon and pencil on paper, 30.9 x 49 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. VIII 2386.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 133-136; Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 24; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 40; Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 118.

⁷⁸ Georg Scholz, study for *Zeitungsträger* (Newspaper Carriers), 1920. Pencil on paper, 14.5 x 11 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

“*Tagblatt*” above the phrase “*Badische Morgenpost*” denotes this as a regional satire with specific roots in the Karlsruhe daily press.⁷⁹ The artist created a second, nearly identical version of the watercolor—sold to the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle in October of 1921⁸⁰—and a lithograph with the title *Arbeit schändet* (Work Defiles), a sardonic play on the capitalist aphorism “Arbeit schändet nicht/die Trägheit aber entehrt uns” (Work is no disgrace, but idleness dishonors us).⁸¹ This image appeared in the March 1922 issue of *Der Gegner* with the new title, “*Verkehrte Welt*” (World Upside Down) preceding the pointed caption: “The fat: live on the work of the thin. The thin: distribute the wisdom of the fat.” In stark black-and-white reproduction, the cover of the *Tagblatt* and the steaming factory stacks of Scholz’s lithograph proclaim the networks of influence controlled by the greedy capitalist who puffs on a cigar and peers at the haggard workers through his monocle (**fig. 3.11**).

As he would assert to the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle Director Willy Storck, in June of 1921, Scholz had long since abandoned the hope of becoming a “great one” (*eine Größe*) in Karlsruhe. Instead, and with increased intensity, the artist sought to find an intellectual and aesthetic home outside of the *badisch* capital. In a series of private letters and published essays, Scholz used phrases like “easel ecstasy” and “political tendency” to set

⁷⁹ During the Weimar Republic, Karlsruhe residents could choose between half a dozen daily newspapers, with the best art criticism to be found in the hundred-year-old *Karlsruher Tagblatt* (C.F. Müller Verlag). Its weekly feuilleton, *Die Pyramide*, was edited by Karl Joho, who recruited the best writers and scholars from Baden to contribute to its pages. Christian Friedrich Müller acquired the printing rights for the *Karlsruher Wochenblatt* from Margrave Karl Friedrich von Baden in 1803, and on 6 January 1810 published the first edition of the *Karlsruher Intelligenz- und Wochenblatt* (from 1843 known as the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*). The *Badischer Beobachter* was a Catholic newspaper; its political opposite was the Social Democratic (SPD) newspaper *Volksfreund*.

⁸⁰ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 October 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Ich habe einige gute Aquarelle gemacht, von denen eines die Landesgalerie gekauft hat.”

⁸¹ This aphorism is attributed to the Greek poet Hesiod, *Werke und Tage* 311. In German, this is translated: “Arbeit schändet nicht, die Trägheit aber entehrt uns.”

into productive opposition the lure of formalism and the tyranny of content. He thus challenged the notion that an artist could communicate his political ideals through the traditional tricks and materials of painting. Instead, he advocated for a new approach to *Tendenzkunst* that would preserve both form *and* content—developing a formal lexicon and a set of laws for painting that he would outline in a personal letter to the November Group, in March of 1921.

In the early 1920s, German artists, critics, and the public grappled with the question of *Tendenzkunst*, a term that referred to an art that displays its political bias and privileges this content-driven stance over formal innovation. For artists like Grosz and Heartfield, *Tendenzkunst* had a decidedly positive valence in the first years of the 1920s, signaling the opportunity for artistic intervention, agitation, and contingency.⁸² The two artists famously used the term in their “Art Scab” essay of 1920, where they argued that to deny art its *Tendenz*—its tendency, or political content—would be merely an errant denial hatched of bourgeois fantasy.⁸³ “And yet art remains detached (*tendenzlos*),” the two men asserted, a baroque swindle of epic proportions:

That is why in works of art they preach escape for feelings and thoughts, away from the unbearable conditions of the earth, to the moon and stars, into heaven, vouchsafed by the machine guns of democracy, whose purpose is to send the dispossessed on a journey into the purer Beyond. That is why a weakling like the poet Rainer Maria Rilke, supported by the perfumed do-nothings, writes: ‘Poverty is a great radiance from within’ [*Book of Hours*].⁸⁴

⁸² On *Tendenzkunst* in the contemporary literature see: Anton Jaumann, “Tendenziöse Kunst,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* (September 1920): 272-79. For secondary literature, see: Sherwin Simmons, “War, Revolution, and the Transformation of the German Humor Magazine, 1914-27,” *Art Journal* 52, No. 1 (Spring 1993): 46-54; and Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 188-89.

⁸³ First published as George Grosz and John Heartfield, “Der Kunstlump,” *Der Gegner* 1, nos. 10-12 (1920): 48-56. “Der Kunstlump” translated as Grosz and Heartfield, “The Art Scab” in Kaes, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 483-86.

⁸⁴ Grosz and Heartfield, “The Art Scab,” 484.

Increasingly, such demands for an art of contingency brought Grosz, Heartfield, and their colleagues into conflict with the Berlin-based November Group, where many of the Dadaists were members, and showed work in the large summer exhibitions.⁸⁵ By the spring of 1921, a rift had formed between the more conservative members of the November Group—founding painters such as César Klein, Georg Tappert, and Hans Siebert von Heister—and those members who had exhibited in the Dada Fair and who sought to position their art in the service of communist politics.⁸⁶ This group centered around George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, and Hannah Höch and critiqued the November Group as a staid exhibition society, one that lacked the necessary political and agitational compunction to effect radical change. They also criticized the group’s preference for abstract painting, which seemed to be hopelessly outmoded after the political failure of the leftwing revolutions and the formal interventions of the First International Dada Fair. In an open letter to the November Group board member Hans Siebert von Heister,⁸⁷ written in March and published in May 1921, Georg Scholz likewise outlined his move away from formal abstraction and toward the “Gegenständlichen,” the objective or representational.⁸⁸ The artist saw the rejection of what he called “l’art pour l’art painting”

⁸⁵ On the overlap with the *Novembergruppe* exhibitions, see Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe*, 50-52. On Grosz’s relationship to the November Group, and the rift with Berlin Dada, see McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 50-56.

⁸⁶ Grosz had joined the November Group as a founding member, alongside his friend Ludwig Meidner, on 3 December 1918. Cited in McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 50.

⁸⁷ The painter Hans Siebert von Heister (1888-1967) was a “geschäftsführendes Vorstandsmitglied” of the November Group from 1920 to 1923. Kliemann, *Die Novembergruppe*, 107.

⁸⁸ Georg Scholz open letter to Hans Siebert von Heister, 31 March 1921. First published in *NG. Veröffentlichungen der Novembergruppe*, Heft 1, edited by Raoul Hausmann and Hans Siebert von Heister (Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, May 1921): 42-45.

Portions of this letter have been previously published in Beloubek, *Gefühl ist Privatsache*, 84.

as a necessary alteration, one that would usher in a new embrace of *Tendenzkunst* in the service of radical politics.⁸⁹

Matters came to a boiling point in the summer of 1921, when Scholz exhibited the *Farmer Picture* as a member of the November Group at the annual Great Berlin Art Exhibition.⁹⁰ As before, the picture garnered a flurry of attention, as Scholz described to his friend and patron, Dr. Theodor Kiefer:

[...] From Berlin I received news that the *Bauernbild* formed one of the top attractions of this year's exhibition, which in light of the mass of artworks gathered together there is certainly gratifying. The Karlsruhe gallery director [Willy] Storck told me yesterday that he read a gloss on the exhibition opening in one of the rightwing newspapers: the Reichspräsident apparently wandered through the galleries with some of his high-ranking officials, and when they came upon the "‘Industriebauernbild’ from Scholz," these men promptly left the exhibition and later proceeded to argue passionately about the picture in the corridors of the Reichstag.⁹¹

By thumbing his nose at regional piety and familial loyalty to the republic, Scholz hit a nerve with conservative members of the Reichstag. Yet although it rankled rightwing officials, Scholz's *Farmer Picture* attracted no official sanctions during the 1921 exhibition. This (dis)honor was reserved for two works concurrently on view in the *Novembergruppe* galleries: Rudolf Schlichter's *Liebesleben in Berlin W.* (Lovelife in Berlin W. 1919-20), now lost, and Otto Dix's portrait painting, *Alma* (1920), a collage

⁸⁹ Scholz had exhibited with the November Group just before he sent the open letter, in Feb-Mar 1921, at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. See Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 37.

⁹⁰ *Große Berliner Kunstausstellung im Landesausstellungsgebäude am Lehrter Bahnhof, Berlin*. 14 May - September 1921. Catalog Nr. 1173: Georg Scholz, Grötzingen, Baden, *Industriebauern*.

⁹¹ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 June 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "[...] Aus Berlin erhielt ich Nachrichten, die besagen, daß das *Bauernbild* eine der Hauptattraktionen der diesjährigen Ausstellung bildet, was in anbetracht der Menge der dort zusammengetragenen Kunstprodukte immerhin erfreulich ist. Der Karlsruher Galeriedirektor Dr. [Willy] Storck erzählte mir gestern, daß er in einer rechtsstehenden Zeitung eine Glosse über die Ausstellungseröffnung gelesen habe: Der Reichspräsident sei mit den Reichstagsabgeordneten durch die Säle gewandert, als sie vor das 'Industriebauernbild' von Scholz gekommen seien, hätten die rechtsstehenden Abgeordneten die Ausstellung verlassen und in den Wandelgängen des Reichstags sei erregt über das Bild disputiert worden."

portrait of a coyly confrontational female prostitute (**fig. 3.12**).⁹² Under pressure from the Ministry of Culture—and a direct threat of public prosecution from the exhibition organizer, Max Schlichting—the leadership of the November Group agreed to remove the Dix and Schlichter paintings from the galleries.⁹³

For a group of eleven artists, this action was the final straw. Their “Open Letter to the November Group” was a secessionist manifesto that began with a stated goal “to overcome aesthetic formula-mongering through a new objectivity (*Gegenständlichkeit*), one that will be born out of revulsion over the exploitative bourgeois society.”⁹⁴ The signatories included Otto Dix, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, Rudolf Schlichter, and Georg Scholz.⁹⁵ In this list of Berlin-based artists, how did the Grötzingen artist come to be included? Scholz’s fevered correspondence, in the spring and summer of 1921, shows an artist seeking to place his work and his politics within a quickly shifting

⁹² Rudolf Schlichter, *Liebesleben in Berlin W.* (Lovelife in Berlin W.), 1920. Oil painting, dimensions and present location unknown/considered lost. This painting was first shown in the Otto Burchard Galerie exhibition, *Rudolf Schlichter* (20 May - 15 June 1920) and listed as Nr. 3 in the exhibition catalogue.

Otto Dix, *Alma*, 1921. Collage painting now considered lost/destroyed.

⁹³ Weinstein, *End of Expressionism*, 96.

⁹⁴ “Offener Brief an die Novembergruppe,” *Der Gegner*, 2. Jg, H. 8/9 (1921): 297. “Es muß als Ziel angesehen werden, die ästhetische Formelkrämerei zu überwinden durch eine neue Gegenständlichkeit, die aus dem Abscheu über die ausbeutende bürgerliche Gesellschaft geboren wird. [...] Wir fordern die Mitglieder [der Novembergruppe], die begreifen, dass heute die Kunst Protest gegen den bürgerlichen Schlafwandel und gegen die Verewigung der Ausbeutung und der Spießerindividualität ist, auf, sich unserer Opposition anzuschließen und die notwendige Reinigung der Absichten herbeiführen zu helfen. Wir wissen, dass wir Ausdruck der revolutionären Kräfte, Instrument der Notwendigkeiten unserer Zeit und der Massen zu sein haben und wir leugnen jede Verwandtschaft mit den ästhetischen Schiebern und Akademikern von morgen ab. Uns ist das Bekenntnis zur Revolution, zur neuen Gemeinschaft, kein Lippenbekenntnis, und so wollen wir mit unserer erkannten Aufgabe Ernst machen: mitzuarbeiten am Aufbau der neuen menschlichen Gemeinschaft, der Gemeinschaft der Werktätigen! —Otto Dix, Max Dungert, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, Ernst Krantz, Mutzenbecher, Thomas Ring, Rudolf Schlichter, Willy Zierath, and Georg Scholz.”

For an English translation of the open letter, see Long *German Expressionism*, 219.

⁹⁵ Of the eleven signatories to the Open Letter, nine individuals exhibited artworks in the November Group section of the Great Berlin Art Exhibition of 1921: Otto Dix showed two works (*Alma* and *Salon*), Max Dungert two (*Am Fenster* and *Erwartung*), Raoul Hausmann one (*Kopf in exzentrischer Bewegung*), Hannah Höch three (*Interieur* and the watercolors *Kilakukla* and *Italien*), Ernst Krantz one (*Zeichnung*), Thomas Ring two (*Sitzender Mann* and *Verkörperung*), Rudolf Schlichter one (*Liebesleben in Berlin W.*), Georg Scholz one (*Industriebauernbild*), and Willy Zierath three (*Kosmische Kräfte*, *Krzualo*, and *Der Gang*).

terrain of aesthetics and politics. On 15 June, he wrote to the Karlsruhe museum director, Willy Storck, to describe the conundrum:

[...] A few days ago I received a letter signed by George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Otto Dix, etc., in which they called on me, referencing both my recent article in a November Group publication⁹⁶ and my ‘*Bauernbild*,’ to join with them in solidarity and leave the November Group, in which a nauseating society of socialites and their sycophancy to the authorities reigns supreme. The undersigned have taken an opposing position in the communist journal ‘*Der Gegner*.’ Since the protest has already gone to press they asked for my permission to add my name there. They propose to form a new group called ‘*Die Internationale*’ etc. Because I am quite friendly with George Grosz, I wrote immediately in the affirmative—without, however, becoming more familiar with all the details. Just recently I also received a letter from the November Group, in which they laid out the circumstances from their standpoint: Hausmann, Grosz, etc. would have completely reformed the group to demand the production of politically contingent art (*politische Tendenzkunst*) in the service of the K.A.P.D.⁹⁷ This one-sided view of political art simply cannot be demanded of such a comprehensive artist organization as the November Group. Within the group, they say, equal space could be made for the representatives of this tendency. The letter writers thus requested that I remain in the [November] group.⁹⁸

Like many of his Berlin friends, Scholz had remained a member of the November Group through the summer of 1921, despite his frustrations with their preference for abstract painting and his desire to exhibit work in Berlin. Thus, the artist found himself “stuck between a rock and a hard place,” as he explained to Willy Storck in the lines that followed:

⁹⁶ Scholz refers here to his open letter to Hans Siebert von Heister.

⁹⁷ *Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands*. By referring to the KAPD rather than the KPD, Scholz seems to be misunderstanding Grosz’s politics. On the mass exodus from the KPD, following the Kapp Putsch in March 1920, see Weitz, *Creating German Communism*, 95-96; and McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 68. McCloskey notes that much of the Berlin KPD constituency went to the KAPD, including Franz Pfemert and Franz Jung, but the Malik Verlag circle (including Grosz and Heartfield) remained with the KPD.

⁹⁸ Letter Georg Scholz to Willy Storck, 15 June 1921. Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. Dennis Crockett cites this correspondence between Scholz and Storck in his *German Post-Expressionism*, 116.

The November Group does not exactly fit my needs because of their one-sided stance on so-called “abstract painting,” and the newly formed group [Grosz, Hausmann, etc] is a bit too much like family (I already had these types of nasty experiences with the Karlsruhe ‘*Rih*’ group). Agreement based on a political outlook is no basis to form a new artist organization. Indeed, for me it’s more about the possibility to exhibit in Berlin; in Karlsruhe my pictures are completely refused and I have long since discarded the desire, albeit without much of a fight, to become a ‘great one’ here.”⁹⁹

Scholz concluded the letter, in a surprising move, by asking Storck if he could parlay an introduction to the Berlin *Freie Sezession*, a largely apolitical splinter group (since 1914) from the more conservative *Berliner Sezession*, which was led by the German painter Max Liebermann with members including Ernst Barlach, Max Beckmann, Käthe Kollwitz, Max Slevogt, and, until his death in 1917, Scholz’s former Karlsruhe professor, Wilhelm Trübner.¹⁰⁰ Storck contacted his personal friend, Karl Hofer, a Baden native who was at the time a member of the board of directors of the *Freie Sezession* and a recent exhibitor with the November Group in Berlin.¹⁰¹ Hofer’s reply returned in the polite negative. By suggesting that Scholz’s work would be too pointed and political (“*zu bestimmt festgelegt*”)¹⁰² for the *Freie Sezession*—whose style was

⁹⁹ Letter Georg Scholz to Willy Storck, 15 June 1921, as above.

¹⁰⁰ In the same letter, Scholz continued (my translation): “The happiest solution would be for me to leave the November Group entirely, not for the Grosz-Hausmann group, but instead to join something like the “*Freie Sezession*” in order to maintain exhibition opportunities [in Berlin]. But it is rather uncertain that the style of my artistic production would be in accord with the mentality currently ruling there? As such, and before I leave the November Group, I would like to inquire with an influential member of the *Sezession* to see if my work would be rejected there on principle. This person must, naturally, handle my inquiry very discreetly, so that in the case of a rejection I do not ruin my chances of exhibiting in Berlin with the November Group. I assume that you are well oriented in such matters and might offer me advice as to whether or not I should contact the *Freie Sezession*, and if so, whom? [...]”

¹⁰¹ Letter Willy Storck to Georg Scholz, 20 June 1921. Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. “[...] Vielleicht wäre ein zwecksmässiger Werk der, dass ich persönlich Herrn Hofer, der ja zur Zeit Vorstand der freien Sezession ist, eine Anfrage und Anregung zu unterbreiten, ob in seinem Kreise Platz für eine Persönlichkeit wie Sie Ihre ist.”

¹⁰² Letter Willy Storck to Georg Scholz, 2 August 1921. Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. “[...] H[ofer] hat mir ziemlich ausführlich geschrieben durchaus nicht in ablehnendem Sinne Ihrer Kunst gegenüber sondern in der Meinung als halte er diese Kunst für zu bestimmt festgelegt als dass sie dem Rahmen der freien Sezession entsprechen würde.”

typified at the Great Berlin Art Exhibition by lyrical, post-expressionist pictures by well-known artists such as Marc Chagall, Paul Klee, Max Pechstein, and Maurice Vlaminck—Hofer intimated that Scholz’s work read in Berlin’s more established exhibition circles as *Tendenzkunst*. And indeed, by adding his name to the list of signatories on the “Open Letter to the November Group,” Scholz would thereafter be aligned with the “communist” artists in Berlin.¹⁰³ What he did with this ambivalent position was to connect his work more forcefully with the Malik Verlag circle in Berlin. He did so by engaging with visual motifs and political ideals that were current in Berlin’s progressive journals—namely, *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* and its successors, *Die Pleite* and *Der Gegner*—adopting the languages of popular book illustration, poster art, and advertising to make this political art resonant for his audience in Baden.

Apotheosis of the War Veterans’ Association (1921)

Scholz deployed these visual and verbal bombs from the regional margins with support from an academic position in the lithography workshop at the Karlsruhe Academy, where he had been working as a guest student under Ernst Würtenberger since the winter of 1920. In the lithograph, *Apotheose des Kriegervereins* (Apotheosis of the War Veterans’ Association, 1921), Scholz enacted an ironic visual rhyming between three war veterans, standing in the earthly realm, and the corresponding figures of king, war,

¹⁰³ Scholz left the November Group by mid-June of 1921, according to his private correspondence, and had joined an “association of proletarian minded artists” in Berlin. Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 June 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch: “Aus der ‘Novembergruppe’ bin ich ausgetreten und in eine ‘Vereinigung proletarisch gesinnter Künstler’ in Berlin eingetreten, in der sich die hervorragendsten jungen Leute zusammengetan haben. Außerdem verhandele ich über meinen Eintritt in die ‘Freie Sezession’-Berlin.”

and god floating in the heavens above (**fig. 3.13**).¹⁰⁴ A host of heavenly angels sport the distinctive spiked helmets (*Pickelhauben*) of the Prussian army, a style that had been replaced in 1916 with the smooth steel helmets (*Stahlhelme*) that were favored by German artists in propaganda posters produced during the last years of the conflict (**fig. 3.14**).¹⁰⁵ By 1917, the anachronistic spiked helmet had become strongly (and negatively) associated with German barbarism in Allied political posters; famously, in the American placard, *Destroy this Mad Brute—Enlist* (1917), in which a slobbering, bloodied beast carries the cudgel of *Kultur* as it drags the collapsed allegorical body of France onto American shores (**fig. 3.15**).¹⁰⁶ The words “U.S. Army” float in black type over the livid orange word, “ENLIST,” as the poster summons volunteers to patriotic action in the face of German military brutality.¹⁰⁷

By accessorizing the heavenly putti in matching spiked helmets, Scholz deliberately blurred the historical timeline: the glorification of the veteran’s association referred not to the recent World War, but to the 50th anniversary of German military victory in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The god-figure of Scholz’s *Apotheosis* is a portly provincial burgher with a large bushy beard who wears a cozy night shirt and slippers as he puffs on a water pipe. The telephone cradled to his left ear runs a direct line to the country church, below. (In a sly referential nod to Raphael’s *Sistine Madonna*, two

¹⁰⁴ Georg Scholz, *Apotheose des Kriegervereins* (Apotheosis of the War Veterans’ Association), 1921. Lithograph on paper, edition of 100. 40 x 29.8 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 148; Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 24-33; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 122; *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 96; and Hülsewig-Johnen, *Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus*, 35-37.

¹⁰⁵ A.S. *Zeitfreiwillige heraus!* (Volunteers, Present Yourself!), 1919. Color lithograph poster, 86.4 x 63.5. Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Inv.Nr. GE 529.

¹⁰⁶ H.R. Hopps, *Destroy this Mad Brute—Enlist*, 1917. Color lithographic poster, 106 x 71 cm. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Paret traces the afterlife of this famous image in German anti-American propaganda in Paret, *Persuasive Images*, 24-25.

caricatured angels hover just below the heavens representing Kaiser Wilhelm I and the German General Otto Bismarck.) Wieland Herzfelde criticized this “triangular relationship” in an essay printed in the short-lived Dada journal, *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (Everyone his own Football), in which he scorned the brutal teamwork of the Catholic Church, conservative members of the Weimar government, and the press in directing anti-Bolshevist propaganda during the German revolutions of 1918-19.¹⁰⁸

Scholz set the *Apotheosis* in dialogue with such contemporary satirical works as George Grosz’s *Der Kirchenstaat Deutschland* (Germany, the Papal State), which appeared alongside Herzfelde’s essay in the one and only issue of *Jedermann*, in February of 1919 (**fig. 3.16**).¹⁰⁹ In Grosz’s drawing, the Catholic pope replaces the figure of God in an elaborate puppet show on the “German National Stage.” From his heavenly post, Pope Benedict XV controls the movements of a large marionette, whose crotch-labeled trousers crudely identify him as the Catholic Centre Party politician Matthias Erzberger; he in turn controls a smaller puppet, the journalist Viktor Naumann, who ushers the diminutive masses toward the gaping hell-mouth of the Catholic Church. Erzberger points with his right hand toward an oversized playbill designed to evoke the anti-Bolshevist poster campaign he supervised in 1919-20.¹¹⁰

The *Kunstblatt* editor Paul Westheim would later ascribe to Scholz’s satirical realism a “certain southern German, good-natured bonhomie,” an assessment that

¹⁰⁸ Wieland Herzfelde in *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, No. 1 (15 February 1919). See Simmons, “Grimaces on the Walls,” 24f.

¹⁰⁹ George Grosz, *Der Kirchenstaat Deutschland* (Germany, the Papal State), 1919. Published in *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, No. 1 (15 February 1919). The journal was banned after just one issue and re-emerged as *Die Pleite*. On the *Kirchenstaat* image and its leftist politics, see Simmons, “Grimaces on the Walls,” 23-24 and McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 57-58.

¹¹⁰ This would have played especially close to home in predominantly Catholic Baden. Matthias Erzberger was murdered by right-wing nationalists in the Baden spa town of Bad Griesbach, in August of 1921.

becomes more understandable when, in place of Grosz's bloated, Gargantuan god-figure with blackened eyes and a fierce underbite, Scholz opted to present God as a typical Black Forest burgher wearing a nightshirt and slippers. (The critique of the Christian figurehead and his earthly prophets would have carried extra potency in primarily Catholic Baden.) Moreover, in his choice to rework the traditional art historical iconography of the apotheosis, Scholz may have been launching a subtle attack on Karlsruhe's fine arts luminaries: Ferdinand Keller's famous historical painting, the *Apotheosis of Kaiser Wilhelm I* (1888),¹¹¹ for example, or the woodcut *Die Veteranen* (The Veterans, 1904-05), produced by Scholz's Karlsruhe lithography mentor, Ernst Würtenberger.¹¹² In his own lithographic practice, Scholz would continue to incorporate themes and references from the Karlsruhe tradition, reworking these images as potent satirical artillery.

Like Würtenberger's veterans, Scholz's group of old codgers stand proudly in black tails and ties, but they are imbued with a particular dose of "Scholzchen Naturalismus," a distinctive satirical quality Scholz would begin to ascribe to his work in the years between 1921 and 1923. The leftmost veteran carries a tricolor banner proclaiming the group to stand "*Mit Gott für Fürst und Vaterland*" (With God for Prince and Fatherland), a reference to the typical inscription on pre-revolutionary German military officers' helmets, and to the motto of many patriotic *Feldpostkarten* sent home by German soldiers from the front during World War I.¹¹³ The veterans' disparate pins

¹¹¹ This painting is now in the collection of the Märkisches Museum, Berlin.

¹¹² Ernst Würtenberger, *Die Veteranen* (The Veterans), 1904/05. Woodcut on paper. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. II 3890. Würtenberger later reworked this image as a painting, of the same title, in 1926.

¹¹³ "Mit Gott für Fürst und Vaterland" was also a popular line of old German military songs.

and lapel bobs point to regional conservative and veterans' associations; the middle and leftmost veterans prominently wear the *Hakenkreuz* (swastika) pin of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), which had been founded in February of 1920.¹¹⁴ (Next to the god-figure, a horned Wagnerian helmet bears the same symbol.) Sherwin Simmons has traced the appearance of the swastika as an icon in leftist artists' drawings produced between 1920 and 1923, noting that it first appeared as a small, subtle detail in depictions of right-wing university students, veterans' association members, and wealthy industrialists.¹¹⁵ Scholz's would insert the swastika icon into a number of critical drawings and lithographs following the *Apotheosis*, always a badge of (dis)honor on the lapel of a small-minded *badisch* burgher: the dueling society member of his *Hakenkreuzritter* (1921), the war-maimed students of his *Alt Heidelberg, Du Feine* (1923), or the young officers receiving a "patriotic education" in a drawing of the same name, which would appear in the Berlin satirical journal, *Die Pleite*, in July 1923.

In Scholz's reconfigured apotheosis, advertising posters dot the earthly realm: signs for the Continental Pneumatik tire company, Sunlight Seife soap, and the April 1921 Frankfurt Trade Fair. Another placard screams "Rettet! Ober-Schlesien!" (Save Upper Silesia!), a reference to contemporary unrest in the eastern German territories (modern-day Poland).¹¹⁶ In a 1913 print ad from the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, the

¹¹⁴ Adolf Hitler was formally elected party chairman on 28 July 1921.

¹¹⁵ Sherwin Simmons, "'Hand to the Friend, Fist to the Foe': The Struggle of Signs in the Weimar Republic," *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2000), especially 325-327. Simmons points out that the swastika was given closer attention by the German left after the Nazis staged their first Party Day spectacle, in January 1923. (See, for example, John Heartfield's "Shout of the Fascists," published in *Die Pleite* no. 7 in July 1923. In this same issue, Scholz published a drawing entitled "Patriotic Education," in which a group of young men stand in a room bedecked with swastika flags.)

¹¹⁶ From 1919-1921, three Silesian Uprisings occurred among the Polish-speaking populace of Upper Silesia; in the Upper Silesia plebiscite of March 1921, a majority of 60% voted against merging with Poland. The German-Polish Accord on East Silesia signed in Geneva on May 15, 1922 and on June 20, Germany ceded the eastern parts of Upper Silesia to Poland.

Continental tire company linked its products to the fast-paced, elegant life of the big city: an electrified sign illuminates the night, while a fashionable automobile glides along the slick, hazy street (**fig. 3.17**). (Another contemporary advertisement displayed the tires outfitting a joy ride “at the foot of the Pyramids.”) Large German brand names like Continental Tire played on the luxury of international travel and big city elegance; Scholz’s southwestern veterans appear, by contrast, to be blissfully oblivious to such modern advances in their decades-old attire and stuff-shirted appearance.

Like the *Newspaper Carriers* before it, the *Apotheosis* would appear in the Berlin journal *Der Gegner* (March 1922), where it earned Scholz an additional measure of renown within Berlin’s leftwing political circles. Yet when he sent a copy of the *Apotheosis* to his friend Theodor Kiefer, in October of 1921, Scholz advised him to enjoy the page as much as possible: as would soon become clear, the artist held plans for many new pictures and an array of distilled formal tactics at the ready.¹¹⁷ The subtle signs and symbols embedded in the *Apotheosis* conflate contemporary advertising strategies with those of period politics—the sign for the guesthouse “Zum eisernen Hindenburg,” for example, sits nestled in the drop shadow of the cloud bearing the heavenly deity—and thus beckons the sophisticated viewer to connect the dots in the sordid, triangular relationship of church, military, and German state. Such tactics expose the “poster-like quality” (*das plakartartige*) that would come to define Scholz’s production in the years leading up to 1923—a formal strategy, as the following sections of this chapter

¹¹⁷ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 October 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Ich schicke Ihnen mit der gleichen Post einen Druck von meiner ‘Apotheose des Kriegervereins’. Gewinnen Sie dem Blatt soviel Vergnügen ab, wie Ihnen möglich ist. Ich bin jetzt allerdings hierüber hinaus und trage Bilder in mir, die schon weniger negierend sind als dieses. Doch davon später.”

demonstrate, that he honed as an artist-producer, working between his Grötzingen studio and the workshops of the Karlsruhe Academy.¹¹⁸ From this peripheral location, Scholz tested the limits between reading and seeing, and sought to energize the work of art with texts and images that would spark in the blink of an eye: as a producer of political lithographs, as an illustrator of children's books, and as a poster artist charged with bridging the divide between art and kitsch.

Plakatmäßigkeit: The Debate about Art and Kitsch

Braun didn't need the posters right away, but instead wanted them for his traveling salesmen as sample prints. And so I put together five sketches in two days that were, to my mind, quite good. He suggested, however, that these were not "hits," not "percussive," and agreed only to commission one sketch—naturally, the one that took the most time to produce. Clearly, this type of payment saves me and my family from starvation. Otherwise I'd pack up my sketches and leave!¹¹⁹

—Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 18 January 1922

By the fall of 1921, Georg Scholz was hard at work on a series of advertising posters for A. Braun & Co., a Karlsruhe printing concern that produced materials for a variety of large German companies: Kornfranck malt coffee, Pils beer, and Persil laundry

¹¹⁸ Scholz would eventually posit this increased "Plakatmäßigkeit" as the source of his works' increased clarity and appeal. Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 23 January 1923. "Erinnern Sie sich, daß ich Ihnen einmal sagte: Ein modernes Bild ist letzten Endes das Plakat für eine Menschheitsidee oder eine Weltanschauung. Würtenberger moniert immer das "Plakatartige" an meinen Bildern. Ich halte das 'Plakat' für den Ausdruck unserer Zeit (Plakat ist ein sehr weiter Begriff). Das 'Plakat' ist noch nicht alt und nie vorher dagewesen. Spengler benützt das Wort 'Plakatmäßig' als Ausdruck seiner Geringschätzung! Eine bestehende Tatsache wegdisputieren kann man nicht. Er sollte lieber innerhalb dieser gegebenen Tatsache werten! Mit diesem 'Plakatmäßigen' hängt letzten Endes auch der gesteigerte Ausdruck meiner Bilder zusammen."

¹¹⁹ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 18 January 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "[...] Braun hatte also die Plakate nicht direkt nötig, sondern wollte sie für seine Reisenden als Musterproben. Ich hatte also in 2 Tagen 5 Skizzen hergestellt, die m. M. recht gut waren. Er behauptete aber, diese wären keine "Schlager" nicht "erschütternd" und gab mit nur 1 Skizze zur Ausführung in Auftrag, u. zwar die, deren Ausführung die meiste Zeit erfordert. [...] Daß ich bei einer derartigen Bezahlung bestenfalls mich u. meine Familie vor dem Hungertode retten könnte, ist klar. Als packte ich meine 5 Skizzen zusammen u. ging!"

soap, to name a few relevant examples.¹²⁰ Scholz understood precisely the sort of punch that his local clients expected from his poster designs, the kind of “percussive” imagery that would sock the viewer in the gut with its clarity of form and content. Alongside his commissioned advertising work for Braun & Co., Scholz designed cigar boxes for the printer Paul Landmann, in Mannheim, and he illustrated children’s books for the Abel & Müller Press in Leipzig.¹²¹ These efforts paid the bills in a time of economic uncertainty, but increasingly, they also served as productive venues for Scholz’s personal intervention into period debates about art and kitsch (*Kunst und Kitsch*). At stake in this conversation—which played out in art journals such as *Das Kunstblatt* and *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, in trade magazines such as *Die Kultur der Reklame* and *Das Plakat*, and in political magazines such as *Der Gegner*, *Die Pleite*, and *Das Forum*—was the question of whether “kitsch” held the power to speak to the masses with a direct and powerful emotional appeal, one that had been lost in the era of introverted expressionist abstraction.

Kitsch arose as a powerful concept in the discourse of Wilhelmine- and Weimar-era art and advertising.¹²² “Kitsch” was “not-art” (*Nichtkunst* or *Unkunst*), a lowbrow

¹²⁰ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 October 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Das ekelhafte Geldverdienen geht leider immer vor. Ich mache z.Zt. in Plakaten für ganz große Firmen wie Kornfrank, Pils, Persil, etc. Das wird noch am besten bezahlt. Pro Plakat brauche ich 2 Tage Arbeit, meine Frau malt die Schrift. Also Großbetrieb, wenn Kartoffeln, Kohlen, Holz, Wintermäntel etc. bezahlt sind, so kann ich wieder an die hohe ‘Kunscht’ denken.”

¹²¹ Paul Landmann sponsored a design competition and an exhibition of cigar box covers in the Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim, in the spring of 1920; see Herbert Tannenbaum, “Gute Zigarren-Packungen. Ausstellung des ‘Freien Bundes’ in der Städt. Kunsthalle Mannheim. Ergebnisse eines Wettbewerbs der Firma Paul J. Landmann, Mannheim,” in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* XXIII (April-May 1920): 75-82.

¹²² In a series of incisive essays, Sherwin Simmons has collected important primary source materials and analyzed the relationship of kitsch production to developments in German modernism, especially Berlin Dada. See, for example: Simmons, “Grimaces on the Walls,” 16-40; Simmons, “Advertising Seizes Control of Life,” 121-146; and Simmons, “Chaplin Smiles on the Wall,” 3-34. For a semiotic history of kitsch as a “dynamic culture principle,” see Claudia Putz, *Kitsch—Phänomenologie eines dynamischen Kulturprinzips* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1994).

style that implied a lack of taste or a frivolous adornment to an object's fundamental structure.¹²³ The term "kitsch" requires historical context; it is an intervention of aesthetic judgment that describes neither a universally stable object nor a set of objects, but rather the institutional, social, or classed position of the one who does the judging.¹²⁴ Thus, what is kitsch for one generation may be the highest "Kunst" for the next. For historians of German architecture, in the early twentieth century, kitsch described an art of "disguise," a support style externally applied and thus lacking internal formal coherence or truth value.¹²⁵ For the German critic Adolf Loos, author of the essay "Ornament and Crime," the ultimate kitsch offender was the so-called "Munich beer hall style" with its ornamental carved interiors staffed by busty wooden maidens.¹²⁶ Similarly, Gustav E. Pazaurek, director of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Stuttgart, linked the word *kitsch* to the period of aesthetic production just after the Franco-Prussian War, specifically to its use in Munich art circles to describe the cheap oleographs that were sold to American and English tourists.¹²⁷

¹²³ Paul Westheim attributed a positive connotation to the term "Unkunst" in the essay, "Der 'arrivierte Öldruck,'" *Das Kunstblatt*, Jg. 6, Heft 8 (August 1922): 344-348: "Vielleicht frischt es uns, vielleicht frischt es auch die Kunst auf, wenn wir einmal versuchen, von unserem Kothurn herunterzusteigen und die lebendige Kraft, die einströmt in jene 'Unkunst', unserem Schaffen zuzuführen. Versuchen wir es einmal mit dem drastisch Gegenständlichen, mit Kunst, die wie Öldruck aussieht. Möglich, daß es uns damit gelingt, die Kunst aus ihren Atelierproblemen herauszubringen, möglich auch, daß wir es fertig bringen, damit die Vielen, die breite Masse anzusprechen, und da in diesen Malern: den Grosz, Schlichter, Scholz, Masereel, Davringhausen, Dix, Max Ernst, überdies die Tendenz war, auch politisch auf die Masse einzuwirken, lag in dieser Möglichkeit doppelte Verlockung."

¹²⁴ On these distinctions of cultural position, see Pierre Bourdieu, "The Aristocracy of Culture," in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1989), 11-62.

¹²⁵ On kitsch as ornament or disguise, see Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After*, 41. "Kitsch does not describe an object or artifact, but the standard and social vantage points of those judging."

¹²⁶ Adolf Loos, "Decoration and Decorum," in *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays* (Riverside, Calif.: Ariadne Press), 99-100.

¹²⁷ Simmons, "Grimaces on the Walls," 18.

By the early 1920s, these kitschy oil prints had gained a new currency in essays by such critics as Paul Westheim, the *Kunstblatt* editor and prolific collector of posters who called in a polemical essay for artists to embrace such works of *Unkunst* (not-art) to refresh their art and to sharpen its political impact.¹²⁸ The critic Adolf Behne agreed with Westheim's assessment when he wrote, in 1919, of the power of kitschy prints to enliven the home of the worker, who lovingly arranges these objects on the wall of his modest living room.¹²⁹ Indeed, the manifold arts of reproduction—prints, postcards, and above all else, posters—began to take on a political valence in the first decades of the twentieth century. Dr. Hans Sachs, a Berlin-based dentist and poster enthusiast, was one of the primary proponents of the poster as a fine art form, establishing the *Verein der Plakatsfreunde* (Association of Poster Enthusiasts) in Berlin in 1905. Through this association and its related journal, *Das Plakat*, which began publication in 1910, Sachs fostered connections between poster collectors and connoisseurs, reviewed the work of individual poster artists, and published tips on poster collecting, preservation, and storage.¹³⁰

The type of German poster most desired by Sachs' collecting association had emerged in the first decades of the twentieth-century in the work of Lucian Bernhard, whose *Sachplakate*, or "object-posters," used the latest printing techniques to seduce the viewer with images of singular objects and simple texts rendered in bold, sophisticated

¹²⁸ Westheim, "Der 'arrivierte Öldruck,'" 344-348.

¹²⁹ See Behne, "Kitsch-Kunst oder Kunst-Kitsch" *Das Plakat* 11, no. 7 (July 1920): 305-12.

¹³⁰ On Hans Sachs and the Verein der Plakatsfreunde, see Jeremy Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany 1890-1945* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 36-38.

color combinations.¹³¹ Bernhard's famous poster for the portable *Klein-Adler* typewriter (1914) typifies this style of eye-pleasing graphic design: the modern, compact "Klein-Adler" is rendered in crisp black and grey tones and set against the full-size model in rich hues of cornflower blue (**fig. 3.18**).¹³² The machines stand out in stark contrast against a salmony orange background, and the brand name emerges in bold black letters. Bernhard would carry this visual language into World War I and the immediate postwar years, when he designed propaganda placards for the center-left German Democratic Party (DDP), often with text printed in his patented Neo-Gothic typeface (**fig. 3.19**).¹³³ Posters by Bernhard and his circle became collector's items in Wilhelmine Berlin, but the artistic *Jugendstil* (youth style) poster had been coveted since the turn of the century, as Julius-Meier Graefe declared, with some puzzlement, in 1896: "The poster has become fashionable: artists, art-lovers, and museums collect them."¹³⁴

On 7 January 1920, Hans Sachs organized a lecture evening to address the topic of kitsch and art in poster design.¹³⁵ Speakers included Sachs, a certain "Herr von Santen," the art critic Max Deri, and the *Kunstblatt* editor Paul Westheim.¹³⁶ As reports indicated, over 200 attendees came to no firm conclusion "if kitsch should be accepted or

¹³¹ On Bernhard and the Berlin school of poster artists, see Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany*, 58-85. On the development of the German poster more generally, see Hanna Gagel, "Studien zur Motivgeschichte des deutschen Plakats 1900-1914" (PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1971).

¹³² Lucian Bernhard, *Klein-Adler*, 1914. Lithograph poster, 34 x 48 cm. Printed by Hollerbaum & Schmidt, Berlin. Museum of Modern Art, New York. Inv.Nr. 466.1987.

¹³³ Lucian Bernhard, *Die Deutsche Demokratische Partei ist die Partei der Frauen!* (The German Democratic Party is the party for women!), 1920. Lithograph poster, 69.9 x 96.2 cm. Printed by Werbedienst GmbH, Berlin. The Wolfsonian-FIU, Inv.Nr. TD 1990 291.1.

¹³⁴ Cited in Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany*, 34.

¹³⁵ A writeup in *Die Kultur der Reklame*, a supplementary section to *Das Plakat*, framed the question and included long excerpts from all three speakers: see "Kitsch oder Kunst?" *Das Plakat*, 2. Jg, Nr. 3 (March 1920): 152-154. Sherwin Simmons has discussed this article at some length in his "Grimaces on the Walls," 27-34.

¹³⁶ Westheim's personal collection now makes up a significant portion of the historical poster collection at the *Staatliche Kunstabibliothek* in Berlin.

rejected” in the design of modern posters.¹³⁷ The speakers were somewhat more pedantic. Van Santen suggested that kitsch could be linked to “sentimentality,” and that many objects, novels, and works of art that contemporaries referred to as kitsch may simply be outmoded, or in line with old-fashioned taste. (He recalled, for example, an 1880 Sarah Bernhardt performance that left the entire theater “bathed in tears.”)¹³⁸ Kitsch meant the twilight apparitions or musical scenes by the nineteenth-century Austrian painter Moritz von Schwind, or the forest idylls and fairy tales pictured by lesser known Bavarian artists of the 1870s and 80s.¹³⁹ Indeed, for van Santen, kitsch and sentimentality were insidious, but inherited, qualities of the German disposition:

Sentimentality and romanticism lie in wait in the German’s blood, even if he does not give voice to it. To those for whom Moritz von Schwind’s mountains, gnomes, fairy tales, and forests say nothing at all, they do not have the sensitivity of a German. The English and the French marvel at Schubert—but only the Germans can truly love him. Why? Because his sentimental songs cause only the German heart to tremble.¹⁴⁰

In a series of bold political lithographs and paintings, Georg Scholz would begin to attack this notion of German sentimentality with a biting wit—turning both pen and paintbrush against the small town figures he knew well from his position in Grötzingen and Karlsruhe. He also embraced kitsch as a form of materiality, one that drew from his work as an applied artist and informed his practice as a political painter in Baden. This

¹³⁷ “Kitsch oder Kunst,” 152. “ob der Kitsch zuzulassen oder abzulehnen sei, daß sich aber jedenfalls an die Vorträge eine eingehende Aussprache schließen solle.”

¹³⁸ “Kitsch oder Kunst,” 152: “Ich erinnere mich noch gut einer Vorstellung, die Sarah Bernhardt in Frankfurt am Main gab. Das Theater war in Tränen gebadet. man war damals für sentimentale Kunst eben empfänglicher als heute, man ließ sie willig auf sich wirken, so wie man sich heute durch Strindberg zermürben oder durch andere Schriftsteller ‘aufklären’ läßt.”

¹³⁹ Moritz von Schwind taught at the Applied Arts school in Karlsruhe from 1840 until 1844. During this time he met his wife, Luise Sachs, and painted frescoes for the grand staircase of the Staatliche Kunsthalle. See Baumstark, *Die Grossherzogliche Badische Kunstgewerbeschule*, 7.

¹⁴⁰ “Kitsch oder Kunst,” 152.

embrace of kitsch as material—and as explosive *matierelle*—would be common to the post-Dada generation. In a 1921 essay, “Society, Artists, and Communism,” Wieland Herzfelde urged revolutionary artists to study popular culture and to redeploy its formal strategies in their own work;¹⁴¹ George Grosz famously assembled a collection of “kitsch postcards,” from which he drew both thematic and visual inspiration for his drawings of the early 1920s.¹⁴²

Indeed, in a New Year’s announcement of 1921, Grosz and his frequent collaborator, John Heartfield, announced a new venture, a *Grosz-Heartfield-Werke* (Grosz-Heartfield Works) that would offer to the public a range of services including stage and costume design for the theater, film designs “following the newest American techniques,” as well as illustration, caricature, print design and layout, and “posters of any style.”¹⁴³ The humorously broad scope of these offerings indicates that the *Works* was likely a bit of a put-on, but it was a provocation whose effects would resonate well beyond its intended audience. Two years later, Grosz would summarily reject a German Press Office commission to travel to the occupied Ruhr industrial zone to survey the French-designed posters on view there, and to recommend to the German military a more effective counter-propaganda strategy.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Wieland Herzfelde, “Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus,” *Der Gegner* Jg. 2, Heft 10/11 (August 1921).

¹⁴² These postcards are now in the collection of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin. On these “Dada objects,” see Peter Chametsky, *Objects as History in Twentieth-Century German Art: Beckmann to Beuys* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 34-93.

¹⁴³ I thank Andrés Mario Zervigón for drawing my attention to the Grosz-Heartfield-Werke; for a reprint of their humorous New Year’s card, see Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 194-195.

¹⁴⁴ Grosz’s essay on this “War of Posters” (*Plakatkrieg*) appeared in the Berlin journal, *Das Forum*, in April 1923.

Georg Scholz experimented in the early 1920s with a variety of “kitschy materials” based on his cigar box designs for the firm of Paul Landmann in Mannheim: gold medals, palm fronds, roses, and “naturalistic portrait heads,” to name just a few examples.¹⁴⁵ For Scholz, the applied artist, his poster designs for national brands such as Persil and Kornfranck likely followed period examples such as the Persil “weiße Dame” (the white lady), a creation by Kurt Heiligenstadt in Berlin (**fig. 3.20**).¹⁴⁶ These sophisticated graphic designs incorporated the bright colors and limited text format of the *Sachplakat*, but with a new narrative twist: rather than being simply punched in the gut with the monumental forms and bright colors of the object-poster, the viewer of the 1920s advertisement expected to complete a story, a process enacted through various stages of seeing: from noticing (*Bemerken*), to reading (*Lesen*), to remembering (*Erinnern*), and finally, transacting (*Handel*).¹⁴⁷ No posters or layouts for Scholz’s poster work survive, but the effect of these new strategies of reading and seeing can be traced in his paintings and lithographs, which increasingly and with sophistication began to demand of their viewer a process of reading and recalling based on a system of political iconography. Thus, the artist, like so many of his post-Dada companions, would become a producer—a wielder of *Kitsch* in the service of making *Kunst*.

¹⁴⁵ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 11 September 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Augenblicklich mache ich Zigarrenpackungen für Landmann in Mannheim [...] Ich sehe mich also vor die interessante Aufgabe gestellt, mit den sogenannt ‘kitschiger’ Mitteln, wie Goldmedaillen, naturalistischen Portraitköpfen, Palmwedeln, Rosen etc. etwas zu machen. Ich male z.B. mein Bild ‘der Mestize’ ganz klein miniaturenhaft in Aquarell in Scholz’schem Naturalismus und garniere den mit goldgeprägten Medaillen, naturalistischen Blumen, Bändern, etc.”

A juried exhibition at the Kunsthalle Mannheim, in 1920, demonstrates that these decorative cigar boxes provided artists with a major source of income and were considered luxury items in their own right; winning designs included those by Scholz’s Karlsruhe Academy colleague, Wilhelm Schnarrenberger.

¹⁴⁶ Kurt Heiligenstaedt, *Für alle Wäsche: Persil* (For all washing: Persil), ca. 1922. Color lithographic poster.

¹⁴⁷ Jeremy Aynsley has argued that these German marketing strategies came to be based on contemporary American psychology: including the notion that the viewer moved through various stages of seeing, recognition, and desire. See Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany*, 81-82.

A New Naturalism: The Artist as Producer

I produce work in any medium at my disposal: handmade original oil paintings, watercolors, lithographs, woodcuts, posters for interior and exterior, packaging for all industries, book illustrations...and recommend myself to the public in all areas of business. Prompt service! Fair prices! Cash only!¹⁴⁸

—Georg Scholz, Afterword to Adam Karrillon, *Am Stammtisch 'Zum faulen Hobel'* (1922)

Signed “Georg Scholz, Artist-Owner,” this ironic manifesto graced the final pages of the German author Adam Karrillon’s 1922 *Heimatroman*, or “homeland novel,” *At the Regulars’ Table ‘Zum faulen Hobel.’* The commission, as with Scholz’s previous illustration work for the novels *Don Quijote* (1921) and *Robinson Crusoe* (1920), provided the Grötzingen artist with a supplemental income that would both support and inform his experiments in painting and printmaking. Beginning in 1922, Scholz turned increasingly to the imagery of popular culture to stake out his position as a politically active artist working from the regional margins in Baden. That January, he began work on a commission to illustrate the Jakob Grimmelhausen novel, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (The Adventurous Simplicissimus) for the Abel & Müller Verlag in Leipzig.¹⁴⁹ Grimmelhausen’s *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (written in 1668) is considered to be the first adventure novel in the German language, inspired by the events of the Thirty

¹⁴⁸ Adam Karillon, *Am Stammtisch “Zum faulen Hobel”* (Konstanz: Reuß & Itta, 1922). 21 black-and-white illustrations and a cover illustration by Georg Scholz.

“[...] Ich mache in allen einschägigen Artikeln als da sind: handgemalte Original-ölgemälde, Aquarelle, Lithographien, Holz-Schnitte, Innen- und Außenplakate, Packungen für alle Branchen, Buchillustrationen (Referenz: Robinson und Don Quijote bei Abel & Müller in Leipzig etc.) und empfehle mich einem p.p. Publikum bestens im Bedarfsfalle. Prompte Bedienung! Kulante Preise! Nur gegen Barzahlung! Grötzingen (Amt Durlach) Georg Scholz, Kunstmalerei-Besitzer”

¹⁴⁹ Jakob Grimmelhausen, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus*. Illustrated by Georg Scholz. (Leipzig: Abel & Müller, 1922).

Scholz began negotiating the contract in June 1921, as a letter to Kiefer attests. By January 1922, he had just finalized the contract and was ready to begin the project.

Years' War (1618-1648) in Central Europe. The story also lent its name to the satirical magazine, *Simplicissimus*, one of the most popular and famous German *Witzblätter*, or humor magazines, in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries; George Grosz and a number of German artists contributed illustration work to its pages in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁵⁰

The picaresque tale follows a peasant boy named Simplicissimus who, over the course of the novel, joins up with and subsequently abandons multiple factions of the military conflict, and who along the way embarks on a series of adventures: losing his path from home, foraging in the woods, plundering for wealth, soldiering, and whoring. With over thirty original black-and-white illustrations, and six full-page color lithographs, Scholz's production for the Abel & Müller commission reflected his interest in the grotesque realism of German fairy tales and folk stories, embodied in a modern caricature form.¹⁵¹ Each vignette is constructed as a web of precise, delicate cross-hatches; Scholz delighted in the detailed facades of medieval architecture and the intricacies of period costume. Moreover, the gaunt bodies of the protagonist and his cohort contrast those of the pot-bellied villains whom they encounter along the way—grotesque figures who recall the “fat cat” imagery of Scholz's contemporary political satire, in which “the fat live on the labor of the thin.”¹⁵² Scholz moved between the worlds of

¹⁵⁰ On the journal, see Simmons, “War, Revolution, and the Transformation of the German Humor Magazine, 1914-27,” 46-54. Simmons notes how magazines such as *Simplicissimus*, *Ulk*, and *Der Wahre Jacob* transformed after World War I, redirecting their satirical attack away from the “militarism and political policies of the Wilhelmine regime,” instead beginning to work closely with the propaganda section of the Foreign Office.

¹⁵¹ This was an interest Scholz shared with contemporaries such as George Grosz and Lyonel Feininger, whose illustration work in the 1910s and early 1920s tended to draw from the model of the German *Witzblätter*, especially such magazines as *Simplicissimus* and *Lustige Blätter*.

¹⁵² Georg Scholz, *Verkehrte Welt* (World Upside Down), published in *Der Gegner*, Jg. 3, Heft 2 (May 1922): 38. “Der Dicke: lebt von der Arbeit der Dünnen. Die Dünnen: verbreiten die Weisheit des Dicken.”

“high” and “low” art with relative ease, using similar iconography to tell similar stories: as he did, for example, in a color lithograph from the *Simplicissimus* commission, in which the hero—down on his luck after a series of adventures, barefoot and clad in rags—plays the bagpipes with quiet contentment, while two portly pigs sniff at the ground near his feet (**fig. 3.21**). In a slightly later drawing, the artist transposed the main character to a modern, small-town setting—strongly reminiscent of his home town of Grötzingen—in which a young man in a dapper suit plays the clarinet while an older gentleman reaches suggestively around his back and clutches at the bell of the instrument (**fig. 3.22**).¹⁵³

By April of 1922, with the *Simplicissimus* commission “2/3 finished,” Scholz intended to turn his attention back to “picture painting.”¹⁵⁴ When he did so, he would attack with full force the lithograph he referred to with sardonic pride as “my Stinnes”: the first in a series of images that Scholz hoped would integrate his critique of Weimar coalition politics with those of the Berlin center. By the early 1920s, the industrialist and German People’s Party politician Hugo Stinnes had become an especially ripe target for leftwing attacks.¹⁵⁵ German communists despised Stinnes for his suppression of radical imagery and his commissioning of rightwing counter-propaganda: it was widely known, for example, that Stinnes had urged a group of Social Democratic (SDP) leaders of

¹⁵³ Georg Scholz, “*In einem kühlen Grunde*” (*Deutsches Volkslied*) (German Folk Song), 1922-23. Pencil on paper, 31 x 23 cm. Mirko Heipek, Karlsruhe.

Lit: Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings*, ill. no. 109.

¹⁵⁴ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 1 April 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

¹⁵⁵ Hugo Stinnes (1870-1924) was a German industrialist and politician who made a fortune in the coal and steel industries, especially after being called in by Erich Ludendorff as an expert counsel on the topic. (Like Ludendorff, he was a vocal proponent of the *Dolchstoßlegende*.) He was a founding member of the Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP) and was elected to the Reichstag in June 1920.

On Hugo Stinnes and the German inflation, see Gerald D. Feldman, *Hugo Stinnes. Biographie eines Industriellen 1870-1924* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998).

industry and banking to pledge twenty-five million marks for use by the Anti-Bolshevist League, in January 1919, which used the money to set up shop in Berlin and to wage its war of images against the encroaching threat of “bolshevism.”¹⁵⁶

In the August 1921 issue of *Der Gegner*, George Grosz published his satirical drawing *Stinnes* alongside Scholz’s *Ordnung, Gerechtigkeit und Nächstenliebe* (Order, Justice, and Charity, 1921), an allegory of greed in which a fat burgher with squinty eyes plays the figure of “Order” next to a slovenly female “Justice” and a pretentious clerical model of “Charity” (**fig. 3.23**)¹⁵⁷ In Grosz’s satirical portrait, Hugo Stinnes wears his trademark bowler hat with a cigar clamped tightly between his lips (**fig. 3.24**).¹⁵⁸ In his left hand dangles a puppet (wearing a pair of tight-fitting underwear conspicuously marked “Fritz”): this figure sports a crown and wields a sword and goblet.¹⁵⁹ Money bags litter the ground at Stinnes’ feet alongside human bones and a skull. Smokestacks puff ominously in the distance, an almost theatrical backdrop. As Grosz’s mordant caricature suggests, it was the corporate titan, Stinnes—and not the titular president, Fritz Ebert—who controlled the puppet strings in the young Weimar Republic.

¹⁵⁶ On the Anti-Bolshevist League see Simmons, “Grimaces on the Walls,” especially 22-23.

¹⁵⁷ Georg Scholz, *Ordnung, Gerechtigkeit u. Nächstenliebe gewährleisten die Wiedergeburt unseres Vaterlandes* (Order, Justice, and Charity Ensure the Rebirth of our Fatherland), 1921. Published in *Der Gegner*, Jg. 2, Heft 10-11 (August 1921).

¹⁵⁸ George Grosz, *Stinnes und sein Präsident, oder Friede zwischen Kapital und Arbeit*. Published in *Der Gegner*, 2 Jg., Heft 10/11 (1920/21): 46.

Other noteworthy depictions of Stinnes include the Grosz drawing “Stinnes u. Cie” (published in *Der Gegner*, Jg. 2 Heft 5, and as #44 in the 1921 Malik Verlag portfolio, *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse*, where it bore the caption “Stinnes & Cie. oder die Menschenschächerer.” In a later illustration for *Die Pleite*, Grosz produced a nine-drawing cycle titled, “Das reiche Ungeziefer. --Der Stinnes geht um! Ein Bilderbogen.” This special foldout insert used the comic strip, *Bilderbogen* format to demonstrate how Stinnes controlled various aspects of Weimar life: from the press to politics to the military. Many of these sketches intimated how deeply Stinnes controlled the SPD and its newspaper, *Vorwärts*.

¹⁵⁹ Brigid Doherty notes that the Dadaists frequently equated Ebert with the deposed Kaiser Wilhelm II by giving him the trappings of a now defunct royalty: crown, scepter, cape, sword, etc. See Doherty, “Figures of the Pseudorevolution,” 82-84.

Scholz's lithographic vision of the *Lords of the World* combines the tactics he had sharpened in his book illustration and in his earlier political satire to forge an amusing hybrid constellation (**fig. 3.25**).¹⁶⁰ From left to right stand Hugo Stinnes; followed by the German foreign minister and *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft* (AEG) corporate scion, Walter Rathenau; and finally, by the American Frank A. Vanderlip, who in 1919 had served as advisor to the United States government in reparations questions.¹⁶¹ Scholz renders all three men as cyborgs fitted with various metal attachments: Stinnes trundles a safe in his belly, Rathenau wears a sheet of metal clamped over his torso, and Vanderlip sports a conical chrome plate atop his head. Behind them, a crisply rendered diesel motor sits idle, ready to lurch into action at the press of a button. A muscular female figure (most likely, a prostitute) clad in a fur stole and tall stockings turns away from the group and snaps a photograph of the bucolic idyll; her camera eye, directed toward a quaint hilltop fortress, denies the incursion of industry marked by the cranes and smokestacks on the opposite shore.¹⁶² In a valley below, seemingly plucked from a fairy tale landscape, a small town burgher with a water pipe stands at the edge of the river—one can almost hear the rumble of his impending yodel.

¹⁶⁰ Georg Scholz, *Herren der Welt* (Lords of the World), 1922. Lithograph on wove paper, edition of 100, 29.7 x 39 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 141; Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 22; *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 98; ill. *Das Kunstblatt* (March 1924), 83.

¹⁶¹ Frank A. Vanderlip Sr. (1864-1937) was a successful financier who served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President William McKinley from 1897-1901. Thereafter, he was head of the National City Bank of New York (today known as Citibank) from 1909 to 1919. Vanderlip formed a group that purchased the Palos Verdes Peninsula, near Los Angeles, in 1913 for \$1.5 million. He began building a large estate (Villa Narcissa) named after his wife in Portuguese Bend; the stock market crash of 1929 prevented full completion of the compound.

¹⁶² This female figure reappears in the painting *Fleisch und Eisen* (Flesh and Iron, 1922), as does the diesel motor placed to the side of the three "Lords of the World."

As he worked out the central themes of the *Lords of the World*, Scholz continued to labor over a painted version of *Kriegerverein* (War Veterans' Association), a picture that would be based on his earlier *Apotheosis* (1921).¹⁶³ The finished painting resembles the lithograph in its central trio of portly war veterans and its small town setting, but it collapses the stark aerial perspective of the *Apotheosis* into a more immediate, almost theatrical relationship between the viewer and the titular veterans. Moreover, modernity encroaches more forcefully into this bright, airless setting: two steel towers ferry electrical lines past the guesthouse *Zum eisernen Hindenburg*, and in the background, a red brick factory bears a large sign reading "HUGO STINNES" (**fig. 3.26**).¹⁶⁴ This key addition sharpened Scholz's satire on the level of content—a subtle dig for viewers of a sympathetic political persuasion—as well as on the level of form, demanding that the viewer both see and read a picture that operates like an advertising poster, with its panoply of brightly colored placards, its banners and lapel bobs and swastika pins, and its distant electric lights.

Scholz crystallized his caricature of Hugo Stinnes with concreteness of form and political intent—what Scholz and his colleagues increasingly referred to as *Gegenständlichkeit*—in the oil painting *Die Herren der Welt*/*"Von kommenden*

¹⁶³ Georg Scholz, *Kriegerverein* (War Veterans' Association), 1922. Oil and tempera over pencil on plywood, 69 x 75 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 145-152; Crockett *German Post-Expressionism*, 118-119; Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 24-34; *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 94-100.

¹⁶⁴ Dennis Crockett suggests that Scholz used the features of Hugo Stinnes to characterize the leftmost veteran, with the thin black beard and dark glasses, and that the central figure is a repeat of the cabriolet-riding figure in *Zeitungsträger*. The rightmost figure is a Bismarckian relic bearing the standard of the Franco-Prussian War. All three men, as Crockett notes, wear the black, red, and white ribbons of the monarchist sympathizer. See Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 189f.

Dingen” (Lords of the World/Of Things to Come, 1922).¹⁶⁵ As in the lithograph that precedes it, Hugo Stinnes, Walter Rathenau, and Frank A. Vanderlip are the titular “Lords of the World,” but they stand in a new, starkly reduced setting: a broad, checkerboard floor recedes into the far distance and functions, as in Grosz’s earlier *Stinnes* drawing, as a kind of theatrical stage, anchored by a flattened industrial backdrop of slim, smoking chimneys (**fig. 3.27**).¹⁶⁶ (Rathenau’s 1917 utopian text, *Of Things to Come*, lends the painting its additional, ironic title; the German foreign minister would be assassinated in Berlin only a few short months after Scholz completed the painting.) The portly figures embody the greed and graft of western capitalism, blown up to comically rotund proportions that bear little resemblance to their actual physiques, and Vanderlip has been given typical “American” attributes including a newsboy cap and plaid trousers.¹⁶⁷

Comparing this painting to his 1920 *Bauernbild*, Scholz expressed mock disgust at his formerly “foolhardy courage toward kitsch”—a complicated assessment that likely referred not to a dismissal of the explosive power of kitsch materials, which Scholz

¹⁶⁵ Georg Scholz, *Die Herren der Welt/Von kommenden Dingen*, (Lords of the World/Of Things to Come), 1922. Oil on cardboard, 75 x 100 cm. Neue Galerie New York.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 46 and 138-142; *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 98-102.

¹⁶⁶ On the identification of Vanderlip, see Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 139. According to Sternfeld, this attribution follows from a letter written by Scholz to the exhibition committee of the ‘Novembergruppe’ in Berlin on 19 April 1922; reprinted in Willi Grohmann, *Kunst der Zeit. Organ der Künstler-Selbsthilfe* “Zehn Jahre Novembergruppe,” III. Jg., Heft 1-3 (1928): 40.

¹⁶⁷ In their 1975 study, Hofmann and Präger identified this third figure as Carl Legien (1861-1920), the unionist and Social Democrat who gave his name to the steamship owned by Hugo Stinnes, and to the famous “Stinnes-Legien Pact,” which he signed with Stinnes on 15 November 1918. The agreement led to German employers accepting unions for the first time as legitimate workers’ organizations; the pact also ushered in the eight-hour workday. As a result, employers agreed to stop discrimination of union members while the unions rejected radical socialists’ demands. While the context makes sense, the visual identification does not; Legien had a very distinctive handlebar mustache that is missing in Scholz’s picture. See *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 98.

clearly embraced and would continue to theorize in the months to follow.¹⁶⁸ Instead, it points to the artist's newfound ability to wield such forms and thematics of popular culture with both visual élan and theoretical grounding. To that end, in April of 1922, Scholz published the polemical essay "Kunst und Kitsch" (Art and Kitsch) in the Sunday supplement of the *Karlsruher Tagblatt* newspaper.¹⁶⁹ The essay outlined, in calculated terms, the artist's move toward the "Gegenständlichen," the objective or tangible, as the culmination of his artistic practice after Dada. In the essay, Scholz positioned himself as an artist concerned with the use and theorization of kitsch materials—with beating down the "easel ecstasy" of the complacent bourgeois artist to forge an art closer to the experience of everyday life. It would be the job of the contemporary artist, he wrote, to shed the outmoded pursuit of "l'art pour l'art" and to wrest oneself away from the rigid definitions of art history and contemporary criticism. Instead, Scholz urged his fellow artists to "seek out the people, the present, the actualities of life and its experiences."¹⁷⁰

He continued:

With the means inherited from Expressionism, one should produce new, interesting (!) pictures, in which the spaces won through Expressionism can be filled with the objectivity (*Sachlichkeit*) of the present...One should rather paint "politically contingent" pictures (*Tendenzkunst*) than 'l'art pour l'art!' To reach the widest public it is crucial to use the forms of

¹⁶⁸ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, April 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "Ich bin über meinen eigenen 'Mut zum Kitsch' häufig recht erschrocken. Zwischen diesem Bild [*Die Herren der Welt*] und der 'Bauernfamilie' ist ein großer Unterschied. Die Bilder vertragen sich nicht." Scholz continues: "Im 'Karlsruher Tagblatt' habe ich einen Artikel losgelassen unter den schönen Überschrift: 'Kunst und Kitsch'. Ich lege ihn zu Ihrer Erheiterung bei. 'Erheiterung', wenn Sie an das Karlsruher 'Kunst'-Milieu denken."

See also: Letter Georg Scholz to Willy Storck, 15 April 1922. Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. "Ich habe mein Stinnes-Bild fertig. Da es ganz anders wie die *Bauernfamilie* geworden ist, möchte ich es Ihnen gern mit der Bauernfamilie zusammen zeigen."

¹⁶⁹ Scholz, "Kunst und Kitsch," 97. Dennis Crockett has excerpted portions of this essay in his *German Post-Expressionism*, 118.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Westheim would also adopt this formulation in the essay, 'Der arrivierte Öldruck,' which urged artists to refresh their art by infusing it with the means of popular culture.

expression they understand, that have resonance for the people: so-called “kitsch” in the sense of picture postcards and photo-realist painting.¹⁷¹

In the *Lords of the World*, Scholz sought to enact this brand of kitsch-production through emulation and reformulation of the Stinnes caricatures he admired in Berlin. This included both the sharp, crudely rendered caricatures produced by George Grosz and, as would soon become clear, the press photographs appropriated and redeployed to a new and sharpened political use by the photomonteur, John Heartfield. Asserting that the artist must create “regardless of his materials, not through the material of art history,” Scholz advocated for an art that would confront the public with its true face, using the means that this public had come to understand. “True fantasy,” he would surmise in the conclusion to this kitsch manifesto, “is the cathartic mirror of the present (*Die wahre Phantasie ist die läuternde Spiegel der Gegenwart.*)”¹⁷² To that end, Scholz would continue to align his work with that of his colleagues in Berlin. Yet where his colleagues called for an art produced in the service of the worker, in the pages of journals such as *Die Pleite* and the KPD propaganda magazine, *Der Knüppel*, Scholz would use his position of regional and institutional remove—the lithography workshop at the Karlsruhe Academy—to develop and to sustain a new form of satirical realism after Dada.¹⁷³

Sliced Through the Beer Belly

Inspired by the excellent Stinnes-Ebert photograph on your *Forum* title page, I would like to compose a drawing entitled “Circus Germany.”

¹⁷¹ Scholz, “Kunst und Kitsch,” 97.

¹⁷² Scholz, “Kunst und Kitsch,” 98.

¹⁷³ Letter Scholz to Kiefer, 31 May 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Scholz reported to Kiefer that he had sold his “Stinnes” painting (*Herren der Welt*) to the Mannheim collectors Paul and Martha Landmann for 15,000 marks, a hefty sum that marked a period of markedly increased sales for the Grötzingen artist.

Stinnes as circus director in the ring with the whip and Fritze Ebert (just as in your example) dressed as a clown and walking the tightrope. Ludendorff, Kahr, etc. applaud in the wings. As conductor of the circus choir, Hindenburg directs the “Sang an Agir” and “Deutschland über Alles” ...¹⁷⁴

—Georg Scholz to John Heartfield, 22 October 1922

Between 1920 and 1923, Georg Scholz dispatched scores of pages to John Heartfield and George Grosz in Berlin, lamenting the stagnant art scene in Karlsruhe and planning his eventual getaway. In October of 1922, Scholz described to Heartfield his plans to produce a carnivalesque drawing staffed by the favorite targets of Berlin’s leftwing journals: the industrialist and German People’s Party leader Hugo Stinnes, the German president Friedrich “Fritz” Ebert,¹⁷⁵ the former general and German nationalist leader Erich Ludendorff,¹⁷⁶ and the conservative Bavarian politician Gustav Ritter von Kahr.¹⁷⁷ Scholz likely hoped to contribute the “Circus Germany” drawing to the Berlin

¹⁷⁴ Letter Georg Scholz to John Heartfield, 31 October 1922. AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 400: “Angeregt durch die schöne Stinnes-Ebertsphotographie auf dein ‘Forum’-Titelblatt wollte ich einen ‘Zirkus Deutschland’ zeichnen. Stinnes als Zirkusdirektor in der Manège mit der Peitsche, Fritze Ebert (genau wie auf der Aufnahme) als ‘dummer August’, wirkte als balancierender Seiltänzer. In den Zuschauerlogen applaudierend Ludendorf, Kahr, etc. Hindenburg als Dirigent der Zirkuskapelle, die den ‘Sang an Agir’ und ‘Deutschland über Alles’ spielt.”

¹⁷⁵ Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925) was a member of the SPD and the first president of Germany from 1919 until his death in office in 1925. A moderate social democrat, his policies were aimed at restoring peace and order after the 1918/19 revolutions and containing the extreme elements of the revolutionary left. Through his alliance with the Freikorps and through his Minister of Defense, Gustav Noske, Ebert’s government squashed a number of leftist uprisings and worker strikers in the early years of the Weimar Republic.

¹⁷⁶ Erich Friedrich Wilhelm Ludendorff (1865-1937) was appointed Quartermaster general in August 1916, making him joint head (with Paul von Hindenburg) and chief engineer of Germany’s military effort in World War I. Ludendorff resigned in 1918 and, after the war, became a prominent nationalist leader and promoter of the *Dolchstoßlegende*, or stab-in-the-back legend, which asserted that the German Army had been betrayed by Marxists and Republicans in the Versailles Treaty. Ludendorff took part in the Kapp Putsch (1920) and the Beer Hall Putsch led by Adolf Hitler in 1923. In 1925, he ran for president and lost against General Paul von Hindenburg.

¹⁷⁷ Gustav Ritter von Kahr (1862-1934) was a Bavarian right-wing conservative politician and a key player in suppressing Adolf Hitler’s Beer Hall Putsch of 1923. Kahr later opposed the National Socialist Party and was murdered during the Night of the Long Knives (*Nacht der langen Messer*), a purge that took place between June 30 and July 2, 1934, when the Nazi regime carried out a series of political murders in Germany.

journal, *Das Forum*, for which he had been commissioned alongside Heartfield, George Grosz, Otto Schmalhausen, and other artists to enliven its pages in the fall of 1922.¹⁷⁸

That October, editor Wilhelm Herzog proclaimed a new direction for his journal in its seventh year of publication, one that would bring *Das Forum* directly in line with the newly image-hungry politics of the German Communist Party (KPD): namely, a “major invigoration of its appearance” (*eine größere Verlebendigung des Äußeren*) through the strategic deployment of images.¹⁷⁹ The politically engaged writer of 1922 found himself stymied, Herzog asserted, by “stinking corruption,” but the illustrator wielded real power to effect the public: “His picture ignites in the blink of an eye,” Herzog wrote in an editorial essay: “He stimulates the viewer without words. This is precisely what we want.”¹⁸⁰

John Heartfield (born Helmut Herzfeld) had trained as an applied artist in Munich and Berlin before joining forces with his brother, Wieland Herzfelde, and the artist George Grosz, to aim their attack on German society in the final years of World War I:

¹⁷⁸ Letter Georg Scholz to Thedor Kiefer, 24 October 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “[...] Dazu kommt, daß Wilhelm Herzog mich zur ständigen Mitarbeiterschaft am ‘Forum’ auffordert, der ‘Gegner’ Zeichnungen haben will, der Malikverlag (der sehr groß geworden ist) einen Beitrag für ein neues Buch (‘Platz dem Arbeiter’) haben will, Abel u. Müller eine neue Jugendschrift, Tannenbaum den ‘Bonifazius Kiesewetter’ etc.”

¹⁷⁹ Wilhelm Herzog, “Ankündigung,” *Das Forum*, Jg. 7, Nr. 1 (October 1922): 2. “Das Forum eröffnet seinen 7. Jahrgang in neuer Form und Ausstattung. Geist und Ziel bleiben dieselben. Versucht wurde eine größere Verlebendigung des Äußeren. Um den Kampf gegen diese Zeit passender und treffischer zu führen. Der politische Schriftsteller, der gegen diese Welt kämpft, muß erleben, daß ihr mit dem Wort allein kaum beizukommen ist. Jedes Wort, jeder Aufsatz—und sei er noch so fundiert—verpufft. Geist wird nicht Tat. In dieser schiebenden und wuchernden Republik scheint das Wort immer mehr zur Wirkungslosigkeit verurteilt. Nichts ändert sich. Die Korruption stinkt. Alles bleibt wie es war.

Ein Zeichner hat es besser. Sein Bild zündet im Augenblick des Beschauers. Wortlos reizt er auf. Das ist das, was wir wollen. Deshalb werden künftig—neben photographischen Akten der Selbstenthüllung—Zeichner, die auf dem Boden des Forums stehen oder sich dem Geist des Forums verwandt fühlen, Zustände, Vorgänge und Persönlichkeiten dieser Zeit und Welt, in deren Mitte zu leben wir verurteilt sind, festzuhalten suchen. Mitarbeitern werden: George Grosz, John Heartfield, Rudolf Schlichter, Georg Scholz-Grötzingen, Otto Schmalhausen.”

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Although the editorial claimed no allegiance with any specific political party, it launched a broad attack against the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats who had been aligned with the German “Bürgertum” since 1914.

first, through the journal *Neue Jugend*, and subsequently through such publications as *Die Pleite* and its successor journal, *Der Gegner*.¹⁸¹ Since the early days of revolutionary tumult, Grosz and Heartfield had appropriated and reconfigured press photographs to satirical effect, as in the photomontage cover to their short-lived satirical journal, *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (Everyone his own Football, February 1919). Here, the artists cut out and reassembled photographic images of the leaders of Germany's fledgling republic across the surface of a delicate folding fan: members of the SPD-led government including Philipp Scheidemann, Friedrich Ebert, Gustav Noske, and Erich Ludendorff (**fig. 3.28**).¹⁸² A caption begs the question "Who is the most beautiful??"—a satirical sleight of hand that, as Andrés Zervigón has argued, both appropriated the spoils of a flood of period press images and exposed the "tawdry edge" of Weimar popular culture, which celebrated such kitschy personal objects as the painted folding fan and such lowbrow cultural diversions as the juried beauty contest.¹⁸³

By the fall of 1922, John Heartfield was well established as a designer of photo layouts for book covers and magazines produced by the Malik Verlag in Berlin. Georg Scholz sought to engage with these iconographies and with the leftist politics they represented. Already in 1921, he described to his friend Theodor Kiefer a graphic cycle he planned to devote to the "Heroes of the German Spirit," a satirical portfolio that would include lithographs depicting Hugo Stinnes as a "wandering safe" (*wandelnder Kassenschränk*) who christens the Stinnes-Line steamship "Tirpitz" with the blessing of

¹⁸¹ On Heartfield's early training in the applied arts, see Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 33-37.

¹⁸² John Heartfield (typography, graphic design, and photomontage) and George Grosz (photomontage), *Contest! Who is the Most Beautiful? German Masculine Beauty I*, on the cover of *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, no. 1 (15 February 1919). Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Inv.Nr. 1568-722.

¹⁸³ Zervigón, *John Heartfield and the Agitated Image*, 155-161.

his ample funds.¹⁸⁴ In another example from this series, Scholz envisioned the Karlsruhe painter Hans Thoma, dressed as Father Christmas, receiving visits from Gustav Noske and Friedrich Ebert, over whom would float the spirit of the “holy” Grand Duke of Baden.¹⁸⁵ Although these plans would not come to fruition, they point to Scholz’s deep interest in exposing the disconnect between appearance—projected and performed by the so-called “heroes” of the German spirit—and the cruel reality. In the *Circus Germany*, the corporate leader Stinnes would direct the circus with whip-wielding precision while the titular German president, Fritz Ebert, dodders along on a tightrope dressed as a clown (a *dummer August*, to use Scholz’s mocking phrase). While conservative politicians applaud heartily at this spectacle, General Paul von Hindenburg leads the choir in a medley of pro-German tunes: namely, “Deutschland über Alles” and the “Sang an Agir,” a nationalist number penned by Kaiser Wilhelm II in the late nineteenth century in the style of an old Norse ballad.¹⁸⁶

Scholz linked his plans for the “Circus Germany” directly to a press photograph that had appeared in *Das Forum* on the cover of the October 1922 edition (**fig. 3.29**).¹⁸⁷ Tightly cropped and selectively captioned, the photograph depicts former SPD Defense

¹⁸⁴ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 6 July 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ ‘Der Sang an Agir’ was a ballad composed by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1895, a song steeped in Nordic mythology and indicative of the Kaiser’s racist, pro-German policies. See John C.G. Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court. Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 202.

¹⁸⁷ *Das Forum* was published from 1914-15 and 1918-29 in Berlin/Potsdam by the editor Wilhelm Herzog, first in opposition to World War I, and later as a broad forum for antiwar and leftist writers and important works by communist thinkers including Rosa Luxemburg, and contributions by Henri Barbusse, Georges Clemenceau, Anatole France, Denis Diderot, and Sigmund Freud. See Claudia Müller-Stratmann, *Wilhelm Herzog und ‘Das Forum’. ‘Literatur-Politik’ zwischen 1910 und 1915. Ein Beitrag zur Publizistik des Expressionismus*, ed. Hernhard Gajek (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 1997).

Minister Gustav Noske,¹⁸⁸ Hugo Stinnes, German Navy Admiral Paul von Behnke,¹⁸⁹ President Fritz Ebert, Hugo Hermann Stinnes Jr.,¹⁹⁰ and Clärenore Stinnes,¹⁹¹ “at the launching of the steamship Carl Legien.”¹⁹² Noske, who had resigned as defense minister following the Kapp Putsch in March of 1920, peers through round and glazed-over spectacles from the background of the photograph. Stinnes raises his right arm and ventures a tentative smile; almost palpable is the absent bottle of champagne one might use to christen the Stinnes Line steamship. Fritz Ebert, sporting a bowler hat and trademark grin, faces the camera with the directness of an eager child. (One sees rather clearly how Scholz intended to transpose this stupidly smiling face into the clown of his “Circus Deutschland.”) Three members of the younger generation—Hugo Jr. and his sister, the car racing Clärenore, along with an unidentified young boy—lend a “human” touch to the display of political and military might.

Indeed, all seems rather benign until we read a caption beneath the image, printed in large capital letters: “WIE SIE SICH BEKÄMPFEN...” (HOW THEY STRUGGLE).¹⁹³ Here, as the caption seems to insist, the scions of industry and their

¹⁸⁸ Gustav Noske (1868-1946) was a Social Democratic Party (SPD) politician who served as the first Minister of Defense (Reichswehrminister) of the Weimar Republic between 1919 and 1920. Noske was strongly aligned in the leftwing consciousness with the brutal suppression of the communist uprisings of 1919.

¹⁸⁹ Paul Behncke/Behnke (1866-1937) was a German admiral and head of the German Navy (*Reichsmarine*) from 1 September 1920 until 30 September 1924. In this role, he was responsible for consolidating and rebuilding the navy after the Treaty of Versailles and the revolutions of 1918/19.

¹⁹⁰ Hugo Hermann Stinnes (1897-1982), commonly known as Hugo Stinnes Junior, was the second eldest son of the German industrialist Hugo Stinnes. After his father’s death, in 1924, Hugo Jr. and his older brother Edmund took over the family industrial concern, Stinnes AG.

¹⁹¹ Clärenore Stinnes (1901-1990) was a competitive car racer and daughter of the industrialist Hugo Stinnes. Between 1927 and 1929, together with Carl-Axel Söderström, she drove around the world in an automobile.

¹⁹² In 1922, the Stinnes steamship line named the “MS Carl Legien” in honor of the deceased German unionist.

¹⁹³ John Heartfield (typography and graphic design), “*Wie sie sich bekämpfen...*” (How They Struggle), original in *Das Forum*, 7. Jg., Nr. 1 (October 1922). Reprint in *Das Forum* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1977).

hapless political and military affiliates christen yet another Stinnes-Line steamship—perhaps funding a future expedition for the car-racing Clärenore—while the people of Germany struggle to earn a living and put food on the table. (October of 1922 was one of the worst months in a year of escalating inflation, with the value of one U.S. dollar equal to roughly 3,000 thousand German marks.)¹⁹⁴ Thus, the punch of this satire is verbal, as well as visual, exposing the gap between intention and effect without resorting to the cut-and-pasted appropriations of the *Jedermann* beauty contest image. Instead, this satire functioned on a level far more closely aligned with the infamous “bathing suit picture” of Noske and Ebert, which appeared in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*BIZ*) in August 1919 (**fig. 3.35**), and would be repurposed by Hannah Höch in her *Dada-Rundschau* (Dada Panorama, 1919), a photomontage that appeared alongside Scholz’s *Farmer Picture* in the First International Dada Fair.

Brigid Doherty has demonstrated how these “beer belly” images of the republic’s early leaders were readymade for satire, and would soon be exploited by both the left and the right.¹⁹⁵ In the wake of Dada, Georg Scholz would opt to forego the slicing/ripping variety of satire à la Hannah Höch or Raoul Hausmann, who had famously equated Friedrich Ebert—the “short, big-bellied man”—with the body politic of Weimar in his “Pamphlet against the Weimar View of Life” (April 1919).¹⁹⁶ Certainly, Scholz’s early satire participated in this tradition of corporeal assault and recombination, but by the final months of 1922, the artist had honed a singular vision of satirical realism after Dada.

¹⁹⁴ See Gerald Feldman, “Table 1. Dollar Exchange Rate of the Paper Mark in Berlin, 1914-1923,” in Feldman, *The Great Disorder*, 5.

¹⁹⁵ On the so-called “bathing suit photograph,” see Doherty, “Figures of the Pseudorevolution,” 64-89; and Doherty, “Berlin,” 105.

¹⁹⁶ Raoul Hausmann, “Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung,” *Der Einzige* 1, No. 14 (20 April 1919): 163. Cited in Doherty, “Figures of the Pseudorevolution,” 66.

Positioning himself in the spirit of an applied artist such as Heartfield, Scholz appealed to a modern eye attuned to reading advertising posters, picture postcards, and photo realist painting. From the *Farmer Picture* to the *Lords of the World*, Scholz refined his “courage toward kitsch” as a means to slice into the beer belly of German culture.

In a 1924 essay, Margarete Bauer would aptly reflect on these strategies of satirical attack, and point toward a new direction in Scholz’s production—one that would be marked by an intensive engagement with the practice of painting:

Georg Scholz fights by making things ridiculous. His sculptural style of painting only enhances the desperate quality of his representation, which caricatures the god- and spirit-forsaking, progress-inhibiting philistinism of these medal-decorated beer bellies and veterans’ association members...who with the utmost pathos natter on about the holiness of the Fatherland, simply because they made out well in the war. Scholz paints the greedy larvae of the Lords of the World, who have the people on strings like spineless marionettes, and the mastery, which they hold in their eternal hands, they use as they please.¹⁹⁷

For Scholz, a new position at the Karlsruhe Academy would allow him the financial security and the protected time to develop a new set of laws for art making, a formal lexicon that preserved the kitsch tactics he had embraced in the early 1920s alongside a new focus on matters of material and painterly form. In what follows, I demonstrate how Scholz and his academic colleagues worked to reactivate the language of realism from the regional margins: in the private workshops and ateliers of the Karlsruhe Academy, and in major public exhibitions from *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (1925)

¹⁹⁷ Margarete Bauer, “Die Kunst gegen den Krieg” in *Nie wieder Krieg* (Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Jugend, Leipzig 1924). Cited in *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 7. “Georg Scholz kämpft, indem er lächerlich macht. Seine plastische Malweise erhöht das Drastische seiner Darstellung, die mit Vorliebe das gott- und geistverlassene, allen Fortschritt hemmende Spießertum karikiert, diese ordensdekorierten Bierbäuche und Kriegsvereinsmitglieder...die mit hohlem Pathos von der Heiligkeit des Vaterlandes quasseln, weil sie im Krieg gute Geschäfte gemacht haben. Scholz malt die gierigen Larven der Herren der Welt, die das Volk wie willenlose Marionetten am Gängelband haben und die Herrschaft, die sie in ewigen Händen halten, brauchen wie es ihnen gefällt.”

to *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart* (1929). This effects a necessary reconsideration of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* (The New Objectivity)—a mode of critical realism commonly understood to have reacted with sober detachment to its contemporary times, but rarely considered in the legacy of formal innovation after Dada.

Chapter 4

Curious Realism: The Politics of Style in Baden, 1923-1929

This young *Badenser* [Georg Scholz] declares his bit of social ethos with casual congeniality...There is nothing of the aggressive, the pointed and satirical, the class-struggling bitterness of Grosz and Dix; much more the *badisch* style: “I shoot a little bullet through your little neck” (*ich schieß dir e Kügele durchs Kröpfele*). What harm comes to the local bourgeoisie will be delivered in all love, or if you like: in the fraternity of one’s fellow countrymen.¹

—Paul Westheim in *Das Kunstblatt*, November 1924

The main problem is precisely that I’m stuck here in Grötzingen, Karlsruhe, and Baden! [...] Sharp, politically engaged people are virtually nonexistent here in the country.²

—Georg Scholz to George Grosz in Berlin, May 1923

On 1 February 1923, Georg Scholz accepted a new academic post as head of the lithography workshop at the Karlsruhe Academy.³ This job brought the Grötzingen artist a measure of economic security, as well as a Karlsruhe atelier outfitted with a welcome set of amenities: “running water, electrical light, a water closet, parquet floors, and steam

¹ Paul Westheim, review of the Berlin *Juryfreie* exhibition in *Das Kunstblatt* Jg. 8, Heft 11 (November 1924): 349. “[...] Dieser junge Badenser trägt sein Stückchen soziales Ethos mit hemdsärmeliger Gemütlichkeit vor...Nichts von der aggressiven, der betonten und satirischen Klassenkampf-verbissenheit der Grosz und Dix; viel mehr auf die Badenser Art: ‘ich schieß dir e Kügele durchs Kröpfele --’. Was dem heimatlichen Bourgeois angetan wird, wird in aller Liebe, wenn man will: in landsmannschaftlicher Brüderlichkeit getan.”

² Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 11 May 1923. Akademie der Künste (hereafter “AdK”), Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 405. “Der Hauptfehler [ist]...daß ich hier in Grötzingen, Karlsruhe und Baden überhaupt sitze!...Also scharf politisch eingestellte Leute gibt es hier zu Lande kaum.”

³ Scholz joined the lithography workshop as a paid “guest student” (*Hospitant*) in the winter semester of 1920/21, and worked again as a *Hospitant* in the summer semester of 1922. In a letter of 24 January 1923, the Ministry of Culture confirmed that Scholz had been named, as of 1 January, a “vollbestätigter Assistent der Grafikabteilung” under the direction of Prof. Ernst Würtenberger. He would take over the lithography class as head instructor on 1 February 1923. Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (hereafter “GLA”) 235/40176.

heat,” as he reported to his Kaiserslautern friend and patron, Dr. Theodor Kiefer.⁴ The month of January 1923 ushered in the year of so-called “hyperinflation” in Germany, the culmination of economic troubles that had been simmering since 1914 and accelerated rapidly over the course of 1922—a period that Gerald D. Feldman has aptly termed “The Year of Dr. Mabuse” in his cultural history of the German inflation.⁵ After the failure of reparations talks in Paris, French and Belgian troops entered Germany’s Ruhr industrial region on 11 January 1923.⁶ The German government under Friedrich Ebert declared a policy of passive resistance—German workers were to leave quietly when Allied troops moved into a factory or office building—and the financial ministry began printing money at a startling rate in order to prop up the flailing German economy. This strategy transformed the “galloping inflation” of 1922 into a full-blown “hyperinflation” by the summer of 1923, one that would send the German currency into an unrecoverable tailspin. By the end of November 1923, one U.S. dollar bought 4.2 trillion German marks on the world exchange.⁷

The economic situation in Baden reflected that of Germany as a whole during these years of inflation and economic challenge. On 14 January 1923, the Karlsruhe city government held a protest against the occupation of the Ruhr; on 3 March, French troops moved in to occupy Karlsruhe’s *Rheinhafen* harbor. This led to an immediate ban on

⁴ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 28 February 1923. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Ich bin seit 1.II als Leiter der Lithografie an der Bad. Landeskunstschule. Ich habe ein großes Atelier dort Westendstr. 81, Hufeisengebäude, Atelier 31. Wasserleitung, elektrisches Licht, Wasserclosett, Parkettboden, Dampfheizung etc...”

⁵ See Gerald D. Feldman, “The Year of Dr. Mabuse: The Hyperinflation and German Society in 1922,” 513-575; and “A Disordered Fortress: Passive Resistance, the Cuno Government, and the Destruction of the German Mark,” in Feldman, *The Great Disorder*, 631-697.

⁶ They would remain there as an occupying force until 1925. On the occupation of the Ruhr, the introduction of the Dawes Plan, and the ensuing period of economic stabilization, see Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 143-168.

⁷ For a summary table of these monthly dollar exchange rates, see Feldman, *The Great Disorder*, 5.

exports of coal, machinery, and metal wares from Karlsruhe and to the seizure or strict sanctioning of trading in other goods such as wood, iron, and steel.⁸ Thus, the local population struggled to make ends meet and freelance artists, including Georg Scholz and his former academy colleagues who remained in Karlsruhe—Karl Hubbuch, Wladimir Zabotin, Willi Müller-Hufschmid, and their peers—struggled to show their work in regional exhibitions and to sell their paintings and prints through a network of local art dealers.⁹ Scholz hoped his new academic position would carve out more time for producing politically agitational artworks for the Malik Verlag in Berlin, as he described to George Grosz in a letter of 14 January.¹⁰ Yet on seeing a copy of Grosz's infamous *Ecce Homo* (1923) portfolio¹¹ for sale in a Mannheim gallery, at the inflationary price of 27,000 marks, Scholz reported to the Berlin artist that he left the premises feeling "very dispirited," possessing little economic capital and only his personal collection of hand-printed lithographs to offer as a potential trade.¹²

Several weeks after leaving the Mannheim gallery in dejection, Scholz mailed Grosz a selection of photographs that highlighted his newest work, including a recently completed oil painting he referred to as "*Kleinstadt (Grötzingen)*," a subtle, yet satirical

⁸ Manfred Koch, ed., *Karlsruher Chronik. Stadtgeschichte in Daten, Bildern, Analysen* (Karlsruhe: Badenia Verlag, 1992), 155.

⁹ Primary among this group were Dr. Herbert Tannenbaum, in Mannheim; Otto Oppenheimer, in Bruchsal; and Paul Landmann in Mannheim.

¹⁰ Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 14 January 1923. AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 402: "Heute kriegte ich von Bad. Ministerium die Anfrage, ob ich die Lehrstelle für Lithografie übernehmen will. Auf diese Weise musste ich 3X wöchentlich korrigieren, 5 Monate Ferien pro Jahre, und als Gestalt ein sicheres Existenz bekommen. Ich habe zugesagt und werde dann wieder mehr Zeit für Malik-Verlag etc. haben."

¹¹ George Grosz, *Ecce Homo*, 1923. Illustrated book with 100 offset lithographs, overall dimensions 35.5 x 26.2 x 3.3 cm. Publisher: Malik-Verlag, Berlin. Edition of approx. 10,000 in 5 editions.

¹² Letter Scholz to Grosz, as in note 10, above. "[...] Gibt es keine Möglichkeit, daß ich auch irgendeine Weise, event. gegen eine größere Anzahl Lithos, den 'Ecce Homo' in Verlage bekommen könnte?"

landscape portrait of his adopted hometown.¹³ Scholz hoped that Grosz would share his *Kleinstadt* and other materials with the *Kunstblatt* editor Paul Westheim, who was preparing an article that would introduce Scholz to a national audience and mark him as one of the leading stars of the latest trend in German painting—a phenomenon that Westheim had recently referred to in his prominent art journal as “a new naturalism,” and that German artists and critics increasingly framed as a new form of *Gegenständlichkeit*.¹⁴ Translated variously as “objectivity,” “concreteness,” “representationalism,” or “graphicness,” the term *Gegenständlichkeit* embodied an art practice founded in graphic clarity, stark contrasts, and an “objective” quality at odds with previous trends in abstraction and postwar expressionism. (The root word *Gegenstand* also linked this art to its forebears in Berlin Dada, whose members had used the term in both the “Open Letter to the November Group,” in the summer of 1921, and in their unpublished technical manifesto, “The Laws of Painting,” of September 1920.)¹⁵

¹³ Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 28 January 1923. AdK Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 403.

Scholz sent photographs of five works in total: the watercolor drawings *Landschaft mit Kuh* (Landscape with Cow, 1922-23, now titled “Kleinstadt” and in the collection of the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart); *Mondschein* (Moonshine, 1922-23, now considered lost/destroyed); and *New-York* (1922, lost/destroyed); as well as the oil paintings *Kriegerverein* (War Veterans’ Association, 1922) and *Kleinstadt (Grötzingen)* (now known as *Badische Kleinstadt bei Tage/Small Town by Day*, 1923).

¹⁴ Scholz used the phrase “*die Epigonen*” (the Epigoni) in his own correspondence to refer to the stars of this new artistic tendency. See, for example, Georg Scholz to Willy Storck, 12 July 1923. Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe: “Westheim schrieb mir vor etwa 2 Wochen, daß er den Arbeit jetzt dringend benötigte, da er ihn dann sofort unterbringen könnte. Auch ich glaube, daß jetzt wohl die Veröffentlichung dringend nötig wäre. Es regen sich überall allerhand mehr oder weniger talentierte junge Leute, die eine ähnliche Gegenständlichkeit austreten. Je weiter um der Termin der Veröffentlichung hinausgeschoben wird, umso mehr ist das Publikum, an das sich das ‘Kunstblatt’ wendet, geneigt, in mir einen dieser jungen ‘Epigonen’ zu erblicken.”

The essay that resulted from Scholz’s trans-regional marketing efforts, written by the Karlsruhe art historian Hans Curjel and illustrated with several of the photographs Scholz had mailed to Grosz in January, appeared in *Das Kunstblatt* in September 1923. See Hans Curjel, “Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz,” *Das Kunstblatt* (September 1923): 258. Dennis Crockett refers to this and other essays by Curjel in his *German Post-Expressionism*, 150.

¹⁵ Raoul Hausmann, et al., “Die Gesetzte der Malerei,” in *Hannah Höch. Eine Lebenscollage*, Vol. 1, Part 2, ed. Cornelia Thater-Schulz (Berlin: Argon, 1989), 696-698.

Scholz's own assessment of his evolving painting practice, which he published in *Das Kunstblatt* as "The Elements to Achieve Impact in Pictures" (March 1924) polemicized his decisive break away from the tactics of polemical, "posterly" satire and toward an art of stark contrasts: "light - dark," "warm - cold," and "smooth form - broken form," to name just a few examples from the *Kunstblatt* essay.¹⁶ This chapter examines this shift in painterly form, a much debated "return to realism" that accompanied the onset of economic stabilization in 1924-1925, and that is often associated with the Kunsthalle Mannheim watershed exhibition, *Neue Sachlichkeit. Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* (New Objectivity: German Painting since Expressionism, 1925). Certainly, this new style of "objectivity" was a brand of realism under pressure: from its academic forebears, from the lingering tendencies of post-expressionism, and from the formal interventions of Dada. Berlin Dada, in particular, cast a long shadow over its progeny—from George Grosz to Georg Scholz to Rudolf Schlichter—and they struggled to place their latest work in this rapidly changing landscape of politics and aesthetics. Paul Westheim's circular survey, "A New Naturalism?" set off the public debate in his widely-read journal, in 1922, but one could locate the recognition of the verist trend in Germany even earlier, to April 1920, when Westheim put out the first special issue dedicated to "verism" with essays on George Grosz, Otto Dix, and Rudolf Schlichter. *Das Kunstblatt* continued to set the tone for conversations about *Sachlichkeit* and realism in Germany throughout the 1920s, and this chapter tracks the shifting dialogue through its pages and images.

¹⁶ Georg Scholz, "Die Elemente zur Erzielung der Wirke im Bilde," *Das Kunstblatt* Jg. 8, Heft 3 (March 1924): 77-80. This essay is reprinted in Uwe Schneede, ed. *Die zwanziger Jahre. Manifeste und Dokumente deutscher Künstler* (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1979), 141-143.

By this period, Georg Scholz had long departed from the collage disruptions of his *Farmer Picture* to embrace the smooth surface and subversive satire of his *Small Town in Baden by Day*, one of the new works he shared with Grosz in the January 1923 letter. His Karlsruhe colleagues likewise began to transition their work from a poetics of rupture to one of suture, but this shift was by no means as complete as it has been described in the existing scholarship on Germany's ferocious interwar modernism.¹⁷ Many of these formal experiments took place within the walls of the Karlsruhe Academy, which had joined with the local School of Applied Arts in October 1920 to form the Badische Landeskunstschule. Here, Scholz arranged for his friend Karl Hubbuch to take over his post as assistant in the lithography workshop, in January of 1924, a move that brought the artist a measure of financial security and the setting in which to experiment with the media of lithography, painting, and photography. As with his earlier, allegorical drawings, Hubbuch's inventive strategies of multiple vision and combinatory montage would enliven the surface of his pictures and would call into the question the stability of the portrait as an "objective" mirror of reality.

This chapter asks what happens when forms of realism bend under external pressures—economic and political, as well as institutional and aesthetic—and it investigates the strategies developed by the Karlsruhe artists Georg Scholz and Karl Hubbuch to respond to these various points of contact. Through a careful consideration of objects and artworks produced at the Karlsruhe Academy, I demonstrate how these artists

¹⁷ For a theorization of these opposing terms of rupture-suture, in the context of post-Dada photomontage, see Sabine Kriebel, "Manufacturing Discontent: John Heartfield's Mass Medium," *New German Critique* No. 107 (Summer 2009): 55-72. I argue that Karl Hubbuch's deliberate strategies of surface rupture—gluing, taping, folding, attaching—preserve the legacy of Dada's sensory disjunctions long into the 1920s, where they take the form of material skins and sutures that trouble the imperatives of smooth surface finish under *Die neue Sachlichkeit*.

sought to reactivate the visual language of realism as a viable strategy of production and exhibition. Beginning in 1923, and with increased intensity as the decade progressed, Hubbuch, Scholz, and their peers would find a protected space within the walls of the Karlsruhe *Landeskunstschule*—the very space where they had trained as young artists before World War I, and paradoxically, the institution against which many of them had revolted in the revolutionary years of 1918-19. In this chapter, I suggest that their return to the academy marked not a regressive “return to order,” but instead, an opportunity to engage with the interventions of the avant-garde in a new environment, one in which formal innovation and techniques of collaborative performance would flourish.

Small Town by Day and Night: Satire in a Regional Key

If one compares his [Scholz's] brutal representation of a farming family—ossified by their apathy and lust for money—with his latest portraits and still life, one is amazed how closely venomous mockery and idyllic [animosity] can exist next to each other. In any case, several years of development lie between that gruesome “Farmer Picture” and the peaceful landscapes.¹⁸

—Ernst Kállai, “The Demonic Possession of Satire,” *Das Kunstblatt*, 1927

A small town nestled in the Black Forest foothills. A small town by day and by night. Two faces of a two-faced southern *Dörfle*, medieval streets winding tight beneath

¹⁸ Ernst Kállai, “Dämonie der Satire,” *Das Kunstblatt* Jg. 11, Heft 3 (March 1927): 100. “Vergleicht man die brutale Darstellung einer vor Stumpfsinn und Geldgier starrenden Bauernfamilie mit seinen neuesten ländlichen Bildern und Stilleben, so ist man erstaunt, wie dicht gehässiger Spott und idyllische Anfreundung nebeneinander bestehen können. Allerdings liegen zwischen jenem grauhaften Bauernbild und den friedlichen Landschaften einige Jahre wesentlicher Entwicklung. Dies hat aber weiter nichts zu sagen, als daß hier ein Satiriker von der sich beruhigenden Zeit nur ein wenig gestreichelt zu werden brauchte, um den Gemütsmenschen zum Vorschein zu bringen. Zudem gibt es von Scholz neuere Verulkungen der Kleinstadt und des Spießers, die von einer kaum mehr verhüllten Sympathie zu dem satirisch bedachten Motiv zeugen.”

flattened house fronts and sloping red-tiled roofs, wending around modest church steeples and rear courtyards. By day, a busty *Hausfrau* peers out at a well-dressed undertaker and his carriage from her second-story window. A decorated officer with an upturned mustache struts by a young boy scooping round and golden “road apples” into a wheeled wooden cart. A man on crutches—a war veteran, most likely—hobbles off into the distance, his back turned bluntly against the bustle of the small town by day. By twilight, the town awakens. Shadows lengthen improbably against the night. Four veterans place a memorial wreath at the base of a statue of “William the Great,” while a couple fornicates in a disused alleyway. An older gentleman in a three-piece suit grips his walking stick and holds it to his mouth with red-lipped menace as he solicits a knock-kneed boy outside the public toilets. Through a window, a scene of sexual intimacy, or rather, of caricatured sensuality, as a bare-bottomed man in a white nightshirt stands clutching his fleshy rear end and peering through thick glasses at a supine female companion.

Painted over several months between October 1922 and January 1923, the pair of oil paintings now known as *Badische Kleinstadt bei Tage* (Small Town in Baden by Day) and *Deutsche Kleinstadt bei Nacht* (German Small Town by Night) attracted much attention in the 1920s, but they remained out of public view for decades following World War II.¹⁹ In 2011, the two pictures resurfaced at the Kunstmuseum Basel, where they

¹⁹ Scholz first mentioned the paintings in a letter to Theodor Kiefer, 22 October 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Vor allem beschäftigen mich 2 Motive: Eine kleine Stadt von oben gesehen bei Tage u. eine eben solche bei Nacht! Für das erste habe ich vor 8 Tagen ein großes Aquarell gemacht in subtilster Ausführung (1 Woche Arbeit!) das Dr. Tannenbaum in Mannheim kaufte.”

remain on long-term loan from a private collection (**figs. 4.1 & 4.2**).²⁰ Georg Scholz exhibited the paintings in the Berlin *Juryfreie* exhibition, in 1924, prompting the *Kunstblatt* editor Paul Westheim to declare that the “*Kleinstadt bei Tag und Nacht*” represented no more than a local satire, a “bit of social ethos [declared] with casual congeniality.”²¹ This assessment underscores their regional specificity (they are set in the small town of Grötzingen, an idyllic location ten minutes from Karlsruhe), to be sure, but it underestimates the biting force that accompanies this satire in a regional key. One must work to read the *Small Town* paintings, looking closely, and reading in slow detail: as such, they differ markedly from the “percussive” quality of political works that aimed to deliver a quick visual punch. By assembling together a series of vignettes in a sober painterly style, Scholz aimed to reveal the hidden, and often the unsavory, truths about life in small town Baden.

Scholz produced at least five detailed preparatory studies for the *Small Town* paintings, a number of which are now in public museum collections in Karlsruhe and Mannheim.²² The watercolor study *Kleinstadt* (Small Town, 1923) presents an aerial view

²⁰ Georg Scholz, *Badische Kleinstadt bei Tage* (Small Town in Baden by Day), 1922-23. Oil on cardboard, 99.5 x 74.5 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, loan from a private collection 2010. Inv.Nr. G 2010.10; and Georg Scholz, *Deutsche Kleinstadt bei Nacht* (German Small Town by Night), 1923. Oil on cardboard, 100 x 75 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, loan from a private collection 2010. Inv.Nr. 2010.11.

Lit: Curjel, “Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz,” 260; Gustav F. Hartlaub, ed., *Neue Sachlichkeit: Ausschnitte aus der deutschen Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* (Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1925), catalog nr. 101; Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 73; Adkins, *Stationen der Moderne*, 221 and 233; Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 34 and 69; Hans-Jürgen Buderer and Manfred Fath, eds., *Neue Sachlichkeit. Bilder auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Figurative Malerei der zwanziger Jahre* (Munich/New York: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), 242; Gerd Presler, “Neue Sachlichkeit: Folge 1. Karlsruher Aufbruch - der Maler Georg Scholz als Chronist und Ankläger seiner Epoche,” in *art. Das Kunstmagazin*, Nr. 8 (August 2001), 47; Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 153-155, 156-157, 370; Rödiger-Diruf, *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, ill. no. 119; and *Jahresbericht 2010 der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum und Museum für Gegenwartskunst* (Basel: Kunstmuseum, 2010), 26.

²¹ Westheim, *Das Kunstblatt* (November 1924): 349.

²² Scholz also completed a large watercolor study of the *Small Town by Day*, in October 1922; this painting surfaced at Christie’s in London in 2012.

of a small-town idyll sprinkled with subtle disruptions, from the foreground placement of four golden cow patties to the factory stacks steaming in the background (**fig. 4.3**).²³ Modernity encroaches on the small town of Grötzingen, but it does so as a far-off menace rather than as a full-scale disturbance. Under Scholz's disciplined paintbrush, modern industry remains alien to the regional small town ambience. Scholz used this flattened factory backdrop as early as 1921, in his watercolor drawing *Newspaper Carriers*, and again in the oil paintings *Kriegerverein* and *Herren der Welt* (both 1922). This generic, stage-like factory backdrop likely referred to a specific location; namely, the *Rheinhafen* harbor that opened on the banks of the Rhine on 27 May 1902 as part of a spate of modernization projects carried out under Karlsruhe Mayor Karl Schnetzler.²⁴

More immediately chilling is the country butcher holding court in *Der Metzger* (The Butcher, 1923), a detail study for the *Small Town in Baden by Day* (1923).²⁵ The butcher bears the initials "GS" (Georg Scholz) on his hefty forearm and clenches a meat cleaver between his teeth, carefully arranging a table of butchered entrails as blood drips from the table and pools in a metal bucket (**fig. 4.4**). His porcine physiognomy echoes that of characters lampooned in earlier Scholz compositions—the piggy industrial peasant mother in the *Farmer Picture* (1920), for example, or the cabriolet-riding capitalist in *Newspaper Carriers* (1921); with slits for eyes and small cystic growths studding pinkish

²³ Georg Scholz, *Kleinstadt* (Small Town), 1923. Watercolor on ivory wove paper, 38.3 x 29.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung der Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv.Nr. C 1961/968.

²⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century, Schnetzler supervised the opening of the Rheinhafen and the planning for the new central train station (*Hauptbahnhof*). On 19 March 1900, the last horse-drawn wagon drove down Kaiserstrasse, and eight days later, the new "Elektrische" began operation. See Doerschuck, *Karlsruhe, so wie es war*, 9.

²⁵ Georg Scholz, *Der Metzger* (The Butcher), 1923. Watercolor, pencil, and coating paint on paperboard, 30.8 x 24 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1953-15.

Lit: Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 124.

and too-shiny flesh, these figures represented the graft and greed of German burghers in the provincial countryside. For the Karlsruhe art historian, Hans Curjel, these “frightfully grotesque pictures” were, moreover, the “unapologetic picture sermons about contemporary life as it really is, and about the pestilential sores that the bourgeois shies away from cutting off.”²⁶

Curjel’s violent language of cutting and slicing points to the brutal punchline of Scholz’s *Small Town* satire, pictures that perform their critical operation through formal sleights of hand and clever, lowbrow appropriations. Thus, they carried Scholz’s interest in the iconography and visual impact of kitsch objects into a new formal register.

Describing his plans for the *Small Town by Day* painting to Theodor Kiefer, in October of 1922, Scholz wrote that it would resemble a picture-perfect color postcard. The sordid details would emerge upon closer inspection:

In the background a gorgeous sky (à la colorful picture postcards), mountains, factories, a train. In the middle ground a church with the most elegant brick facade as well as a Neo-Gothic guest house. On the market square a Schiller memorial, a gentleman priest, a self-satisfied policeman, a refuse wagon, and a furniture truck. In the foreground: a street in which a hearse stands idle. In the rear courtyard a pig butcher who, with the bloody knife stuck crosswise in his mouth, wrings the shit out of the guts, an old woman strolling to the public toilet, a *rentier* looking out the window, etc.²⁷

²⁶ Hans Curjel, “Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz,” *Das Kunstblatt* (September 1923): 260. “Es entstehen die fürchterlich grotesken Bilder die ‘Bauernfamilie’, der ‘sentimentale Matrose’, der ‘deutsche Kriegerverein’, unumwundene Bilderpredigten über das Leben, wie es heute wirklich ist, und über die Pestbeulen, die der Bürger aufzuschneiden sich scheut.”

²⁷ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 22 October 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Im Hintergrunde ein herrlicher Himmel (à la farbige Ansichtspostkarte), Berge, Fabriken, Eisenbahn. Im Mittelgrund der Marktplatz mit Kirche, hochelegantem Pfarrhausbacksteinbau und neugotischer Gastwirtschaft. Auf dem Platz das Schillerdenkmal, der Herr Pfarrer, ein äußerst selbstbewußter Gendarm, ein Mistlachwagen und ein Möbelwagen. Im Vordergrund: Eine Straße in welcher ein Leichenwagen steht. In den Höfen ein Schweinemetzger, der, das blutige Messer quer im Mund, den Kot aus den Därmen wringt, eine alte kummervolle Frau, die zum Lokus wandelt, ein aus dem Fenster schauender Rentier etc.”

These satirical vignettes recall the unsavory characters of Scholz's more overtly political artworks, and those of his Dada colleagues: the portly butcher with his shiny facial sores, for example, would fit comfortably into a family album with the greedy, caricatured burghers and mid-level government officials in his *Ecce Homo* portfolio (1923). The middle-class philistine remains the target, but with a twist. In the *Small Town* pictures, Scholz sought to equalize the purchase between form and content, situating the objects of his satire within a carefully constructed painterly whole. In a study for the *Small Town by Night*, one such bourgeois *Spießer* walks down a starkly-illuminated side street with a cigar clamped tightly in his mouth and a walking stick twirled between his fingers (**fig. 4.5**).²⁸ The man is framed by an improbably V-shaped shadow, an almost theatrical bit of stage lighting that draws attention to his position on the street and to the two figures—a fur-clad prostitute and a cap-wearing criminal—who peer out at him from the cover of the adjacent alleyways. The menace of the scene is heightened by its uncertain narrative resolution, but also through its painstaking formal construction, in which stark shadows build space as much as they delineate the effects of natural light and visual perception. In this way, Scholz's work recalled slightly earlier pictures by the members of the Italian *Pittura Metafisica* movement, who published examples of their work and their treatises on painting in the journal *Valori Plastici*.²⁹ Giorgio de Chirico's well-known painting, *Mystery and Melancholy of a Street* (1914) typifies this enigmatic

²⁸ Georg Scholz, *Nächtliche Straßenszene* (Nocturnal Street Scene), 1923. Watercolor and coating paint on paperboard, 46.2 x 32.2 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1973-29.

²⁹ See Holsten, *Georg Scholz*, 45.

and mystical approach to painting with its long, exaggerated shadows and estranged architectural facades (**fig. 4.6**).³⁰

Unlike his Berlin colleagues, who had proclaimed their (admittedly short-lived) allegiance to the painterly techniques of *pittura metafisica* in the unpublished manifesto, “The Laws of Painting,” in September 1920, Scholz never declared himself to be an acolyte of the clarity of late medieval painting, nor of its progeny in the work of “Carra and Chirico.”³¹ Art historians agree that Paul Westheim first used the term “Verismus” in a 1919 conversation with *Valori Plastici*, referring to a new style of German art that followed the example of *Pittura Metafisica*.³² In April 1920, Westheim published the first special issue on “Verismus” with texts by Alfred Salmony on George Grosz, Theodor Däubler on Otto Dix, and Carl Einstein on Rudolf Schlichter.³³ The second special issue devoted to the topic, in September of 1923, included essays by the Karlsruhe critic Hans Curjel, on Georg Scholz, and by the critic Franz Roh on Georg Schrimpf.³⁴ In his essay, Curjel positioned Scholz as a leader of this new style of verism, a Karlsruhe artist who superseded Berlin colleagues like George Grosz by attending to formal problems of

³⁰ Giorgio de Chirico, *Mystery and Melancholy of a Street*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 87 x 71.5 cm. Private collection.

³¹ Hausmann, “Die Gesetze der Malerei,” 696-98. “Der Maler muß die Fähigkeit besitzen, das Wesentliche seiner Epoche genau wahrzunehmen. Wir führen den historischen Materialismus in die Malerei ein. Die Malerei ist eine Erfindung des Mittelalters; sie erreichte ihr Ende in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Michelangelo war es, der die Furiösität und die Ungenauigkeit, die individualistische Sauerei einführt. Der Verursacher dessen, was man Expressionismus nennt, war Rembrandt; sein direkter Fortsetzer ist Kandinsky. In Europa fängt die Malerei erst bei Ingres wieder an, ihre Weiterentwicklung findet sie endgültig durch Carra und Chirico. In Deutschland gibt es vereinzelt Bilder von Thoma, Steinhausen und Haider, aber der Drang nach Sinnigkeit verhinderte eine klare Einstellung gegenüber den wahren Aufgaben der Darstellung.”

³² Cited in Lutz Windhöfel, *Paul Westheim und Das Kunstblatt. Eine Zeitschrift und ihr Herausgeber in der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 191-93. Westheim first used the term in conversation with the Italian journal, *Valori Plastici*, and subsequently used it in his own art magazine: *Das Kunstblatt*, Jg. 3, Heft 10 (October 1919): 319.

³³ *Das Kunstblatt* Jg. 4, Heft 4 (April 1920).

³⁴ *Das Kunstblatt*, Jg. 7, Heft 9 (September 1923).

“space and sound” (*Raum und Ton*), as well as to issues of “craftsmanship,” or *Handwerklichkeit*.³⁵

Curjel framed the “new naturalism” of Scholz’s aesthetic enterprise as an artistic development that hearkened back to Old Master painting, in its technical facility, but that embraced more broadly a set of “fundamental laws.” This marked a shift, to use Curjel’s language, from the clever political artists who used oil painting as a “plaything” (*ein Spaßchen*).³⁶ Yet in seeking to emphasize the technical developments in Scholz’s practice—and thus, perhaps, to place the artist on secure footing with the leading painters of his day—Curjel glossed over the bite (the *Tendenz*) that remained in such works as the *Small Town by Night*. Several months before he completed the painting, Scholz described this nighttime scene down to its most unsavory detail, noting that above all else the “moonlight sentimentality” would dominate the scene:

In the foreground the gloomy appearance of a lighted window, and when one peers through it, a fat burgher with skinny legs standing in a nightshirt. He makes use of the chamber pot and scratches himself on the ass. Behind him one sees the lower portion of his wife, who lies in bed with the comforter thrown back in expectation. In the shadows of another house, a thoroughly modern “hardened youth” crawls in a window wielding a wrench and other tools. In the foreground, the pale face of a prostitute bathed in twilight. On the market square a German-national troupe places a wreath in the moonlight, a (sentimental) pair of lovers, a pair of drunks, a constable, a married couple, and tucked away in some

³⁵ Curjel, “Zur Entwicklung des Malers Georg Scholz,” 261. “Die künstlerische Problemstellung ergab sich zunächst aus dem Wesen der Groteske: das Bemühen nach allgemeiner Verständlichkeit führte zur Gegenständlichkeit, zu klarer Faßbarkeit der Figuren, zu zugespitzter Stoffmaterial (Fleischfarbe neben Kleidungsstoff, Fleischfarbe neben Eisen- oder Steinfarbe usw.); zugleich führten die Bildideen zu den Problemen der Räumlichkeit, zu Licht und Schatten, zur klaren Gestaltung vermittelt von Tonwerten. Verzicht auf die flimmernden Mittel des Impressionismus, Verzicht auf das Arbeiten mit großen Farbflächen war die natürliche Folge. Aber auch Verzicht auf die rein zeichnerischen Mittel eines Grosz; typisch hierfür, daß auch auf den graphischen Blättern die Schattierung (fast im alten akademischen Sinn) zum Zwecke der plastischen Formumschreibung ständig auftritt.”

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 263. “Der ‘arrivierte Öldruck’ ist also kein Spaßchen witziger politischer Künstler sondern das Ergebnis einer künstlerischen Entwicklung, die auf fundamentale Gesetze der gegenständlichen Bildgestaltung zurückgreift (vgl. auch die Technik der altdeutschen Malerei).”

corner, a sex murder (*ein Lustmord*). On the rooftops a pair of tomcats. Due to the low distance, moonlight sentimentality dominates the scene.³⁷

The low, raking moonlight demonstrates Scholz's technical facility, to be sure: the binaries of light/dark, cool/warm, and smooth/broken form he would outline in his 1924 manifesto. But the insistent, gleeful focus on "moonlight sentimentality" marks a continuity with the satirical aims of previous works that riff on kitsch forms of production (Scholz mentions a treacly *fränkisch* folk song as one inspiration for the mood of the *Small Town by Night*). His *Small Town* pictures also enact a more specific regional critique: namely, of the popular lithographs produced by the *Karlsruher Künstlerbund* at the turn of the twentieth century: works such as Friedrich Kallmorgen's *Badisches Dorf* (Baden Village, 1898), for example, which would also appear as a popular postcard image in Baden in the first decades of the twentieth century (**fig. 4.7 & 4.8**).³⁸

In the 1920 position paper, "The Laws of Painting," George Grosz and his Berlin colleagues had cited the Karlsruhe painter, Hans Thoma, as one of the few German painters whose work hewed to the type of "historical materialism" they strove to produce

³⁷ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 22 October 1922. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "Die Stadt bei Nacht ist auch von oben gesehen: Sentimentaler Mondschein flutet 'silberglanzüberstrahlend' über die Dächer. Es wird geradezu konzentrierte Sentimentalität à la 'Unter Ros' und Rosmarin, war des Liebchens Nam' geschrieben..." Im Vordergrund der trauliche Schein eines erleuchteten Fensters, wenn man hineinschaut, erblickt man einen dicken Bürger mit dünnen Beinen im Hemd. Er benützt gerade das Nachtgeschirr u. kratzt sich dabei am Gesäß. Im Hintergrunde des Stube sieht man den unteren Teil der Ehegattin im Bett liegend, das Deckbett erwartungsvoll zurückgeschlagen. An einem anderen Hause im Schatten steigt ein ganz moderner 'schwerer Junge' in ein Fenster mit Schraubenschlüsseln, Browning etc. bewaffnet. Ganz im Vordergrund im Dämmerlicht das bleiche Gesicht einer Schneppe. Auf dem Marktplatz eine deustchnationale Abordnung im Mondschein Kränze niederlegend, ein Liebespaar (sentimental), ein paar Besoffene, ein Schutzmann, ein Ehepaar und irgendwo in einer Ecke ein Lustmord. Auf den Dächern ein paar Kater. Auf geringe Entfernung muß die Mondscheinsentimentalität dominieren."

³⁸ On the Karlsruhe Künstlerbund and the influence of the Grötzinger Malerkolonie on painterly developments in Karlsruhe, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

after Dada.³⁹ Scholz, of course, had battled with the *Gruppe Rih* against this type of German *Heimatkunst*, reclaiming the practice of color lithography for his own bohemian themes of lust and longing. By 1923, this position had changed, as Scholz and colleagues like Karl Hubbuch moved into roles of leadership at the Karlsruhe Landeskunstschule. What was a radical artist to do when he found himself in a position of authority, when he “grew up”?⁴⁰ Verism would develop as a unique style at the Karlsruhe Academy, with Scholz and Hubbuch as its major proponents leading a group of students to produce works in dialogue with trends in German painting and with a distinctive *badisch* edge.

Academic Reform: from *Großherzogliche Akademie* to *Badische Landeskunstschule*

The vast majority of the faculty were wards of the nobility, fed on the milk of the ruling classes and thus bound in eternal servitude. [...] The meaning of art? Art cannot be taught; there are no regimented forms of seeing or production. Art is the expression of lived experience (*Wesenausdruck*), not the imitation of nature (*Naturnachahmung*).⁴¹

—Resolution of the Revolutionary Student Council,
Karlsruhe, 11 November 1919

In the wake of World War I, Karlsruhe fine arts students energized by the November revolutions had formed a radical opposition group, a *Studentenrat*, through

³⁹ Hausmann, “Die Gesetzte der Malerei,” 696. “In Europa fängt die Malerei erst bei Ingres wieder an, ihre Weiterentwicklung findet sie endgültig durch Carra und Chirico. In Deutschland gibt es vereinzelt Bilder von Thoma, Steinhausen und Haider, aber der Drang nach Sinnigkeit verhinderte eine klare Einstellung gegenüber den wahren Aufgaben der Darstellung.”

⁴⁰ For a excellent study of the relationship between *Neue Sachlichkeit* and academic tradition in Dresden, see Andreas Dehmer and Konstanze Krüger, “Neue Sachlichkeit und Alte Meister - Rezeption und Transformation,” in *Neue Sachlichkeit in Dresden*, eds. Stephan Dahme and Birgit Dalbajewa (Dresden: Sandstein-Verlag, 2011), 114-121.

⁴¹ GLA 235/40171. “Beschluss der Versammlung der Studierenden am 11. November 1919.” “Die ungeheure Majorität der Lehrer waren Fürstendiener, welche mit dem Zuckerbrot der Orden gefüttert und so in dauernder Verpflichtung gehalten wurden. [...] Kunstbegriff: Kunst ist nicht lehrbar; es gibt kein lehrbares, regelhaftes Sehen und Schaffen. Kunst ist Wesenausdruck nicht Naturnachahmung.” This resolution of the student body is also excerpted in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 67.

which they articulated their opposition to mimetic naturalism and to all forms of artistic training. These lines echoed similar calls to reform art instruction across Germany in the years just after World War I: from the November Group and Workers' Council for Art (AfK) in Berlin, for example, to the secession movements in classical academic centers such as Munich and Dresden, as well as the Karlsruhe *Gruppe Rih*.⁴² Serious talks were already underway in 1917 to combine the Karlsruhe School of Arts and Crafts (*Kunstgewerbeschule*) with the ducal fine arts academy into a unified whole led by professors known as *Meister* (masters)—a move that would have placed Karlsruhe two years ahead of the pioneering Bauhaus under Walter Gropius in Weimar.⁴³ The place of realism in these public debates often centered on the role of *Handwerk* to the future of artistic training.⁴⁴ Translated literally as “hand-work,” before 1914 the term denoted a mastery of academic technique—the ability to manipulate oil paints and glazes, for example—but after the war, the word took on a more radical valence, in schools from Weimar to Karlsruhe, as artists and instructors called for a new unity of arts and crafts and for a recovery of medieval practices such as woodcut, etching, and engraving.⁴⁵

⁴² On these revolutionary groups, including the *Gruppe Rih* in Karlsruhe, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

⁴³ The correspondence and documents related to the academy reorganization are collected in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, see especially GLA 235/40171. A number of these documents are also excerpted in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 66-73.

The literature on the Weimar Bauhaus is extensive; for a recent overview drawing from the resources of the Bauhaus Archiv in Berlin, see Magdalena Droste, *Bauhaus 1919-1933* (Köln: Taschen, 2006), as well as Hans Maria Wingler's classic study, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin and Chicago* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969).

⁴⁴ GLA 235/40171. Letter Walter Georgi, Karlsruhe to Ministerium des Kultus und Unterrichts, Karlsruhe, 6 March 1917. Georgi also weighed in on the topic in the essay “Die moderne Kunstakademie,” published in the *Karlsruher Tagblatt* on 15 May 1918. See also Dr. Theodor Butz, “Badens Staatliche Kunstpolitik am Scheidewege” in *Die Pyramide*, Nr. 8, 24 February 1918.

⁴⁵ Paul Westheim theorized the return to the past and celebrated the medium of woodcut in *Das Holzschnittbuch* (1921) and in his later essay, “Das neue Kunsthandwerk,” *Das Kunstblatt* (February 1923).

For a novel case study of the renewed role of *Handwerk* in the service of Weimar-era radical politics, see Lynette Roth, “The Cologne Progressives,” 131-183.

The Karlsruhe Academy boasted a strong tradition of graphic arts dating back to the turn of the twentieth century, when it supported active workshops in lithography and etching; these locations, of course, would also provide a fertile stomping ground for Rudolf Schlichter and his modernist peers in their battle against the old-fashioned Thoma acolytes.⁴⁶ The *Kunstgewerbeschule* was an even older institution, established as the Durlach School of Drawing in 1768 and recognized as a separate faculty with ducal support in 1878.⁴⁷ After a series of discussions, in late December 1919, the the *Kunstgewerbeschule* and the *Kunstakademie* combined to form the *Badische Landeskunstschule* on 7 August 1920, opening to students for the winter semester on 1 October under the directorship of the *Jugendstil* architect Hermann Billing.⁴⁸ The new program of study was shorter and more professionally oriented than the previous course at the *Großherzogliche Akademie*: a one year preparatory course (*Vorbereitungsklasse*), a two year course in the various subjects of fine and applied arts (*Fachklassen*)—from interior architecture and furniture design to ceramics, applied graphic arts, figure drawing, and textiles—and finally, two years of specialized study with a “master” of technique (*Meisterklasse*).⁴⁹ This five-year program of study echoed the Weimar Bauhaus model, and documents in the archive confirm that the administrative leaders of the reorganization were aware of this institution’s pedagogical influence and impact.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See Chapter One of this dissertation.

⁴⁷ On the history of this Karlsruhe institution, see Baumstark, “Die Grossherzogliche Badische Kunstgewerbeschule,” 5-40.

⁴⁸ On the merger of the Kunstgewerbeschule and Kunstakademie, see: Baumstark, “Die Grossherzogliche Badische Kunstgewerbeschule,” 21-40; and Sylvia Bieber, “‘Voll Stimmung und voll Farbe’: Die Badische Landeskunstschule und der ‘malerische Stil’ -- Positionen parallel zu Verismus und Neuer Sachlichkeit,” in Rödiger-Diruf, *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, 138-147.

⁴⁹ On the reconfigured program of study at the Landeskunstschule, see Ellen Kipple, “Chronologie,” in Heil and Klingelhöller, *150 Jahre. Die Geschichte der Kunstakademie Karlsruhe*, 272-275.

⁵⁰ GLA 235/40171. This folder contains a copy of Walter Gropius, “Programm des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar” (1919).

Hermann Billing remained the school director through August 1923, and August Babberger began his tenure in October; he would remain until summer 1929.

In letters to his northern colleague, George Grosz, over the course of 1923, Georg Scholz would offer an ironic and amusing civic history of Karlsruhe and its celebrated Academy, where he found himself maligned by the academy senate as a “communist”⁵¹ and unprotected by a hapless faculty director, Hermann Billing: a “German civil servant type,” by Scholz’s reckoning, who sported a full “Sauerkraut beard” and understood nothing of the conflict between Scholz’s self-proclaimed “Prussian edginess” and the *badisch* director’s “southern German congeniality.”⁵² This conflict played out in such works as the *Small Town* paintings, where Scholz sought to expose the seedy underbelly of Baden, a region stereotyped for its good-natured humor and its gentle, lilting dialect.⁵³ For Scholz, projecting his disgust to Grosz in Berlin, the Karlsruhe *Landeskunstschule* was an utterly “unnecessary and superfluous” institution, one that generated professors and students of the same unfortunate quality as the unpractical geographical and tactical location of Karlsruhe itself. Its founding story was a folly, as Scholz described, one cooked up by a hapless margrave in the eighteenth century and celebrated by conservative proponents to that day. “In this fable,” Scholz wrote to Grosz with derisive scorn:

⁵¹ Ironically, according to his private correspondence, Scholz had left the KPD by October of 1921. Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 October 1921. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

⁵² Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 4 March 1923. AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv Nr. 404. Scholz opposes the terms “*preußischer Schneidigkeit*” and “*süddeutsche Gemütlichkeit*.”

⁵³ See, for example, Hans Thoma’s earnest, positive assessment of the *badisch* character in the 1909 essay “Süddeutsches,” in which he asserted that sarcasm, irony, and sharp humor find no resonance there.

“Wohl in keiner anderen Gegend ist das Geheimnis, glücklich zu leben, so offenbar wie hier...[...] Aus diesem Grunde findet Ironie, Sarkasmus, grausam scharfer Witz hier keinen Anfang; ein Mißgriff verfällt nicht der Lächerlichkeit oder dem Tadel, eine Extravaganz wird nicht kommentiert, ein unwillführlicher Vorstoß nicht bespöttelt.” Thoma, *Im Herbste des Lebens*, 104.

One Margrave Karl von Baden-Durlach came upon the idea, out of sheer boredom, that he would establish at the most inconvenient location a city by the name of Karlsruhe. Unsullied by the knowledge of geography and business typically required of such an enterprise, the goodly gentleman chose a place for the city so awkward that it touched not even the nearby Rhine (where one could have used a city of trade). The result of this unfortunate foundation, the regional capital Karlsruhe, is equally as unpractical as it is unnecessary and superfluous!⁵⁴

Scholz's satirical fable echoed the actual founding legend of Karlsruhe, which would be celebrated by the former Thoma student, Hans Adolf Bühler, in a series of wall paintings that decorated the local *Rathaus*.⁵⁵ These included a wistfully realist depiction of "Karl Wilhelm's Dream" and portraits of famous Karlsruhe citizens including the neoclassical architect and town planner, Friedrich Weinbrenner. (Bühler's reactionary colleague, August Gebhard, had painted a well-known portrait of Hans Thoma as an "honorary citizen" already in 1919.)⁵⁶ As such, Scholz's venom for the Karlsruhe surroundings likely had as much to do with his precarious institutional position as they did with the actual situation of a freelance artist in Karlsruhe—a position by no means secure for an artist of modernist, anti-*badisch* tendencies. By the spring of 1923, a group of conservative artists (many of whom were former students of Hans Thoma) led a full-fledged "culture war" (*Kulturkampf*) against their progressive colleagues at the Academy and at the local *Kunsthalle*, where they launched venomous attacks against Director Willy Storck and his collecting policies.⁵⁷ As Scholz described, the Karlsruhe public followed

⁵⁴ Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 4 March 1923. AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv Nr. 404.

⁵⁵ On the Rathaus commission, in 1925-26, and the conservative tendencies in Karlsruhe painting in the 1920s, see Erika Rödiger-Diruf, "Angriff auf die Moderne--die Traditionalisten im Karlsruhe der 20er Jahre," in Rödiger-Diruf, *Die 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe*, 164-171.

⁵⁶ August Gebhard, *Hans Thoma (Ehrenbürger)*, 1919. Oil on wood, 90.5 x 76 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe.

⁵⁷ On the "culture wars" in Karlsruhe, see Michael Koch, "Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe—Zur Ausstellung 'Regierungskunst 1919 bis 1933'" in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 102-128.

the Weimar coalition without question and still loved their deposed Grand Duke, a “harmless fool” who was living out his days in nearby Schwetzingen.⁵⁸

Indeed, as Scholz bemoaned to Grosz, his satire failed to fire in Karlsruhe because the people he described and sought to depict in his work “simply do not exist here.”⁵⁹ In 1923, as Grosz was marketing his *Ecce Homo* portfolio across the country to great and infamous success—including yet another criminal prosecution in Berlin—artists such as Otto Dix sought to uncover the ugly underbelly of Weimar society in harsh watercolors of pimps, prostitutes, and war cripples (**fig. 4.9**). Scholz’s now-lost watercolor drawing, *Alt-Heidelberg, du Feine* (1923) aimed to participate in this discourse with a distinctively *badisch* twist. The title refers to a line in the *Badnerlied*, the unofficial hymn of Baden that emerged in the late nineteenth century and that celebrates, among other civic glories, the ducal palace in Karlsruhe, Mannheim industry, and the fortress in Rastatt (along with the “schöne Mädchen” in the Black Forest).⁶⁰ In the watercolor, two conservative war veterans—one marked by his swastika pin—stand proud before the city of Heidelberg’s famous panorama as fireworks explode into the night sky (**fig. 4.10**).⁶¹ Scholz undercuts this patriotic scene with bitter satire, however: just behind the swastika-wearing veteran’s

⁵⁸ Letter Georg Scholz to George Grosz, 11 May 1923. AdK, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 405.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: “Also scharf politisch eingestellte Leute gibt es hier zu Lande kaum. Die hiesigen Monarchisten sind anti-preußisch, sie lieben ihren Großherzog, der ein harmloser Trottel ist und dessen Absetzung sie nicht als prinzipielle Sache, sondern als persönliche Schränkung betrachten, da die diese Trost alle persönliche kennen. Wenn ich hier von meinen Erlebnissen mit meiner ostelbischen Verwandtschaft erzähle, wenn ich Abib oder Onkel Julius schildere, so glaubt das einfach hier niemand, weil diese Leute hier nicht existieren!”

⁶⁰ The fourth verse begins with the line, “Alt-Heidelberg, Du feine,” which is borrowed directly from the 1852 poem, “The Trumpeteer of Säckingen,” written by the Baden resident Joseph Victor von Scheffel.

⁶¹ Georg Scholz, *Alt Heidelberg, Du Feine* (Old Heidelberg, you fine one), 1923. Watercolor, now lost/destroyed.

Lit: Georg Scholz, *ein Beitrag*, Ill. Nr. V, 17; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 123 and ill. no. 108, 244.

right shoulder, a boat full of drunken student revelers hoist aloft their paper lanterns and puke overboard into the tranquil Neckar River.

By 1924, artists such as Dix and Grosz had begun to reframe their aesthetic enterprise in new terms that departed from both the exuberant, revolutionary bravado of postwar expressionism and from the childlike nihilism of Berlin Dada.⁶² Grosz's biographical essay "Abwicklung" (literally, "transaction" or "processing") described his move from an aesthetics of hateful misanthropy—the scribbled drawings of chubby burghers and military officials that he linked to the graffiti on *pissoir* walls—to an art of class struggle, one in which repressive institutions (and their powerful leaders) would be the proper target of his artistic ire.⁶³ "Today I know, and with me all the other founders of German Dada," Grosz wrote with retrospective reflection, "that our single mistake was to have taken art seriously in the first place. Dada was our awakening from this self-delusion. We saw the insane end products of the ruling order and broke out in laughter. We did not yet see that this insanity had, at its root, a system."⁶⁴ For Grosz and his comrades producing work for the Malik Verlag in Berlin—and as part of the *Rote Gruppe* (Red Group), in the service of Communist Party politics—this system reached beyond single institutions of aesthetics or politics and implicated all artists in the broader class struggle. Yet their central position afforded Berlin artists like Grosz and Rudolf Schlichter

⁶² Max Doerner, *Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde: nach den Vorträgen an der Akademie für Bildende Künste in München* (Munich, Berlin, Leipzig: F. Schmidt, 1921). Based on a visit to the Scholz archive, the art historian Dennis Crockett noted that Georg Scholz's personal copy of Doerner's book (inscribed and dated 1921 by Scholz) was "very worn and thoroughly soiled with paint-stained fingerprints." Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 120.

⁶³ George Grosz, "Abwicklung," *Das Kunstblatt*, Jg. 8, Heft 2 (February 1924): 33-38. "Heute hasse ich die Menschen nicht mehr wahllos, heute hasse ich ihre schlechten Institutionen und die Machthaber, die diese Institutionen verleidigen."

⁶⁴ Grosz, *Ibid.*, 38. Barbara McCloskey has tracked Grosz's shift toward such tactics of institutional critique in her chapter, "Art and Propaganda, 1924 to 1932," in McCloskey, *George Grosz and the Communist Party*, 104-147.

the opportunity to enact their systemic critique from a community, and thus, from a position of relative economic and institutional security. As their painterly production began to shift, in the mid-1920s, toward monumental portraiture and stark “representationalism” (*Gegenständlichkeit*), these artists likewise enjoyed the support of a network of well-connected dealers in Berlin, Dresden, and Düsseldorf.⁶⁵

Under pressure at the Karlsruhe Landeskunstschule, the “communist” Georg Scholz and his progressive artist-colleagues—Karl Hubbuch, Willi Müller-Hufschmid, Wilhelm Schnarrenberger, and their students—would turn to the studio and the classroom as a safe haven for experimentation, collaboration, and self-reinvention. From this peripheral location, they developed an innovative form of realism that pushed back against the dictates of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* as a visual language of seamless surface finish, sober content, and technical expertise.

***Die Neue Sachlichkeit* (1925): Painting under Pressure**

Scholz and Hubbuch represent the “*badisch* section” of this new verism, which distinguishes itself quite appreciably from the “Saxony-Berliner” variety of Dix and Grosz through an element of cheerful disposition (*Gemüt*). Certainly, one is also aggressive here, stressing and emphasizing one’s political bias (*Tendenz*), but always—quite unconsciously—with a southern German, goodnatured bonhomie. One still smacks the bourgeoisie in the kisser, but one does so with a certain kindheartedness.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ On these gallery networks, and the position of the artist during the German inflation years, see Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 25-33. On the influential Gallery Nierendorf, see Anja Walter-Ris, *Kunstleidenschaft im Dienst der Moderne. Die Geschichte der Galerie Nierendorf Berlin/New York 1920-1995* (Zurich: Zürich InterPublishers, 2003).

⁶⁶ Paul Westheim, “Kunst im deutschen Westen: Teil II: Mannheim: Ausstellung ‘Neue Sachlichkeit’, *Das Kunstblatt* (September 1925): 267. “Mit Scholz und Hubbuch wird die, wenn ich so sagen darf, badische Sektion dieses neuen Verismus präsentiert, die sich von der sächsisch-berlinischen Spielart der Dix und Grosz merklich unterscheidet durch einen Eingang von -- Gemüt. Gewiß, man ist auch hier aggressiv, betont und unterstreicht auch Tendenz, aber doch -- ganz unbewußt -- mit einer süddeutschen, menschlich freundlichen Bonhomie. Gibt man dem Bourgeois eins in die Fresse, so geschieht immer noch mit einer gewissen Gutherzigkeit...”

—Paul Westheim, review of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (1925) exhibition in *Das Kunstblatt*, September 1925

With broad regional strokes, the *Kunstblatt* editor and prolific art critic, Paul Westheim, thus described the contributions of the Karlsruhe artists Karl Hubbuch and Georg Scholz to the exhibition, *Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* (New Objectivity: German Painting since Expressionism), a major survey of contemporary art that had been on view in the Kunsthalle Mannheim from 14 June to 15 September 1925. The Berlin-based Westheim, writing with no small amount of proud northern bias, posited a new mode of “cheerful,” “goodhearted” realism embodied by the Karlsruhe contributions in Mannheim. In this formulation, “Tendenz” was tempered by “Gemüt”—an assessment that has colored the scholarship on Karlsruhe’s critical realism to the present day.⁶⁷

In what follows, I wish to engage and to trouble Westheim’s regional distinctions by examining the work that actually emerged from the Karlsruhe ateliers, in the period between 1925 and 1929. To be sure, Georg Scholz had begun (just like his northern colleagues, George Grosz and Otto Dix) to strive for a smoother, more seamless finish in his latest portraits and still life paintings, and the six pictures he contributed to the Mannheim exhibition showed off this sharpened arsenal of technical skills. Karl Hubbuch, by contrast, would continue to deploy—and inventively, to reconfigure—the

⁶⁷ Referring to the *Heimatkunst* painter Hans Thoma, for example, as Scholz’s “countryman,” was a comparison that may have caused the Grötzingen artist to grimace. See Westheim, “Kunst im deutschen Westen,” 267. “...Ohne den versorgten, vergrämten, verhungerten Ausdruck des Weichenstellers -- dessen Riesenverantwortung im umgekehrten Verhältnis zur kargen Entlohnung steht -- könnte man in diesem Nachtstück fast ein empfindsames Mondscheinidyll genießen. Fast möchte man auch sagen, diesem Scholz sei gleich Thoma, seinem Landsmann, jedes Blümchen am Weg ans Herz gewachsen. ‘Liebevoll’ malt er jedes einzelne. Freilich in alles geistert noch etwas hinein, etwas von dem Geist von 1914 bis 1925.”

strategies of montage, repetition, and surface fragmentation that had defined his practice since the early 1920s. I suggest that this tactic of multiplicative realism distinguishes Hubbuch's practice from the singular, typological, or "objective" mode of seeing that is commonly ascribed to German figurative painting during the 1920s. As such, it necessitates a shift in the way we assess realism as a tactic of activated vision that accounts for the historical and formal interventions of the avant-garde.

In the spring of 1925, the Mannheim Kunsthalle director, Gustav Hartlaub scrambled to organize an exhibition that would bring together the leading proponents of a new stylistic tendency. Hartlaub saw this trend in German art as one "tied to a generation" of artists who were "disillusioned, sobered, often resigned to the point of cynicism"—pondering, as Hartlaub asserted, the persistent validity of "truth and craft" in the wake of the nearly apocalyptic hope for renewal that had been associated with German Expressionism after World War I.⁶⁸ The resulting exhibition defined and publicized a stylistic tendency Hartlaub had assigned to German painting after expressionism: a sober, starkly realistic quality that he further subdivided into a left and a right wing.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Hartlaub, "Zum Geleit," in Hartlaub, *Neue Sachlichkeit: deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus* (Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1925). Cited and translated in Kaes, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 491-493.

⁶⁹ The exhibition, *Neue Sachlichkeit: deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus*, was on view in the Mannheim Kunsthalle from 14 June to 13 September 1925. After Mannheim, the exhibition traveled in modified form to Dresden (Sächsischer Kunstverein, 18 October - 22 November 1925); Chemnitz (Städtische Museum Kunsthütte, December 1925 - January 1926); and Erfurt (January - February 1926). The exhibition continued traveling, in greatly altered form, in Dessau, Halle, and Jena.

On the exhibition, see especially: Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 145-158; Buderer and Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 11-38; Helen Adkins, "Neue Sachlichkeit—Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus," in Adkins, *Stationen der Moderne*, 216-235. On the Mannheim Kunsthalle and its important position within German interwar modernism, see Karoline Hille, *Spuren der Moderne: die Mannheimer Kunsthalle von 1918 bis 1933* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994).

Hartlaub first formulated this binary several years earlier, in his lengthy response to the survey “Ein neuer Naturalismus?” (A New Naturalism?), a circular distributed by Paul Westheim with responses published in *Das Kunstblatt* in September 1922.⁷⁰ A total of 36 individuals responded to the survey, among them the retired Karlsruhe Academy professor Hans Thoma; the German cultural minister Edwin Redslob; the critics Adolf Behne and Wilhelm Hausenstein; the painters Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Ludwig Meidner, George Grosz, Wassily Kandinsky, Albert Gleizes, and Karl Hofer; and the English formalist critic Clive Bell.⁷¹ Their responses covered a variety of concerns, ranging from the technical to the more philosophical. The writer Alfred Döblin, still several years from his groundbreaking reportage novel, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, argued wryly that the propagation of terms and “art movements” would be as useless, for the current generation, as it had been for all generations prior.⁷²

Gustav Hartlaub, by contrast, outlined a definitive *Richtung*, a movement comprised of two distinct sub-tendencies. “One [wing],” Hartlaub wrote, “is conservative to the point of classicism, secured in timeless roots, desiring after so much extravagance and chaos the healthy (*das Gesunde*), the corporeally solid in pure imitation of nature [...]

⁷⁰ Paul Westheim, “Ein neuer Naturalismus? Eine Rundfrage des Kunstblatts,” *Das Kunstblatt*, Jg. 6, Heft 9 (September 1922): 369-414.

⁷¹ Respondents included: Wilhelm Pinder, Fritz Wichert, Alfred Döblin, Hans Thoma, Edwin Redslob, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Wilhelm Uhde, Max Picard, Wilhelm Schäfer, Hermann Kesser, Otto Flake, Christian Rohlf, Ludwig Meidner, George Groß [sic], Wilhelm Michel, Adolf Behne, Wassily Kandinsky, Albert Gleizes, Paul Colin, Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, Rudolf Großmann, Curt Herrmann, Alois Schardt, Clive Bell, Alexander Archipenko, Rudolf Belling, Maurice Raynal, Wilhelm Hausenstein, Hans Purmann, Bela Czobel, Karl Hofer, Georg Kaiser, Kazimir Edschmid, Florent Fels, Rudolf Kaiser, and Rudolf Leonhard.

Excerpted responses from Adolf Behne and George Grosz have been published in Beloubek, *Gefühl ist Privatsache*, 115.

⁷² Alfred Döblin, response to Westheim, “Ein neuer Naturalismus?” 372. “Naturalismus; aber was für einer. Das Propagieren eines neuen ‘Naturalismus’ hilft nicht, wie das Propagieren anderer Richtungen nicht geholfen hat. Über jeder Kunstrichtung steht der Künstler, und Kunst kommt nicht vom Können, sonder vom Sein.”

The other, left wing, glaringly contemporary, with far less trust in art, rather born out of a denial of art, seeks...to reveal the chaos, the true visage of our time.”⁷³ Hartlaub’s especially lengthy response was certainly a publicity move; he hoped to organize and mount the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition in the Mannheim Kunsthalle already in the early fall of 1923, as correspondence and museum records attest.⁷⁴ Moreover, Hartlaub was in a bit of a hurry—fully aware of Franz Roh’s competing plans to organize an exhibition of post-expressionist works in his *Nach-Expressionismus* (After-Expressionism, or Post-Expressionism), which appeared in book form in 1925 and focused primarily on the Munich magic realists.⁷⁵

After a series of delays—brought on by the French occupation of the Rhineland and the difficulty in securing necessary loans from major artists—Hartlaub mailed his invitation to a group of thirty-seven German artists in March 1925; in its final form, the Mannheim exhibition featured 124 works by thirty-two individuals, including such well-

⁷³ Gustav Hartlaub, response to Westheim, “Ein neuer Naturalismus?” 390. “Ich sehe einen rechten, einen linken Flügel. Der eine konservativ bis zum Klassizismus, im Zeitlosen Wurzeln fassend, will nach so viel Verstiegtheit und Chaos das Gesunde, Körperlich-Plastische in reiner Zeichnung nach der Natur, vielleicht noch mit Übertreibung des Erdhaften, Rundgewachsenen wieder heiligen. Michelangelo, Ingres, Genelli, selbst die Nazarener sollen Kronzeugen sein. Der andere, linke Flügel, grell zeitgenössisch, weit weniger kunstgläubig, eher aus Verneinung der Kunst geboren, sucht mit primitiver Feststellungs-, nervöser Selbstentblössungssucht Aufdeckung des Chaos, wahres Gesicht unserer Zeit.”

⁷⁴ Hartlaub sent out a first round of invites to a number of artists in May 1923. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.” On the historical dilemma of the occupied zones and Mannheim’s precarious position near the French line, on Hartlaub’s inability to secure various important loans (i.e. from Dix), and on the rampant inflation, all of which put the exhibition planning on hold, in September 1923, see Buderer and Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 15-18 and Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 145-148.

⁷⁵ Franz Roh, *Nach-Expressionismus, Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925). On Roh’s binary schema, see Dennis Crockett, “Appendix B (Franz Roh’s Expressionist/Post-Expressionist Polarity Schema, 1925),” in Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 161.

known “verists” as Otto Dix, George Grosz, and Max Beckmann.⁷⁶ Grosz exhibited the relatively older works *Republikanische Automaten* (Republican Automatons, 1920)⁷⁷ and *Grauer Tag* (Grey Day, 1921)⁷⁸ along with his newer portrait of the poet Max Hermann-Neisse, a work that evinced the Berlin artist’s shift from caricatural realism to more painterly objectivity.⁷⁹ The Munich “classicists” were especially well represented in the Mannheim exhibition, with particularly strong showings by Carlo Mense, Alexander Kanoldt, and Georg Schrimpf.⁸⁰ The Karlsruhe contingent included Karl Hubbuch (one painting and six watercolors),⁸¹ Georg Scholz (six paintings), and Wilhelm Schnarrenberger, who showed two recent oil paintings and a selection of watercolors.⁸² Rudolf Schlichter, by then long removed from the Karlsruhe art scene and well

⁷⁶ Letter Gustav F. Hartlaub to invited artists, 27 March 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.” A handwritten note at the top of the invitation letter specified that it would be sent “An alle in der Liste rot angekreuzten Künstler.” This original list included 52 names (including Picasso and Archipenko) but invitations were sent to only 37 individuals. “Sehr geehrter Herr! Schon lange plant die Städtische Kunsthalle in einer umfassenden Ausstellung diejenigen deutschen Maler zusammenzufassen, die nach Überwindung der expressionistischen Art zu einer kompositionell gebundenen, zugleich aber doch wieder gegenständlichen Darstellungsweise streben. Dabei kommen sowohl die mehr ‘veristisch’ gerichteten, als auch die mehr im idealen Sinne gestaltenden Künstler in Frage. [...] Es kommen vor allem Ölbilder, daneben auch Aquarelle und Handzeichnungen in Frage.”

See also: Dennis Crockett, “Appendix A (Artists Included in Hartlaub’s *Neue Sachlichkeit* Exhibitions of 1925-1926),” in Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 159.

⁷⁷ George Grosz, *Republikanische Automaten*, 1920. Museum of Modern Art, New York. *Neue Sachlichkeit* (1925) not in catalog.

⁷⁸ George Grosz, *Magistratsbeamter für Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge/Grauer Tag*, 1921. Oil on canvas, 115 x 80 cm. Nationalgalerie, Berlin. *Neue Sachlichkeit* (1925) catalog no. 42.

⁷⁹ George Grosz, *Porträt des Schriftstellers Max Hermann-Neisse*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 100 x 101 cm. Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim. *Neue Sachlichkeit* (1925) catalog no. 43.

⁸⁰ Carlo Mense (eleven paintings), Heinrich Davringhausen (three paintings), Alexander Kanoldt (fifteen paintings), and Georg Schrimpf (twelve paintings)

⁸¹ Kunsthalle Mannheim Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.” In addition to *Die Schulstube* (Mannheim cat.no. 46), Hubbuch exhibited six watercolor drawings in Mannheim during the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition. According to the checklist in the Kunsthalle archives, these included the works titled *Fässer und Bottiche*, *Welschkorn*, *Zigeunerkinde*, *Der ländliche Multiplikator* (possibly the work now titled *Fresser, Schieber und Bäuerin*, circa 1923), *Mädchen mit offenem Haar* (1925--collection of Kunsthalle Mannheim), and *Baumstämme*.

⁸² Kunsthalle Mannheim Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, L-Z.” Wilhelm Schnarrenberger showed his *Bildnis zweier Knaben* (1924/25) and *Alte Männer gehen spazieren* (1922). On the artist Wilhelm Schnarrenberger, see Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 127-129 and Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 53-73, 126-127, 148-151, and 160.

established with the left-leaning *Rote Gruppe* (Red Group) in Berlin, exhibited two oil paintings, ten watercolor drawings, and a large selection of graphic works.⁸³

The *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition ran for three months in the Mannheim Kunsthalle, and it drew an initially ambivalent reaction from critics and museum goers in the German southwest. Curator Gustav Hartlaub despaired at the low attendance rates (4,405 recorded visitors)⁸⁴ and the mixed reviews in regional newspapers, eventually soliciting the Munich art historian, Wilhelm Hausenstein, to visit the exhibition and to write a more favorable, nuanced assessment. “Mannheim is certainly far too provincial,” he lamented, “to fully appreciate the worth of an exhibition such as the one you have just visited.”⁸⁵ Reviewers in Karlsruhe and the German southwest heaped particular scorn on the exhibition. The conservative art historian Joseph August Beringer, writing for the *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, described the new, “objective” (*sachlich*) style of art on view in Mannheim as “engineer art...an art of calculation without a soul...art of the worst sort of socialist illustration.”⁸⁶ The critic for the Karlsruhe-based Catholic newspaper, the *Badischer Beobachter*, likewise criticized the “fatalism” of this moment in art.⁸⁷

For Karl Hubbuch, who had recently taken on a new position as a drawing instructor at the Badische Landeskunstschule, in 1925, the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition marked an opportunity to establish himself as more than simply a draftsman of

⁸³ Kunsthalle Mannheim Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, L-Z.” Rudolf Schlichter exhibited the oil paintings entitled *Vier Köpfe* (Four Heads) and *Damenbildnis* (Female Portrait). On a “Preisliste der Aquarelle,” ten works by Schlichter are noted, including works titled *Grüße aus Neapel* (Greetings from Naples), *Mönch* (Monk), *Für immer* (Forever), *Bret Harte*, and *Der Apostel* (The Apostle).

⁸⁴ These attendance figures are cited in Buderer and Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 25.

⁸⁵ Letter Gustav Hartlaub, Mannheim, to Wilhelm Hausenstein, Munich, 16 June 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.” “Mannheim ist wohl doch zu sehr Provinz, um den Wert einer Konstatierung, wie die Ausstellung sie versucht, voll zu würdigen.”

⁸⁶ Joseph August Beringer, “Die Neue Sachlichkeit,” *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 3 August 1925.

⁸⁷ *Badischer Beobachter*, 14 July 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.”

“extraordinary qualities,” or as a gentler version of George Grosz, to whom he was frequently compared in regional exhibitions.⁸⁸ Documents indicate that Hubbuch’s participation was contingent on his submitting a “painting” to the exhibition,⁸⁹ and indeed, *Die Schulstube* (The Classroom, 1925) would mark the artist’s first public foray into oil painting in a major exhibition (**fig. 4.11**).⁹⁰ Critics noticed the “coolness and precision,”⁹¹ as well as the “virtuosic” objectivity of the depiction, with which Hubbuch had captured the “dull, brick-faced architecture of the Wilhelmine building style in scathingly true accumulation.”⁹²

In a darkened classroom, five children sit with gazes directed forward to an unseen instructor. A sign for the ocean liner “Columbus” adorns an interior column, which demarcates the false boundary between the classroom and the world outside, where brick-faced *Backstein* architecture evokes the wealthier west end of Karlsruhe, where Hubbuch then kept an atelier on an upper floor of the Landeskunstschule. Through the window, in the distance, three women lean forward and wave from an upper-story balcony; they wave and gawk, it appears, at an unseen, street-level parade that no other

⁸⁸ Dr. R. Diehl, “Kunst in Frankfurt,” *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt), 28 October 1924. Diehl refers to Hubbuch as “ein Zeichner von ganz hervorragenden Qualitäten.” Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 160.

⁸⁹ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Dr. Julius Strübing, 3 May 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.” “...Ich male zur Zeit ein Bild: ‘Die Schulstube’; die erste Skizze dazu war im Oktoberheft von Herrn Westheims Kunstblatt (leider schlecht) reproduziert. Das Bild ist in etwa 10 Tagen fertig. Wenn es trocken ist, bringe ich es nach Mannheim; werde es Ihnen zeigen.”

⁹⁰ Karl Hubbuch, *Die Schulstube* (The Classroom, 1925). Oil on cardboard, mounted on wood, 73 x 62 cm. Private collection, Germany.

Lit: Buderer and Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 177; Heusinger von Waldegg, “Der Blick auf den Zuschauer,” 149-150; Presler, *Glanz und Elend der 20er Jahre*, 141; Hülsewig-Johnen, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus*, 30-32; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 27-28.

⁹¹ Paul F. Schmidt, “Die ‘Neue Sachlichkeit’ in Mannheim. Eine Ausstellung jüngster Kunst,” *Hannoverscher Kurier*, 19 August 1925. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 167.

⁹² W.E. Oeftering, “Kunsthalle Mannheim. Ausstellung ‘Die neue Sachlichkeit’” *Badische Presse* (Karlsruhe), 1 August 1925, 350. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 167.

revelers have chosen to observe. The blackened sky and strange, raking stage light further confuse the reality of the scene. (In a preparatory drawing, the street remained visible and one additional student populated a desk at the back of the room.)⁹³ For the finished painting, Hubbuch severely cropped the picture to focus attention on the dialectic between interior and exterior realms, a tactic that extended his interest in the muddled, liminal spaces of his Berlin montage drawings, with their duplicitous mirrors, doorways, and staircases leading nowhere.

With financial support from his patron, Otto Oppenheimer, Hubbuch had traveled once more to Berlin in 1924. Drawings such as his *Selbstbildnis in Berlin* (Self-Portrait in Berlin, 1924) depict an artist beginning to utilize space more confidently, opening up the composition with blanks and negative spaces, and opting for a cinematic realism defined by discrete scenes of narrative and targeted bursts of watercolor over pencil or—as was increasingly Hubbuch’s preference after 1924—with the lush, fatty texture of the “Zulu-Kreide,” or lithographic crayon (**fig. 4.12**).⁹⁴ In an act of layered montage, Hubbuch juxtaposed the artist’s bohemian interior with an exterior staffed by circus workers and

⁹³ Karl Hubbuch, *Die Schulstube* (The Classroom), 1924. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 48.1 x 57.5 cm. Private collection.

⁹⁴ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis in Berlin 1924/Berliner Großstadtszene mit Zirkuswagen* (Self-Portrait in Berlin 1924/City Scene with Circus Wagon), 1924. Pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper, 52.5 x 40.8 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1953-11.

Lit: Wolfgang Hartmann, “Selbstbildnis in Berlin 1924. Der Zeichner als Zeitgenosse,” in Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch, der Zeichner*, 27-28; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 20; Johann Eckhat von Borries, “Karl Hubbuch. Berliner Großstadtszene mit Zirkuswagen” in *100 Zeichnungen und Drucke aus dem Kupferstichkabinett*, eds. J.E. v. Borries and Rudolf Theilmann (Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1988), 253-256.

the unemployed.⁹⁵ The artist's haunting stare draws us in to the image, and the arms of his female companion enact a degree of affective disjunction—the outstretched arms both disrupting the internal frame of the window and pointing to the background scene that Hubbuch's gaze seems fixed on denying. Hubbuch did not send this self-portrait to Mannheim; a watercolor and pencil drawing he did exhibit, *Woman with her Hair Down* (1925) extends its delicate line work and points in the direction of the looser, more gestural figure studies the artist would begin to produce during his tenure at the Karlsruhe Landeskunstschule (**fig. 4.13**).⁹⁶

Georg Scholz hoped to make a particularly strong showing in the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition, one that would differentiate his latest efforts from the earlier satirical pictures he had published in journals such as *Der Gegner* and *Die Pleite*. (In a response to Gustav Hartlaub's personalized invitation, the Grötzingen artist replied that works of politically contingent *Tendenzkunst* would be “out of the question.”)⁹⁷ Instead, the six oil paintings Scholz exhibited in Mannheim represented the culmination of his

⁹⁵ Wolfgang Hartmann linked this “dialectical overlap of societal classes and urban motifs” to the contemporary work of Georg Scholz, Rudolf Schlichter, John Heartfield, and George Grosz, especially the latter's portfolio, *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (1921). See Hartmann, *Hubbuch der Zeichner*, 28. Christoph Vögele suggests that the interior spaces created during the 1920s, unreal spaces based on cubes and corners, are similar to late Gothic or German Renaissance painting. See Christoph Vögele, “Kastenraum und Flucht, Panorama und Kulisse. Zur Raumpsycho-logie der Neuen Sachlichkeit,” in Hülsewig-Johnen, *Neue Sachlichkeit-Magischer Realismus*, 27-32.

⁹⁶ Karl Hubbuch, *Mädchen mit aufgelöstem Haar* (Woman With Her Hair Down), ca. 1924-25. Pencil and watercolor on paper, 46.2 x 31.6 cm. Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.

Lit: Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings*, ill. no. 72.

⁹⁷ Letter Gustav Hartlaub to Georg Scholz, 27 March 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, L-Z.” Hartlaub used the phrase “besonders wirkungsvoll” to describe the impact he wished for Scholz's work to have in the exhibition.

Letter Georg Scholz to Gustav Hartlaub, 1 April 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, L-Z.” “Werke, die ohne politische Tendenz etc. sind...” The difficulty, as Scholz outlined in a reply to Hartlaub, was that the artist had “fast gar keine Arbeiten” in his possession, and that all of his extant works were already on the art market with dealers and private collectors. He went on to list these works and their locations in the letter.

more subtle, technically sophisticated form of *Gegenständlichkeit*.⁹⁸ This new *Gegenständlichkeit* was a quality that George Grosz had noticed (and admired) in Georg Scholz's work already in 1924, when he wrote to the Grötzingen artist to inquire about his latest paintings: "I would be interested to know what technique you are working with: tempera underpainting or all oil, and which dilution, linseed oil? Do you make careful preliminary studies?...It would be interesting to exchange technical knowledge."⁹⁹

Scholz finished the painting *Bahnwartshaus bei Nacht* (Line Keeper's Lodge by Night, 1925) just in time for the Mannheim exhibition, as correspondence with Hartlaub attests: the nighttime scene depicts the titular line keeper who stares with boredom from the illuminated window of his solitary lodge (**fig. 4.14**).¹⁰⁰ Here, the moonlight sentimentality and sharp regional satire of the *German Small Town by Night* has been replaced by a mood of sober representationalism, a realist mode Scholz had begun to formulate in his 1924 essay, "The Elements to Achieve Impact in Pictures," and that he honed in his studio at the Badische Landeskunstschule, where he had been named head of the school's preparatory course in January of 1925.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ In addition to *Das Bahnwärterhäuschen* (1925), Scholz exhibited the following pictures in Mannheim: *Herrenbildnis* (Portrait of a Man, now known as "The Banker Kahnheimer," 1924); the landscape painting *Berghausen-Baden* (1924-25); the still life *Stilleben/Kakteen-Stilleben* (Cactus Still Life, 1923); and *Badische Kleinstadt bei Tage* (1923). Scholz exhibited two additional works at the traveling locations in Chemnitz and Dresden, including the older painting *Fleisch und Eisen* (Flesh and Iron, 1922).

⁹⁹ George Grosz cited in Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 57.

¹⁰⁰ Georg Scholz, *Das Bahnwärterhäuschen* (The Line-Keeper's Lodge), 1925. Oil on cardboard, 63 x 83 cm. Museum Kunstpalast Düsseldorf.

Lit: Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 57-58.

¹⁰¹ When he finished the painting, just weeks before the Mannheim exhibition was set to open in June of 1925, Scholz actively sought out the opinion of his trusted friend and patron, Theodor Kiefer. He had thus far shown the work only to Karl Hubbuch, a friend who unfortunately, in Scholz's estimation, "understands nothing of painting." Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 2 June 1925. "Bisher hat außer Hubbuch das Bild noch niemand gesehen, der versteht aber nichts von Malerei. Daher fiel mir soeben ein, daß Du eigentlich das Bild sehen und mir raten müßtest."

The oil painting *Herrenbildnis* (now known as The Banker Kahnheimer, 1924) cut an imposing figure in the exhibition, a sober portrait of Scholz's Frankfurt patron, Wilhelm Kahnheimer (**fig. 4.15**).¹⁰² The powerful banker sits at his desk with his arms stiffly posed atop a sleek modern chair. He holds a cigarette in his left hand and a slim fountain pen in his right, and his gaze—marked by concentration and a slightly furrowed brow—is directed forward with authority. On the desktop, a slim line telephone rests adjacent to a sculpture by Archipenko, a nod both to the banker's collecting interests and to his considerable economic capital.¹⁰³ Indeed, the Kahnheimer portrait came to be seen as an icon of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition—appearing alongside representative portraits by Otto Dix, Carlo Mense, Georg Schrimpf, and Heinrich Maria Davringhausen in the fashion magazine *UHU*, in October of 1925.¹⁰⁴ (These five images were part of a press packet mailed out by the Kunsthalle curator Hanna Kronberger-Frentzen to various newspapers and periodicals over the course of the exhibition.)¹⁰⁵

Certainly, Scholz's typological portrait of the banker Kahnheimer was a departure for an artist who had built his reputation on satirical lithographs and “posterly” paintings depicting corrupt capitalists, seedy small town denizens, and clueless war veterans.

Where “Tendenz” had once enjoyed free reign, a stricter form of realism began to dictate

¹⁰² Georg Scholz, *Bankier Kahnheimer* (The Banker Kahnheimer), 1924. Oil painting, now considered lost/destroyed.

Lit: Hartlaub, *Neue Sachlichkeit. Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus*, catalog no. 99 (“Herrenbildnis”); Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 54 and 187-89; Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism*, 120.

¹⁰³ In a short curatorial gloss on the picture, Hanna Kronberger-Frentzen ascribed this “blattschlanken Torso” to Archipenko. H. Kronberger-Frentzen, “Der Geschäftsmann” (1925). Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.”

¹⁰⁴ Letter from the editorial board, *UHU. Das Neue Ullstein Magazin* to Hanna Kronberger-Frentzen, 28 August 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, A-K.”

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, H.[anna] Kronberger-Frentzen, “Gesichter in der Ausstellung ‘Neue Sachlichkeit,’ *Neue Mannheimer Zeitung*, 24 August 1925. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Neue Sachlichkeit, Zeitungsausschnitte.” The five portraits in question were: Georg Schrimpf, *Mädchen am Fenster*; Otto Dix, *Die Witwe*; Georg Scholz, *Der Geschäftsmann* (Kahnheimer); Carlo Mense, *Don Pepe*; and Heinrich Maria Davringhausen, *Selbstbildnis*.

Scholz's approach to picture making. Forged on contrasts, and on the primacy of *Handwerk* (craft), this new art echoed the broader trends in German painting that would come to be associated with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition: smooth surface finish, stark contrasts, cool content, "objectivity." Scholz's former classmate and *Gruppe Rih* colleague, Rudolf Schlichter, had likewise fallen under the spell of the Old Masters; his painterly contributions to the Mannheim exhibition (*Vier Köpfe* and *Fanny*) are now lost, but the latter likely resembled such recent works as *Margot* (1924), the imposing and non-nonsense prostitute who Schlichter portrayed with a striking humanity (**fig. 4.16**).¹⁰⁶

Clearly, the Karlsruhe artists wished to express their solidarity with the "new naturalism" in painting—Scholz's assertion that works of political *Tendenz* would not be appropriate for the Mannheim exhibition, for example, or Hubbuch's focused attempt to exhibit for the first time an oil painting in a major exhibition. Both men hoped to advance their careers by showing work in what Hartlaub promised would be a major exhibition, one that would prove to the public "that painting is still alive."¹⁰⁷ Although the Mannheim iteration attracted far fewer visitors than its organizer had hoped, critics across Germany took notice, and the *Neue Sachlichkeit* gained currency as both turn of critical phrase and as stylistic appellation in the months and year to follow, when the exhibition traveled to locations in Dresden, Chemnitz, and Erfurt.

Beginning in 1926, Georg Scholz scaled back his painterly production considerably, shifting his focus to teaching and to his work with the *Institut für*

¹⁰⁶ Rudolf Schlichter, *Margot*, 1924. Oil on canvas, 110.5 x 75 cm. Stadtmuseum Berlin.

Lit: Eva Karcher, "Das realistische Porträt im Werk von Rudolf Schlichter," in Horn, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 54a; Adriani, *Rudolf Schlichter*, 146-147.

¹⁰⁷ Gustav Hartlaub, "Zum Geleit," as in Kaes, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, 493.

Handwerkwirtschaft (Institute for Craft Economy), a multi-regional partnership for which he would travel frequently to Berlin and Hannover as an advocate for professional craftsmanship.¹⁰⁸ After 1925, Karl Hubbuch likewise turned his attention to the academy, but with an altered focus. Through a close engagement with photography and an innovative practice of surface fragmentation, Hubbuch began to challenge the category of the realist portrait, and of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* more generally, in playful works that transform the visual language of *Sachlichkeit* into a humorous and ever-expanding substitution of parts for wholes.

In the Studio/*Im Atelier*: The Portrait as Performance

[Karl Hubbuch] pounces with the sharpest, hardest pencil on the soulless, squalid world and draws: the bedeviled, foul architecture of the 1890s, with its ugly balconies and false Renaissance decor; the empty, straggly *Jugendstil* ornamentation of the Berlin elevated train, and naturally also plump capitalists, the naked prostitute, the pained and hopeful dreams of youth. He jumbles this all together, demonically (or so he thinks) and with the imagination of the Panopticon.¹⁰⁹

—Benno Reifenberg in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 22 October 1924

A self-produced invitation to Karl Hubbuch's first solo exhibition, held in October 1924 at the Galerie Trittler in Frankfurt, presents to the invited viewer an artist who stares with dark, bulbous eyes resembling a pair of prosthetic goggles (**fig. 4.17**).¹¹⁰ As in the earlier drawing *Berlin and Departure* (1922), Hubbuch conflates the two worlds of his

¹⁰⁸ On Scholz's affiliation with the Institute for Craft Economy, see Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 64-66.

¹⁰⁹ Benno Reifenberg "Kunst in Frankfurt," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 22 October 1924. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 159-60; translation is my own.

¹¹⁰ Karl Hubbuch, *Einladungskarte für eine meiner Ausstellungen* (Invitation to one of my exhibitions), 1924. Lithograph on paper, 12.3 x 18.2 cm. Private collection.

artistic production into one sutured, unified surface: the facades of Wilhelmine Berlin providing the backdrop to an interior set in the Karlsruhe art world, in which the artist shares his portfolio of etchings with a curious collecting couple, while his patron Otto Oppenheimer looks on from the right margin with his youngest daughter, Annie. As we have seen, this figure of the heavy-lidded actor defined Hubbuch's public persona between 1919 and 1924, and would appear again in the exhibition poster Hubbuch designed for the Galerie Trittler exhibition, an intensely staring portrait sliced subtly along its left portion with an additional strip of paper (**fig. 4.18**).¹¹¹

Georg Scholz was named a professor at the Karlsruhe *Landeskunstschule* on 4 December 1925, and likewise set to work on a definitive self-portrait shortly thereafter. Scholz's *Selbstbildnis Vor der Litfaßsäule* (Self-Portrait before the Advertising Column, 1926) has become one of the singular portraits of the German 1920s, gracing the cover of countless exhibition catalogues and bringing a measure of renown to the otherwise little known Grötzingen painter (**fig. 4.19**).¹¹² The horizontal format of the portrait and the stretched-out surface of the advertising column allow more space for reading: a gas pump for the Stellin company, posters for beauty products ("sei schön"), a "Tanzabend" featuring a female dancer, and a Mercedes automobile, to name several examples. The name "Meier" floats above the car on the display window to signify the generic name of a

¹¹¹ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis (Zeichnungen u. Lithos)* (Self-Portrait/Drawings & Lithographs), October 1924. Lithographic crayon on two pieces of joined paper, 52 x 36.4 cm. Neue Galerie New York.

¹¹² Georg Scholz, *Selbstbildnis vor der Litfaßsäule* (Self Portrait before the Advertising Column), 1926. Oil on cardboard, 60 x 77.8 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv. Nr. 2631.

Lit: Rewald, *Glitter and Doom*, catalog no. 31, 122-23; Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 187-207; Felica Sternfeld, "Überlegungen zu Georg Scholz' 'Selbstbildnis vor der Litfaßsäule (1926)," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, Volume 36 (1999): 61-86; Buderer and Fath, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 151; Michalski, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 102; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 45; Joachim Heusinger von Waldegg, "Die zwanziger Jahre: Neue Sachlichkeit," in Heil and Klingelhöller, *150 Jahre*, 48.

car dealer.¹¹³ The posters clamor for attention, but none can be read in its entirety: they overlap, turn corners, or hide behind the artist's inquisitive face. In a 1925 preparatory drawing, the artist had presented himself with a far smoother expression, lacking the raised eyebrow and livid smile lines of the finished painting (**fig. 4.20**).¹¹⁴

In the *Litfaßsäule* portrait, Scholz presents himself as a self-possessed man of industry, more like a banker or a successful merchant than an artist who had only recently landed a professorship at the Karlsruhe Academy—his jacket, bowler hat, and pressed white shirt are the refined accoutrements of a 1920s man of fashion, rather than the rumpled clothing of a struggling artist-bohemian. In this way, Scholz performed a new identity, one that recalled both his recent portrait of the banker Herbert Kahnheimer, in 1924, and his much earlier self-portraits as a suit-wearing dandy at the Karlsruhe Academy (**fig. 3.1**). In a later photograph, Scholz rests casually in his atelier, seated in front of his *Kahnheimer* portrait with a look of bemused satisfaction (**fig. 4.21**)—a projection, perhaps, in the face of some nasty rumors from Berlin, where Schlichter had apparently denounced the Grötzingen artist as a “successful bourgeois” (*arrivierten Bourgeois*).¹¹⁵ Contrast Scholz's appearance, for example, to the more playful projection of Karl Hubbuch in his Karlsruhe atelier, circa 1927, in which he raises his left hand in

¹¹³ The art historian Felicia Sternfeld has noted that there was no dealer named Meier at this time in Karlsruhe (that the name is rather an “Allerweltsnamen,” and that the car is not actually a recognizable Mercedes model, but rather, a generic 1920s vehicle. Sternfeld reads these objects as icons of modernity, from the Stellan “eiserne Jungfrau” to the display window to the typified luxury automobile. See Sternfeld, “Überlegungen zu Georg Scholz,” 75-77.

¹¹⁴ Georg Scholz, *Selbstbildnis mit steifem Hut* (Self-Portrait with Stiff Hat, study for Fig. 4.19), 1925. Charcoal, white pastel, and pencil on paper, 59.6 x 45.4 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1984-14.

¹¹⁵ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 24 May 1926. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. Indeed, as his letters to Kiefer attest, Scholz's financial situation had improved greatly since December 1925 (thanks in large part to the success in the *Neue Sachlichkeit* show) —Scholz had also transferred his business affairs to the Nierendorf Gallery in Berlin and, shortly after taking the job in Karlsruhe, had received invitations to join the faculty of art both in Frankfurt and in Berlin.

mock horror as his left hand snaps the shutter on a box format camera (**fig. 4.22**). In place of Scholz's cuffed wool trousers, natty fedora, and crisp white painter's smock, Hubbuch sports a pair of rumpled linen pants, a frumpy collared jacket, and plaid house slippers.¹¹⁶

In the years between 1925 and 1930, the atelier would become for Karl Hubbuch a site of radical performance and shape shifting: a space in which he was free to challenge the painterly norms of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* through experiments with photography and through a series of inventive, combinatory portrait drawings. Appointed instructor of a drawing class, in October 1925, Hubbuch began to simplify his pictorial language, replacing the complex allegorical montages of his Berlin years with a series of expressive female portraits: the academy models Martha, Mädi, Offi, and Marianne.¹¹⁷ Where the drawn montages remained relatively closed off to the viewer, filled as they were with deeply encoded political imagery and kino-melodramatic private memories, the seductive bodies and compositional blanks of Hubbuch's academic figure studies call out to the beholder as a form of embodied address. Hubbuch's self-portrait disappeared almost completely in these years, replaced with an ever-shifting cast of female bodies. In these combinatory drawings, Hubbuch redeployed the affective possibilities of montage in the service of figurative realism; where he once sutured together dreamlike, fragmentary scenes into one tightly orchestrated *mise en abyme*, he now turned to a tactic of literal compositional fracture. Moreover, it was in Hubbuch's numerous studies of his wife, Hilde Isay, that he began to lay bare the process of making and to break down the

¹¹⁶ Georg Scholz secured an assistantship for Karl Hubbuch in the lithography workshop of the Badische Landeskunstschule, in January of 1924, when Scholz took over the preparatory course at the academy.

¹¹⁷ For an overview of Hubbuch's academic figure studies, see Achim Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle* (Munich: Scaneg, 2001).

very surface of the image, denying the illusion of continuity and bodily wholeness by adding strips of paper – and thus affixing formerly absent hands, feet, or faces – to compositions that redefine *Sachlichkeit* as a humorous and ever-multiplying substitution of parts for wholes.¹¹⁸

Hilde Isay enrolled at the Badische Landeskunstschule in October 1926, where she studied in the ceramics workshop under Paul Speck, and she begins to appear in Hubbuch's sketches and photographs shortly thereafter.¹¹⁹ The two married in her hometown of Trier on 4 January 1928, and in April, Karl Hubbuch was promoted to full professorship of a painting class at the Badische Landeskunstschule in Karlsruhe.¹²⁰ In his unpublished autobiography, *als ob* (1930), Scholz described the unmooring effect that the attractive, freewheeling Hilde ("Ria Radetsky") could wield over her husband's more conservative academy colleagues:

¹¹⁸ On this tactic of material addition, see Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch, der Zeichner*, 9 and 15; and Karin Koschkar, "Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf," 137. In her doctoral dissertation, Koschkar asserts that this tactic of fragmentation is directly related to Hubbuch's experiments with photography; while I agree that the artist's use of the camera opened up his studies of gesture and movement, in the later 1920s, his tactic of surface decomposition—through acts of material suture and tactics of gluing, taping, and folding—predates his camera work and may thus be seen to operate in productive tandem with the later, private practice of photography.

¹¹⁹ Hilde Isay (14 January 1905 Trier – 1974 New York) moved to Karlsruhe in October 1926, at the age of 21, to study at that city's Badische Landeskunstschule in the ceramics class of Paul Speck. In the summer of 1929, Hilde left Karlsruhe for the Bauhaus in Dessau, where she sat in as a *Hospitantin* (auditor) in the photography class taught by Walter Peterhans. Cited in Bettina Götz, "Viermal Hilde," in *Die Neue Frau: Herausforderung für die Bildmedien der Zwanziger Jahre*, ed. Katharina Skykora et al. (Marburg: Jonas Verlag), 157.

In 1931, Hilde Hubbuch left Karlsruhe to study photography under Walter Peterhans; she and Karl Hubbuch separated amicably before Hilde (the daughter of a wealthy Jewish merchant) emigrated to the United States, by way of Vienna and London, in 1939. After arriving in New York, she changed the spelling of her last name to "Hubbuck" and worked as a photographer specializing in portraits of families and children. For biographies of Hilde Hubbuch, see: Sylvia Bieber, "Die Badische Landeskunstschule Karlsruhe und die Fotografie—eine Skizze," in *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen: Photographien, Gemälde, Zeichnungen 1925-1945*, eds. Ulrich Pohlmann and Karin Koschkar (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2011), 24-28; Renate Miller-Gruber, "Frauen in Künstlerehen—Schülerin, Partnerin oder Konkurrentin?" in *Frauen im Aufbruch? Künstlerinnen im deutschen Südwesten 1800-1945*, ed. Sylvia Bieber (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 1995), 191; and Karin Koschkar, "Exkurs: Hilde Hubbuch" in "Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne," 14-15.

¹²⁰ Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart EA 3-150/Bü 3203: "Personalakten Prof. Karl Hubbuch."

In spite of his pounding heart, a good, solid upbringing gave Professor Demuth [Hermann Goebel] the strength to take a seat in a tubular steel chair next to the chaise lounge, in which Ria [Hilde Hubbuch] had laid herself down next to a pair of teddy bears. Casting one slender, silk-clad leg over her knee, the young lady asked, “Do you snort cocaine?” Professor Demuth was less well oriented with drug use than he was with Piper fine art prints, and thus he cluelessly declined the question. Ria offered him a Navy-Cut cigarette with a smile. [...] ¹²¹

Scholz thus juxtaposed with wry humor the more traditional painterly tendencies at the 1920s *Badische Landeskunstschule*—typified by the professor Hermann Goebel and his beloved Impressionist “Piper prints”—and the young, modernist bohemians, Karl and Hilde Hubbuch. Based on the copious visual evidence left behind in paintings, drawings, and photographs—and on the private and published accounts of friends and colleagues—it is clear that the relationship between these two artists was a productive, two-way collaboration. Karl Hubbuch created scores, if not hundreds, of Hilde pictures in the years between 1926 and 1931, when she left Karlsruhe to study photography with Walter Peterhans at the Bauhaus in Dessau. Hilde, in turn, created a number of photographs of her husband in the atelier and in the classroom, and she would continue to solicit his feedback on her work after the two had separated, as she sought to find her artistic footing in Dessau. ¹²² Thus, there is crucial element of give and take in these

¹²¹ Georg Scholz, *als ob* (1930), unpublished typewritten manuscript. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. “Eine gute Erziehung gab Professor Demuth die Kraft, trotz seines Herzklopfens mit höflicher Gelassenheit in einen Stahlrohrsessel vor der Chaiselongue Platz zu nehmen, auf welcher sich Frau Ria neben zwei Teddybären niederlegte. Ein schlankes Seidenbein über das Knie des anderen schlagend, fragte die junge Dame: ‘Sie koksen nicht?’ Über Rauschgift war Professor Demuth schlechter als über Piperdrucke orientiert, daher verneinte er diese Frage verständnislos. Frau Ria bot ihm also lächelnd eine Navy-Cut-Zigarette an. [...]”

I thank Friedel Scholz, Ursula Merkel, and Karl-Ludwig Hofmann for making a copy of this manuscript available for the purposes of this dissertation.

¹²² See Coda, note 4.

works, and Hilde retains an agency that is often denied to the sober portrait subjects of *Die neue Sachlichkeit*.¹²³

Humor—the element of visual surprise and delight—is a decisive formal element in the Hilde pictures, which buzz with the unexpected jolts and juxtapositions of paper, tape, glue, and pinholes against the smooth, fatty strokes of the lithographic crayon. On a thematic level, Hubbuch extends the joke by situating his wife as one more object in an endless set of modern devices and accoutrements: from hair dryers and handbags to Bauhaus lamps and chairs.¹²⁴ The drawing *Meine Frau im Streifenkleid* (My Wife in a Striped Dress, 1926-28), at first glance a detailed garment study, focuses in with precision on the modish striped dress and red heeled shoes of the model, Hilde Isay (**fig. 4.23**)¹²⁵ Her short, square pocketbook lends the ensemble a pop of matching color. The sheet of paper ends abruptly, however, just below Isay's nose, where the artist attached a slim piece of slightly lighter paper to allow for his model's eyes, forehead, and trademark hairstyle. In a related and more "finished" watercolor drawing, *Auf der Treppe* (On the Stairs, 1926-28), Isay stands in identical pose and costume on the bottom stair of an ornate, carpeted staircase (**fig. 4.24**).¹²⁶ With her weight rocked back on her heels, she

¹²³ On notions of collaboration and competition between the artist and the model in nineteenth-century France, see Susan Sidauskas, *Cézanne's Other: The Portraits of Hortense* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); and Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Armstrong argues that the model Victorine Meurent acted for Manet as one of a "chain of surrogates"—that would come to include Berthe Morisot, Eva Gonzales, and Méry St Laurent—through which the artist challenged and reconfigured period notions of the self and collapsed the distinction between "self" and "other" within the traditional genre of the portrait.

¹²⁴ Hilde Isay brought these items of modern furniture into the marriage, as correspondence attests, and they show up as prominent props in scores of Hubbuch drawings: of the models Offi and Martha, in particular, and in his many sketches and watercolor drawings of Hilde.

¹²⁵ Karl Hubbuch, *Meine Frau im Streifenkleid* (My Wife in a Striped Dress), 1926-28. Lithographic crayon and watercolor on paper, 61.5 x 30 cm. Private collection, Hessen.

¹²⁶ Karl Hubbuch, *Auf der Treppe* (On the Stairs/Hilde), 1926-28. Watercolor with pencil on paper, 52 x 42.5 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Rewald, *Glitter and Doom*, 251-255; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 30.

seems to have been cut out and pasted into the composition—a possibility Hubbuch would explore with irony in the later montage composition, *Erna auf der fremden Treppe* (Erna on the Strange Stairs, ca. 1930), in which a litho-crayon and pencil study of the nude model “Erna” has been pasted onto a larger study of the stairs to the Karlsruhe Academy (**fig. 4.25**).¹²⁷

Das Spiegelei (The Fried Egg, 1928/29) further exemplifies the productive collaboration between Karl Hubbuch and Hilde Isay in the later 1920s. Visible pin holes stud the edges of the sheet, and Hilde’s upturned gaze, though somewhat obscured by her glasses and voluminous brown bangs, seems nevertheless to draw attention to the seam slicing through her hairline (**fig. 4.26**).¹²⁸ This fault in the picture surface undermines the image on a level of form and of content: first, by denying the smooth, seductive wholeness afforded by soft graphite and colored pencil, and second, by tempting the viewer to open up Hilde’s head at this visible seam. Hubbuch thus proffers a sly visual pun: he presents Hilde not as a domestic goddess but instead as a defiantly failed *Hausfrau*, the housewife who sits on the wrong side of the cooker, utensils in the air and waiting to be served. Moreover, it is worth noting the double meaning of the word *Spiegelei* and its connotation of a play of mirrors.¹²⁹ For the focus on process in *Das Spiegelei* is not unlike the photographic experiments in which the couple poses before a mirror (*das Spiegel*), capturing themselves (and the camera) on film in a playful moment

¹²⁷ Karl Hubbuch, *Erna auf der fremden Treppe* (Erna on the Strange Stairs), ca. 1930. Lithographic crayon, pencil, and watercolor on paper, 60 x 48 cm. Private collection, Karlsruhe.

¹²⁸ Karl Hubbuch, *Das Spiegelei* (The Fried Egg, 1928/29). Pencil and colored pencil wash drawing on paper, 63.1 x 47.8 cm. Private collection, Frankfurt a.M.

Lit: Nisbet, *German Realist Drawings*, ill. no. 73.

¹²⁹ I thank Martin Papenbrock for suggesting to me this play of word and image in *Das Spiegelei*.

of “doubled exposure,” as they do in the 1927 photograph, *Karl and Hilde Hubbuch standing before the mirror* (**fig. 4.27**).¹³⁰

In this photograph, as in the larger sequence of mirror snapshots staged by the couple between 1927 and 1928, the two artists sought not only to document their bohemian lifestyle—a world in which one loafes with impunity in pajama bottoms and striped underwear, wielding a rolling pin or a hair dryer as a weapon—but also, and crucially, to expose the process of making and thus to unsettle the static, univocal, or “objective” quality of the photograph. To that end, the box format camera sits posed in plain view, an object among objects, and one that idles under the directive of the cable-rigged shutter. Karl Hubbuch began to experiment with photography as early as 1926, quite possibly at Hilde’s suggestion—and she would begin to produce her own photographic work as a student at the Bauhaus in Dessau, beginning in 1930.¹³¹ Increasingly, Karl Hubbuch deployed photography’s formal strategies in his own practice of painting and drawing—from his use of strong diagonals and unusual perspectives to

¹³⁰ Karl Hubbuch, *Karl und Hilde Hubbuch vor dem Spiegel stehend* (Karl and Hilde Hubbuch before the mirror), after 1927. New digital print from an original negative, 28.9 x 18.7 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie, Inv.Nr. 2001_100-138.

¹³¹ Scholarly access to this aspect of Hubbuch’s practice can be attributed in large part to the efforts of the late Wolfgang Hartmann, an art historian and friend of the artist who gave a significant portion of Hubbuch’s photographic estate (ca. 600 negatives and 100 original prints) to the Sammlung Fotografie des Münchner Stadtmuseums, Munich. An additional collection of ca. 70 negatives can be found in the collection of the Städtische Galerie in Karlsruhe. The art historian Karin Koschkar devoted her very thorough doctoral thesis to the close study and cataloguing of Hubbuch’s photographic estate: see Koschkar, “Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne. Ein Beitrag zur Fotografie um 1930. Mit einem Verzeichnis des fotografischen Nachlasses von 1925 bis 1935” (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2011). An exhibition based on this research opened at the Münchner Stadtmuseum in 2012, accompanied by the scholarly catalogue, *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen. Fotografien, Gemälde, Zeichnungen 1925-1935*, eds. Ulrich Pohlmann and Karin Koschkar (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2011).

corporeal decomposition and the repetitive aesthetic of the series.¹³² Moreover, in constructing his various studies of Hilde, Karl Hubbuch was clearly inspired by photographic layouts in contemporary fashion magazines and in the attendant possibilities of corporeal and compositional fragmentation and repetition.¹³³

Beginning in the mid-1920s, German fashion magazines such as *UHU* and *Die Dame* used trick photography and techniques of photomontage to produce movement studies, or *Bewegungsstudien*, which often highlighted the physical capacity of the body to perform work in fragmentary or repetitive series.¹³⁴ In a photo layout titled *Doppelter Augenschmaus* (Double Eye Candy), two groups of athletic young women build an impossible physical pyramid (**fig. 4.28**).¹³⁵ At first glance, the three women in the carefully balanced triangle stand at the edge of a reflective pond, a vision of health and sporty vitality matching the stereotype of the 1920s New Woman. Yet upon closer inspection, the mirror “reflection” clearly does not match or perform its expected function—a smiling, dark-haired beauty complements a tow-white blonde, for example—and the reflected trio of girls look through their legs with hair standing on end, the shock of fashionable pageboys pulled by gravity in the incorrect direction. As such, the *UHU*

¹³² Karin Koschkar cites this serial effect as evidence of the fragmentation and compositional logic of deconstruction that groups Hubbuch’s work with the *Neues Sehen* more generally. Koschkar, “Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne,” 12. “Es bleibt aber nicht bei einer einzelnen Aufnahme, die alles in sich vereint, sondern es ist seine Vorliebe für narrative Sequenzen, die sich schließlich auf den erhaltenen Filmstreifen offenbart.”

¹³³ The interest went both ways; in a letter to Theodor Kiefer, Scholz noted that the Ullstein Company had given money to establish a new faculty in modern illustration (*eine Klasse für Angewandte Zeichen*) at the academy in Berlin. Bruno Paul wanted to hire Scholz for the job. Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 6 October 1927. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

¹³⁴ The monthly magazine *UHU* was published from October 1924 until October 1934 by the Ullstein Verlag in Berlin. Contributors included Hermann Hesse, Carl Zuckmayer, Albert Einstein, Alfred Döblin, Erich Salomon, Kurt Tucholsky, Else Lasker-Schüler, Bertolt Brecht, Erich Kästner, Stefan Zweig, Olaf Gulbransson, T.T. Heine, and George Grosz. See Christian von Ferber, ed., *UHU. Das Magazin der 20er Jahre* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1979).

¹³⁵ *Doppelter Augenschmaus* (Double Eye Candy), photomontage published in *UHU* magazine, ca. January 1928. Reprinted in von Ferber, *UHU. Das Magazin der 20er Jahre*, 303.

editors offered to their readers not a convincing reality-effect, but rather, the opportunity to revel in the trick itself, a “double eye candy” that functions on at least two levels: a doubled image of a group of young and lovely Weimar ladies, and a treat for the discerning photographic eye.

Photography was first offered as a subject of study at the *Badische Landeskunstschule* in Karlsruhe only in 1929-30, in a course led by the former academy student, Liselotte Billigheimer.¹³⁶ (Due to financial constraints, the darkroom would be closed just two years later.) Yet period exhibitions point to the popularity of photography as a subject of practice and exhibition: from the 1928 International Press Exhibition (PRESSA) in Cologne, to the *Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds: Film und Foto* (commonly referred to as “FiFo”), which opened in Stuttgart on 18 May 1929.¹³⁷ Karl and Hilde Hubbuch almost certainly visited the FiFo exhibition together, as contemporary correspondence attests.¹³⁸ During the two-month run of the exhibition, 191 artists exhibited close to 1,200 examples of photography, posters, book covers, and other printed works in the spaces of the Neue Städtische Ausstellungshallen; close to 10,000

¹³⁶ On the course of photography study at the *Landeskunstschule*, see Bieber, “Die Badische Landeskunstschule Karlsruhe und die Fotografie -- eine Skizze,” 21-26. Historical archives are preserved in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe.

Photography had been discussed as a possible subject area at the Karlsruhe Kunstgewerbeschule, as early as 1917, but nothing came of these plans. The topic arose once again when the Kunstgewerbeschule merged with the Kunstakademie in the winter semester of 1920 to form the new Badische Landeskunstschule. Professor Wilhelm Schnarrenberger was instrumental in bringing a dark room and a photography course to the Landeskunstschule, in 1929, and in hiring the former student Liselotte Billigheimer to teach it. By the summer of 1931, the program had already been shut down.

¹³⁷ On the FiFo exhibition, see Inka Graeve, “Internationale Ausstellung des Deutschen Werkbunds. Film und Foto,” in Adkins, *Stationen der Moderne*, 236-273. On the PRESSA exhibition, see Jeremy Aynsley, “PRESSA, Cologne, 1928. Exhibitions and Publication Design in the Weimar Republic” in *Public Photographic Spaces: Exhibitions of Propaganda from Pressa to The Family of Man*, ed. Jorge Ribalta (Barcelona: Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2009), 83-106.

¹³⁸ Karin Koschkar has suggested that Karl and Hilde Hubbuch almost certainly visited the FiFo exhibition in Stuttgart, based on the text of a contemporary postcard Hilde sent to her parents in Trier. Postcard in the collection of the Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe; cited in Koschkar, “Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne,” 21.

visitors had seen the exhibition by mid-June. Such works of mass culture must have held particular interest for Karl Hubbuch, who had recently completed a series of commissioned, photo-collaged book covers for the firm Ernst Fromman & Sohn in Nuremberg. For these works, Hubbuch used the professional pseudonym “ka hu.”¹³⁹

A former student recalled that Hubbuch used the photo layouts of the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (AIZ) as a teaching tool in his 1920s Karlsruhe classroom;¹⁴⁰

contemporary photographs confirm that the camera was a welcome presence in his atelier, both as a means to document lessons on anatomy and figure drawing, and as a device to document spontaneous moments of performance, as it does in a photograph taken by Hilde Hubbuch of her husband standing before an anatomical chart (**fig.**

4.29).¹⁴¹ In a recent study, Karin Koschkar has called Hubbuch a “Maler-Fotograf” (a painter-photographer) to distinguish his photographic practice from that of the *Knipser*, or snap-shooting amateur.¹⁴² Between 1925 and 1933, Hubbuch produced more than 600 photographic negatives: movement studies of the academy models Martha Huber and Marianne Beffert; snapshots of Hilde Hubbuch in performance and in repose; portraits of academy colleagues including Ellen Auerbach, Georg Scholz, and Erwin Spuler; and cityscapes and street views of Karlsruhe, Trier, St. Malo, and Paris. Koschkar’s careful

¹³⁹ The primary documents concerning these book projects are collected in the Karl Hubbuch Archiv of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin. See also: Christoph Schaden, “Ein Kampf ums Auge, ein Kampf ums Bild. Dix, Hubbuch, Beckmann und die Photographie,” in Blühbaum, *Beckmann, Dix, Hubbuch: auf papier*, 24.

¹⁴⁰ Helmut Goettl, “Karl Hubbuch als Lehrer,” in Goettl, *Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979*, 53. Goettl, who studied with Karl Hubbuch in the 1950s and would become a close friend of the artist, writes that Hubbuch used copies of the AIZ in his 1920s classroom to encourage new perspectives.

¹⁴¹ Hilde Hubbuch, *Karl Hubbuch vor einer anatomischen Lehrtafel* (Karl Hubbuch in front of an anatomical chart), ca. 1930. New digital print from an original negative, 29.2 x 18.7 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-150.

¹⁴² See Koschkar, “Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne,” 12-18. Koschkar’s dissertation attempts to place Hubbuch’s photographic oeuvre resolutely within the history of photography, arguing for the “künstlerische Aufwertung” of this previously neglected aspect of his production.

documentation and analysis of this vast photographic oeuvre sheds light on a previously little known aspect of Hubbuch's production, and her study argues that this body of work be situated firmly within the history of photography, and thus, linked to the innovations of the 1920s *Neues Sehen* (New Vision) practitioners.¹⁴³

My understanding of Hubbuch's photographic work is informed by this valuable intervention—agreeing, for example, that the artist's experiments with the medium opened up his practice of drawing and painting to new formal possibilities. Yet I would suggest that the artist's interest in such tactics of fragmentation, decomposition, doubling, and suture originate in a much earlier period, when Hubbuch explored the limits of surface and storytelling in the dense allegorical montages he produced between 1919 and 1922. Photography remained for Hubbuch always a private practice, never meant for exhibition but instead used in tandem with his drawn studies to develop an innovative and multiplicative vision of gesture, pose, and facial expression. Moreover, the speed of snapshot photography echoed the immediacy with which Hubbuch sketched and painted; in both photographs and figural studies, he tended toward an aesthetic of “unfinish” – a deliberate strategy through which he sought, increasingly, to lend dynamic motion to the otherwise static surface of the traditional realist portrait.¹⁴⁴ This differed from such portraits as Georg Scholz's *Akt mit Gipskopf* (Nude with Plaster Head, 1927), in which an

¹⁴³ For a general overview of the *Neues Sehen* and New Vision photography in Germany, see: Ute Eskildsen, *Avant-Garde Photography in Germany 1919-1939* (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 35-45; Lazlo Moholy Nagy, “Production/Reproduction” and “Unprecedented Photography,” in *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913-1940*, ed. Christopher Phillips (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 79-85; Albert Renger-Patzsch, “Aims,” in Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, 104-107; and August Sander, “Remarks on My Exhibition at the Cologne Art Union,” in *Ibid.*, 140-141.

¹⁴⁴ On the notion of purposive “unfinish” in painting, and its provocative relationship to realism, see T.J. Clark, “Painting in the Year 2,” in Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), esp. 34-54.

academy model wearing only a fashionable haircut and tall stockings sits robotically next to a plaster cast of an antique portrait bust (**fig. 4.30**).¹⁴⁵

In what follows, I demonstrate how Karl Hubbuch pushed back against these period notions of static, sober objectivity and the imperatives of the portrait genre in a monumental portrait of his wife, *Viermal Hilde* (Hilde Four Times, 1929). Drawing inspiration from the couple's reciprocally staged photographic studies, and on a large series of what I wish to call "sutured drawings," this painting challenged the aesthetic imperatives of smooth surface finish and technical facility that had come to be associated with *Die neue Sachlichkeit* by the end of the 1920s. This understanding of The New Objectivity tends to conflate the painter's vision with the camera eye, and thus to read a realist portrait such as *Viermal Hilde* as a straightforward, readily legible index of the individual depicted, or of her position as a specific type (the "New Woman"): a picture always more valuable for its content, in other words, than for its form. By contrast, I ask what it meant to Hubbuch to engage formal tactics that are often associated with 1920s New Vision photography—clear focus, close cropping, or corporeal fragmentation, for example—to reactivate the language of painterly realism as a viable strategy of production and exhibition.

¹⁴⁵ Georg Scholz, *Weiblicher Akt mit Gipskopf* (Female Nude with a Plaster Bust), 1927. Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 55 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2799.

Hilde Four Times (1929): Multiple Vision

I wanted to represent this woman's characteristic attitudes (*Haltungen*) and conditions (*Zustände*), inner conditions that would reflect outwardly in both facial expression and bodily posture.¹⁴⁶

—Karl Hubbuch, on the painting *Viermal Hilde*, 26 May 1971

In April of 1929, Karl Hubbuch applied the final touches to an unusual, multi-figure oil painting. Hubbuch intended the picture now known as *Viermal Hilde* (Hilde Four Times, 1929) for the Mannheim exhibition, *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart*, a juried, regional survey of contemporary art organized by Gustav Hartlaub and exhibited in the Mannheim Kunsthalle from 5 May to 30 June 1929.¹⁴⁷ Hubbuch submitted the finished painting to the Kunsthalle jury with the title *4 mal Schwarzer Peter* (Four Times Black Peter), an ironic and somewhat cryptic reference to a German card game.¹⁴⁸ For the picture depicted not the *Schwarzer Peter* but Hubbuch's wife, Hilde Isay, rendered in lines of black contour and brushy oil paint as a quadruple vision who performs the complex, multivalent identity of the 1920s New Woman (*Neue Frau*). The Mannheim jury of five artists and art historians rejected Hubbuch's painting, however, and it was never exhibited in its original state. Instead, the artist later sliced the picture in half along its vertical axis, thus splitting *Viermal Hilde* into two complementary double

¹⁴⁶ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Claude Keisch, 26 May 1971. Cited in Keisch, "Portraits in mehrfacher Ansicht. Überlieferung und Sinnwandel einer Bildidee," *Forschungen und Berichte* 17, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1976): 235f. "Darstellen wollte ich charakteristische Haltungen und Zustände dieser Frau/Innere Zustände/die sich im Gesichtsausdruck und in der ganzen Körperhaltung widerspiegeln."

¹⁴⁷ Gustav Hartlaub, ed. *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart* (Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle, 1929).

¹⁴⁸ On the figure of the Schwarzer Peter, and the German toy industry during the First World War, see Heike Hoffmann, "'Schwarzer Peter im Weltkrieg': Die deutsche Spielwarenindustrie 1914-1918" in *Kriegserfahrungen. Studien zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges*, ed. Gerhard Hirschfeld, et al. (Essen: Klartext Verlag 1997): 323-335.

portraits—*Zweimal Hilde I* (Hilde Two Times I) and *Zweimal Hilde II* (Hilde Two Times II)—now housed, respectively, in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich and The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Madrid (**figs. 4.31 & 4.32**).¹⁴⁹

In the Munich portion (*Hilde Two Times I*), Hilde appears as a formidable double vision: first, as a sneering, cigarette-smoking bohemian in a fitted green pajama blouse and pale pink culottes, and second, as a coquettish *Hausfrau* in a short flowered apron. Her long, naked, bone white legs dominate the composition and lend it a sweeping verticality, which is enhanced by the uncomfortably close cropping of its frame. The Madrid canvas (*Hilde Two Times II*) initiates the quadruple vision, when reading the image from left to right: the seated Hilde wears a fitted red blouse and a chic pencil skirt, her silk stockinged legs crossed tightly at the knee. Her hair, always expressively styled, seems to accumulate in a leonine shock that rests on the upper frame of her wire-rimmed glasses. Her companion, an inquisitive-looking Hilde who wears a stylish turtleneck, close-fitting cap, and fur coat, dangles her hands at her waist and stares off in the direction of her missing companions; just visible in this half of the painting is the encroaching green crook of the third Hilde's elbow.

¹⁴⁹ Karl Hubbuch, *Zweimal Hilde I* (Hilde Two Times I), 1929. Oil on canvas mounted on board, 150 x 77 cm. München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek der Moderne, Sammlung Moderne Kunst, Inv.Nr. 14259; Karl Hubbuch, *Zweimal Hilde II* (Hilde Two Times II), 1929. Oil on canvas mounted on board, 150 x 77 cm. Madrid, The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Inv.Nr. 1978.88.

Lit: Strecker, *The Mad Square*, 22, 246-47, 304; Koschkar, "Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne," 126-132; Andrea Gott dang, "Viermal Hilde—Viermal Schwarzer Peter. Karl Hubbuch und die Krise des Porträts," in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. LXVI (Cologne: Dumont Literatur und Kunst Verlag, 2005): 163-190; Götz, "Viermal Hilde," 153-165; Keisch, "Porträts in mehrfacher Ansicht," 235-236; Presler, *Glanz und Elend*, 123-125; Hartmann, *Karl Hubbuch, der Zeichner*, 25-26; Gnann, *Karl Hubbuch und seine Modelle*, 27-29; Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 30; Susanne Meyer-Büser, *Das schönste deutsche Frauenporträt: Tendenzen der Bildnismalerei in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Reimer, 1994), 135-136.

Considered as a whole, the four bodies resist resolution or synthesis; as several scholars have noted, the four typological Hildes seem to recall the four humors of medieval physiology.¹⁵⁰ Certainly, Hubbuch's choice to portray Hilde as a multi-faceted modern woman played on the period fascination with female typologies: the flapper, the dame, the female airplane pilot (*Fliegerin*),¹⁵¹ the American “girl,” the Vamp, the *garçonne*, or the gender bending “man-lady” (*Mannweib*).¹⁵² The *garçonne* was the anti-type to the frivolous, easygoing Girl or Flapper; she wore short, often slicked-back hair and masculine clothing: her trademark cravat, monocle, and cigarette were associated with the progressive lesbian subculture of the cities. The seated, leftmost Hilde has sometimes been compared to Otto Dix's 1926 *Portrait of the Journalist Sylvia von Harden*, in which the androgynous journalist sits smoking and cross-legged in a shapeless plaid dress (**fig. 4.33**).¹⁵³

Scholars tend to use Dix's portrait as an emblem of the 1920s “New Objectivity,” to ascribe to Harden the most typical persona within a vast set of Weimar typologies: a portrait defined by its representational content, its ostensible truth value, rather than by its material made-ness. This focus on content draws from the period interest in the New Woman and on the typological content of the modern female body: from types of legs to

¹⁵⁰ In 1925, Georg Scholz wrote to his friend and patron, Theodor Kiefer about his use of Kretschmer's schema in the earlier *Don Quijote* commission. This letter has been previously cited in Beate Reese, *Melancholie in der Malerei der Neuen Sachlichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1998), 97-98; and Gottdang, “Viermal Hilde—Viermal schwarzer Peter,” 173-74 and 188.

¹⁵¹ Karl Hubbuch explored this motif in the watercolor drawing, *Abgestürzt* (Grounded), of 1923, in which a female aviator slumps dejectedly by a farm fence. See Meyer-Büser, *Das schönste deutsche Frauenporträt*, 128-129.

¹⁵² On these various female types, see Susanne Meyer-Büser, *Bubikopf und Gretchenzopf: die Frau der zwanziger Jahre* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1995), 6-8 and 12-15.

¹⁵³ Otto Dix, *Portrait of the Journalist Sylvia von Harden*, 1926. Mixed media on wood, 120 x 88 cm, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Bettina Götz compares Hubbuch's portrait of Hilde to Dix's *Sylvia von Harden* in Götz, “Viermal Hilde,” 162.

hairstyles to hip shape. In the early 1920s, the German psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer posited a relationship between body type and character, an updated version of the medieval four humors for a modern era:

The curvy endomorph (*Pykniker*) is goodhearted and lugubrious; the thin, lanky asthenic (*Astheniker*) tends toward easily vulnerable affectivity, introvertedness, and schizophrenia; and the psychically more stable, broad-shouldered, well-muscled athletic (*Athletiker*).¹⁵⁴

Kretschmer's lectures on physiognomy and typology were widely read in the 1920s; Georg Scholz, for example, planned to apply his categories to a painting of the "three types" in which the asthenic would be played by an art historian in horn-rimmed glasses, the endomorph by an industrialist eating a pound of caviar for breakfast, and the athletic by a prize fighter.¹⁵⁵ (As was typical for the endlessly creative and verbose letter writer, this picture never came to fruition, but Scholz would ask his physician friend, Theodor Kiefer, to explain the meaning of Kretschmer's terminology in more detail.) Reading *Viermal Hilde* as a vision of the four humors, from left to right, she portrays the seated melancholic, the fur-clad phlegmatic, the cigarette-smoking choleric, and the flower-bedecked sanguine.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Kretschmer cited in Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde—Viermal Schwarzer Peter," 173. "Der rundliche Pykniker ist gutherzig und schwermütig, der schmale, hochaufgeschossene Astheniker neigt zu leicht verletzbarer Affektivität, Introvertiertheit und Schizophrenie, ebenso der psychisch allerdings stabilere breitschultrige, gut bemuskelte Athletiker."

¹⁵⁵ Letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, New Year's Eve 1925/26. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "Für die Übersendung des Kretschmar meinen herzlichsten Dank. Natürlich ist aus der Lektüre schon eine Bildidee entstanden: Zur Zeit der Genre-Bild-Malerei malte man 'die 4 Temperamente' (siehe auch Dürers Apostel). Ich werde malen 'die 3 Typen': Ein Astheniker (Kunsthistoriker m. Hornbrille), ein Pykniker (Industrieller, ein Pfund Kaviar zum Frühstück), ein Athletiker (Boxkämpfer) mit irgend einer sonstigen verbindenen Idee: am besten so: Boxkämpfer wird interviewt vom Astheniker, während Pykniker gönnerhaft belobt."

¹⁵⁶ On the iconography of the fur coat (*Garçonnemantel*) and other contemporary fashion elements in the painting, see Götz, "Viermal Hilde," 158-163. She notes that the tightly fitted ladies' cap pulled low over the eyes had replaced the large floppy hat as the style trend by 1923. Lingerie in "cosmetic" tones such as peach and pink were especially popular to replicate the look of being naked. On the fur-clad melancholic as a trope in Renaissance and early Modern imagery, see Götz, *Ibid.*, 163 and Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde—Viermal Schwarzer Peter," 174-75.

Art historians agree that there is no direct art historical precedent for this type of multiple portrait, a phenomenon Claude Keisch first tracked in a 1976 essay.¹⁵⁷ This iconographic approach to the puzzling thematics of Hubbuch's picture, and the artist's own much later, pithy assessment of its content, has overdetermined the conclusion that the artist's intent in *Viermal Hilde* was purely typological, rather than in any way a matter of formal experimentation. Andrea Gott dang suggests that the picture might be read as Hubbuch's oppositional salvo (his *Gegenentwurf*) to both the typological portrait genre and to its historically specific iteration as "Das schönste deutsche Frauenporträt," as this genre was conceived and marketed in a juried exhibition by the German cosmetics firm, Elida, in 1928.¹⁵⁸ This historical context is compelling, but it fails to address the specificity of Hubbuch's working process, or to capture the performative aspect of his atelier collaborations with Hilde; the artist did not submit a portrait for the 1928 competition, and his working process suggests that such an event would have held little interest for an academician who had only recently been named professor of a painting class at the Karlsruhe *Landeskunstschule*.

I propose that we take a slightly different approach to *Viermal Hilde*, one that focuses on the atelier as a site of collaborative performance, and on the body as the agent that ruptures the surface of the realist portrait in a era of smooth, finished objectivity. This

¹⁵⁷ See Gott dang, "Viermal Hilde—Viermal Schwarzer Peter," 164-65, for a review of this literature.

¹⁵⁸ For a thorough recounting of this portrait competition, see Meyer-Büser, *Das schönste deutsche Frauenporträt*, 17-38. Georg Schicht, president of Elida, offered a prize of 10,000 RM for the best portrait created in 1928. Moreover, the winning portrait should have been produced in the previous year, 1927-28, and be a painting. There were no further stipulations on style or technique. A total of 365 artists submitted painted portraits, and a jury of prominent artists and critics selected the 26 "best" portraits for a traveling exhibition to be shown in cities across Germany (beginning at the Galerie Gurlitt in Berlin, in November 1928), and in Karlsruhe from 16 March to 2 April 1929. Most of the works submitted were typical of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* style and present a cross section of subtypes of the New Woman. Willy Jaeckel's *Stehendes Mädchen* won the prize; Karl Hubbuch did not submit a portrait for consideration.

necessitates reading Hilde Hubbuch as a co-author, indeed a co-producer, in works that often seem to function as surrogate self-portraits for an artist who had retreated from his starring role in the somnambulist drawings and etchings of the early 1920s.¹⁵⁹ Consider, as one point of departure, the watercolor drawing *Die Erleuchtung* (The Enlightenment, ca. 1928), in which a supine, sightless Hilde lifts her hands as if in a trance (**fig. 4.34**).¹⁶⁰ This strange, sensuously rendered portrait recalls and, I would argue, in some ways supplants Hubbuch's self-portraits as a mute, an invalid, or an unseeing wanderer: an image of blindness that resists the typical portrayal of the variously sporty, chic, or vampy Weimar "New Woman."

The large-format combinatory drawing, *Im Atelier (Der Maler und das Bügelbrett*, 1928/29) ruptures the surface of the image, insistently displaying its seams and materials to the viewer (**fig. 4.35**).¹⁶¹ A female model (most likely, Hilde Isay) stands on a chair with her back turned to the viewer; she neglects the dress arranged carelessly on the ironing board, while Karl Hubbuch (reappearing in a rare post-1925 self portrait) grips the lapels of his jacket and stares enraged behind the dormant egg cooker of *Das Spiegelei*. This deliberate upending of the gendered roles of housewife and husband would play out to humorous effect in a number of pictures in which Hilde slouches,

¹⁵⁹ Sylvia Bieber has likewise posited Hilde Isay as both model and co-creator in works beginning ca. 1927-28, when Karl Hubbuch switched from the lithographic crayon to the looser, freer line of the ink or reed brush. See Bieber, "Ein kühler Beobachter...ein Zeichner von ganz hervorragenden Qualitäten". Karl Hubbuchs Papierarbeiten der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre," in Blühbaum, *Beckmann-Dix-Hubbuch. auf Papier*, 58.

¹⁶⁰ Karl Hubbuch, *Die Erleuchtung/Hilde* (The Epiphany/Hilde), ca. 1928. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 45 x 60 cm. Private collection.

¹⁶¹ Karl Hubbuch, *Im Atelier (Der Maler und das Bügelbrett)*, (In the Atelier/The Painter and the Ironing Board), 1926/28. Pencil on several pieces of joined ivory and beige paper, 99.9 x 74.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv.Nr. C 1972/GL 2035.

sleeps, bears her teeth, crosses her legs, and sticks out her tongue in playful disgust.¹⁶²

Certainly, this was not the “graceful” lady called for by the contemporary movement therapist Bess M. Mensendieck, whose best-selling “textbooks” instructed the modern German woman how to answer the phone, iron laundry, and open doors with perfect poise and healthy spinal alignment (**fig. 4.36**).¹⁶³

Hubbuch created scores of *Hilde* pictures between 1926 and 1929, from full-body gestural sketches to more focused, detailed renderings of Hilde’s face, hands, legs, and trademark hairstyle. (See, for example, the photograph in which Hilde sulks in a Bauhaus chair with impolitely splayed legs and a shock of frizzy hair, her hands gripping the shiny chrome legs of the Marcel Breuer stool as if to anchor her position in her husband’s atelier, **fig. 4.37**)¹⁶⁴ Among these many “Hilde-Bilder” are at least two large-format preparatory studies for the painting *Viermal Hilde*. One, a watercolor and pencil study divided into two halves, containing two figures each, echoes the current split state

¹⁶² On play-acting in the atelier, see Rudolf Scheutle, “Das Atelier als Bühne. Zu den humoristisch inszenierten Portraitfotografien von Karl Hubbuch,” in Pohlmann and Koschkar, *Karl Hubbuch und das Neue Sehen*, 17-20; and Karin Koschkar, “Inszenierung -- Hilde und Karl Hubbuch vor dem Spiegel,” in *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁶³ Bess M. Mensendieck, illustration nos. 32-33 in Mensendieck, *Anmut der Bewegung im täglichen Leben* (Munich: F. Bruckmann AG, 1929).

In his unpublished autobiography, *als ob* (1930), Georg Scholz reported that one of his academy students [the anonymized “Werner Rilke”] had seen works by Karl Hubbuch, including “Irrgänge der Ehe” [a deliberate play on the title of the Hubbuch lithograph, *Notausgänge der Ehe*, 1923] and “Lilly menzendiekt” reproduced in a contemporary magazine. The latter is a play on the name of the Dutch-American doctor Bess M. Mensendieck, who developed the Mensendieck system of therapeutic movement to reshape the body and relieve pain. Practitioners of the technique learned a system of more than 200 exercises that emphasized correct and graceful body movement through everyday activities such as housework. Mensendieck published a number of texts on the subject, which were reprinted in numerous editions, beginning with *Körperkultur des Weibes: Praktisch hygienische und praltische asthetische winke* (Munich 1906), *Weibliche Körperbildung und Bewegungskunst* (Munich 1920) and *Anmut der Bewegung im täglichen Leben* (Munich 1929).

On Bess M. Mensendieck and body culture in 19th and 20th century Germany see Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, *The Cultivation of Body and Mind in Nineteenth-Century American Delsartism* (Greenwood Press, 1999), 67-71 and Marion E.P. de Ras, *Body, Femininity and Nationalism: Girls in the German Youth Movement 1900-1934* (Routledge, 2007), 68-72.

¹⁶⁴ Karl Hubbuch, *Hilde auf einem Bauhausstuhl* (Hilde on a Bauhaus stool), 1929. New digital print from an original negative, 29.6 x 19 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-169.

of the oil painting;¹⁶⁵ a larger study of all four figures is now in the collection of the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (**figs. 4.38 - 4.40**).¹⁶⁶ Perhaps most vexing and compelling about this image is its tripartite division, with the seams and fissures of process subversively on display. Hubbuch mapped out the composition for the Karlsruhe study on two large sheets of paper, in pencil, before gluing the two halves together and finishing or ‘suturing’ the picture with washes of watercolor and strokes of black crayon.¹⁶⁷ Finally, in a whimsical touch that is typical of his academic figure studies, Hubbuch added a strip of paper at the lower right portion to accommodate Hilde’s formerly truncated right foot.

Tracking the artist’s maneuvers from these preparatory studies to the finished painting, one notes an uneasy oscillation between the formal strategies of rupture and suture, addition and subtraction, and a struggle to resolve the sitter’s persona on a level of content. The pajama-wearing Hilde is less standoffish in the Karlsruhe study, holding her cigarette before an open mouth as if in conversation rather than wielding it as a weapon. The face of the fourth Hilde, in the flowered apron, remained blank and unresolved in the preparatory drawing, but becomes almost uncanny in the finished painting, the large bulbous eyes staring off to the left and hands clasped tightly like an oversize plastic doll.

¹⁶⁵ Karl Hubbuch, study for *Zweimal Hilde I*, ca. 1929. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 75.5 x 52.5 cm. Private collection, Berlin; and Karl Hubbuch, study for *Zweimal Hilde II*, ca. 1929. Watercolor and pencil on paper. Private collection, Lisbon.

¹⁶⁶ Karl Hubbuch, *Viermal Hilde* (c. 1929). Pencil, black crayon, watercolor on three pieces of joined paper, 73.3 x 99.9 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1980-32. I thank Dr. Astrid Reuter for providing access to this work and for sharing her expert opinion on its construction.

¹⁶⁷ This central cutting echoes that of the finished painting. Based on a conversation with Hubbuch’s former student, Helmut Goettl, Gerd Presler suggests that the artist cut the painting for compositional reasons, in the 1950s. “In der Vorzeichnung kann man sehen, was ihm mißfallen haben könnte. Ich glaube, daß er das Bild zerschnitten hat, weil die Reihung der Figuren bildmäßig zu wenig Überschneidungen hatte und kompositorisch auseinanderfiel. Eine Figur steht zu weit hinten; eine andere zu weit vorn. Das hat ihn sicher gestört.” Presler, *Glanz und Elend*, 125.

There is indeed a finish and a hardness to the painting—a sharp-edged, caricatural quality—that steers *Viermal Hilde* in the direction of such works as Dix's *Sylvia von Harden* without committing to its objective resolution. Unlike this better known practitioner of *Die neue Sachlichkeit*, Hubbuch eschewed lacquer and shine in favor of a purposive technique of unfinish, a strategy of formal disintegration that differed from the singular, objective mode of vision that had become the norm in Weimar portraiture by 1929.

Modern Art in Baden: *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart* (1929)

Dear Dr. Hartlaub,

Sent both pictures yesterday by express post. They will arrive just in time. A few days before the exhibition opening, I will go over the painting with the 4 figures with a finishing varnish so that the newly dried portions do not disrupt the overall effect...¹⁶⁸

—Karl Hubbuch to Gustav Hartlaub, 19 April 1929

Indeed, the fate of Hubbuch's ruptured, multiplicative realism in its contemporary exhibition context serves to illuminate the vexed relationship between form and content that had come to define *Die neue Sachlichkeit* by the end of the 1920s. From the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition, in 1925, to the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* survey, in 1929, the Mannheim Kunsthalle director Gustav Hartlaub had changed his curatorial focus: eschewing contentious stylistic parameters for the more stable boundaries of region and institutional affiliation.¹⁶⁹ He thus split the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition into two

¹⁶⁸ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Gustav F. Hartlaub, 19 April 1929. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner "Badisches Kunstschaffen, Korrespondenz A-J."

¹⁶⁹ The exhibition, *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart*, was on view at the Kunsthalle Mannheim from 5 May - 30 June 1929. The second part of the exhibition opened in 1930 and included decorative arts. On the two exhibitions, see Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe*, 84-87.

juried sections, the first containing works submitted by members of the Badische Secession (established in 1927), and the second by unaffiliated Baden-born artists.¹⁷⁰ Featuring a staggering total of 450 paintings, works on paper, and sculpture, the exhibition was on view in the Mannheim Kunsthalle from 5 May to 30 June 1929.¹⁷¹ Critics noticed three tendencies in the works on view: bourgeois classicism, in the style of Karl Hofer and Alexander Kanoldt; a post-Trübner painterly modernism (Hermann Goebel, Arthur Grimm, Wladimir Zabolotin, etc), and the *Neue Sachlichkeit* style of the younger generation, including Hubbuch students in the so-called “Gruppe Vier”: Erwin Spuler, Hermann Trautwein, Anton Weber, and Martha Kuhn.¹⁷²

Georg Scholz had produced very few paintings in the years since 1927 and chose not to submit work to the exhibition.¹⁷³ As a member of the Badische Secession, Rudolf Schlichter exhibited five paintings, all of which typified his preference for monumental portraiture in a painterly style.¹⁷⁴ In a letter to Hartlaub sent mere weeks before the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition was set to open, Karl Hubbuch wrote that he would

¹⁷⁰ On the Badische Sezeession, see Antje Michaela Lechleiter, *Die Künstlergruppe 'Badische Secession'. Geschichte, Leben und Werk ihrer Maler und Bildhauer* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1994).

¹⁷¹ All Baden-born artists were invited to participate. Members of the Badische Secession (and their invited guests) could submit up to seven works for consideration, of which a minimum of three works must be selected. The jury for this section consisted of three members of the Secession: E.v. Freyhold, Erwin Heinrich, and the Freiburg Academy professor Alexander Kanoldt. The jury for non-members consisted of five men: Kanoldt, the Frankfurt sculptor Richard Scheibe, the Karlsruhe Academy professor Hermann Goebel, and Dr. Herbert Tannenbaum of Mannheim.

¹⁷² The Gruppe Vier did especially well with the Mannheim jury: Erwin Spuler exhibited three oil paintings, two pastel drawings, and one lithograph; Hermann Trautwein one lithograph; and Anton Weber one pastel. The only female member of the group submitted works for consideration, but none were accepted. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Badisches Kunstschaffen, Korrespondenz K-Z.”

On the artist Erwin Spuler, see Sylvia Bieber, et al., eds., *Erwin Spuler. Maler, Zeichner, Graphiker, Plastiker, Photograph, Filmemacher* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2001).

¹⁷³ Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 66-67. Scholz joined the Institut für Handwerkwirtschaft in Karlsruhe in 1927 and began making frequent trips to Berlin on behalf of the organization.

¹⁷⁴ Schlichter exhibited five oil paintings in the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition; in the catalogue, they are listed as follows: *Bildnis Frau Dr. Lorenz* (#320), *In Memoriam Gräfin Strachwitz* (#321), *Liegender Akt* (#322, a portrait of his wife Speedy), *Bildnis Frau Dr. Apfel* (#323, a picture now known as “Mädchen mit Pagenschnitt,” 1926), and *Bildnis Dr. Fritz Sternberg* (#324).

send “two pictures”¹⁷⁵ to Mannheim: one at that point already complete (a triple portrait now known as *Die Drillinge*) and one still underway, the painting *Viermal Hilde*.

Hubbuch's apparent reworking of the *Hilde* picture up to its final submission date—and his assumption that Hartlaub would accept a proposed set of last minute, onsite corrections without a protest—reveals more than an existing institutional relationship in the Mannheim Kunsthalle, where the artist had just recently exhibited a selection of graphic works for the commemorative Dürer Year exhibition, *Dürer und die Nachwelt*.¹⁷⁶ Clearly, the artist struggled to resolve a composition that presented a vexing set of formal challenges: caught, as it was, between the demands of *neusachlich* realism—which by 1929 typically dictated a smooth, seamless finish and a typological fixation on subject matter—and Hubbuch's contrary impulse toward spontaneous gesture, formal rupture, and figural repetition.

Moreover, the two figurative works Hubbuch submitted to the jury in 1929 with the humorous titles *4 mal Schwarzer Peter* and *3 mal Lina Entenschnabel* marked the artist's first attempt since 1925 to exhibit an oil painting in a major public exhibition. *Die Drillinge* (The Triplets, 1929) depicts one of Hubbuch's favorite academy models, a slim and athletic woman called Offi, three times from three different angles; she stands in an empty atelier space wearing only a pair of high heels and a short cropped hairstyle (**Fig.**

¹⁷⁵ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Gustav F. Hartlaub, 9 April 1929. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner “Badisches Kunstschaffen, Korrespondenz A-J.”

¹⁷⁶ Hubbuch planned to arrive in Mannheim a few days before the exhibition opening to go over the *Hilde* picture with a clear fixative varnish, so that the most recently completed sections would blend more seamlessly with the picture as a whole. See his letter to Gustav F. Hartlaub, 19 April 1929 (as cited above). In 1928, the Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim held an exhibition in celebration of the “Dürer Jahr 1928” from 20 May to 15 July 1928, *Dürer und die Nachwelt*. This show included a gallery devoted to Dürer's influence on contemporary art and included works by Grosz, Dix, and Hubbuch.

4.41).¹⁷⁷ Hubbuch was thus bitterly disappointed to learn of the jury's rejection. In a hastily penned note to Hartlaub, he wrote with bitter resignation: "As I've just heard, both of my pictures [*Viermal Hilde* and *Die Drillinge*] have been rejected by the jury. Should I be correctly informed about this, I hereby withdraw all of my submitted works from the exhibition."¹⁷⁸ In the exchange of letters that follow, Hartlaub reminded the artist – first beseechingly, and then with blunt administrative finality – that he had signed a contract and therefore promised his eight accepted works for the duration of the Kunsthalle exhibition.

These works included one lithograph and seven watercolor drawings, most of which depicted sites Hubbuch had visited during recent study trips to Marseille, Monte Carlo, and Nice (**figs. 4.42 & 4.43**).¹⁷⁹ Though his public reputation had long rested on his skill, according to one critic, as "a draftsman of most outstanding qualities," it is likely that Hubbuch sought through the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition to make a new name for himself as a painter of monumental female bodies: a dramatic shift in

¹⁷⁷ Karl Hubbuch, *Die Drillinge* (The Triplets), 1929. Oil on canvas, 148.5 x 157 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Koschkar, "Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassefotograf," 22, 130, 142; Gott dang, "Viermal Hilde—Viermal Schwarzer Peter," 170-172; Rödiger-Diruf, *Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 59 and cat.no. 88; Angermeyer-Deubner, 34; Goettl, *Karl Hubbuch*, 25-26.

¹⁷⁸ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Gustav F. Hartlaub, 29 April 1929. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner "Badisches Kunstschaffen, Korrespondenz A-J." "Wie ich eben höre, sollen meine beiden Bilder von der Jury abgelehnt sein. Sollte ich richtig informiert sein, so ziehe ich hiermit alle die eingesandten Arbeiten von der Ausstellung zurück. Ich bitte dann um baldige Rücksendung der Arbeiten."

¹⁷⁹ One noteworthy exception to these French cityscapes was the watercolor *Besoffen* (Soused, 1928-29), also accepted by the Kunsthalle jury, in which Hubbuch portrayed Hilde resting supine and loose-limbed on the floor after a night of intoxication. This work is illustrated as #46 (Beschwipst) in the first volume of the exhibition catalogue *Karl Hubbuch. Das Gesamtwerk in zwei Ausstellungen. I. Ausstellung: Das Frühwerk 1921-1934* (Munich: Neue Münchner Galerie, 1967).

On his submission form to the Kunsthalle Mannheim (13 April 1929), Hubbuch listed two paintings (*3 mal Lina Entenschnabel* and *4 mal Schwarzer Peter*); as well as 26 drawings ("26 Zeichnungen") and twelve colored drawings ("kolorierte Zeichnungen") submitted on 16 April and itemized by number, title, and price. These colored drawings include the following titles: *Monte Carlo* (number 1541), *Maison Radium, Besoffen, Im Hafen von Marseille, Notre Dame de la Garde, Marseille, Nizza Restaurant, Monte Carlo* (number 1542), *Nizza, Vor dem Spiegel, Schreck in der Küche*, and *Das Spiegelei*. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner "Badisches Kunstschaffen, A-J."

medium, style, and format that would have positioned him as one of the leading realist painters in Germany.¹⁸⁰ And yet this public statement was certainly strange: marshaling and mixing, as it did, the techniques of serial photography and montage-like juxtaposition to depict his wife Hilde as a modernist cipher seated on a Bauhaus stool.¹⁸¹

Considered as a pendant image to *Die Drillinge*, with its thrice repeated study of a cropped-haired, high-heeled model standing defiantly in the nude, *Viermal Hilde* would have marked a public assertion of Hubbuch's brand of multiple vision: a rejoinder to the classicizing female portraits which dominated the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition in which Hubbuch certainly wished to be included (despite his written protestations to the contrary). Though the jury rejected Hubbuch's presentation of his wife in *Viermal Hilde*, they accepted Rudolf Schlichter's rather more frank portrayal of his own partner Speedy, sprawling naked on a satin coverlet (**fig. 4.44**),¹⁸² along with his full-length portrait of one Frau Dr. Apfel – certainly every bit as modern and self-assured as Hilde with her pageboy haircut, dark lipstick, and androgynous shirt-and-tie (**fig. 4.45**).¹⁸³ Hubbuch, like his former classmate Schlichter, had studied at the Karlsruhe Academy in the first decades of the twentieth century, yet his vision of academic realism was apparently at odds with prevailing tastes in Baden in 1929. Critics barely noticed Hubbuch's eight

¹⁸⁰ Dr. R. Diehl, "Kunst in Frankfurt," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Frankfurt), 28 October 1924. Diehl refers to Hubbuch as "ein Zeichner von ganz hervorragenden Qualitäten." Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 160.

¹⁸¹ In *Viermal Hilde*, Hubbuch painted his wife seated on a Marcel Breuer-designed Bauhaus stool; in the drawing *Mit Fön und Fahrrad* (1928/29), she slouches in a different Bauhaus model (the Breuer-designed "Wassily" chair) wearing the same green pajama top she wears in *Viermal Hilde*. These items of instantly recognizable modern furniture were favorite set pieces for Karl Hubbuch, who would also sketch the models Martha, Marianne, and Offi reclining in the tubular steel chairs.

¹⁸² Rudolf Schlichter, *Liegender Akt* (Reclining Nude/Speedy), ca. 1928/29. Oil on canvas, dimensions and present location unknown. Photo in Bestand Altakten, *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart*, Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.

¹⁸³ Rudolf Schlichter, *Bildnis Frau Dr. Apfel* (Portrait of Dr. Apfel), ca. 1923-26. Oil on canvas. Photo in Bestand Altakten, *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart*, Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.

works in the Mannheim exhibition, and when they did, tended to admire the artist's technical competence while bemoaning a somewhat formulaic quality, or as one critic noted, "something a bit academic" (*etwas Akademisches*) in the pictures.¹⁸⁴

Indeed, it seems that the problem with Hubbuch's submission was not its modern subject matter, but its visual language.¹⁸⁵ Both *Viermal Hilde* and its companion portrait, *Die Drillinge*, assaulted the typological portrait genre and blurred the material boundaries between painting, drawing, and serial photography in ways that the Mannheim jury was apparently not prepared to accept.¹⁸⁶ This conservatism typified a larger trend in Baden exhibitions after 1929, in which progressive artists would find their work attacked by the conservative forces of the And yet it is clear from the visual and archival evidence that Hubbuch sought to position *Viermal Hilde* as the culmination of a yearlong process of intense formal experimentation, one in which the "something academic" in the picture would be a powerful weapon rather than a critical hindrance. As this chapter demonstrates, by 1929, the atelier had become a laboratory of experimentation, a safe space within an academy that would increasingly find itself under attack from reactionary forces both within and without its walls.

Two contemporaneous works created by Hubbuch's Karlsruhe academy student, Hanna Nagel, provide compelling evidence that the creation of *Viermal Hilde* was a

¹⁸⁴ *Karlsruhe Zeitung*, 15 May 1929: "...zeichnerisch scharf und ausgezeichnet erfaßt...[aber] es muß bemerkt werden, daß in den Stil dieser Blätter etwas Rezipthaftes, Akademisches einzudringen droht..." Copy in Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner "Badisches Kunstschaffen, A-J."

¹⁸⁵ Letter Gustav Hartlaub to Karl Hubbuch, 1 May 1929. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Bestand Altakten, Ordner "Badisches Kunstschaffen, A-J."

¹⁸⁶ The exhibition jury for non-member artists consisted of five individuals: Alexander Kanoldt, the Frankfurt sculptor Richard Scheibe, the Karlsruhe Academy professor Hermann Goebel, and Dr. Herbert Tannenbaum of Mannheim. Goebel, though certainly no reactionary, held distinctly conservative tastes in painting (the "Piper prints" Scholz describes in his autobiography). Tannenbaum was a collector of modern art and early supporter of Georg Scholz, but Kanoldt was, by the late 1920s, extremely conservative, with Nazi sympathies.

collaborative, atelier-based project: one that could stand as Karl Hubbuch's public statement in the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition, to be sure, but one that was also deeply influenced by Hilde Hubbuch's active participation. In the 1928 lithograph, *Gemeinsames Erlebnis* (Common Experience), Nagel depicts her classmate Hilde as a towering figure in underwear and high heels who grips her husband by the scruff of the neck (**fig. 4.46**).¹⁸⁷ A line of mustachioed chorus girls kick their legs in unison behind a caricatured jazz singer with bent legs and ankle bangles. This strange image suggests a series of provocative connections: between teacher and student, husband and wife, submission and domination.¹⁸⁸ For Nagel, who depicted Hilde Isay and Karl Hubbuch repeatedly during her tenure as an art student in Karlsruhe, Hilde played an active, even a domineering, role in the production of *Viermal Hilde*.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, in the January 1929

¹⁸⁷ Hanna Nagel, *Gemeinsames Erlebnis* (Common Experience), May 1928. Lithograph on paper, 29 x 35 cm. Private collection.

¹⁸⁸ The four chorus girls in Nagel's lithograph appear to be pregnant, with ample bellies that bear little resemblance to the lithe figures of the contemporary Tiller Girls dance troupe. Hilde, likewise, seems to hide a swelling belly beneath her husband's insistently buried head.

On blackface and minstrelsy in Germany during this period, see Jonathan Wipplinger, "The Racial Ruse: On Blackness and Blackface Comedy in *fin-de-siècle* Germany," *The German Quarterly*, Vol 84, Issue 4 (Fall 2011): 457-476.

¹⁸⁹ For the best overviews of Hanna Nagel's artistic production during the 1920s and early 1930s, see: Sylvia Bieber and Ursula Merkel, eds., *Hanna Nagel: Frühe Werke 1926-1933* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2007); and Katharina Wille, "Hanna Nagel. 'Der greifbaren Wirklichkeit mit bekennenden Zügen treu,'" in Mück, *Den Zeitgeist in Vize*, 114-115.

Hanna Nagel moved to Berlin, in the fall of 1929, to study with Karl Hubbuch's former teacher Emil Orlik. There is little anecdotal, but compelling visual, evidence that Hanna Nagel may have seen Hilde Isay as a rival for the attention of her teacher, Karl Hubbuch. Various sketches and lithographs of Hilde (captioned by Nagel as "I.H." or "die Isai") depict her in a very unflattering light, with exaggerated facial features, frizzy hair, and frumpy posture: indeed, one noteworthy sketch from the Hubbuch classroom shows Hilde charging towards her husband with a knife as he locks lips with an anonymous academy model.

drawing *Hundertmal Isai* [sic] (100 Times Isai), a topless Hilde physically guides her husband's arm as he puts brush to canvas (**fig. 4.47**).¹⁹⁰

Hubbuch's own analysis of the painting, recounted to Claude Keisch in the 1970s, offers a maddeningly laconic explanation of its form and content: "I wanted to depict the characteristic attitudes and conditions of this woman, inner conditions that would be reflected in both facial expression and bodily posture."¹⁹¹ With this brief analysis, cited nearly 40 years after the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* exhibition and long after Karl and Hilde Hubbuch had amicably separated in the early 1930s, Hubbuch sought to assign, retroactively, a typological meaning to a picture which resolutely defies such easy categorization. In its elision of the traditional boundaries between drawing, painting, and photography, and through its deployment of a multiple vision that seems to transcend medium-specificity, *Viermal Hilde* complicates our understanding of Germany's interwar modernism as a brand of realism defined by singular, objective, or typological modes of seeing. Though Hubbuch's effort to show the picture in Mannheim did not succeed, the story of its production reveals much about the contested definition and ongoing relevance of painterly realism in the late 1920s, opening up a new way to understand *Die neue Sachlichkeit* from the hand of one its most inventive practitioners.

¹⁹⁰ Hanna Nagel, *Hundertmal Isai* (Isai 100 Times), January 1929. Ink and colored pencil on paper, 35.5 x 27 cm. Private collection, Karlsruhe.

Lit: Hans-Dieter Mück, ed. *Der Weibliche Blick. Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik, 1897-1947* (Marbach am Neckar: Galerie der Stadt Aschaffenburg 1993), ill. 75; Götz, "Viermal Hilde," 154; Gottdang, "Viermal Hilde--Viermal Schwarzer Peter," 168; Renate Berger, "Es bleibt nur dies: die eine Hand, dies eine Herz'. Zu Hanna Nagels frühen Zeichnungen (1929-1931) in *Liebe Macht Kunst. Künstlerpaare im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. R. Berger (Köln: Böhlau, 2000), 329-330.

¹⁹¹ Letter Karl Hubbuch to Claude Keisch, 26 May 1971; as in note 146, above.

In a later note, Karl Hubbuch would recall that the search for realism during the 1920s had been a collective striving, but one that he would, in the isolation and political difficulties of the postwar years, come to reject as a youthful fancy:

NEUE SACHLICHKEIT: the term sounds as sterile as an apothecary cabinet, hanging on the wall and stocked with emergency bandages and medicines...Schlichter, Scholz, Müller-H[ufschmid], Groß [sic], Dix, and the others, they too went about collecting styles, everyone in his own way. Everyone had fun with his craft (*Handwerk*), his reed pens and ink brushes, his box of watercolors, his fatty lithographic crayons, his scrapers and his etching needles. Neither Giotto nor Leonardo, Rembrandt nor Goya could have loved his tools more...every man seeking out “his” form of realism.¹⁹²

This search for realism—despite Hubbuch’s retrospective bitterness, a decidedly earnest, material striving for a representational art that responded to the demands of the avant-garde—brought the Karlsruhe artists and their academy peers into conflict with the increasingly reactionary forces of the local and national government. The *Badische Landeskunstschule*, which had provided a protected space for artists to produce and, often, to exhibit their work in the 1920s, would fall victim to the forces of conservatism that attacked the Weimar Republic after 1930. Indeed, the meaning of realism would become increasingly unstable and contested in the years to follow: a group of artists whose work had been largely rejected by the *Badisches Kunstschaffen* jury—led by former Hans Thoma students including the conservative painters Hans Adolf Bühler and August Gebhard—organized their own counter-exhibition in the Karlsruhe Exhibition

¹⁹² Karl Hubbuch, undated letter (1960/70s), Archiv Galerie Hasenclever, Munich. Copy in the collection of the author. “NEUE SACHLICHKEIT—das klingt so steril wie Apothekerkästchen an der Wand, mit Notverbänden und Schnellmedizin [...] Auch Schlichter, Scholz, Müller-H., Groß [sic], Dix u. manche andere sammelten, jeder auf seiner Art. Jeder hatte Spaß an seinem Handwerk, seinen Rohrfedern, seinen Tuschköpfen, seinem Aquarellkasten, an seinen lithographischen Fettkreiden, seinen Schabern und seinen Radiernadeln. Giotto und Leonardo—Rembrandt und Goya können ihr Werkzeug nicht mehr geliebt haben. jeder suchte ‘seinen’ Realismus [...]”

Hall in July of 1930.¹⁹³ These artists had long favored rolling *badisch* landscapes and heroic figuration in the painterly work, typified by such pictures as Gebhard's *Portrait of the Honorary Citizen Hans Thoma* (1919) and Bühler's 1925-26 commissioned murals for the Karlsruhe City Hall, which depicted "the nameless soldier with his mother and wife" alongside the "representatives of poetry, music, and theater arts" (fig. 4.48-4.49).¹⁹⁴ Their emerging dominance in the local art scene was supported by attacks from the conservative press, which launched barbs at individual artists and at the collecting policy of the *Kunsthalle* director, Lilli Fischel, from newspapers such as *Der Führer*. Indeed, when Hans Adolf Bühler was named director of the *Landeskunstschule*, on 24 October 1932, progressive faculty members and their student colleagues knew that their days would be numbered.

¹⁹³ This exhibition bore the provocative, and deliberately corrective, title "Kunstaussstellung 1930--Das Badische Kunstschaffen." It was on view in the Karlsruhe Ausstellungshalle from July to October 1930. See Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 86-87.

¹⁹⁴ August Gebhard, *Hans Thoma (Ehrenbürger)* (Honorary Citizen Hans Thoma), 1919. Oil on wood, 90.5 x 76 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 60/371.

Hans Adolf Bühler, (L) *The nameless soldier with his mother and wife/sister*; (R) *The representatives of Poetry, Music, and Theater Arts* Joseph Viktor von Scheffel, Felix Mottl and Eduard Devrient, 1925/26. Gouache and goldleaf on plywood, each panel 245 x 83.5 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 60/144.

Coda

“Kampf dem Kitsch”: The Fate of Realism in Karlsruhe, 1930-1933

A drawing of Ria [Hilde Hubbuch] hung on the pearl-grey wall over the chaise longue. Bob [Karl Hubbuch] loved complex formal abbreviations and tried to render every detail with radical objectivity; as such, this representation of Ria's nude body would also have satisfied the gynecology student's thirst for knowledge. Demuth [Hermann Goebel] rejected Bob's "neue Sachlichkeit," with which this young husband had reduced the features of his wife to those of a street prostitute.¹

—Georg Scholz, *als ob*, unpublished manuscript (1930)

Karl Hubbuch continues to delight in the most dreadful type of "whore painting" [...] When will his talent—certainly acknowledged—finally take leave of this fad, this perverse flesh show? In a Paris Panopticon, his *Lissy* and *Milly* would be the latest trend, and his *Sonja* could certainly find a place in the Jewish *Simplizissimus*.²

—Wolfgang Rüdiger, "Badischer Kunstverein Karlsruhe. Novemberschau," *Der Führer* (Karlsruhe), 10 November 1932

In a pair of 1930 photographs, Karl and Hilde Hubbuch pose alone in the empty hallway of the *Badische Landeskunstschule* (**fig. 5.1**).³ Karl, with neatly-combed hair and a professorial wool suit, wraps his arms around a fat interior column, mouth open and

¹ Georg Scholz, *als ob* (1930), unpublished typewritten manuscript. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "An der perlgrauen Wand über der Chaiselongue hing eine Zeichnung von Radetzky. Bob liebte schwierige Verkürzungen und pflegte jedwedes Detail mit radikaler Sachlichkeit wiederzugeben, sodaß auch diese Darstellung von Rias Akt den Wissensdurst jedes Studierenden der Gynäkologie befriedigt hätte. Demuth lehnte Bobs 'neue Sachlichkeit' ab, mit welcher dieser junge Ehegatte die Züge seiner Frau zu denen einer Straßendirne steigerte."

² Wolfgang Rüdiger, "Badischer Kunstverein Karlsruhe. Novemberschau," *Der Führer* (Karlsruhe), 10 November 1932. Cited in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 185. "Karlchen Hubbuch ergötzt sich immer noch an schlimmster Hurenmalerei... Wann wird sein anerkanntes Talent endlich diese Marotte, diese perverse Fleischschau verlassen? Für ein Pariser Panoptikum mögen die 'Lissy', die 'Milly'... noch die letzte Neuheit sein, und die 'Sonja' könnte in hundertfacher Verkleinerung im jüdischen 'Simplizissimus' einen Platz finden..."

³ Hilde Hubbuch, *Karl Hubbuch an einer Säule in der Badischen Landeskunstschule, Karlsruhe* (Karl Hubbuch by a column in the Badische Landeskunstschule), 1930. New digital print from original negative, 29.5 x 19cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-026

Karl Hubbuch, *Hilde Hubbuch vor einer Säule in der Badischen Landeskunstschule, Karlsruhe* (Hilde Hubbuch by a column in the Badische Landeskunstschule), 1930. New digital print from original negative, 29.5 x 19cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-008.

tongue extended in mock disgust. Hilde, by contrast, appears serious, almost judgmental, as she leans against the same column with a wide stance and a penetrating gaze directed at the photographer (presumably, her husband Karl). Her pose echoes that of the apron-wearing figure in *Viermal Hilde*, but with a decisive alteration: gone are the upturned eyes and the coquettish smile, vanished are the eagerly clasped hands: in their place, two hands folded behind her back, as if to forge a stronger posture or as if, perhaps, the hands have been bound at the wrists.⁴

Consider Karl Hubbuch's *Self Portrait in St. Malo* (1930), a strange and somewhat haunting watercolor portrait in which the artist's likeness returns to the image for the first time the mid-1920s (**fig. 5.2**).⁵ Hubbuch wears the proletarian costume of his earlier montage drawings—the newsboy cap, the sleeveless worker's tank top, the baggy, pocketed trousers—and he directs a noticeable scowl toward a circus poster bearing the letters "US" and the face of a leering, toothy clown.⁶ Hilde walks a few paces behind her husband, dressed smartly in a dusty periwinkle jacket and a pale pink skirt. She clutches a slim handbag against her left side, and she casts a bemused, bespectacled glance toward the poster that appears to be the source of Karl's consternation. Across the lower portion

⁴ In January of 1931, Karl and Hilde Hubbuch were planning a trip to visit the Bauhaus in Dessau, as a postcard from Hilde to her in-laws attests. This was likely a visit to figure out Hilde's next steps as an artist; in the summer semesters of 1931 and 1932, she was included in the list of auditors and as a guest student (*Hospitantin*) in the photography class of Walter Peterhans. Postcard H. Hubbuch to the parents of Karl Hubbuch, 9 January 1931. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe. Cited in Koschkar, "Karl Hubbuch als Modell- und Strassenfotograf der Moderne," 21. "Wir gehen noch nach Dessau u. schauen uns das Bauhaus an, das ist die Kunstschule, durch welche wir unsere Möbel hatten."

⁵ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis in St Malo* (Self-Portrait in St. Malo), 1930. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 54.5 x 66.5 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 22-23.

⁶ Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner suggests that this may be a representation of the American president, Herbert Hoover. Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe*, 23.

of the composition, a slim line of added paper breaks the surface cohesion with a sly, almost compulsive moment of formal intervention.⁷

Hubbuch submitted this portrait to the juried exhibition, *Selbstbildnisse Badischer Künstler* (Self-Portraits by Baden Artists), which opened in the winter of 1930 at the *Badischer Kunstverein* and the *Badische Kunsthalle* in Karlsruhe.⁸ The Baden Ministry of Culture first hatched the idea to hold a juried competition for the best self-portraits by *badisch* artists in July of 1929, and selected the jury one year later.⁹ All artists residing in Baden, as well as master students at the *Badische Landeskunstschule*, were invited to participate in the competition, which was sponsored by the recently-formed *Vereinigung der Freunde der Badischen Kunsthalle* and offered prizes and honoraria totaling 7,000 Reichsmarks.¹⁰ After an overwhelming response, a total of 351 works were shown between two the Karlsruhe locations: works on paper and sculpture in the *Kunsthalle*, and painting (at 227 portraits, the dominant portion of the exhibition) in the *Badischer Kunstverein*.¹¹

⁷ *Ludwigshafener Tagblatt*, 22 February 1930. Copy in GLA 441 Zug. 1981/70 Nr. 132. "Hubbuch, der große Könnner, lieferte ein amuses Aquarell, aber was hat es viel mit dem Begriff Bildnis zu tun? Es erübrigt sich, näher auf Einzelheiten einzugehen."

⁸ For an analysis of the exhibition in its period context, see Ursula Merkel, "'Selbstbildnisse badischer Künstler'. Anmerkungen zum staatlichen Porträtwettbewerb und zur Ausstellung von 1930," in Dresch and Röbling, *Bilder im Zirkel*, 175-190; Andreas Voswinckel, "Der Badische Kunstverein vor und nach der Machtergreifung im Spiegel seiner Ausstellungen 1919-1945," in Röbling, *Stilstreit und Führerprinzip*, 181-196; and Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe*, 87-95.

⁹ GLA 441 Zug. 1981 Nr. 70/132. The jury included Hans Adolf Bühler, a professor at the Landeskunstschule and a founding member of the regional chapter of the reactionary *Kampfbundes für deutsche Kultur*; Lilli Fischel, the embattled director of the *Badische Kunsthalle*; Albert Haueisen, professor of painting at the Landeskunstschule and a member of the Badische Secession; Landeskunstschule professor Christoph Voll; and Karl Wulzinger, a professor of art history and head of the Technische Hochschule in Karlsruhe.

¹⁰ Due to the unexpectedly large number of submissions, organizers expanded the exhibition from the Kunstverein into the galleries of the Kunsthalle. The enormous number of submissions included some conspicuous absences: Walter Conz, Georg Scholz, as well as artists who hailed from Baden but did not live there in 1930: Karl Hofer, Alexader Kanoldt, Rudolf Schlichter, and other members of the Badische Secession. See Merkel, "Selbstbildnisse badischer Künstler," 178.

¹¹ A catalogue produced for the exhibition listed the works on view and published reproductions of the prize winners.

The jury met in late January of 1930 to select the prize winners; in the category of painting, portraits by Wilhelm Martin,¹² Willi Müller-Hufschmid,¹³ and Wladimir Zabolin¹⁴ were awarded prizes of 1,500 RM each, with the submission by Georg Scholz's former lithography mentor, Ernst Würtenberger, earning an honorable mention.¹⁵ Müller-Hufschmid's portrait attracted a buzz of attention in the local press—a sharply realist portrayal of the shirtless artist flanked by his wife and young son, it was seen as typical of his “gritty, tenacious temperament”—and indeed, the painter's jarringly confrontational self-portrait differed from the far more traditional works submitted by his fellow prize winners (**fig. 5.3**). Conservative critics took aim at the exhibition jury in newspapers such as the *Residenz-Anzeiger*, accusing its members of advocating “bolshevist art” and advancing a program of “hyper modernism” in Karlsruhe.¹⁶ These attacks were aimed, primarily, at Müller-Hufschmid's self-portrait, which was seen as a crude degradation of his “obvious talent,” and thus, as a blight on the “soul of the observer.”¹⁷

Seeking to counter this attack, a group of left-leaning artists around Karl Hubbuch fired at the conservative press in the first issue of their self-produced satirical journal, *Zakpo*.¹⁸ Hubbuch's student, Erwin Spuler, designed an ascerbic, double-page layout depicting the execution of the exhibition jury on the steps of the Kunsthalle: Müller-

¹² Wilhelm Martin, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait), 1930. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Rathaus Weingarten, Baden. Reproduced in Merkel, “Selbstbildnisse badischer Künstler,” 179.

¹³ Willi Müller-Hufschmid, *Selbstbildnis mit Frau und Sohn* (Self Portrait with Wife and Son), 1929. Destroyed in an atelier fire. Reproduced in Merkel, “Selbstbildnisse badischer Künstler,” 178.

¹⁴ Wladimir Zabolin, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait), ca. 1929. Oil on canvas. Present location and dimensions unknown. Reproduced in Merkel, “Selbstbildnisse badischer Künstler,” 180.

¹⁵ GLA 441 Zug. 1981 Nr. 70/132. The prize for graphic art (200 RM) awarded to Willy Kiwitz and the prize for sculpture (1,500 RM) to Fritz Springer, with additional prizes of 700 M awarded to the sculptors Johannes Schmidt and Johanna Breuer.

¹⁶ Monti (=Adam Roeder) in *Residenz-Anzeiger*, 28 February 1930. Cited in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 94.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 94.

¹⁸ See “Die Zeitschrift ‘Zakpo,’” in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 96 and Kipple, “Chronologie,” in Heil and Klingelhöller, *150 Jahre*, 280.

Hufschmid's self-portrait lies on the ground while the progressive *Kunsthalle* director Lilli Fischel has been stuffed into an open coffin (**fig. 5.4**).¹⁹ Next to Fischel stands the sculptor and academy professor Christoph Voll, his right arm raised in defiant protest and his face and suit jacket bloodied by the barrage of bullets. A descriptive caption explains that the jury has been rounded up on the steps of the museum and executed by members of the conservative *Karlsruher Reichsverband bildender Künstler*—its members identified in pseudonym as the painters Adolf Luntz (*Schönlunser*), Emil Firnrohr (*Firnhard*), and August Gebhard (*Gebrohr*).²⁰

Matters escalated in the years to follow. The former Hans Thoma student and professor, Hans Adolf Bühler, took over the directorship of the *Landeskunstschule* in the fall of 1932, the culmination of nearly a decade of his agitations for the preservation of *Heimatkunst* in Karlsruhe. On 30 January 1933, Reich president Paul von Hindenburg took the advice of his circle of advisors and named as chancellor the Nazi Party leader Adolf Hitler. A vote on 5 March gave the National Socialists a majority in Baden, as it had in 18 of the other 35 voting districts of the Reichstag. The following day, swastika flags went up over the Karlsruhe palace.²¹ Finally, on 16 May, the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) paramilitary group carried the representatives of the Baden government away to the newly appointed Kislau concentration camp, near Bad Schonborn.²²

¹⁹ Erwin Spuler, "Erschiessung der Jury..." *Zakpo* Nr. 1 (1930): 7. Copy in the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.

²⁰ In the second and final issue of *Zakpo*, the editors reprinted the Grosz and Herzfelde manifesto "Die Kunst in Gefahr," illustrated with drawings by Karl Hubbuch. *Zakpo*, Nr. 2 (1930): 14-15. Copy in the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.

²¹ Koch, *Karlsruher Chronik*, 164-171.

²² See Hartmann, "Realistische Kunst der 20er Jahre in Karlsruhe," 5.

Already in mid-March, the “shame exhibition” *Regierungskunst* was being advertised in the Nazi newspaper of Baden, *Der Führer*: the headline proclaimed that “Bolshevist art will be eradicated. Mismanagement in the Kunsthalle: the people themselves shall be the judge.”²³ Hans Adolf Bühler worked with the state commissioner for culture and education, Otto Wacker, to place on view every work of art produced between 1919 and 1933 of a “Bolshevist and diseased” nature, along with the price paid for the work (often at misleading, inflation-era values that had not been not adjusted to the Reichsmark) and the name of the Minister of Culture who had authorized its acquisition, along with the frequently Jewish art dealers from whom they had bought or sold the work.²⁴ By linking these “diseased” pictures to the name of a government official—and not to the director of the Kunsthalle—the exhibition organizers sought to discredit the previous government (*die Regierung*), thus seamlessly linking the public perception of modern art and radical politics. This “curatorial” approach took hold and traveled to nearby Mannheim, where the exhibition *Kulturbolschewismus* (Culture Bolshevism, 4 April to 5 June 1933) drew over 20,000 visitors.²⁵

The Karlsruhe arm of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, led by Hans Adolf Bühler, was put in charge of organizing the *Schreckenskammer* at the Karlsruhe exhibition, which Bühler billed, in the spirit of a fairground hawker, as “a true horror

²³ *Der Führer*, 17 March 1933. Cited in Koch, “Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe - Zur Ausstellung ‘Regierungskunst 1919 bis 1933,’” in Hofmann and Präger, *Kunst in Karlsruhe 1900-1950*, 104. “Der Kunstbolschewismus wird beseitigt. Mißwirtschaft in der Kunsthalle--Die Bevölkerung selbst soll prüfen.”

²⁴ Joachim Heudsinger von Waldegg, *Die Hochschule der bildenden Künste Karlsruhe im Dritten Reich. Akademieggeschichte von den zwanziger Jahren bis in die fünfziger Jahre und ihre kulturpolitischen Voraussetzungen* (Karlsruhe: Staatliche Akademie der bildenden Künste, 1987), 8.

²⁵ Koch, “Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe,” 105. Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub was fired from the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1933, as was Lilli Fischel at the Karlsruhe Kunsthalle.

chamber of art.”²⁶ “Erotic” and “obscene” pictures were included to enhance the air of illicit degeneration, and in this “erotisches Kabinett,” children under 18 were not permitted to enter. (Nude studies and portraits by Rudolf Schlichter, Georg Scholz, and Karl Hubbuch were presumably included in this room.)²⁷ The highlight of the shaming exhibition, somewhat amusingly, was Hans von Marée’s *Family Portrait* (1867), a gauzy scene of a mother and her children sitting in a forest glade. The painting, which had been acquired by the Kunsthalle director Lilli Fischel in 1932, was seen as an “unfinished” picture that lacked the surface polish and figurative cohesion that advocates such as Bühler embraced in their own painterly scenes.²⁸

The shame exhibitions in Karlsruhe and Mannheim found resonance as far away as Berlin, where the *Börsen-Zeitung* proclaimed on 12 April 1933, under the headline “Kampf dem Kitsch!” (Battle against Kitsch!): “Never has an exhibition in Mannheim or Karlsruhe had such attendance as these chambers of horror.”²⁹ Indeed, these popular exhibitions put an end to the period of experimentation at the *Badische Landeskunstschule*, and they ushered in a new phase in which German realism came to signify clarity, wholeness, health, and purity. (The 1937 *Degenerate Art* exhibition, for

²⁶ Koch, “Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe,” 105.

²⁷ See Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, “Die Kunsthalle im Dritten Reich,” in Rößling, *Stilstreit und Führerprinzip*, 139-164.

²⁸ Koch, “Kulturkampf in Karlsruhe,” 106. The exhibition organizers selected works from the collection of the Badische Kunsthalle; thus, they had primarily works of German Impressionism from which to choose: Hans von Marée’s *Family Portrait* (1867), Max Liebermann’s *Die Korbflechter*, Lovis Corinth’s *Bildnis Charlotte Berend-Corinth*, Max Slevogt’s *Früchtestilleben*, Edvard Munch’s *Landstraße*, Karl Hofer’s *Gerümpel* (also known as *Selbstbildnis mit Dämon*).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 107.

example, was modeled after these earlier successes in Karlsruhe and Mannheim.)³⁰ For many historians of art, this attack on Germany's interwar modernism—and the re-inscription of cultural-political meaning in a reactionary mode—has influenced how we look back on *Die neue Sachlichkeit* since the first projects of historical recovery, in the 1970s and 80s.³¹

The *Zakpo* caricature of press-enacted execution would become a reality, in July of 1933, when Karl Hubbuch, Georg Scholz, Christoph Voll, Lilli Fischel, and other progressive artists and curators lost their jobs with cursory letters that declared them to be “expendable” or “superfluous.”³² What this meant for the Karlsruhe artists, like so many of their peers throughout Germany, was a phase of retreat and survival. After moving ever farther from the leftwing politics of the early 1920s, Rudolf Schlichter and his wife, Speedy, left Berlin in 1932 and moved to the small *schwäbisch* town of Rottenburg am Neckar. In 1936, the couple moved to nearby Stuttgart and finally, in 1939, to Munich, where Schlichter would spend his later career grappling with the consequences of neo-nationalism and the celebration of mechanized masculine power, as such ideals had been espoused by his friend Ernst Jünger, in works such as *Storm of Steel* (1920) and *Fire and*

³⁰ For a comprehensive overview of the *Degenerate Art* exhibition, see Stephanie Barron and Peter W. Guenther, eds., *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1991). In 2014, the Neue Galerie New York revisited the topic of the *Entartete Kunst* show in the exhibition and accompanying scholarly catalog: Olaf Peters and Bernhard Fulda, eds., *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (Munich: Prestel, 2014). For additional context on the exhibition, see: Uwe Fleckner, “In the Twilight of Power: The Contradictions of Art Politics in National Socialist Germany,” in Strecker, *The Mad Square*, 255-263; and Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, “Entartete Kunst: München 1937,” in Adkins, *Stationen der Moderne*, 288-313.

³¹ Often, these exhibitions focused almost exclusively on the politically leftwing, verist works that emerged from Berlin and Dresden, or on the Munich “magic realists”; discussions of Karlsruhe were marginalized with the exception of the Badischer Kunstverein retrospective on Georg Scholz, in 1975, which took an avowedly left-political, post-1968 approach to the collaborative practices of the working group and to the objects of inquiry. See *Georg Scholz, ein Beitrag*, 7-11.

³² GLA 235/40092. “Entlassungsschreiben, 25 July 1933.” The fired professors included Karl Hubbuch, Georg Scholz, Paul Speck, Dr. van Tack, Dillinger, Gehri, Wilhelm Schnarrenberger, August Babberger, Heinrich Schmitt-Spahn, Winkler, and Koberski.

Blood (1925).³³ Neither man ever joined the National Socialist Party—Jünger repeatedly refused Nazi entreaties to join the Reichstag, to head the German Academy of Literature, or to publish his writings in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the official Nazi newspaper. Yet Schlichter's involvement with Jünger and his circle, his conversion to Catholicism, and his shift to painterly strategies of landscape and monumental realism, all color the reception of the artist's work after 1930. (Indeed, Georg Scholz would puzzle about his former schoolmate's shift to the right in a series of letters to his friend Theodor Kiefer, beginning in the final months of 1929.³⁴

After losing his own academic position in July of 1933, Georg Scholz moved to the small *badisch* town of Waldkirch, where he converted to Catholicism and made his living painting large-format religious scenes for a local parish.³⁵ French troops entered Waldkirch on 21 April 1945, signaling the end of World War II and precipitating the flight of the Nazi-appointed mayor. The town quickly had to find a replacement candidate untainted by the Nazi influence; Georg Scholz, who had lived in Waldkirch since 1935, spoke fluent French, and was a declared anti-fascist, emerged as a leading candidate. After first demurring before the position, Scholz was named mayor of Waldkirch on 19

³³ On Schlichter's later career and his turn to the visual language of surrealism, see Sigrid Lange, "Das Spätwerk von Rudolf Schlichter (1945-1955)" (PhD diss., Universität Tübingen, 2003); and Corinne Granof, "Obstinate Flesh," 192-233.

Schlichter's allegorical painting, *Blinde Macht* (1935-1937) grapples with the degraded and diminished position of the artist under National Socialism.

³⁴ See, for example, letter Georg Scholz to Theodor Kiefer, 16 March 1930. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch. "Ich war mit Schlichter zusammen. Schlichter ist aus der Kommunistischen Partei ganz offiziell rausgeschmissen worden, und prompt in das rechte Extrem verfallen, noch rechter wie die Nationalsozialisten. Seine Motive sind jetzt 'Siegfried, den Drachen erschlagend', die 'Nibelungen' 'Wotan und Donar' etc."

³⁵ On Scholz's later career, following his termination at the Landeskunstschule and his move to Waldkirch, see Sternfeld, *Georg Scholz*, 72-81.

October 1945, a position he held for just 40 days before suffering a fatal heart attack on 27 November.³⁶ He was just 55 years old.

Karl Hubbuch enjoyed a far longer life and career than his Karlsruhe schoolmates, continuing to produce work in various media well into the 1960s. Yet he, too, struggled to survive the repressions of the Nazi era and to regain his footing after the hostilities ended in 1945. From 1939 until 1940, Hubbuch worked as a laborer in the Majolika-Manufaktur in Karlsruhe, and for a time, as a painter of watch faces in the Black Forest. Karl and Hilde Hubbuch had amicably separated when she left Karlsruhe to study at the Dessau Bauhaus, in the summer of 1931, and divorced before Hilde (the daughter of a wealthy Jewish merchant) emigrated to the United States, by way of Vienna and London, in 1939.³⁷ In 1940, Karl Hubbuch married Ellen Heid, with whom he would soon after return to Karlsruhe, where he resumed work painting tiles at the Majolika factory. In 1945, Hubbuch joined the “Antifaschistische Gesellschaft” (Anti-Fascist Society) in nearby Rastatt and began work on a cycle of drawings entitled “Forget? Never!”³⁸ These works revisited the combinatory style of the artist’s early 1920s montage etchings with a sharpened clarity of line and shade: in “The End of the Thousand Year Reich after Just

³⁶ On Scholz’s short-lived term as mayor of Waldkirch, see Wolfram Wette, “Professor Georg Scholz, Bürgermeister der Stadt Waldkirch vom 19. Oktober bis 27. November 1945” in Mück, *Georg Scholz, 1890-1945*, 8-9. I thank Oberbürgermeister Richard Leibinger for sharing his knowledge of the history of Waldkirch, and Scholz’s place within it, for the purposes of this dissertation.

³⁷ In 1931, Hilde Hubbuch left Karlsruhe to study photography under Walter Peterhans; she and Karl Hubbuch separated amicably before Hilde (the daughter of a wealthy Jewish merchant) emigrated to the United States, by way of Vienna and London, in 1939. After arriving in New York, she changed the spelling of her last name to “Hubbuck” and worked as a photographer specializing in portraits of families and children.

³⁸ On Hubbuch’s work for the Antifa and the *Vergessen? —Niemals!* cycle of drawings, see Karl-Ludwig Hofmann and Christmut Präger, “‘Aufräumarbeiten!’ Karl Hubbuch und die Antifa,” in Goettl, *Karl Hubbuch 1891-1979*, 65-70.

Twelve Years” (1945/47), an ironclad angel of death holds a spear to the falling body of Adolf Hitler, who holds up his balled fists in useless protest.³⁹

In 1947, Hubbuch rejoined the Karlsruhe Academy as a professor of painting, where he would remain an active faculty member until his retirement in 1957.⁴⁰ In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the artist traveled increasingly with his wife to France and Holland, and in 1970, produced *Die Hauptstadt* (The Capital City), a cycle of 55 drawings of Paris published by R. Hiepe in Munich. The last signed and dated picture attributed to Karl Hubbuch is his *Self-Portrait before the House Door* (1970), a drypoint etching depicting the aging artist—dressed smartly in a newsboy cap and coat and wielding a walking stick—standing before his open house door as a flood of long-haired bohemians cascades by (**fig. 5.5**).⁴¹ The women, in large part, are topless and strident; one looks over her shoulder to stick her tongue out in the elderly Hubbuch’s direction. The other young students march off in formation, glassy-eyed and catatonic despite their affect of individualized difference. Sharp, scratchy lines of the drypoint needle hollow out their gaping mouths and staring, sightless eyes. In the foreground, a scruffy and bearded young man appears to be mesmerized by an unseen force. Advanced blindness put an end to Hubbuch’s production by the early 1970s; it therefore seems fitting that this final rumination on self, seeing, and embodiment would be marked by the same somnambulistic creatures who had filled Hubbuch’s images in the early 1920s.⁴²

³⁹ Karl Hubbuch, *Des tausendjährigen Reiches Ende nach zwölf Jährchen*, 1945/47. Pen and ink on paper, 40 x 55 cm. Private collection, Germany.

⁴⁰ On Hubbuch’s so-called “third phase” of creative practice, see Wolfgang Hartmann, “Karl Hubbuch. Leben und Werk,” in Rödiger-Diruf, *Karl Hubbuch Retrospektive*, 77–81.

⁴¹ Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis vor der Haustür* (Self-Portrait before the House Door), 1970. Drypoint and etching on paper, 25.2 x 33.8 cm. Private collection.

Lit: Presler, *Glanz und Elend*, 67; Goettl, *Karl Hubbuch*, 34.

⁴² Karl Hubbuch died in Karlsruhe on 26 December 1979.

Karl Hubbuch's choice to move through the house door, away from these hypnotic masses, is typical of the "inner emigration" often assigned to German artists who later characterized their youthful *Sachlichkeit* as trivial, ordered, and precise—recall Hubbuch's cynical assessment of this realism as an "apothecary cabinet" from which one plucked one's tools and played at verist picture making. Yet the meaning of this realism was historically specific, both in the air and of its time, and its effects were often far more potent than such retrospective dismissals would allow. The specificity of *Die neue Sachlichkeit* and its connections to the avant-garde were lost after World War II, and the significance of this realism was no longer legible, marred by the ugly brutality of the Nazi period and its embrace of realism as a "healthy" and "correct" visual language. This dissertation works to restore the terms of 1920s realism in their historical specificity, rendering this realism legible in the language of its times and demonstrating the extraordinary complexity of factors that generated it: from the regional to the metropolitan, from high art to kitsch, and from Dada to de Chirico. By recovering the period significance of Dada and *Die neue Sachlichkeit* in Karlsruhe, this study rewrites the meaning of *Sachlichkeit* between the wars and challenges the notion of historical rupture that would sever this realism from the interventions of the historical avant-garde. Thus, it necessitates a reconsideration of materials and tactics, politics and poetics, that have long been seen as the exclusive purview of this avant-garde—opening up the objects of Karlsruhe's curious realism in their full and purposive formal potency.

SELECTED ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction



Fig. 0.1
 Rudolf Schlichter, *Phänomen-Werke* (Phenomenon Works), 1919-20. Photomontage and collage of papers and fabric with watercolor and opaque watercolor on paper, 61.7 x 46.6 cm. Private collection, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig. 0.2
Édouard Manet, *Nana*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 254 x 115 cm. Kunsthalle Hamburg.

Chapter One



Fig. 1.1

Rudolf Schlichter, *Der schwarze Jack* (Black Jack), 1916. Watercolor on paper, 41 x 54 cm. Private collection, Offenbach am Main.



Fig. 1.2

Wladimir von Zabolotin, poster for the first exhibition of the *Gruppe Rih* at the Galerie Moos, Karlsruhe, April 1919. Lithograph on violet paper, pasted on cardboard 50 x 65 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.3
Hans Thoma, *Der Kinderreigen* (The Children's Roundel), 1872. Oil on canvas, 161 x 115 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.4
Hans Thoma, *Waldwiese* (Forest Meadow), 1889. Oil on canvas, 113 x 87.8 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt.



Fig. 1.5
Hans Thoma, *Auf der Waldwiese* (In the Forest Meadow), 1876. Oil on panel, 47.5 x 37.5 cm. Kunsthalle Hamburg.



Fig. 1.6
Wilhelm Trübner, *Brüsslerin mit blauer Krawatte* (Lady from Bruxelles with Blue Tie), 1874. Oil on canvas. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, Inv.Nr. G 654.

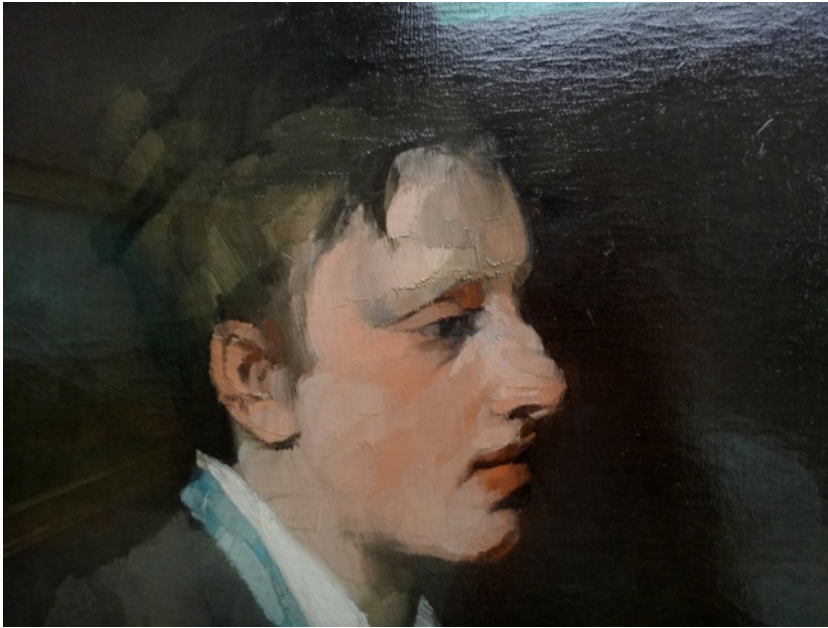


Fig. 1.6 (detail)



Fig. 1.7
Georg Scholz, *Portrait of Rudolf Schlichter*, ca. 1913. Oil on canvas, 98 x 74 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.8
Julius Kasper, *Der Betrunkener* (The Drunkard), ca. 1910-12. Color lithograph on paper. Private collection.

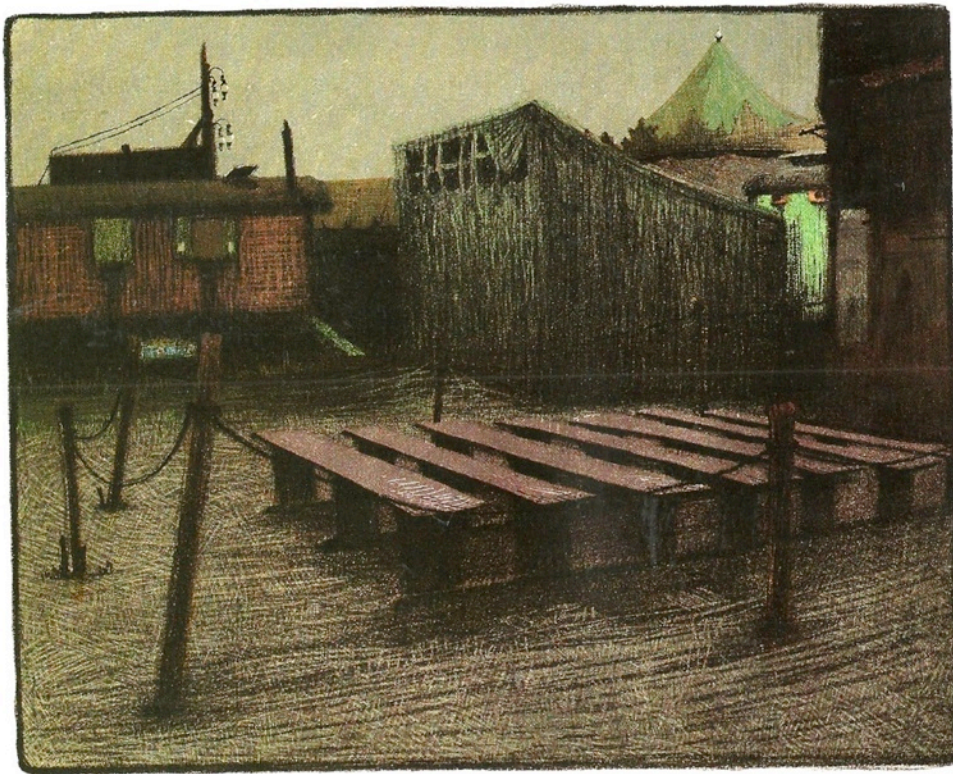


Fig. 1.9
Julius Kasper, *Zirkus bei Nacht* (Circus by Night) 1909. Color lithograph on paper, 34.5 x 42.9 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.10

Otto Fikentscher, *Krähen im Schnee* (Crows in the Snow), undated. Color lithograph on paper, 55.7 x 75.5 cm. Printer: Kunstdruckerei Künstlerbund Karlsruhe. Publisher: Verlag von B.G. Teubner, Leipzig. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.11

Hans Volkmann, *Der Hohenzollern* (The Hohenzollern), 1902. Color lithograph on paper. Printer: Kunstdruckerei Künstlerbund Karlsruhe. Publisher: R. Voigtländers Verlag, Leipzig.



Fig. 1.12
Georg Scholz, *Nackter Mann mit Tanzenden im Hintergrund* (Naked Man with Dancers in Background), 1910. Color lithograph on paper, 35 x 56 cm. Staatliche Akademie der bildenden Künste Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.13
Georg Scholz, *Hinterhäuser* (Rear Courtyards), 1910. Color lithograph on paper, 52.3 x 34.9 cm. Staatliche Akademie der bildenden Künste Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.14

Wladimir Zabotin and friends in his atelier, ca. 1913. L-R: Willi Müller-Hufschmid, Rudolf Schlichter, Rösli Weidmann, Egon Itta, Wladimir von Zabotin. Photograph in Erika Rödiger-Diruf, ed. *Die zwanziger Jahre in Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: Städtische Galerie, 2006), 77.



Fig. 1.15

Alois Schießer, *Karl May als Old Shatterhand mit dem Bären töter, 26 Pfund schwer* (Karl May as Old Shatterhand with the “bear killer,” 26 pounds heavy), 1896. Photograph with autograph inscription. Bamberg, Archiv Verlegerfamilie Schwind.

92. **Karlsruhe.**
 Auf der Wiese an der Durlacher Allee bei dem Schlachthaus, Haltestelle
 der Dampfbahn, vom 23. April ab für 4 Tage.
Vorstellungen
 von
Buffalo Bill's Wild West.
 Zum ersten Male in Karlsruhe!
 Unter Leitung des Obersten **W. F. CODY (Buffalo Bill)**,
 früher Pfadfinder der Vereinigten Staaten-Armee.
 200 Indianer, Cowboys, Pfadfinder, Scharsschützen und Reiter,
 175 Ponys, Maulthiere, wilde Pferde und Büffel.
 Täglich zwei Vorstellungen bei jeder Witterung:
 Nachmittags 2 1/2 Uhr, Abends 7 1/2 Uhr. — Kasseneröffnung
 eine Stunde früher.
 Bei Abend-Vorstellungen **brillante Beleuchtung.**
 Große Indianer-Gefechts-Szenen, Varietäten, wilde Pferde und
 Vorführung von Szenen aus dem westlichen Grenzleben.
 Eintrittspreis: 1 Mk. — Sitzplätze unter den bedeckten
 Tribünen 2, 3, 4 Mk.
 Vorverkauf bei Herrn **C. Bregenzer**, Hoflieferant, Kaiserstr. 76.
 100 wilde Indianer, welche am letzten Aufzuge theilgenommen waren und Kriegs-Gefangene wurden, begleiten
 Buffalo Bill mit besonderer Erlaubnis des Gouvernements der Vereinigten Staaten.
Avis! Dies ist die Truppe, welche in Paris (Ausstellung), London, New-York, Rom u. solch'
 kolossalen Erfolg erzielt hat.

Fig. 1.16

Newspaper announcement for *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, Karlsruhe, 23 April 1891. In *Karlsruher Tagblatt*, 19 April 1891. Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe.

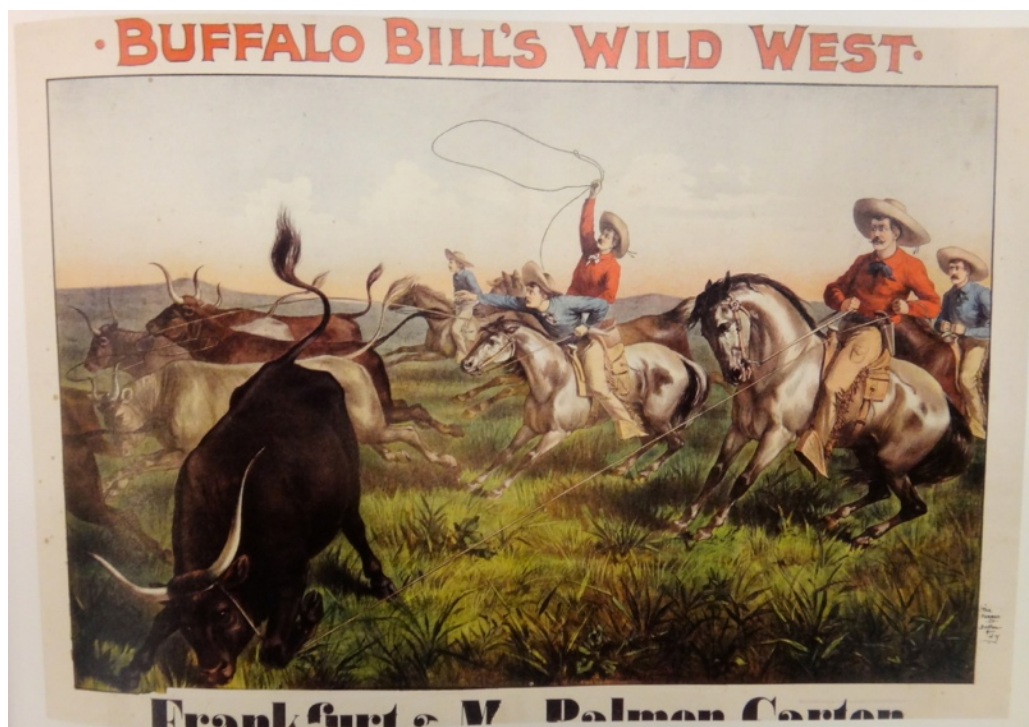


Fig. 1.17

Buffalo Bill's Wild West, ca. 1891. Frankfurt, Palmengarten. Lithograph poster, 104.1 x 71.5 cm. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt a.M.



Fig. 1.18

Rudolf Schlichter, *Wild-West* (Wild West), 1916-18. Watercolor on smooth vellum, 28.9 x 35.9 cm. Private collection, Germany.



Fig. 1.19

Hermann Max Pechstein, *Die Nationalversammlung - der Grundstein der Deutschen Sozialistischen Republik* (The National Assembly-Cornerstone of the German Socialist Republic), 1919. Color lithograph poster for the German Provisional government on thin wove paper, mounted on heavy canvas. 68 x 47 cm. Galerie St. Etienne, New York.



Fig. 1.20
Hans Thoma, *Portrait of Grand Duke Friedrich I von Baden*, 1901-09. Oil on canvas, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

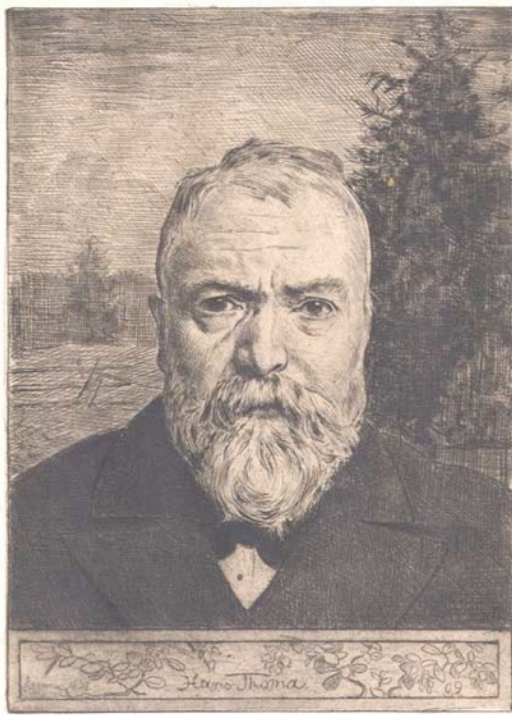


Fig. 1.21
Hans Thoma, *Self-portrait at the age of 70*, 1909. Engraving on paper, 18 x 13.5 inches. Private collection.



Fig. 1.22

Galerie Moos, Karlsruhe. Photograph ca. 1916, reprinted in Heil, ed. *150 Jahre - die Geschichte der Kunstakademie Karlsruhe in Bildern und Texten* (Künzelsau: Swiridoff, 2004).



Fig. 1.23

Georg Scholz, *Erinnerung an den 28. April 1916, Friemelhöhe Narocz-See* (Memory of the 28th of April 1916), 1916. Pencil and colored pencil on paper, 9 x 15 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.



Fig. 1.24

Wladimir von Zaboltn, poster for the exhibition 'R. Schlichter-W. Zaboltn.' Galerie Moos Karlsruhe, 25 January - 15 February, 1919. Hand-colored lithograph on paper, 33 x 51 cm. Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg, loan from a private collection.



Fig. 1.25

Wladimir von Zaboltn, *Tanzende Narzissen* (Dancing Narcissus Flowers), 1917. Oil on canvas, 65 x 56.8 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.26
Rudolf Schlichter, *Der Leopard* (The Leopard), ca. 1916. Oil on canvas, 46 x 52 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.27
Rudolf Schlichter, *Straßenkampf, Französische Revolution* (Street Battle, French Revolution), ca. 1912. Watercolor on paper, 31.2 x 24.1 cm. Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv.Nr. GL 2527.



Fig. 1.28

Rudolf Schlichter, *Um eine Kuh (Republik)* (About a Cow/Republic), 1918-19. Pencil on paper, 49 x 63 cm. Private collection.

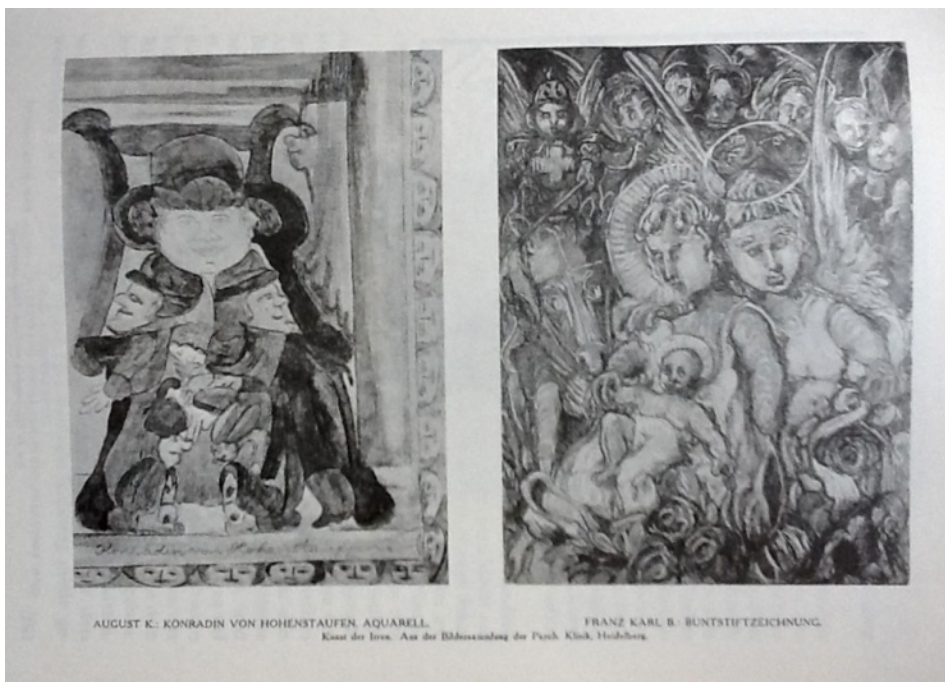


Fig. 1.29

Images from Hans Prinzhorn's collection, *Bilder der Geisteskranken* (Pictures by the Mentally Ill), Heidelberg. Published in Alfred Kubin, "Die Kunst der Irren" (Art of the Insane), *Das Kunstblatt*, May 1922.



Fig. 1.30

Eugen Segewitz, *Selbtbildnis des Malers* (Self-Portrait of the Painter), 1913. Oil on canvas, 100 x 59 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.31

Eugen Segewitz, *Gewalt* (Violence), 1919. Oil on canvas, 87 x 106 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.32

Walter Becker, *Das Ferkel* (The Piglet), 1918. Watercolor on paper, 32 x 48 cm. Galerie Apfelbaum, Baden-Baden.

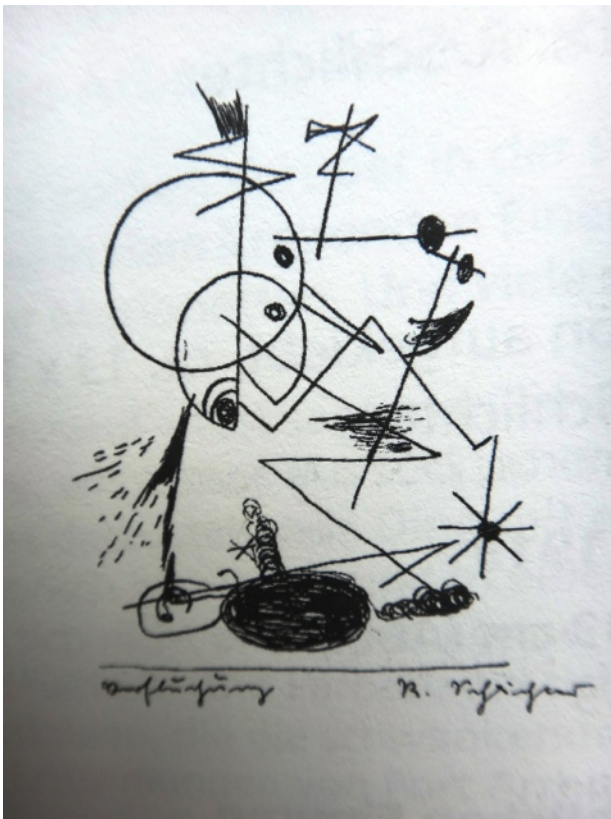


Fig. 1.33

Rudolf Schlichter, *Verfluchung* (Execration), 1919. Ink drawing on paper, Wilhelm Fraenger Archiv, Potsdam.



Fig. 1.34

Georg Scholz, *Galizische Beerdigung* (Galician Burial), ca. 1919. Oil on canvas, considered lost/destroyed. Photo in Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.35

Rudolf Schlichter, *Apokalyptische Landschaft mit Fabelwesen und Figurine* (Apocalyptic Landscape with Mythical Creatures and Figurines), ca. 1916. Oil and watercolor on varnished paper, 24.5 x 17 cm. Private collection, Offenbach am Main.



Fig. 1.36
Georg Scholz, *Nächtlicher Schrei* (Nighttime Scream), 1919. Oil on canvas, 56.8 x 50.9 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch



Fig. 1.37
Georg Scholz, *Hahnenkampf* (Cockfight), 1919. Oil on canvas, 76 x 75 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 1.38

Georg Scholz with *Hahnenkampf*. Photograph in the Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 1.39

Rudolf Schlichter, *Tingel-Tangel/Cabaret*, 1919-20. Watercolor on paper, 53 x 45.5 cm. Private collection, Germany.

Chapter Two

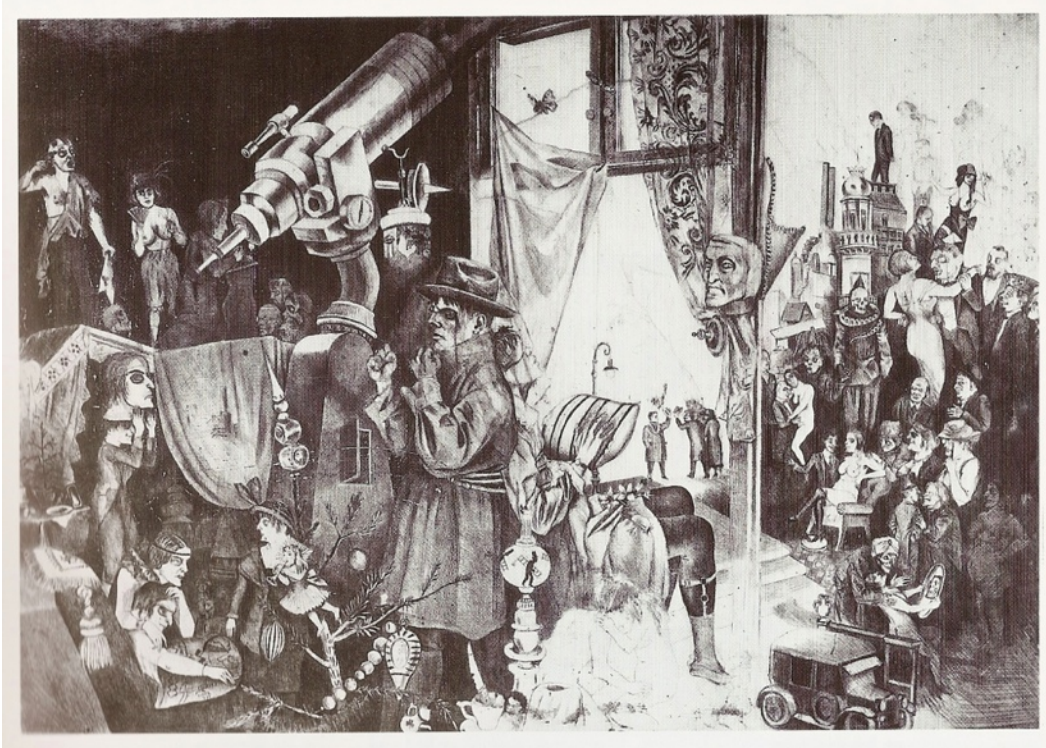


Fig. 2.1

Karl Hubbuch, *Wissend und Blind* (Knowing and Blind), second version, 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 32.7 x 46 cm. Private collection, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 2.2

Karl Hubbuch, *Gewandstudie* (Drapery Study), 1909. Charcoal with white highlights on paper. Private collection.



Fig. 2.3

Karl Hubbuch, *Ich (Me)*, 1911. Pencil on paper, dimensions and present location unknown. Reproduced in Hans Kinkel, *Der frühe Hubbuch. Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik 1911 bis 1925* (Bremen: H.M. Hauschild, 1974), unpaginated title illustration.



Fig. 2.4

Karl Hubbuch, untitled sketch ca. 1912/14. Pencil and watercolor on paper. Private collection, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 2.5

George Grosz, *Karl Hubbuch zeichnet in der Kunstgewerbeschule Berlin* (Karl Hubbuch drawing in the School of Applied Arts, Berlin), 1912. Page 30 recto of Grosz sketchbook 1912/6. Blue ink on cream wove paper, 20.3 x 12.8 cm. Kunstsammlung der Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Inv.Nr. HZ 2068.



Fig. 2.6

Karl Hubbuch, *Negerkopf* (Head of a Negro) and *Self-Portrait (Augen)* (Self portrait eyes), pencil and colored pencil on paper, various dimensions. Private collection, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 2.7

George Grosz, title page to Sketchbook 1912/1 (page 1 recto), ca. January 1912. Mixed media on paper, 16.8 x 25 cm. Kunstsammlung der Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin.



Fig. 2.8

Zoetrope "Lebensrad" with picture strips, Berlin, 19th century. Paper, cardboard, wood, metal. Salzburg Museum.



Fig. 2.9

Karl Hubbuch, annotated copy of *Moderne Graphik*, exhibition catalog 1913. Graphisches Kabinett I.B. Neumann, Berlin. Private collection, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 2.10

Karl Hubbuch, *Modellstudie (Frauenkopf mit Hut)* (Model Study/Head of a Woman with a Hat), 1912/14. Pencil and watercolor on paper, 21 x 16 cm. Private collection, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 2.11

Karl Hubbuch, *In Castan's Panoptikum (Schiller und Menzel)* (In Castan's Panopticon with Schiller and Menzel), 1913/14. Pencil on paper, 25.3 x 31.7 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 96/070*15.



Fig. 2.12

Adolph Menzel, *Balcony Room*, 1845. Oil on board, 58 x 47 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

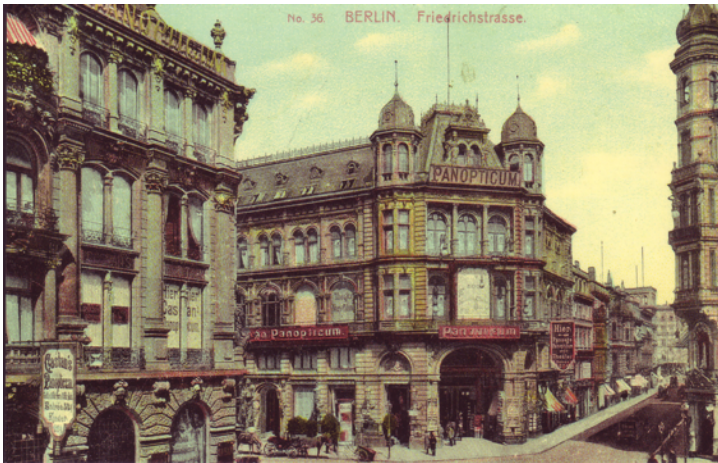


Fig. 2.13
Castan's Panoptikum in the Pschorr-Brauerei Building, postcard ca. 1900.

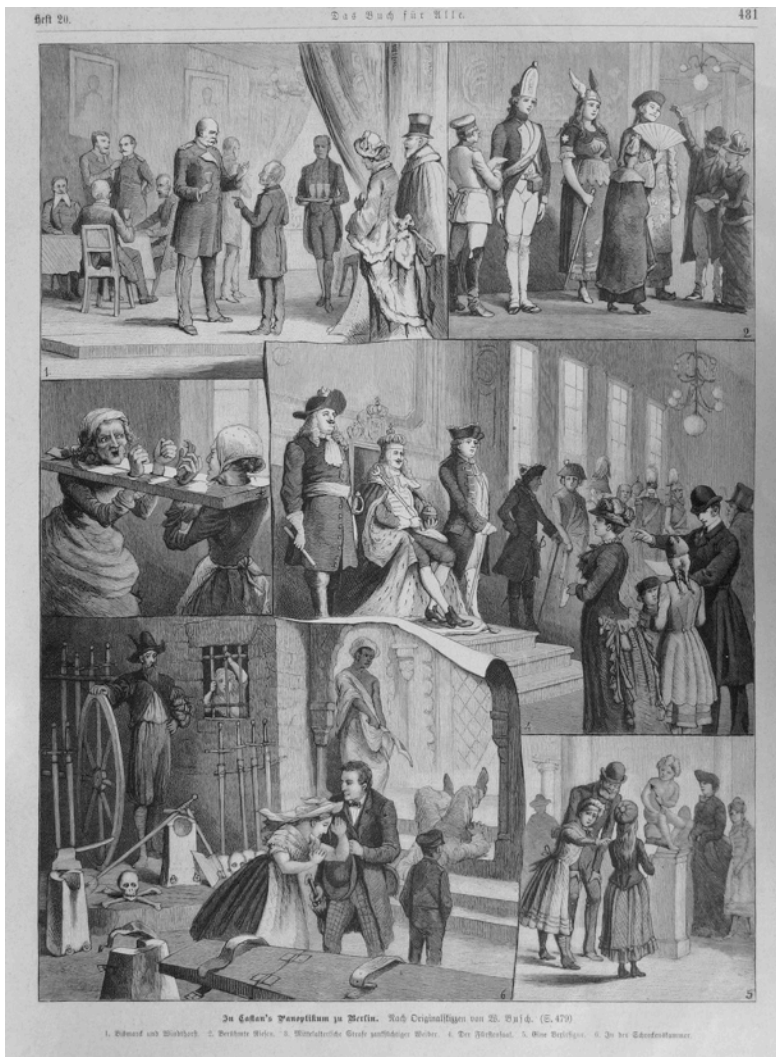


Fig. 2.14
In Castan's Panoptikum zu Berlin (In Castan's Panopticon in Berlin). Etching after a series of sketches by Wilhelm Busch, published in "Ausstellung in Castan's Panoptikum," 481.



Fig. 2.15

Th. Joop, *Ruhmes Halle* (Hall of Fame) in Castan's Panopticon, Berlin, 1878. Publisher: Verlag Gebrüder Castan. Photograph in Geist, *Die Kaisergalerie. Biographie der Berliner Passage* (Munich: Prestel, 1997).



Fig. 2.16

Schreckenskammer (Chamber of Horrors) in Castan's Panopticon, Berlin, ca. 1913. Photograph in König and Ortenau, *Panoptikum. Vom Zauberbild zum Gaukelspiel der Wachsfiguren* (Munich: Isartal Verlag, 1962).



Fig. 2.17

Karl Hubbuch, *Schiller und Menzel in Castans Panoptikum*, 1912/14. Pencil on paper, 13.5 x 21 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 2.18

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis als Malariakranker* (Self-Portrait as Malaria Sufferer), 1918. Ink and pencil on paper, 23.5 x 18.5 cm. Karl-Hubbuch-Stiftung, Schloß Gochsheim, Kraichtal.



Fig. 2.19

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis* (Self-Portrait), 1920. Pencil on paper, 32.6 x 25.2 cm. Private collection, New York.



Fig. 2.20

Karl Hubbuch, *Der Stumme* (The Mute), 1920. Drypoint and etching on paper, 22.8 x 15.9 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 2.21

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis, wütend* (Angry Self Portrait), 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 18.5 x 23 cm. Kunstmuseum Bayreuth.



Fig. 2.22

Karl Hubbuch, *Im Hassen erstarrt* (Ossified in Hate), 1920/21. Drypoint and etching on paper, 25.2 x 26.2 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2007/686.



Fig. 2.23

Emil Orlik, *Emil Jannings in der Probe, 'Die Büchse der Pandora'* (Emil Jannings at rehearsal for 'Pandora's Box'), ca. 1919. Lithograph in Emil Orlik, *95 Köpfe* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Kunsthandlung, 1920).

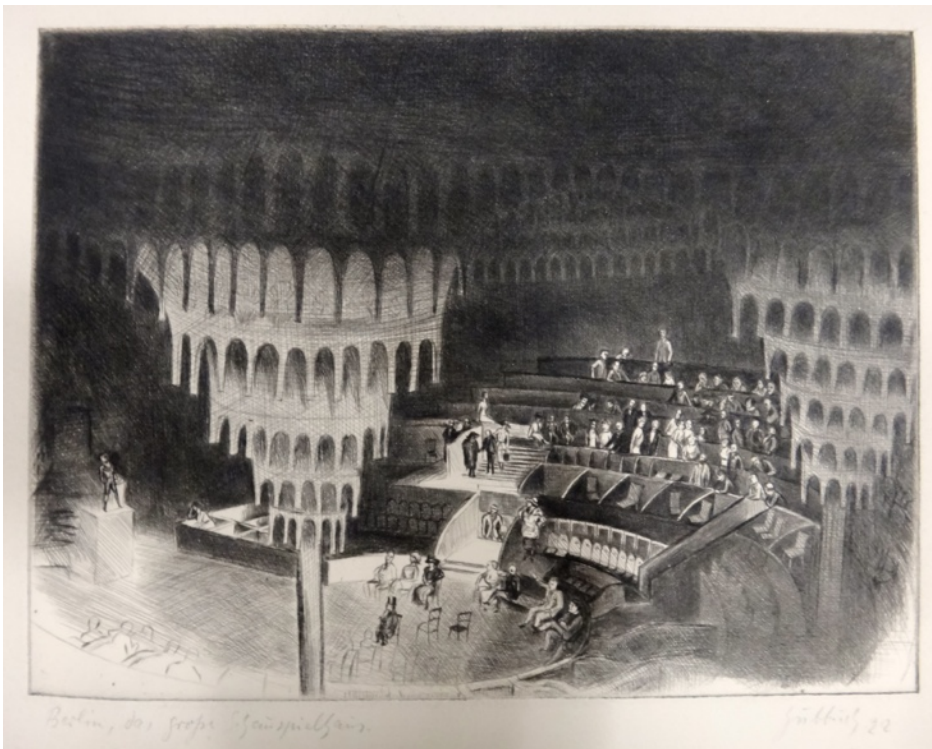


Fig 2.24

Karl Hubbuch, *Probe im Großen Schauspielhaus, Berlin* (Rehearsal in the Deutsches Theater, Berlin), 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 14.2 x 18.9 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1974-34.



Fig. 2.25

Karl Hubbuch, *Theaterszene mit Conrad Veidt* (Theater Scene with Conrad Veidt), 1921. Drypoint and etching on paper, 15.5 x 23.8 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 2.26

Film stills from *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari), 1920. Director: Robert Wiene; Production: Decla-Bioscop.



Fig. 2.27

“Als ich das Leben einer Malayenfrau kennen lernte (Paul Wegener)” (The time I got to know the life of a Malayan woman - Paul Wegener), photomontage in *Schall und Rauch* (Sound and Smoke), January 1921.



Fig. 2.28

“Du musst Caligari werden!” (You must become Caligari!), poster for the film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920), 1919. Designer: Stahl & Arpke. Publisher: DECLA Film Gesellschaft, Berlin.



Fig. 2.29

Karl Hubbuch, *Berlin und Abreise* (Berlin and Departure), 1922. Pencil on paper, 33.5 x 26 cm. Private collection, Nürnberg.



Fig. 2.30

Karl Hubbuch, studies for the drawing *Berlin und Abreise* (Fig. 2.29), ca. 1922. In *Skizzenbuch (II) <Berlin>*, thirteen bound pages with pencil drawings throughout, 21 x 26.9 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2009/092.



Fig. 2.31

Four film stills from *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler), 1922. Director: Fritz Lang; Production: Uco-Film GmbH



Fig. 2.32

Film still from Fritz Lang's *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1922): the magical words "Tsi Nan Fu"



Fig. 2.33

Karl Hubbuch, *Die Mörderzentrale* (Murderer HQ), 1922. Drypoint and etching on paper, 21.1 x 28.8 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 80/061.



Fig. 2.34

Karl Hubbuch, *Zwei Männer im Café Vaterland* (Two Men in Café Vaterland), 1922. Pencil on paper, 23.7 x 32.1 cm. Städtische Galerie, Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 96/070*20.

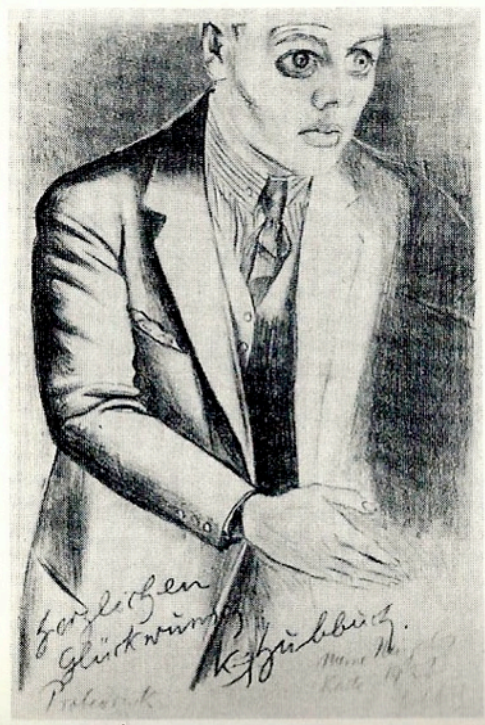


Fig. 2.35

Karl Hubbuch, *Herzlichen Glückwunsch* (Heartfelt Congratulations), 1923. Lithograph on paper, 14 x 9.5 cm. Signed, dated, and titled "Meine Neujahrskarte, 1923." Private collection, Germany.

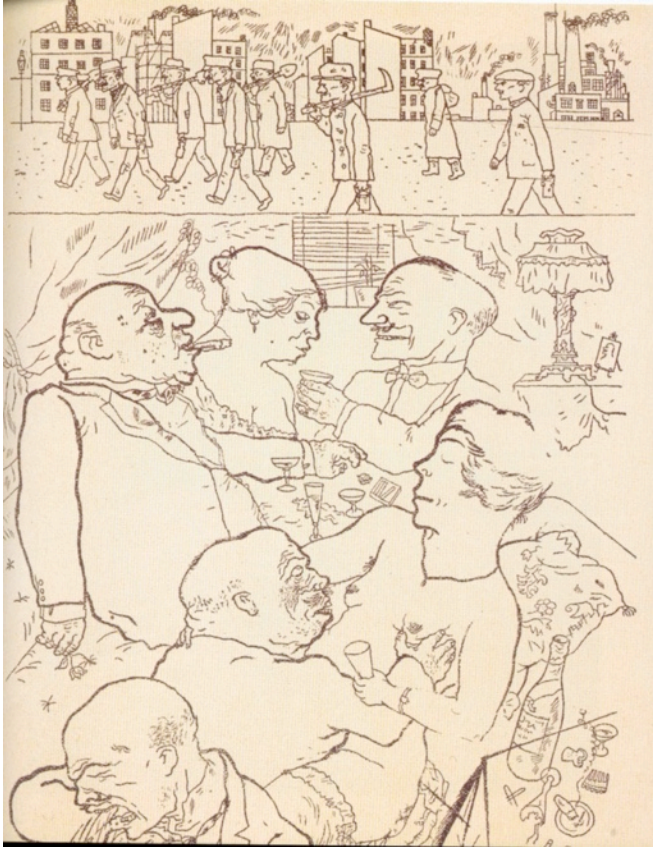


Fig. 2.36

George Grosz, *Früh um 5 Uhr!* (Dawn), 1920/21. One from a portfolio of nine photolithographs and one photolithographed title page, *Im Schatten* (In the Shadows), 1921. Edition of 100. Publisher: Malik-Verlag, Berlin. Museum of Modern Art, New York, Inv.Nr. 139.1945.8.



Fig. 2.37

George Grosz, *Promenade*, 1923. #28 in an illustrated book with 100 offset lithographs, overall dimensions 35.5 x 26.2 x 3.3 cm. Publisher: Malik-Verlag, Berlin. Edition of approx. 10,000 in 5 editions.

Chapter Three



Fig. 3.1
Georg Scholz, *Selbstporträt* (Self-Portrait), 1908. Pencil and white crayon on paper, 16 x 10.5 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.



Fig. 3.2
Georg Scholz, *Das Liebespaar* (The Lovers), 1920. Oil on wood, 49.5 x 51.5 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.



Fig. 3.3
 Georg Scholz, *Bauernbild* (Farmer Picture), 1920. Oil, collage, and photomontage on wood panel, 98 x 70 cm. Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal.



Fig. 3.4

George Grosz, *Ein Opfer der Gesellschaft* (*Remember Uncle August the Unhappy Inventor*) (Victim of Society), 1919. Oil, pencil, and collage on canvas, 49 x 39.5 cm. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.



Fig. 3.5

Georg Scholz, *Wucherbauer* (Profiteering Farmer), 1919. Ink, colored pencil, and pencil on paper, 21 x 13.5 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.



Fig. 3.6

George Grosz, *Wir treten zum Beten vor Gott den Gerechten!* (We tread to pray before God the Righteous!), 1921. Lithograph in *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* (The Face of the Ruling Class), published by the Malik Verlag, Berlin, 1921.

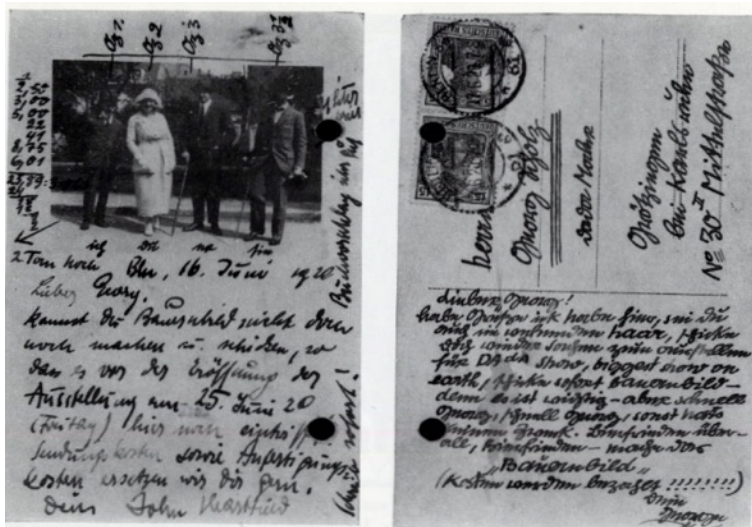


Fig. 3.7

Postcard from George Grosz and John Heartfield to Georg Scholz, 16 June 1920. George Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.



Fig. 3.8

Georg Scholz, *Wucherbauernfamilie* (Profiteering Farmer Family), 1920. Hand-colored lithograph on paper, 98 x 70 cm. Berlinische Galerie, Berlin.



Fig. 3.9

Georg Scholz, *Zeitungsträger/Arbeit schändet* (Newspaper Carriers/Work Disgraces), 1921. Watercolor, pen-and-ink, black crayon and pencil on paper, 30.9 x 49 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. VIII 2386.



Fig. 3.10

Georg Scholz, study for *Zeitungsträger* (Fig. 3.9), 1920. Pencil on paper, 14.5 x 11 cm. Georg Scholz Estate, Waldkirch.

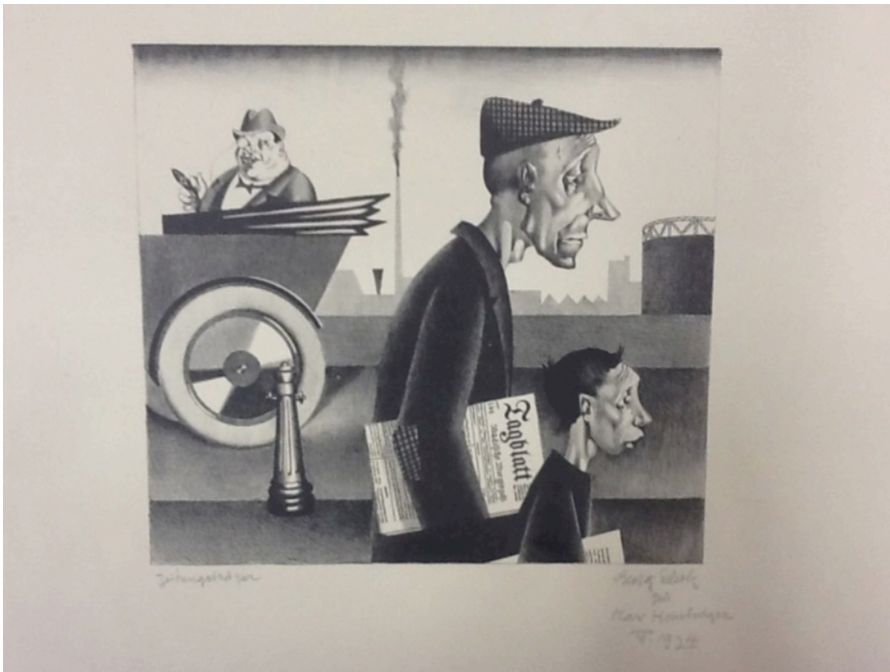


Fig. 3.11

Georg Scholz, *Zeitungsträger* (Newspaper Carriers), 1922/24. Lithograph on paper, 20 x 22 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1953-71.



Fig. 3.12
Otto Dix, *Alma*, 1921. Collage painting now considered lost/destroyed.



Fig. 3.13
Georg Scholz, *Apotheose des Kriegervereins* (Glorification of the Veteran's Association), 1921. Lithograph on paper, edition of 100. 40 x 29.8 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 3.14

A.S. *Zeitfreiwillige heraus!* (Volunteers, Present Yourself!), 1919. Color lithograph poster, 86.4 x 63.5. Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Inv.Nr. GE 529.

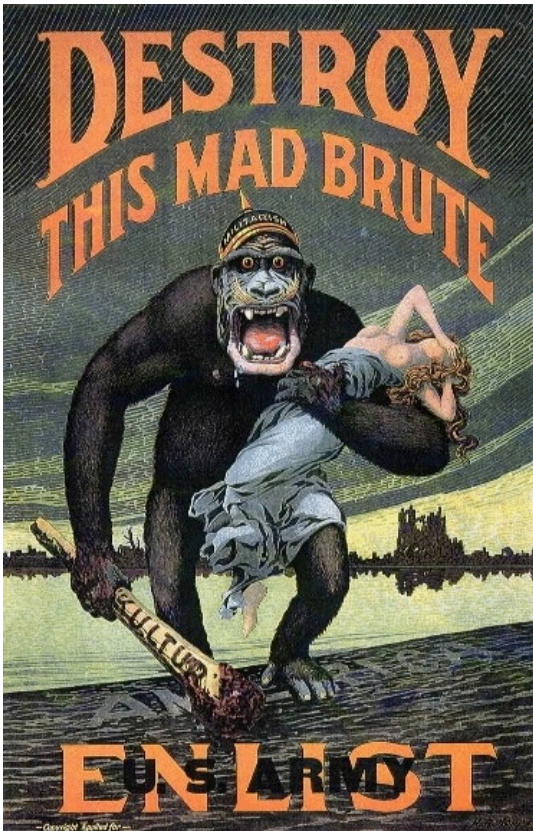


Fig. 3.15

H.R. Hopps, *Destroy this Mad Brute—Enlist*, 1917. Color lithographic poster, 106 x 71 cm. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



Fig. 3.16

George Grosz, *Der Kirchenstaat Deutschland* (Germany, the Papal State), 1919. Published in *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball I* (Everyone his own football), 15 February 1919.



Fig. 3.17

Continental-Pneumatik, print advertisement in the *Berlin Illustrirte Zeitung*, ca. 1913



Fig. 3.18

Lucian Bernhard, *Klein-Adler*, 1914. Lithograph poster, 34 x 48 cm. Printed by Hollerbaum & Schmidt, Berlin. Museum of Modern Art, New York. Inv.Nr. 466.1987.



Fig. 3.19

Lucian Bernhard, *Die Deutsche Demokratische Partei ist die Partei der Frauen!* (The German Democratic Party is the party for women!), 1920. Lithograph poster, 69.9 x 96.2 cm. Printed by Werbedienst GmbH, Berlin. The Wolfsonian-FIU, Inv.Nr. TD 1990 291.1.



Fig. 3.20

Kurt Heiligenstaedt, *Für alle Wäsche: Persil* (For all washing: Persil), ca. 1922. Lithograph poster.

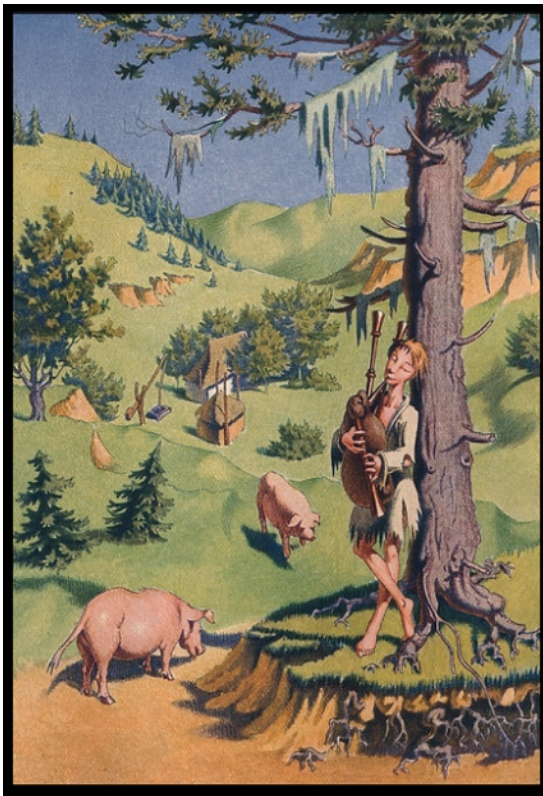


Fig. 3.21

Georg Scholz, color lithographic illustration in Jakob Grimmelhausen, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (Leipzig: Abel & Müller, 1922).



Fig. 3.22

Georg Scholz, *"In einem kühlen Grunde"* (*Deutsches Volkslied*) (German Folk Song), 1922-23. Pencil on paper, 31 x 23 cm. Sammlung Mirko Heipek, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 3.23

Georg Scholz, *Ordnung, Gerechtigkeit u. Nächstenliebe gewährleisten die Wiedergeburt unseres Vaterlandes* (Order, Justice, and Charity Ensure the Rebirth of our Fatherland), 1921. Published in *Der Gegner*, Jg. 2, Heft 10-11 (August 1921).



Fig. 3.24

George Grosz, *Stinnes und sein Präsident, oder Friede zwischen Kapital und Arbeit*. Published in *Der Gegner*, 2 Jg., Heft 10/11 (1920/21): 46.

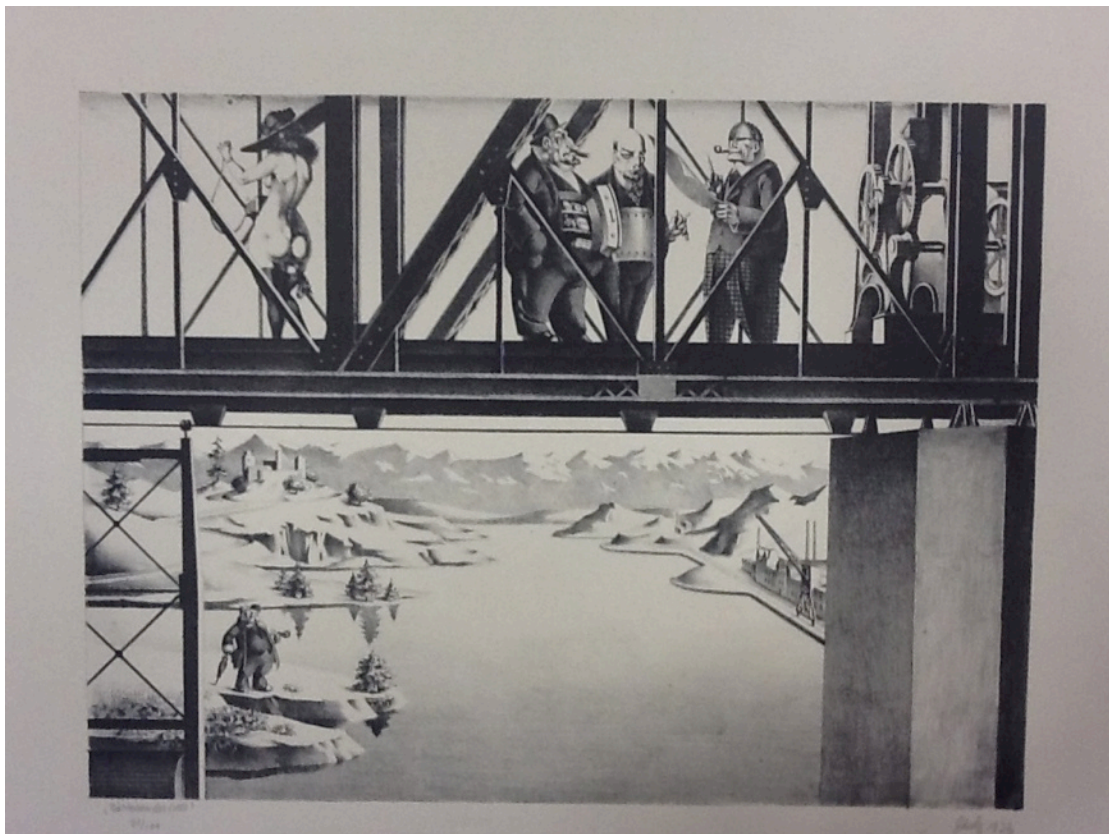


Fig. 3.25

Georg Scholz, *Die Herren der Welt* (Lords of the World), 1922. Lithograph on wove paper, edition of 100, 29.7 x 39 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 3.26
 Georg Scholz, *Kriegerverein* (Veteran's Association), 1922. Oil and tempera over pencil on plywood, 69 x 75 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2820.



Fig. 3.27

Georg Scholz, *Die Herren der Welt/Von kommenden Dingen* (Lords of the World/Of Things to Come), 1922. Oil on cardboard, 75 x 100 cm. Neue Galerie New York.



Fig. 3.28

John Heartfield (typography, graphic design, and photomontage) and George Grosz (photomontage), *Contest! Who is the Most Beautiful? German Masculine Beauty I*, on the cover of *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, no. 1 (15 February 1919). Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Inv.Nr. 1568-722.



Fig. 3.29

John Heartfield (typography and graphic design), *“Wie sie sich bekämpfen...”* (How They Struggle), *Das Forum*, 7. Jahrgang, Nr. 1 (October 1922).

Chapter Four



Fig. 4.1
 Georg Scholz, *Badische Kleinstadt bei Tage* (Small Town in Baden by Day), 1922-23. Oil on cardboard, 99.5 x 74.5 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, on loan from a private collection, Inv.Nr. G 2010.10.



Fig. 4.2
 Georg Scholz, *Deutsche Kleinstadt bei Nacht* (German Small Town by Night), 1923. Oil on cardboard, 100 x 75 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, on loan from a private collection, Inv.Nr. 2010.11.



Fig. 4.3

Georg Scholz, *Kleinstadt* (Small Town), 1923. Watercolor on ivory wove paper, 38.3 x 29.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung der Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv.Nr. C 1961/968.



Fig. 4.4

Georg Scholz, *Der Metzger* (The Butcher), 1923. Watercolor, pencil, and covering paint on cardboard, 30.8 x 24 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1953-15.



Fig. 4.5
 Georg Scholz, *Nächtliche Straßenszene* (Evening Street Scene), 1923. Watercolor and covering paint on paper, 46.2 x 32.2 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1973-29.



Fig. 4.6
 Giorgio de Chirico, *Mystery and Melancholy of a Street*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 87 x 71.5 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 4.7

Friedrich Kallmorgen, *Badisches Dorf* (Baden Village), ca. 1898. Color lithograph on brown vellum, 47 x 40 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 4.8

Friedrich Kallmorgen, *Badisches Dorf* (Baden Village), ca. 1900. Postcard no. 196 in the series *Deutsche Künstlerpostkarten*, Verlag des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland, Berlin.



Fig. 4.9

Otto Dix *In Memory of the Glorious Time*, 1923. Watercolor over pen and wash on paper, 37.8 x 30.1 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.



Fig. 4.10

Georg Scholz, *Alt Heidelberg, Du feine* (Old Heidelberg, you fine one), 1923. Watercolor on paper, considered lost/destroyed. Illustration no. 108 in Marlene Angermeyer-Deubner, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Verismus in Karlsruhe* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller Verlag, 1988).



Fig. 4.11
Karl Hubbuch, *Die Schulstube* (The Classroom, 1925). Oil on cardboard, mounted on wood, 73 x 62 cm.
Private collection, Germany.



Fig. 4.12

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis in Berlin 1924/Berliner Großstadtszene mit Zirkuswagen* (Self-Portrait in Berlin 1924/City Scene with Circus Wagon), 1924. Pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper, 52.5 x 40.8 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1953-11.



Fig. 4.13

Karl Hubbuch, *Mädchen mit aufgelöstem Haar* (Woman With Her Hair Down), ca. 1924-25. Pencil and watercolor on paper, 46.2 x 31.6 cm. Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.



Fig. 4.14

Georg Scholz, *Das Bahnwärterhäuschen* (The Line-Keeper's Lodge), 1925. Oil on cardboard, 63 x 83 cm. Museum Kunstpalast Düsseldorf.



Fig. 4.15

Georg Scholz, *Bankier Kahnheimer* (The Banker Kahnheimer), 1924. Oil painting, now considered lost/destroyed. Photograph in the Badisches Archiv, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.



Fig. 4.16
Rudolf Schlichter, *Margot*, 1924. Oil on canvas, 110.5 x 75 cm. Stadtmuseum Berlin.

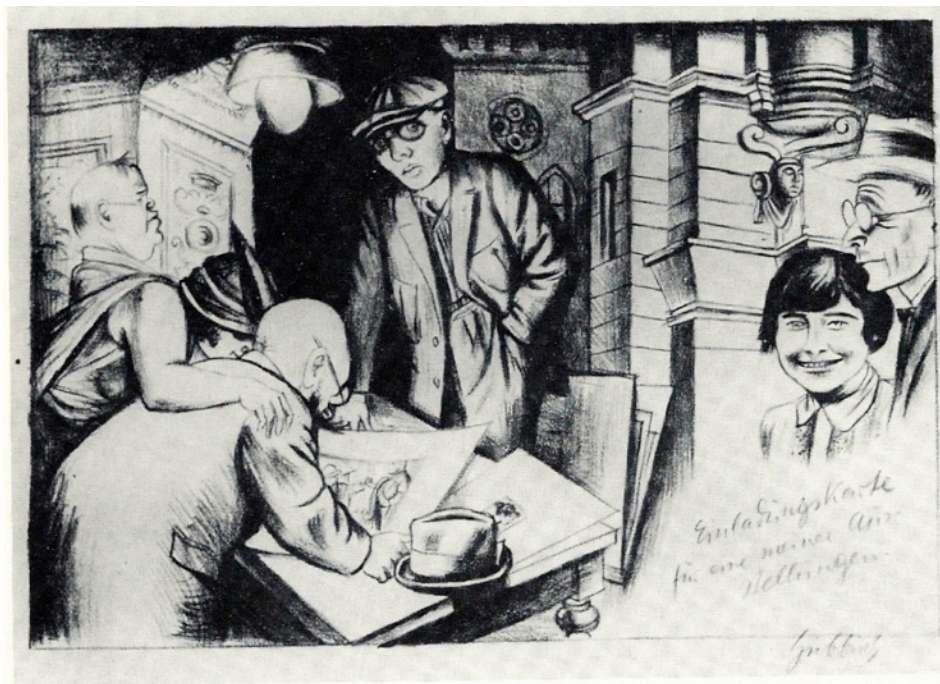


Fig. 4.17
Karl Hubbuch, *Einladungskarte für eine meiner Ausstellungen* (Invitation to one of my exhibitions), 1924. Lithograph on paper, 12.3 x 18.2 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 4.18

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis (Zeichnungen u. Lithos)* (Self-Portrait/Drawings & Lithographs), October 1924. Lithographic crayon on two pieces of joined paper, 52 x 36.4 cm. Neue Galerie New York.



Fig. 4.19

Georg Scholz, *Selbstbildnis vor der Litfaßsäule* (Self-Portrait before the Advertising Column), 1926. Oil on cardboard, 60 x 77.8 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2631.



Fig. 4.20

Georg Scholz, *Selbstbildnis mit steifem Hut* (Self-Portrait with Stiff Hat, study for Fig. 4.19), 1925. Charcoal, white pastel, and pencil on paper, 59.6 x 45.4 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1984-14.



Fig. 4.21

Unknown photographer, Georg Scholz in the atelier, ca. 1925-26. Reproduced in Hans-Dieter Mück, ed. *Georg Scholz: Malerei, Zeichnung, Druckgraphik*. Exhibition catalog. Stuttgart: H. Matthaes, 1991.



Fig. 4.22

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstporträt vor dem Spiegel* (Self-Portrait before the Mirror), ca. 1927. New digital print from an original negative, 29.2 x 18.1 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie, Inv.Nr. 2001_100-136.



Fig. 4.23

Karl Hubbuch, *Meine Frau im Streifenkleid* (My Wife in a Striped Dress), 1926-28. Lithographic crayon and watercolor on paper, 61.5 x 30 cm. Private collection, Hessen.



Fig. 4.24
Karl Hubbuch, *Auf der Treppe* (On the Stairs/Hilde), 1926-28. Watercolor with pencil on paper, 52 x 42.5 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 4.25
Karl Hubbuch, *Erna auf der fremden Treppe* (Erna on the Strange Stairs), ca. 1930. Lithographic crayon, pencil, and watercolor on paper, 60 x 48 cm. Private collection, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 4.26

Karl Hubbuch, *Das Spiegelei* (The Fried Egg), 1928/29. Pencil and colored pencil wash drawing on paper, 63.1 x 47.8 cm. Private collection, Frankfurt a.M.



Fig. 4.27

Karl Hubbuch, *Karl und Hilde Hubbuch vor dem Spiegel stehend* (Karl and Hilde Hubbuch before the mirror), after 1927. New digital print from an original negative, 28.9 x 18.7 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie, Inv.Nr. 2001_100-138.



Fig. 4.28

Doppelter Augenschmaus (Double Eye Candy), photomontage published in *UHU* magazine, ca. January 1928

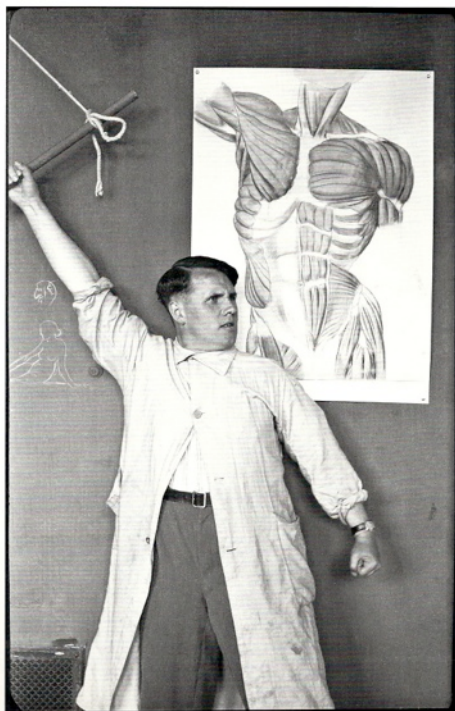


Fig. 4.29

Hilde Hubbuch, *Karl Hubbuch vor einer anatomischen Lehrtafel* (Karl Hubbuch in front of an anatomical chart), ca. 1930. New digital print from an original negative, 29.2 x 18.7 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-150.

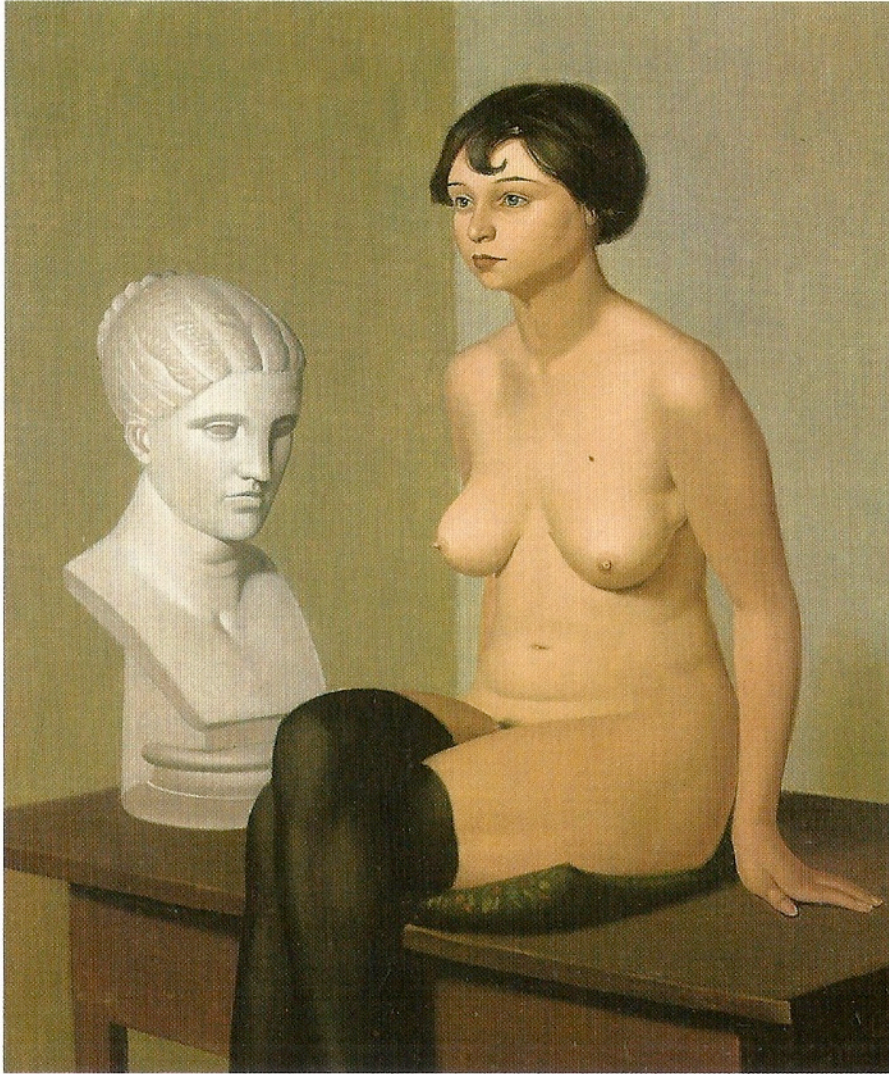


Fig. 4.30

Georg Scholz, *Weiblicher Akt mit Gipskopf* (Female Nude with a Plaster Bust), 1927. Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 55 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 2799.



Fig. 4.31 (left)

Karl Hubbuch, *Zweimal Hilde II* (Hilde Two Times II), 1929. Oil on canvas mounted on board, 150 x 77 cm. Madrid, The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Inv.-Nr. 1978.88.

Fig. 4.32 (right)

Karl Hubbuch, *Zweimal Hilde I* (Hilde Two Times I), 1929. Oil on canvas mounted on board, 150 x 77 cm. München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek der Moderne, Sammlung Moderne Kunst. Inv.-Nr. 14259.

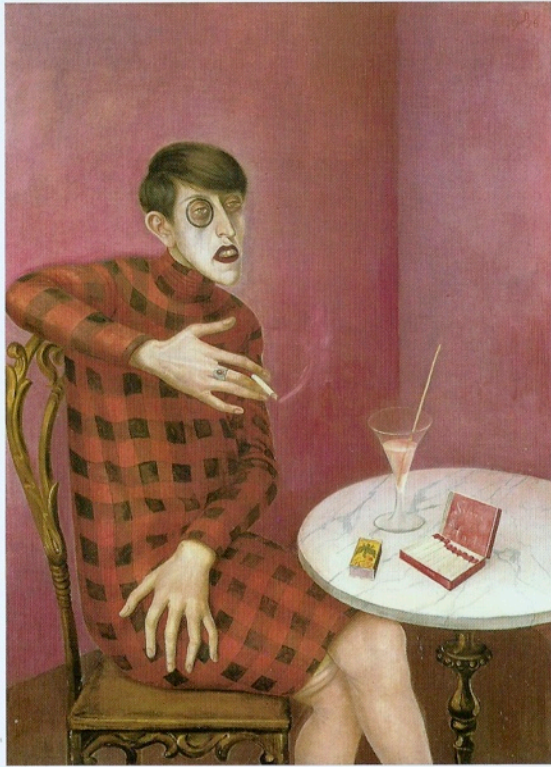


Fig. 4.33
 Otto Dix, *The Journalist Sylvia von Harden*, 1926. Oil and tempera on wood, 120 x 80 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Pompidou Paris.



Fig. 4.34
 Karl Hubbuch, *Die Erleuchtung/Hilde* (The Epiphany/Hilde), ca. 1928. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 45 x 60 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 4.35

Karl Hubbuch, *Im Atelier (Der Maler und das Bügelbrett)*, (In the Atelier/The Painter and the Ironing Board), 1926/28. Pencil on several pieces of joined ivory and beige paper, 99.9 x 74.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Inv.Nr. C 1972/GL 2035.

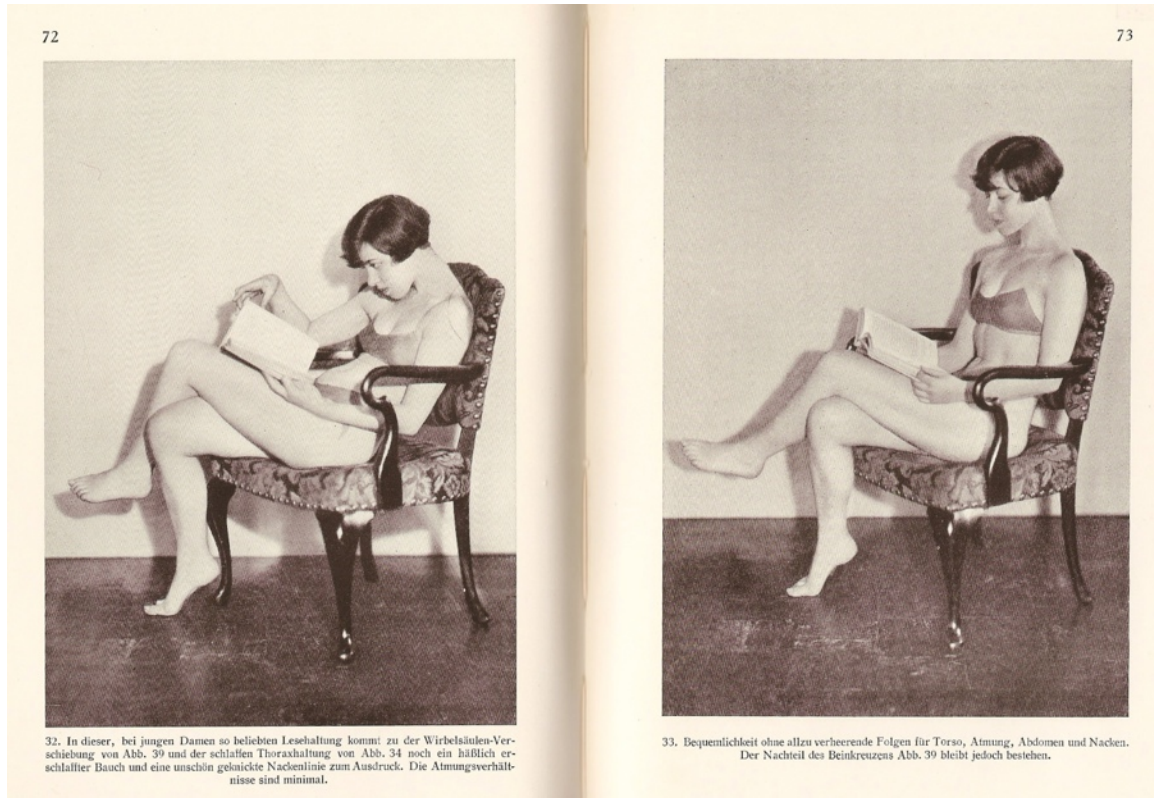


Fig. 4.36

Bess M. Mensendieck, illustration nos. 32-33 in Mensendieck, *Anmut der Bewegung im täglichen Leben* (Munich: F. Bruckmann AG, 1929), 72-73.



Fig. 4.37

Karl Hubbuch, *Hilde auf einem Bauhausstuhl* (Hilde on a Bauhaus stool), 1929. New digital print from an original negative, 29.6 x 19 cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-169.



Fig. 4.38

Karl Hubbuch, study for *Zweimal Hilde II*. Watercolor and pencil on paper. Private collection, Lisbon.



Fig. 4.39

Karl Hubbuch, study for *Zweimal Hilde I*. ca. 1929. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 75.5 x 52.5 cm. Private collection, Berlin.



Fig. 4.40

Karl Hubbuch, *Viermal Hilde* (Hilde Four Times), ca. 1929. Pencil, black crayon, watercolor on three pieces of joined paper, 73.3 x 99.9 cm. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 1980-32.



Fig. 4.41

Karl Hubbuch, *Die Drillinge* (The Triplets), 1929. Oil on canvas, 148.5 x 157 cm. Private collection.

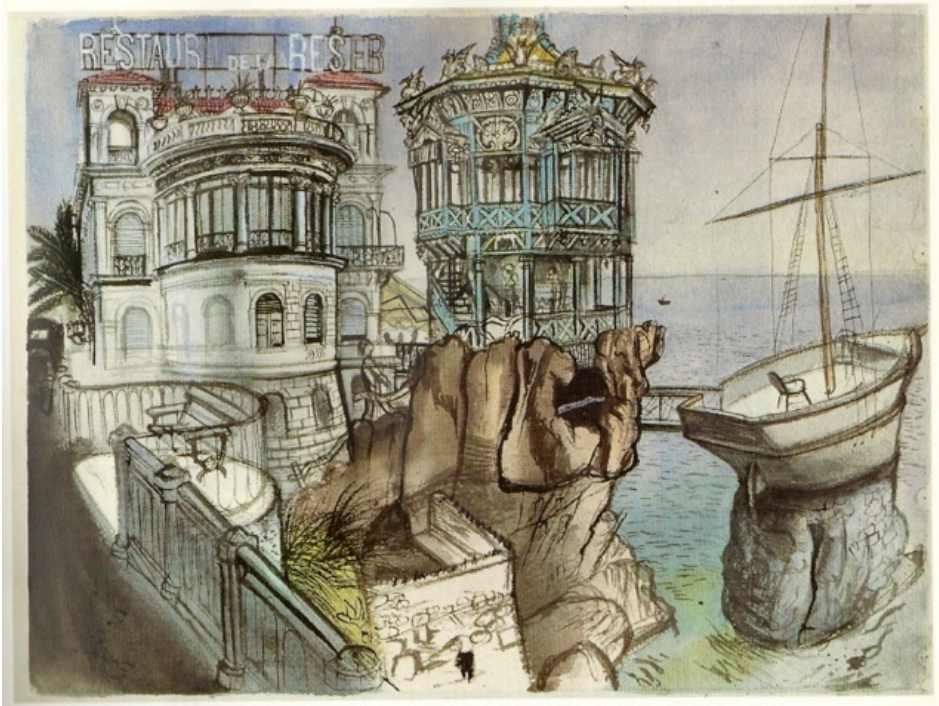


Fig. 4.42
Karl Hubbuch, *Nizza Restaurant*, 1928. Reed pen and watercolor on paper, 40 x 50 cm. Private collection.



Fig. 4.43
Karl Hubbuch, *Marseille*, 1928. India ink and watercolor on paper, 45 x 60 cm. Sammlung Reinheimer, Sindelfingen.



Fig. 4.44

Rudolf Schlichter, *Liegender Akt* (Reclining Nude/Speedy), ca. 1928/29. Oil on canvas, dimensions and present location unknown. Photograph in Bestand Altakten, *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart*, Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.



Fig. 4.45

Rudolf Schlichter, *Bildnis Frau Dr. Apfel* (Portrait of Dr. Apfel), ca. 1923-26. Oil on canvas, current location unknown. Photograph in Bestand Altakten, *Badisches Kunstschaffen der Gegenwart*, Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim.



Fig. 4.46

Hanna Nagel, *Gemeinsames Erlebnis* (Common Experience), May 1928. Lithograph on paper, 29 x 35 cm. Private collection.

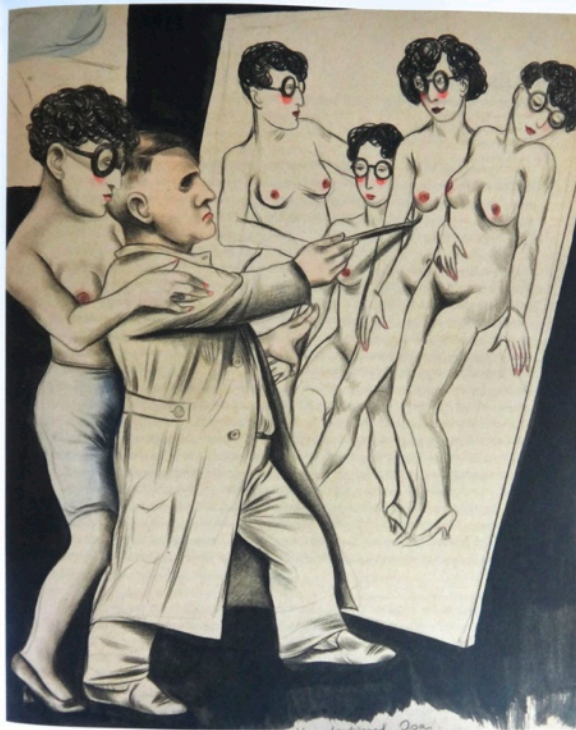


Fig. 4.47

Hanna Nagel, *Hundertmal Isai* (Isai 100 Times, January 1929). Ink and colored pencil on paper, 35.5 x 27 cm. Private collection, Karlsruhe.

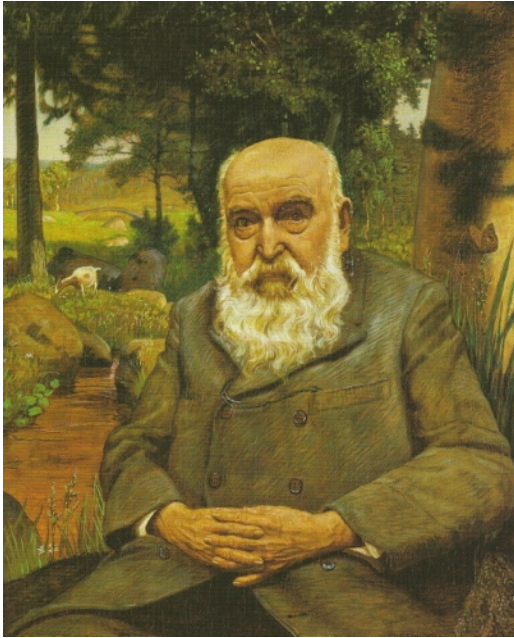


Fig. 4.48

August Gebhard, *Hans Thoma (Ehrenbürger)* (Honorary Citizen Hans Thoma), 1919. Oil on wood, 90.5 x 76 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 60/371.



Fig. 4.49

Hans Adolf Bühler, (L) *The nameless soldier with his mother and wife/sister*; (R) *The representatives of Poetry, Music, and Theater Arts Joseph Viktor von Scheffel, Felix Mottl and Eduard Devrient*, 1925/26. Gouache and goldleaf on plywood, each panel 245 x 83.5 cm. Städtische Galerie Karlsruhe, Inv.Nr. 60/144.

Coda



Fig. 5.1

(L) Hilde Hubbuch, *Karl Hubbuch an einer Säule in der Badischen Landeskunstschule, Karlsruhe* (Karl Hubbuch by a column in the Badische Landeskunstschule), 1930

(R) Karl Hubbuch, *Hilde Hubbuch vor einer Säule in der Badischen Landeskunstschule, Karlsruhe* (Hilde Hubbuch by a column in the Badische Landeskunstschule), 1930.

New digital prints from original negatives, 29.5 x 19cm. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Fotografie. Inv.Nr. 2001_100-026 & 008.



Fig. 5.2

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis in St Malo* (Self-Portrait in St. Malo), 1930. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 54.5 x 66.5 cm. Private collection.

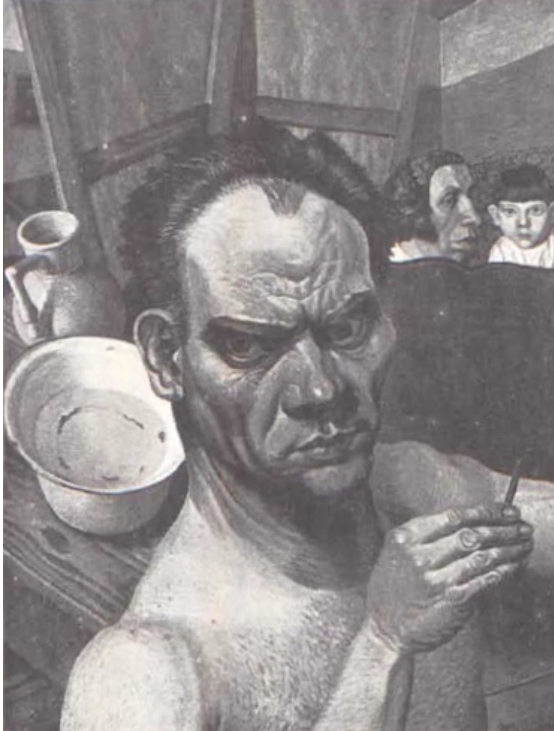


Fig. 5.3

Willi Müller-Hufschmid, *Selbstbildnis mit Frau und Sohn* (Self Portrait with Wife and Son), 1929.

Destroyed in an atelier fire. Reproduced in *Bilder im Zirkel* (Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, 1993), 178.

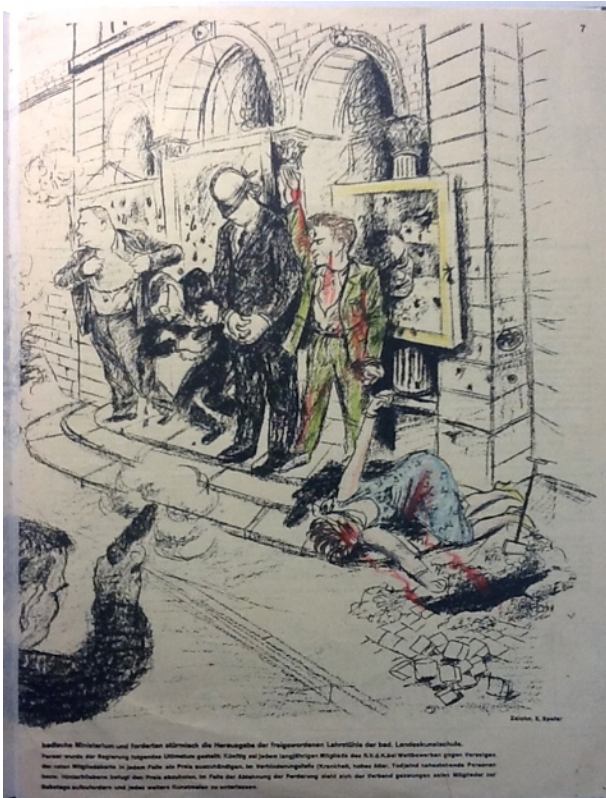


Fig. 5.4

Erwin Spuler, "Erschiessung der Jury..." *Zakpo* Nr. 1 (1930): 7. Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.



Fig. 5.5

Karl Hubbuch, *Selbstbildnis vor der Haustür* (Self-Portrait before the House Door), 1970. Drypoint and etching on paper, 25.2 x 33.8 cm. Private collection.

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Nr. 40185 (Unterricht Radierkunst, 1892-1921)

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Oskar Fischer

Karl Hubbuch

Rudolf Schlichter

Georg Scholz

Eugen Segewitz

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