Negotiating the German Public Sphere:

Workers, Soldiers, and Women in Photobooks of Weimar Germany

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Abstract

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This dissertation focuses on the intersection of non-fiction writing and visual culture, specifically on the montage of texts and photos as an approach to examine the changing public sphere in Weimar Germany. "Negotiating the German Public Sphere: Workers, Soldiers and Women in Photobooks of Weimar Germany" shows how photobooks employ montage strategies associated both with 1920s Soviet Cinema and Walter Benjamin's concepts of montage and experience to specifically address workers, soldiers, and women. An analysis of Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* (1928), Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* (1929) and Ernst Friedrich's two volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!* (1924/1926) reveals how these photobooks offer an alternative to the biased portrayals of these social groups in Weimar Germany's mass media. At the same time, particularly Tucholsky, Heartfield and Friedrich demonstrate to these groups, as the intended readers of their publications, the possibility of

creating an effective consciousness to combat impending fascism. This work engages with the larger discussion of the representation of social classes in German literature and media, and it furthermore contributes to the scholarship on photobooks by elucidating previously uninvestigated uses of photographs and montage strategies.

Chapter one focuses on Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße*, a collection of essays and aphorisms, which form, as I argue, modern emblems. In turning not only his short texts, but also all of *Einbahnstraße,* including its cover image and dedication into an emblem, Benjamin deconstructs and at the same time reconstructs writing practices and, by extension, reading processes, adapting them to the changes in literary culture at the time. This analysis of Benjamin's work serves as a framework for the next two chapters that employ certain montage techniques (similar to an emblematic structure) to both de- and re-contextualize workers and soldiers. Chapter two focuses on the working class in Tucholsky's and Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, and examines the structural importance of the photobook's text-image combinations as, what I call, "functional montages." Their horizontal dimension on the photobook's page, combined with a vertical dimension that forms the experience of these montages for the implied readers, enables particularly working class readers to develop a critical view of their representation in the media. Chapter three also employs the idea of the "functional montage" and analyzes the representation of WWI soldiers in Ernst Friedrich's two volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Instead of showing the soldier as a fighting hero at the frontline, Friedrich uses montage methods to show him as a son and a father, as a pet owner, as a "timeless concept" in his miniature toy form, and as a witness, both *of* the events during the war and *for* the public after the war. Finally, the coda addresses the photobook's portrayal of women. Although women constituted a big part of the readership at the time, they were often only represented

stereotypically in mass media, for instance, as mothers or as objects of desire. Revisiting the representation of women and womanhood in the photobooks analyzed in previous chapters of my dissertation, I show that they offered a possibility for women to develop a self-awareness that goes beyond mass media's black and white view of them.

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Introduction

After hefty upheavals, economic crises, and inflation in the first half of the 1920s, the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) experienced a time of stabilization in its second half. Due to the world economic crisis in 1929, this stable period started to decline, which would eventually lead to the rise of fascism in Germany. In the 1930s, the National Socialists would squelch any kind of public expression of personal opinions, which also affected the arts, suppressing new and creative developments. Against this backdrop, the year 1929 is not only a watershed moment in that it marks the beginning of the world economic crisis, it is also the year in which literary, photographic, and filmic innovations of the 1920s found a culminating moment. Many publications, films and exhibitions shared the use of novel methods to grasp the new experiences of modernity, often mixing, borrowing, or playing with the characteristics of various media or genres. Visual media, for instance, influenced the creation of literature, when the rather novel technique of montage, mainly associated with film at the time, was employed in literary works, for example in Alfred Döblin's 1929 novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz.* Also in various exhibitions in 1929 the connection and mutual influence of different visual genres came to the fore, particularly evident in the seminal exhibition *Internationale Ausstellung des Werkbundes Film und Foto (Fifo)*. The *Fifo* was especially significant as it not only connected film and photography but also presented on its exhibition walls a montage of artistic photography next to photos intended for use in advertisement or for propaganda purposes (Kühn 18). Moving from the exhibition wall to the book page, the photobook with its montages of photos in book form had also become a popular genre in the second half of the 1920s, including such notable publications as August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit* (1929), Karl Blossfeldt's *Urformen der Kunst* (1928) or Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön* (1928) (see fig. 1 and fig. 2).

Fig. 1. On the left, an excerpt from Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit*, Transmare Verlag / Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1929, p. 20.
Fig. 2. On the right, an excerpt from Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön,* Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1928, p. 45.

The recurring use of montage in film, exhibitions, and literary works is also pertinent to this dissertation and its focus on photobooks of the Weimar Republic. Particularly the translation of montage from film to photobook is central to this project, because it allowed authors of photobooks to find a unique way not only to grasp Weimar Germany's changing public sphere, but also to use the montage of texts and images to go against mass media's presentation of certain parts of the public sphere. In analyzing the montages and compositions of three non-traditional photobooks, my dissertation not only uncovers certain montage principles at work in these books, but also shows that these were used to reach and educate specific audiences at the time. These include writers and readers in general, and workers, soldiers, and women in particular. In using certain montage techniques, the three photobooks at the center of this dissertation cast these audiences as, what I call, "counter-publics." The photobooks' montages counter the often biased portrayals of these audiences in mass media in both presenting these audiences in a different light and in teaching them to develop a more dynamic view of themselves and their surroundings.

This dissertation analyses Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße*, published in 1928, Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's 1929 photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, and Ernst Friedrich's two-volume work *Krieg dem Kriege!* published in 1924 and 1926.[1] *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*[2] was a collaborative work by the well-known journalist and political satirist Kurt Tucholsky and by John Heartfield, a master of the political photomontage. Their goal was to denounce the current state of the Weimar Republic, using not only satirical texts, but also photos. This combination of images and texts, including essays and poems (see fig. 3), expands the idea of the photobook genre, which traditionally consisted primarily of photographs (see fig. 1).

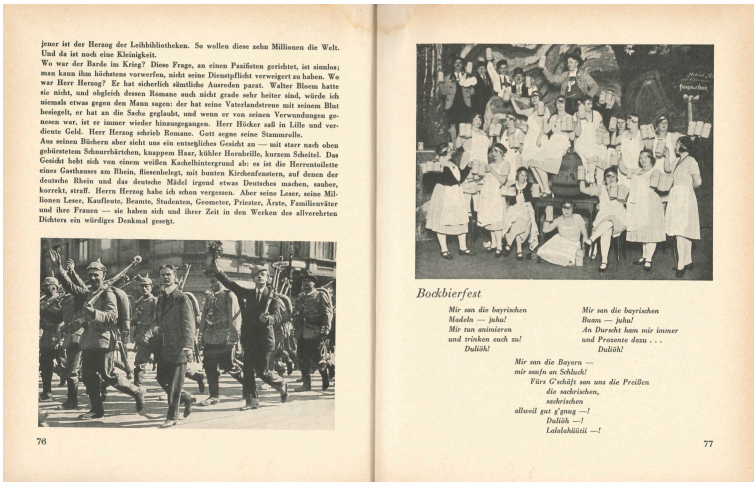
jener ist der Herzog der Leihbibliotheken. So wollen diese zehn Millionen die Welt. Und da ist noch eine Kleinigkeit.
Wo war der Barde im Krieg? Diese Frage, an einen Pazifisten gerichtet, ist sinnlos; man kann ihm höchstens vorwerfen, nicht seine Dienstpflicht verweigert zu haben. Wo war Herr Herzog? Er hat sicherlich sämtliche Ausreden parat. Walter Bloem hatte sie nicht, und obgleich dessen Romane auch nicht grade sehr heiter sind, würde ich niemals etwas gegen den Mann sagen: der hat seine Vaterlandstreue mit seinem Blut besiegelt, er hat an die Sache geglaubt, und wenn er von seinen Verwundungen genesen war, ist er immer wieder hinausgegangen. Herr Höcker saß in Lille und verdiente Geld. Herr Herzog schrieb Romane. Gott segne seine Stammrolle.
Aus seinen Büchern aber sieht uns ein entsetzliches Gesicht an — mit starr nach oben gebürstetem Schnurrbärtchen, knappem Haar, kühler Hornbrille, kurzem Scheitel. Das Gesicht hebt sich von einem weißen Kachelhintergrund ab: es ist die Herrentoilette eines Gasthauses am Rhein, fliesenbelegt, mit bunten Kirchenfenstern, auf denen der deutsche Rhein und das deutsche Mädel irgend etwas Deutsches machen, sauber, korrekt, straff. Herrn Herzog habe ich schon vergessen. Aber seine Leser, seine Millionen Leser, Kaufleute, Beamte, Studenten, Geometer, Priester, Ärzte, Familienväter und ihre Frauen — sie haben sich und ihrer Zeit in den Werken des allverehrten Dichters ein würdiges Denkmal gesetzt.
76
Bockbierfest
Mir san die bayrischen Madeln — juhu! Mir tun animieren und trinken euch zu! Dulüh!
Mir san die bayrischen Baurn — juhu! An Durscht han mir immer und Prozente dazu . . . Dulüh!
Mir san die Bayern — mir saufn an Schluck! Fürs G'schäft san uns die Preißen die sachrischen, sachrischen allweil gut g'nug —! Dulüh —! Lalalahüüüü —!
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Fig. 3. Compared to Sander's or Renger-Patzsch's works (see fig. 1), this sample from Tucholsky's and Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* (Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 76-77) shows a combination of text, poem and photos.

This project pairs this then rather non-traditional photobook by Tucholsky and Heartfield with two other non-traditional photobooks: (1) Ernst Friedrich's two-volume work *Krieg dem Kriege!* calls for an absolute pacifism in response to WWI, also relying like *Deutschland, Deutschland*

[1] All illustrations and quotations from *Einbahnstraße* are taken from Walter Benjamin, *Einbahnstraße* (Rowohlt 1928). All illustrations and quotations from *Deutschland, Deutschland*
[2] When citing from *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*, page numbers will be inserted directly in the text and will be accompanied by the abbreviations *EB*, *DD* and *KdK*.

über Alles on combinations of photographs, drawings and copies of postcards with short texts or long captions (see fig. 4).

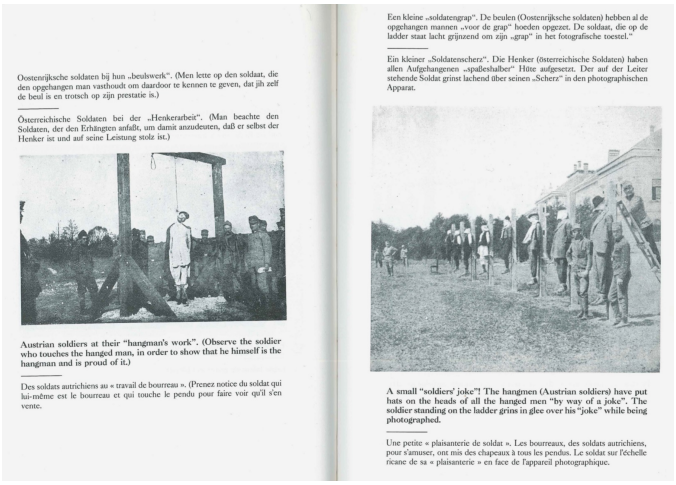

Fig. 4. Excerpt from Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* (volume I), Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, pp. 132-133.

(2) Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße,* which takes on a framing function for this dissertation, operates like a photobook (Stoll *Schools for Seeing* 55), even though it does not contain photographs (see fig. 5): Benjamin's work uses the form of the emblem, and relies on many literary images to turn the impressions gathered on a city walk into a collection of texts, which Benjamin, however, merely uses as a jumping-off point to reflect on the changes in modern life during the Weimar Republic.

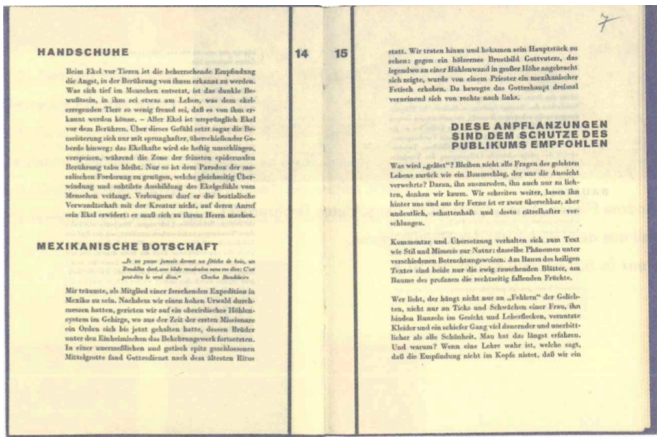

Fig. 5. Excerpt from Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße*, Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 10-11.

These three works not only share a publication date in the second half of the 1920s, they also have in common that they combine the characteristics of various media – be it text, photography, or film. This convergence of various forms situates *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* inbetween genre boundaries, which aligns them, for instance, with works like *Berlin Alexanderplatz* or the *Fifo's* choice to connect film and photography in their exhibition. Thus, it is no surprise that Axel Eggebrecht writes in his book review about *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* that images and words come together in quite intricate ways:

> Wort und Bild stehen nicht gegeneinander, sondern für- und ineinander. Es ist weder Literatur noch Bilderbuch. Beinahe eine neue Gattung. … Heartfield, der Bildmonteur … hat aus Tausenden von Zufallsbildchen diese 150 oder 200 ausgesucht, die eine erschreckend vollständige Vision von Deutschland geben, wie er es sieht und wie wir es sehen müßten, wären nicht unsere Blicke faul und unsere Augen schludrig geworden. (Eggebrecht 5)

Eggebrecht does not just point out *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles's* novel form that is to him neither just literature nor picture book. He also comments on the relationship of the book to its readers. They have a chance to see Germany in the same way as one of the work's authors, John Heartfield. Yet, readers have become too lazy ("faul") to really look and, most of all, their eyes have become "sloppy" ("schludrig"). This indicates that Tucholsky's and Heartfield's work does not just test the boundaries of various genres in combining photographs and photomontages with Tucholsky's texts, which had often been previously published. This photobook also tests its audience's reading habits that have apparently degenerated, likely due to the omnipresent

influence by mass media like illustrated magazines that employed an overabundance of images, often only used as mere ornaments.

Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* does not recycle previously written texts like *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*. Instead, it is a combination of Friedrich's long captions or short texts with photographs of war atrocities and the aftermath of WWI. These photos were sent to the author's Anti-War Museum, founded in 1925 in Berlin. Nonetheless, the photobook prompted its reviewers to react in a similar way as Eggebrecht wrote in his response to *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*. Long before Kurt Tucholsky and John Heartfield were commissioned to put together their photobook, Tucholsky writes about *Krieg dem Kriege* in 1926:

> Die Fotografien der Schlachtfelder, dieser Abdeckereien des Krieges, die Fotografien der Kriegsverstümmelten gehören zu den fürchterlichsten Dokumenten, die mir jemals unter die Augen gekommen sind. Es gibt kein kriminalistisches Werk, keine Publikation, die etwas Ähnliches an Grausamkeit, an letzter Wahrhaftigkeit, an Belehrung böte. … Geschriebene Bücher schaffen es nicht. Kein Wortkünstler, und sei es der größte, kann der Waffe des Bildes gleichkommen. (Tucholsky "Waffe gegen den Krieg" 312)

Similar to *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, the photographs in Friedrich's work become a powerful way not just to depict the war atrocities, but also to inform and teach its readers, aiming to subvert their reading habits.

Whereas the images in Friedrich's work take on a more prominent function than in Tucholsky's and Heartfield's book, Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* contains no photographs at all, even though the book's cover by photographer Sasha Stone (see fig. 6) might have created

the expectation that a photobook in a traditional sense, like Sander's or Renger-Patzsch's works, would follow (see fig.1 and fig. 2).

Fig. 6. On the left, the front cover[3] of Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* and on the right, the back cover,[4] both designed by Sasha Stone.

Although Benjamin did not add any images, despite writing about photography and film in some of his most well-known essays,[5] his collection of essays and aphorisms in *Einbahnstraße*, which turn the experience of a city walk into script (Huyssen *Miniature Metropolis* 118) caused reviewers like Ernst Bloch and Franz Hessel to emphasize *Einbahnstraße's* genre convergence and its effect on readers – much like Eggebrecht's and Tucholsky's responses to *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*: "Winziges und Abseitiges kommt herauf bildhaft gefühlt, in einer sonderbaren Phänomenologie des 'um die Ecke-Sehens.' Revue, in

[3] Benjamin, Walter. *Einbahnstraße, Schutzumschlag, Vorderseite.* 1928. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. *Lebendiges Museum Online,* https://www.dhm.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/walter-benjamin-einbahnstrasse-schutzumschlag-vorderseite-1928.html. Accessed 22 April 2019.
[4] Benjamin, Walter. *Einbahnstraße, Schutzumschlag, Rückseite.* 1928. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. *Lebendiges Museum Online,* https://www.dhm.de/lemo/bestand/objekt/r92-5476a. Accessed 22 April 2019.
[5] See Benjamin's essays "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie" (1931) and "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit" (1935-1939).

Straßenform dieser Bilder entsteht, mit Auslagen unter Glas und abgebrochenen Zimmerwänden, auch eine Art Photomontage" (Bloch "Revueform in der Philosophie"). Bloch does not mention here the texts of *Einbahnstraße* at all, and rather speaks of Benjamin's work in visual and urban terms. According to Bloch, Benjamin combines the cityscape with both the genre of the photomontage and the revue. In bringing together genres of visuality and performance, readers are tasked not just to read differently, but also to actually look at things in a new way. They have to look around the corner ("um die Ecke-Sehen"), which can be paralleled to the expression "thinking outside the box," as the German equivalent of this saying also features the idea of the corner ("um die Ecke denken"). Franz Hessel's review of Benjamin's work not only confirms this task for the readers, he even ascribes a call to action to *Einbahnstraße* that is almost attacking its readers: "Der Leser muß aufpassen, ausweichen, fühlt, daß Denken eine Gefahr ist, in Gedanken stehenbleiben ein Verkehrshindernis. Geistesgegenwart in ihrer moralischen Bedeutung als Mut ist dies Denken" (Hessel 361). All these reviews of these three seemingly disparate works comment both on the influence of the visual on the works' texts *and* on their effects on readers, connecting in this way these three photobooks due to their boundary-pushing forms and their distinct reader engagement.

Current scholarship has also analyzed or commented on the convergence of various genres or types of media in these works. Burkhard Spinnen (1991), Mareike Stoll (2015) and Andreas Huyssen (2015) have, among others, remarked that *Einbahnstraße* resembles a "(Baroque) book of emblems" (Stoll *Schools for Seeing* 54).[6] Gerd Krumeich has also observed

[6] This is only a selection of scholarship on these three works that comment on their form. In the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, scholarship on this issue will be referenced in more breadth and detail.

that *Krieg dem Kriege!* is composed of various media sources that Friedrich arranged in an effective manner so as to fuel his readers' non-violent commitment:

> Das ist eine typisch 'propagandistische' Nutzung von Materialien, nämlich eine absichtsvolle Zuweisung des gewollten Sinnes an heterogenes Material. Und dies ist sicherlich bei Friedrich nachhaltiger gelungen, als das sonst bei Propagandaerzeugnissen der Fall ist, hat seine Inszenierung von 'Quellen' aller Art doch zu einer einzigartigen neuen Form des pazifistischen Engagements geführt. (Krumeich xxvii)

By aligning Friedrich's work with other propagandistic texts or photobooks,[7] the purpose of this new way of mixing media and its direct reader engagement becomes clear: a critique of society, of its values and of the status of certain groups and social classes. This is a third commonality of *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!,* that connects them as the three main objects of study in this dissertation.

Friedrich's two-volume work *Krieg dem Kriege!* appeared in 1924 and 1926, right when the rearmament of the Reichswehr was not as clandestine anymore as in the first half of the Weimar Republic (Müller and Volkmann 79). By providing images of WWI, including portraits of severely wounded faces or photographs of mass graves, Friedrich was the first to show these futile atrocities to the public and to call for pacifism. Tucholsky and Heartfield also arranged their recycled texts and photos not just to show the current reality, but to deliver "a provocative, ironic interpretation" (Eskildsen "Photography in Books" 17), in order to task their readers to rethink their image of Germany and its publics. Eskildsen also links the montage practice in

[7] See for instance *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* (1930), edited by Ernst Jünger, Franz Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg: 230 Kampfaufnahmen aus der Front* (1928), or Herrmann Rex' *Der Weltkrieg in seiner rauhen Wirklichkeit: Das Frontkämpferwerk* (1926).

Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles to its critique of the current status quo: "The photographs are assembled in montages and the manner in which they correspond with one another, or are combined with text results in statements critical of society" (Eskildsen 16). Thus, even though they might at first look like a collection of photo reportages from illustrated magazines, *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* do not operate like them. Magazines do not provide such effective montages and rather add photos to texts as illustrations or add one photo after another to create what Siegfried Kracauer called a colorful arrangement of images: "Die Einrichtung der Illustrierten ist in der Hand der herrschenden Gesellschaft eines der mächtigsten Streikmittel gegen die Erkenntnis. Der erfolgreichen Durchführung des Streiks dient nicht zuletzt das bunte Arrangement der Bilder. Ihr *Nebeneinander* [his emphasis] schließt systematisch den Zusammenhang aus, der dem Bewußtsein sich eröffnet" (Kracauer "Die Photographie" 34). *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* are the exact opposite of such a "Nebeneinader" of images. They are more of a combination of an "Ineinander," "Miteinander" and "Gegeneinander." In this way, these works can strive to enable an "Erkenntnis" (Kracauer "Die Photographie" 34) in readers, which means to change their views of themselves and of society.

However, these works by Benjamin, Friedrich, Tucholsky and Heartfield do not just address *any* kind of reader. They target both the broad public *and* specific groups of readers. Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* does not just exemplify how a city walk turns into script. Each of the short texts and aphorisms actually subverts their readers' expectations and challenges their meaning-making processes. The texts' titles almost never match the subsequent texts and "the small vignettes are full of metaphors and literary images that liken *Einbahnstraße* to photo-essays published in the same year [such as August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit*] (Stoll *Schools for*

Seeing 55). *Einbahnstraße* becomes a challenge for the reader, when, for instance, its longest text bears the title "Kaiserpanorma" (*EB* 18-26) yet does not describe a visit to this entertainment medium, in which visitors could view, for example, stereoscopic images of exotic landscapes (see fig. 7).

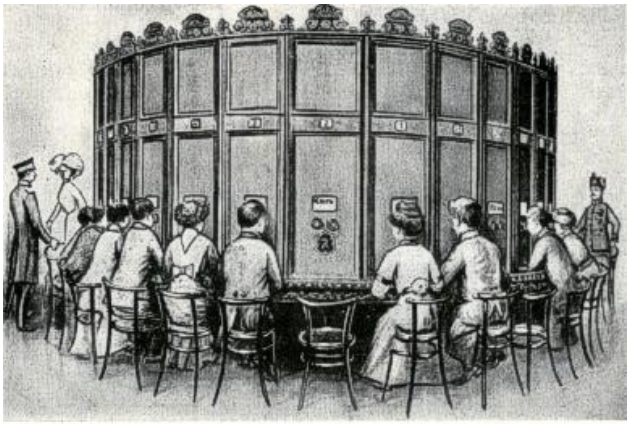

Fig. 7. An example of a "Kaiserpanorama." Oettermann, *The Panorama,* Zone Books, 1997*,* p.184.

Instead, Benjamin discusses the inflation during the Weimar Republic. This challenge for readers to combine the meaning of titles with the non-matching content of the following texts was, in turn, a challenge for the writer, as well. Benjamin frequently addresses this new or different kind of writing in several texts of *Einbahnstraße*. These texts, including "Tankstelle" (7), "Chinawaren"(12-13), "Achtung Stufen" (27), "Vereidigter Bücherrevisor" (28-30) and "Poliklinik" (62), provide guidance for other writers, which in turn can also serve as reading manuals for *Einbahnstraße's* readers. This focus on the writing and reading process is also present in the very first text of *Einbahnstraße*, called "Tankstelle" (7):

> Die bedeutende literarische Wirksamkeit kann nur in strengem Wechsel von Tun und Schreiben zustande kommen; sie muß die unscheinbaren Formen, die ihrem Einfluß in tätigen Gemeinschaften besser entsprechen als die anspruchsvolle

> universale Geste des Buches in Flugblättern, Broschüren, Zeitschriftartikeln und Plakaten ausbilden. (*EB* 7)

Benjamin both comments on the nature of writing and on the writer's medium. According to him, writing is not a process that is only fueled by the act of writing itself, but it also means for an author to *act* and to be in the world as much as he sits at his desk and writes. To this end, the long form of the book is not the best medium anymore; leaflets, brochures, newspaper articles and even posters serve as a form to communicate one's observations and opinions much more directly with one's surrounding community ("Einfluß in tätigen Gemeinschaften"). Thus, from the very first page Benjamin specifically addresses other writers and authors among his general audience of *Einbahnstraße* in order to show them that for modern society a different kind of writer and reader is needed.

While Benjamin's address of fellow writers among his readers is not directed at a specific social group or community of readers, it frames my discussion of Tucholsky's and Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and Friedrich's two volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!* as these works address specific groups among their readers: workers and soldiers. Similar to *Einbahnstraße*, this already becomes evident in the beginning of both *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*. After the preface of the former photobook addresses the complicated relationship of photographs to their captions – as the latter might over-interpret or even misinterpret what is seen in a photo – the first montage of a photograph with Tucholsky's text, called "1918 am Rhein" (*DD* 13), exercises the addition of text to a photo as announced in the preface. The photograph shows soldiers returning after WWI (see fig. 8).

1918 am Rhein

Sie ziehen zurück — wozu sind sie hinausgezogen? Für wen?

Verkleidete Bergarbeiter, Handwerker, Rohrleger, kaufmännische Angestellte kommen zurück — mit einem Feind im Rücken, der ihnen im Grunde kein Feind gewesen ist, nur Partner im Kriege — mit einem Feind vor sich, den nur die Klassenbewußten unter ihnen wirklich kennen. Sie wissen noch nicht, was sie zu Hause als Dank des Vaterlandes erwartet: Inflation, dieser betrügerische Bankerott des Staates, Hunger, Arbeitslosigkeit — und 1,67 Mark Kriegsverletztenrente in der Woche. Wozu? Für wen —? Für die Bankhalter eurer Kriege; für die Bankhalter eures Friedens.

13

Fig. 8. "1918 am Rhein." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, Rowohlt, 1929, p. 13.

Yet, Tucholsky writes of "Verkleidete Bergarbeiter, Handwerker, Rohrleger, kaufmännische Angestellte" (13) instead of soldiers returning home, using his words to emphasize that what readers see in the photo is actually the working class dressed up in uniforms. This focus on the worker returns again and again in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles.* For *Krieg dem Kriege!,* the focus on the soldier is even clearer, because already Friedrich's opening essay directly addresses WWI. A montage of war-related toys that show how young boys are raised to become soldiers follows this essay; afterward, the rest of the photobook shifts to the depiction of the miseries of soldiers – the wounded and the dead. Finally, the representation of women, who are not a social class in the same sense as workers or soldiers, takes on a special position in all three works, as will be discussed in the coda of this dissertation. In analyzing the representation of writers, workers, soldiers, and women in these three works, this project shows that their authors did not just manage to specifically address these groups among their general readership. The way they address them, often using montage methods, also casts a different light on them, which aims

to help them to develop a different perspective of themselves and their surroundings than they usually encountered in mass media.

In this way, all three primary works discussed in this dissertation address various social groups and communities in a manner that counters the way they are addressed or represented in mass media. Thus, these works cast these groups as "counter-publics." This does not mean that these works formulate a specific call to action for writers, workers, soldiers, or women to go against the current status quo as represented in mass media and manifested in the public sphere. Instead, these works make use of the genre of the photobook. In using this genre, they do not just address these groups, but they represent them differently than would be the case in magazines, films or other forms of mass media. In particular *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege* employ specific montages of texts and images that offer an alternative view of the public sphere and these groups. They also demonstrate to these groups the possibility of creating an effective consciousness that counters the influence of mass media and that provides at least the tools to combat impending fascism. This effective consciousness and these tools are not based on specific calls to action or guidelines that Benjamin, Tucholsky, Heartfield and Friedrich set. Instead, they are based on educating their readers to see themselves differently, while also teaching them to develop a different perspective of society and their place in it. In that sense, the works I discuss in this dissertation are not just a collection of images and texts, but they teach their readers in general, and writers, workers, soldiers, and women in particular, to develop and practice a new perspective. In this way, these works become an "Übungsatlas" (381) – a term Benjamin used in his essay "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie" to label Sander's photobook *Antlitz der Zeit*. Following Benjamin's judgment of Sander's work, I argue that these works are

also each an "Übungsatlas" (381), allowing readers to rehearse a new perspective that counters their current representation in mass media.

This dissertation looks at *how* these new perspectives are created in these particular photobooks. These works either use the form of the Baroque emblem, as is the case for *Einbahnstraße*, or they use montages of texts and photos to deconstruct the current perspective created by mass media. In a sense, these works function like Eugène Atget's photographs, about which Benjamin writes in "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie": "… alle diese [Atget's] Bilder sind leer. [Es gibt keine Menschen.] … die Stadt auf diesen Bildern ist ausgeräumt wie eine Wohnung, die noch keinen neuen Mieter gefunden hat. Diese Leistungen sind es, in denen die surrealistische Photographie eine heilsame Entfremdung zwischen Umwelt und Mensch vorbereitet" (379). The works I discuss in this project also aim for an estrangement ("Entfremdung") between the readers and their world. Yet, the texts and montages in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* are anything but empty street scenes. Not even *Einbahnstraße,* which lacks photographs, is "empty" in that sense. On the contrary, these works seem to be overcharged with photos and texts fighting for the reader's attention. This then goes beyond Benjamin's label of an "Übungsatlas" that he ascribes in the same essay to Sander's photobook. Indeed, all three works discussed in this dissertation are not like Sander's work, as *Antlitz der Zeit* only includes photos accompanied by very short titles (see fig. 1). Sander's photobook – just like Renger-Patzsch's or Germaine Krull's work that Benjamin also references in his essay – is a photobook in a traditional sense. The addition of text in such works is often only done in the form of captions or by adding a preface. In Sander's work, for instance, the portraits of social classes are collected, only filling up the right side of the double page (see fig. 1). The left side is left blank, allowing readers to focus on the photograph and to

contemplate its meaning free of distraction by another photo on the left-hand side. Readers get to compare and observe, taking on Sander's perspective of his subjects: "Der Autor ist an diese ungeheure Aufgabe nicht als Gelehrter herangetreten, nicht von Rassentheoretikern oder Sozialforschern beraten, sondern wie der Verlag sagt, 'aus der unmittelbaren Beobachtung'" (Benjamin "Kleine Geschichte" 380). But, what happens when there are two or more photographs on both pages of the double page, and when captions, vignettes or longer texts are included as in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* (see fig. 3 and fig. 4)?

At this point, it becomes necessary to look at what informs Benjamin's discussion of Sander's work as an "Übungsatlas" and Atget's photos as capable of creating an "Entfremdung" that leads to a "neuer Blick" ("Kleine Geschichte" 379). Twice in these contexts, Benjamin refers to Soviet filmmaking without further elaborations: [8]

> Da gab zum erstenmal seit Jahrzehnten der Spielfilm der Russen Gelegenheit, Menschen vor der Kamera erscheinen zu lassen, die für ihr Photo keine Verwendung haben. Und augenblicklich trat das menschliche Gesicht mit neuer, unermeßlicher Bedeutung auf die Platte. Aber es war kein Portrait mehr. Was war es? Es ist das eminente Verdienst eines deutschen Photographen, diese Frage beantwortet zu haben. August Sander hat eine Reihe von Köpfen zusammengestellt, die der gewaltigen physiognomischen Galerie, die ein Eisenstein oder Pudowkin eröffnet haben, in gar nichts nachtsteht, und er tat es unter wissenschaftlichem Gesichtspunkt. ("Kleine Geschichte" 380)

[8] Just a few lines before this quote Benjamin also applauds Soviet film: „Und wer es nicht gewußt hat, den haben die besten Russenfilme es gelehrt, daß auch Milieu und Landschaft under den Photographen erst dem sich erschließen, der sie in der namenlosen Erscheinung, die sie im Antlitz haben, aufzufassen weiß" ("Kleine Geschichte" 379).

Benjamin's focus remains here on Sander and on portrait photography. In photographing the human's face and often also the body, yet without creating just a portrait for a portrait's sake, Sander uses his careful observations to present a profile of society at the time. Yet, at this point in "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie," Döblin's comment that Benjamin adds to his discussion of Sander's work becomes relevant: "… so hat dieser Photograph [Sander] *vergleichende* Photographie getrieben und hat damit einen wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt *oberhalb* der Detailphotographen gewonnen'" ("Kleine Geschichte" 381; my emphasis). This aspect of comparison in order to find meaning that lies *above* or *beyond* the single photograph hints indirectly at the practices in Soviet film of using a montage to compare shots, asking viewers to find a meaning *beyond* the single shots. While Benjamin does not further elaborate on this connection, he certainly acknowledges the achievements of Soviet film and its goals:

> Die eigentliche Realität ist in die Funktionale gerutscht. … Eine weitere Etappe in dieser Auseinandersetzung zwischen schöpferischer und konstruktiver Photographie bezeichnet der Russenfilm. Es ist nicht zuviel gesagt: die großen Leistungen seiner Regisseure waren nur möglich in einem Lande, wo die Photographie nicht auf Reiz und Suggestion, sondern *auf Experiment und Belehrung* ausgeht. ("Kleine Geschichte" 384; my emphasis)

These multiple references to Soviet film and its achievements make it necessary to look at *how* Soviet film and its montage techniques achieved this combination of "Experiment und Belehrung" (384), and more importantly, how it helps to understand the montage of text and images in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* that aimed for their readers to develop a new perspective – just as it was the case for Atget's photos that allowed

their beholders to develop a "neuer Blick," as Benjamin writes in "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie" (379).

Photobooks and Montage

In the beginning of the 20th century, the term montage was used as a label for the form of many distinguished works of art, both in the German and in an international context. Christopher Phillips, one of the curators of the exhibition "Montage and Modern Life" at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston in 1992, names the products of montage included in the exhibition:

> the hybrid Dada photomontages of George Grosz, John Heartfield, Hannah Höch and Raoul Haussman [sic]; the fragmented literary narratives of […] Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz*; the cinematic editing techniques of Dziga Vertov, Sergei Eisenstein, and Walter Ruttman [sic]; the episodic theatrical structure of Erwin's Poscator's [sic] *Trotz Alledem*; the multilayered exhibition spaces conceived by Frederick Kiesler, El Lissitzky or Herbert Bayer; and the multiple-exposure photographs by Edward Steichen and Barbara Morgan. (21)

Notably absent from this list is the photobook, despite its ubiquity in the second half of 1920s Germany, when many photographers produced books that consisted almost entirely of sequenced images. These books covered a wide variety of subjects, ranging from plants and nature[9] to portraits of German society or of the modern metropolis.[10] In addition, Weimar photobooks contributed to debates on the potential of photography to uncover a purely visual form of

[9] See, for instance, Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön* (1928) (see fig. 2) or Karl Blossfeldt's *Die Urformen der Kunst* (1928).
[10] See, for instance, Erich Mendelsohn's *Amerika: Bilderbuch eines Architekten* (1928) and August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit* (1929 (see fig. 1).

communication. Particularly the works by Bauhaus professor László Moholy-Nagy and Bauhaus student Werner Gräff contributed to this debate. Moholy-Nagy's *Malerei Fotografie Film* (1925) and Gräff's *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!* (1929) focus on showing the potential of photography and typography as a means of visual communication.

With such an abundance of photobooks, one might expect a broad coverage of the medium in scholarship. Yet the photobook has become an object of interest to various academic disciplines only slowly over the course of the past 20 years. Various anthologies and surveys, often spanning several volumes, have been published since the turn of the century, including *Fotografía Pública: Photography in Print, 1919-1939* (1999), *The Book of 101 Books: Seminal Photographic Books of the Twentieth Century* (2001), *The Open Book: A History of the Photographic Book from 1878 to the Present* (2004), *The Photobook: From Talbot to Ruscha and Beyond* (2012) and the two-volume work *Autopsie: Deutschsprachige Fotobücher 1918 bis 1945* (2012; 2014), which focuses specifically on German photobooks.

As for scholarship, while Daniel Magilow's *The Photography of Crisis* analyses the general development of the photo essay in various genres of print media at the time, providing a "historically informed interpretative history of the Weimar photo essay" (12), most of the scholarship falls into two camps with differing emphases. Some studies refer primarily to the connection of the photobook's montages to film (Bergius, Jennings, Stetler), while others stress the interaction with the viewers (Stoll). In one of the first German studies of Weimar photobooks, Hanne Bergius attested a rhetoric for these works that functioned both in concrete and abstract ways, challenging viewers' reception processes by employing montage principles, often in analogy to film:

> Denn das Prinzip der Montage, das diese Bücher prägte, verlangte eine multifunktionale Wahrnehmung, … Das Verhältnis vom Text zum Bild änderte sich überdies grundlegend. Wechselten sich noch in *Amerika* von Mendelsohn Text und Bild Seite für Seite ab, so verzichtete Moholy-Nagy in seinem Buch *Malerei Fotografie Film* auf diese Abfolge. … [Moholy-Nagy] verkürzte die Intervalle des Sehens zu einem dichten Ablauf von Fotografien und erhöhte die Analogie des Fotobuches zum Film. (Bergius 88)

Michael Jennings also points out this analogy of photobook and film when he writes in his essay on the birth of Weimar's photo essay, referring to Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit*: "like the Dada photomontage, or montage essays by Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer, or the montage films that followed in the wake of Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*, meaning arises in the photo-essay as individual images and individual details are absorbed into larger constellations" (29). Pepper Stetler also comments on this connection of film and photobook in her work *Stop Reading! Look! Modern Vision and the Weimar Photographic Book* by referring to observations already made by Weimar critics and photographers (9). Overall, her work shows that photobooks did not adhere to "traditionally textual ways of making meaning … [but that they provided] uniquely visual forms of perception and cognition that exceeded the capacity of the textual realm" (2). As she writes, this results in the photobook's hybrid form, "existing between motion and stasis, film and photography" (20). Particularly in her last chapter on Helmar Lerski's *Köpfe des Alltags* (1931), she shows that the language of photobooks is less textual than filmic, following the concept of "Buchkinema" (3) that Weimar typographer Johannes Molzahn proposed. "Buchkinema" interprets the photographic media in photobooks as a "form of interaction between viewer and object, a visual experience rather than a mode of representation.

Molzahn's *Buchkinema* suggests the book as film, and the result is a hybrid object that is adapted to the 'new optics' of the modern world" (Stetler 3). Stetler's assertions both build on the observations by Bergius and Jennings and also inform my discussion of *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*, which also adapt to the modern public sphere, but take this adaptation one step further in that they teach certain readers *how* to adapt by developing a new way of seeing for these "new optics" (Stetler 3) of the modern world.

While Mareike Stoll, in her recent monograph *ABC der Photographie: Photobücher der Weimarer Republik als Schulen des Sehens* (2018), does not counter such understandings of the photobook, she emphasizes other dimensions of meaning-making, particularly the dimension between the photobook's page and the readers. She shows that the photobook can be understood as a "Wahrnehmungsfibel und Werkzeug der Alphabetisierung" (46). She further elaborates:

> Photobücher erlauben es dem Betrachter, die Wahrnehmung der photographischen Sequenz zu verlangsamen und die Montage gewissermaßen auseinanderzunehmen, zu rekombinieren und so die Photographien genauer zu verstehen. ... Durch die Montage der Bildsequenz, die sich der Betrachtende blätternd erarbeitet, wird so etwas wie das Alphabet der Photographie erlernt. ... Es lehrt den Betrachtenden, die Erscheinungsformen der Photographie in anderen medialen Kontexten, wie etwa der Montage der Photographien in den Illustrierten oder im Kino, an der Litfaßsäule, auf Plakaten oder in der Werbung, zu erkennen und zu entziffern. (38-40)

This dissertation goes one step further in demonstrating that photobooks that reuse texts and images create montages that not only teach their audiences to exercise such a comparative reading and viewing habit; they also teach this skill to specific audiences with the goal for them

to develop a dynamic way of seeing themselves and their world. This dynamic view, in turn, is not just influenced by the readers' interactions with the page, but also by the combination of texts and images being influenced by the film montage – as Bergius, Jennings and Stetler have pointed out. My dissertation brings together these two camps of scholarship, which already overlap to some extent, by proposing the concept of the "functional montage" that is at work in both *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!,* addressing specifically workers and soldiers. As the central aim of this montage is to change the reader's perspective of themselves and the world, this concept of montage is informed on the one hand by Sergei Eisenstein's and Dziga Vertov's theories and uses of film montage, and on the other hand by Walter Benjamin's theoretical writings on the ideas of experience and montage.

Photobooks, like Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!*, often combine up to 200 photographs with a few dozen texts, ranging from long captions, aphorisms, and poems, to full essays. At first sight, the photos come across as mere illustrations, yet upon reading the texts, it becomes apparent that many of the photos are often not referenced, but carefully placed on the book's page in relationship to the text. The photographs both create interruptions within the text, while also often speaking to each other, either on the same page or even on consecutive pages. I term these combinations of photos and texts "functional montages."

The functional montage combines texts and photos over several pages, the final composition looking similar to a rolled-out filmstrip, now interspersed with texts and white gaps due to the book's page layout. The connection to film plays out on the photobook's page, i.e., in the composition of its layout on each page and double page. This is what I call the "horizontal dimension" of the functional montage. This horizontal dimension can be described best when

employing the understanding of the montage principles that 1920s Soviet filmmakers Sergei Eisenstein and Dziga Vertov used in their films. Eisenstein engineered continuities and ruptures in his montages, bringing together shots distant in both time and space. An example can be found in his 1925 film *Battleship Potemkin*, in the sequence called "Odessa steps" that depicts the massacre of civilians by the Tsar's soldiers, who march down a flight of steps (see fig. 9).

Fig. 9. Excerpts from the "Odessa steps" sequence in Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin,* 1925.

While all shots are taken of the same event, providing an apparent temporal and spatial continuity, ruptures are created by the montage that juxtaposes repeated shots of the soldiers with shots of the civilians fleeing down the stairs. Close-up shots of a dying boy and his horrified mother's face interrupt the juxtaposition. The shots of the mother holding her son, towards the end of the sequence, eventually interrupt the soldiers' marching, even if just for a moment

(Rohdie 33).[11] These juxtapositions create ruptures in the event's continuity, extending the actual event temporarlly and spatially.

While fellow Soviet filmmaker Dziga Vertov also built like Eisenstein on these kinds of juxtapositions of shots, his emphasis was also on the gaps between the shots. In his 1929 film *Man with a Movie Camera*, as Sam Rohdie writes, "one shot does not 'answer' another … but instead functions to highlight the gap and interval between them" (82). In this sequence taken from the film (fig. 10), the montage moves from female switchboard operators, as seen on the left, to hands packaging cigarettes, back to the switchboard, then to hands typing on a typewriter, and finally to an extreme close-up of a woman putting on make-up.

Fig. 10. Excerpts from Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera,* 1929.

Meaning lies not *within* the single shots, but in the gaps between these shots. These gaps pose an intellectual challenge for the viewers. They have to connect all of these five shots in this montage by finding their common denominator, which is in this case the representation of the woman reduced to the same hand movements, both at home, during her morning routine, *and* at work, no matter where she works or what kind of job it is. In order to show how Eisenstein's and Vertov's ideas of montage play out on the photobook's page, i.e. on the horizontal dimension of

[11] See Hanno Möbius' discussion of the "Odessa steps" sequence for a further elaboration on Eisenstein's montage method: "Die Abfolge besitzt verschiedene Konfliktebenen, vor allem die einzelne Frau im Gegensatz zu der Masse und die Abwärtsbewegung im Gegensatz zur Aufwärtsbewegung. Eisenstein konzipiert sie aus seiner psychologischen Theorie, nach der nicht nur der Einzelne, sondern auch das Kollektiv innere Konflikte austrägt. Die Angst der Zivilbevölkerung ist allgemein, aber die Mutter kann sie wegen ihres erschossenen Sohnes für einen Moment überwinden und die Fluchtbewegung umkehren. Sie ist als Mutter, nicht als Individuum, in dieser Situation die Ausnahme im Gesamtverhalten der Masse." (366)

the "functional montage," I will turn to an example taken from Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!*.

Published in 1924, and eventually selling over 50,000 copies within a decade, Friedrich's work was the first photobook after WWI that aimed to educate its readers to counteract militarism and war by calling for absolute pacifism. In this photobook, Friedrich re-used photos, copies of postcards, and other materials that he had been collecting for his Anti-War Museum in Berlin, founded in 1925. For his photobook, he put together montages that rely less on the portrayal of soldiers in the field than on the war's aftermath, including this functional montage of a mass grave (fig. 11) that stretches over several consecutive pages in *KdK*.[12]

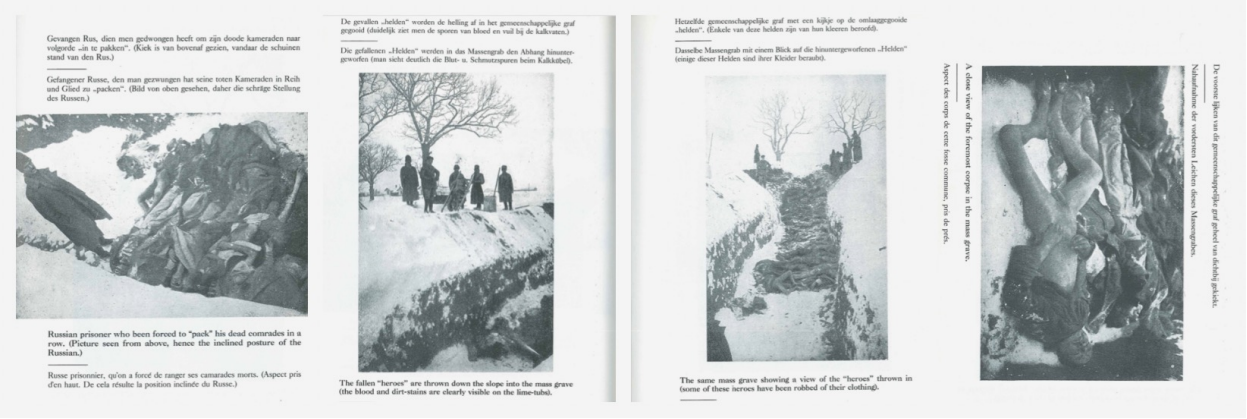

Fig. 11. Excerpt from Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* (volume I)*,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, pp. 109-12.

The beginning and the end of this montage are marked by depictions of the same mass grave. This is not only clearly identified by Friedrich's commentary for the third photograph; also the horizontal dimension of the functional montage clarifies the beginning and the end of this montage. While the first photo shows the grave at an angle, focusing both on the Russian gravedigger and the corpses, the subsequent photos move further away from their subjects, revealing the scale of the grave, and showing all the corpses that were thrown into the grave.

[12] This example will be discussed more in-depth within the context of the third chapter of this dissertation, which focuses on Friedrich's work.

Similar to the "Odessa steps" sequence, the content of these photos provides continuity. Yet, when taking a closer look, ruptures and gaps become visible when interpreting this functional montage.

Friedrich's first comment directs the reader not just to look at the corpses and the Russian soldier, but also underlines the camera's, and by extension, the photographer's perspective: "Bild von oben gesehen, daher die schräge Stellung des Russen" (109). While readers tilt their head slightly to the left to look at the soldier, they also become aware of the presence of the photographer at this mass burial. The next two photos feature the Russian soldier again, albeit together with other soldiers-turned-gravediggers. They consecutively move into the background of both photos as the photographer turns his camera further to the right, showing the entire mass grave. Both the photographer's choices and Friedrich's comments for each photo prompt readers to compare, looking for continuities and ruptures when they turn the book's pages. The rupture in this montage occurs with its final image. While the montage started with a photo taken at a tilted angle (but inserted in landscape format), the next two photos changed the perspective again: this time taken at a straight angle and in portrait format, the view of the mass grave opens up to the readers. Each gap between the photos – Vertov's "gap" is literally translated into white spaces between the photos – prompts the reader to consider each photo anew, confirming its continuity while also having to make the connection that in this montage the alive soldiers are slowly replaced by their dead counterparts. Yet a rupture occurs with the final photo of the montage (see fig. 11, on the very right). Readers turn the page to find a photo taken in landscape format, which was, however, inserted by Friedrich as if it were meant to be shown in portrait format. Readers are confronted by a portrait of an almost entirely naked male corpse. In deciding against inserting the photograph at the angle it was taken, Friedrich engineers a rupture similar to

Eisenstein in his films: While the content of the photo stays on topic – it still depicts the same mass grave – readers literally have to tilt their heads or even turn the entire book in order to engage with this photo. The rupture choreographed by the page layout creates a physical interruption in the readers' reception process. Even more so, readers are reminded and taken back to the tilted camera angle when looking at the Russian soldier a few pages earlier. In prompting the readers to tilt their heads again, this horizontal dimension of the functional montage creates a loop, tasking readers for a moment to reconsider both the continuities and gaps in this montage.

It is exactly in this moment that the "horizontal dimension" of the functional montage, which plays out on the book's pages, is extended by a "vertical dimension," an axis between the book's pages and their readers. As the tilted head of the readers in the last photo aligns with the tilted angle of the photographer's camera in the first photo (looking at the Russian soldier), this double movement of continuity and rupture of the montage's horizontal dimension actually *produces* the vertical dimension of the functional montage. While readers are mainly confronted with the exposed corpse in the final photo (his head only visible at the edges of the frame), in the first photo, the Russian soldier's face is not just clearly visible: he actually looks right into the camera and into the readers' eyes. This perceptual and even bodily interaction of the reader with the photos and their subjects represents the "vertical dimension" of the functional montage. While the horizontal dimension sets up the relationship between the images (and their captions), the vertical one defines the *experience* for the readers looking at this montage.

This is the same kind of experience Walter Benjamin defined in his essay "Der Erzähler: Betrachtungen zum Werk Nicolai Leskows." In this essay, Benjamin explains that storytelling is founded on experience: "Erfahrung, die von Mund zu Mund geht, ist die Quelle, aus der alle

Erzähler geschöpft haben" (*Gesammelte Schriften* II.2 440). Benjamin emphasizes that experience is the storyteller's source, not a product delivered to the reader. For instance, in the example of the mass grave in Friedrich's work (see fig. 11), the montage of photos does not deliver to Friedrich's readers a final package of an experience of soldiers dying in the field. Instead, several photos document the process of a mass burial, including a display of the dead and those burying them, as well as a revelation to the reader of the photographer's role as a witness and storyteller. What experience is then created for readers in this functional montage? Benjamin further elaborates on the relationship of storyteller and experience: "Der Erzähler nimmt, was er erzählt, aus der Erfahrung; aus der eigenen oder berichteten. Und er macht es wiederum zur Erfahrung derer, die seiner Geschichte zuhören" (*Gesammelte Schriften* II.2 443). Benjamin thus portrays storytelling as a processual practice that is constitutive of the experience of both the storyteller and his listeners. In the case of the montage of the mass grave, the storytellers are (1) the photographs' subjects, (2) the photographer, *and* (3) the listeners, in this case Friedrich's readers.[13] Applying the connection of storyteller and listener – transposed now to photographer and viewer – to the concept of the functional montage and its vertical dimension, i.e. the montage's relationship to the reader, shows that only by turning pages, by looking at the

[13] Patrizia McBride also makes this connection in her recent work *The Chatter of the Visible: Montage and Narrative in Weimar Germany* (2018). She establishes a connection between Benjamin's essays "Der Erzähler: Betrachtungen zum Werk Nicolai Lesskows" and "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner Technischen Reproduzierbarkeit," analyzing Benjamin's inquiries into the relation of media to both storytelling and perception. Her analysis of this relationship allows McBride to elaborate on the connection of montage and narrative, which she calls "montage storytelling" (11). "Montage storytelling" is not based on meaning-making through resemblance, but on the "interplay between the sensory apparatus [the body] and specific technologies [such as film and photography]" (38). This connection, McBride writes, "presupposes for Benjamin a listener who is not a *mere recipient of information*, but rather *an integral part of the unfolding story* recounted by the storyteller (54; my emphases). McBride manages in this way to transpose the connection of storyteller and listener to filmmaker and viewer. She emphasizes in this way that, as in oral storytelling, both storyteller and listener, and now also both filmmaker and viewer are needed to "tell" and *experience* a story.

photographs, and by tilting one's head when prompted, is the reader, by deciphering the functional montage, able to bring together the experience of (1) the images' subjects (their less than heroic deaths) with (2) the photographer's perspective and (3) the viewer's experience.

These ideas of the recipients' experience being a processual practice that weaves an experience from the images and the photographer to the reader resonate with Benjamin's views of montage in his essay "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner Technischen Reproduzierbarkeit." Compared to Eisenstein and Vertov, Benjamin's essay does not develop a theory of montage to describe films like *Battleship Potemkin*. Moreover, before he turns to the idea of montage, Benjamin actually recalls the intertwined connection of storyteller and listener, now turned into writers and readers: "Damit ist die Unterscheidung zwischen Autor und Publikum im Begriff, ihren grundsätzlichen Charakter zu verlieren. Sie wird eine funktionelle, von Fall zu Fall anders verlaufende. Der Lesende ist jederzeit bereit ein Schreibender zu werden" (*Gesammelte Schriften* I.2 493). While Benjamin does not assert the same relationship between film viewers and cameramen or filmmakers, his understanding of montage nonetheless creates an overlap of the viewer's body with the cameraman's apparatus. Benjamin aligns the surgeon with the cameraman, which, by extension, connects the surgeon's material (the body) with the cameraman's material (reality) (*Gesammelte Schriften* I.2 495). Following this analogy, when putting back together the cameraman's "vielfältig zerstückeltes" (*Gesammelte Schriften* I.2 496) material via montage, the viewer's body is also put back together, when *viewing* the montage and the film. However, and this is probably the biggest difference between reading text or contemplating a painting, the viewer is not in charge of his viewing speed: "Man vergleiche die Leinwand, auf der der Film abrollt, mit der Leinwand, auf der sich das Gemälde befindet. Das letztere lädt den Betrachter zur Kontemplation ein; vor ihm kann er sich seinem

Assoziationsablauf überlassen. Vor der Filmaufnahme kann er das nicht. Kaum hat er sie ins Auge gefaßt, so hat sie sich schon verändert" (*Gesammelte Schriften* I.2 502). This constant change of images in film montages disturbs the viewer's process of thinking and making associations, producing what Benjamin calls a "Chockwirkung" (*Gesammelte Schriften* I.2 503) on the viewer. Yet this does not freeze the viewers and turn them into passive recipients, as this shock effect "engenders a state of alertness that jolts the viewer out of the automatized contemplative mode associated with vision" (McBride 78). At this point, both dimensions of the functional montage come into play, as the photobook's recipients are neither only viewers nor readers. They are presented with montages of images and texts, yet, like the photographer (and like the storyteller), they are in control of turning the pages, sharing the photographer's experience via the vertical dimension of the functional montage. Thus their experience of "shock" is different and calls for a different response.

Turning again to the example of Friedrich's functional montage of the mass grave, the last image indeed produces a shock, also on the level of a bodily experience, both due to the photo's graphic content of the exposed corpse, but also as the readers have to tilt their heads to fully engage with the photo. This shock, however, is different than the one produced in a film, coming closer to what Benjamin attested for the epic theater when he drew on montage to describe it. "He noted that epic theater and filmic montage were both predicated on strategies of interruption, but that the moment of interruption in film had primarily *Reizcharacter*; that is, it operated at the level of a basic perceptual trigger, whereas it assumed a more elaborated pedagogical character in drama" (McBride 80). Building on McBride's comparison of Benjamin's description of the effect of interruptions in film and drama, I argue that the functional montage in photobooks, with its (horizontal) connection of interruptions to the

reader's (vertical) experience, takes on a similar pedagogical character as in epic theater due to their very similar effects: "The effect elicited by Brechtian montage was thus *Staunen*, an amazement linked to a defamiliarizing semiotic play that defies audience expectations and produces new readings of the ostensibly familiar, rather than the more basic shock coming out of the filmic montage" (McBride 80-81). For photobooks, however, another step is needed. I propose to transpose the functional montage's effect of *Staunen* to the effect of *Zweifel* about the status of the image and its relationship to the text and to the readers, because they are in constant movement between meaning-making and the dialectic of questioning what they read and see and how those perceptions relate to their lived experience. These different tasks not only bring the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the functional montage together, they explain why I term it a *functional* montage. This kind of montage aims to educate readers – as in the case of Friedrich's work particularly about what actually happened to soldiers in WWI – while also allowing them to experience it viscerally to the greatest extent possible. This combination of education and experience allows readers eventually to develop a dynamic view. Such a dynamic view would not only enable them to think critically about their world, but also about how mass media depicts it.

Chapter Overview

My first chapter on Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* (1928) serves as a framework for the following two chapters that focus on the montage practices of photobooks. Benjamin's collection of essays and aphorisms in *Einbahnstraße* follows an emblematic structure that enables Benjamin to adapt writing and reading practices to the demands of a changing society in the 1920s. I demonstrate that Benjamin's modern, imageless emblems de-construct and reimagine writing and reading processes, which becomes a necessary precondition for reading,

viewing, and using photobooks in the second half of the 1920s. This chapter first shows how Benjamin updates the Baroque emblem to a modern form, not only for many of the sixty sections, but also for *Einbahnstraße* in its entirety, the cover images forming the pictura and the dedication functioning as the inscriptio. Benjamin uses the modern emblem, and particularly its visual and spatial structure, to redefine the role of the writer as a combination of an engineer and a surgeon. In deconstructing and reconstructing the writing process, Benjamin also sets up a new way of reading, which links perception and spatiality. Focusing on *Einbahnstraße's* longest emblem, called "Kaiserpanorama," I demonstrate how this kind of reading, which I call "spatial reading," works. In using emblematic structures, Benjamin is able to reconfigure the roles and functions of authors and readers in the 1920s, demonstrating a different way for the modern individual to navigate the script of a city, and, by extension, of the media, including photobooks. By subverting a coherent textual construction with emblematic montages and literary images, *Einbahnstraße* turns writers into surgeons and engineers, and readers into both strollers and detectives.

My second chapter focuses on the working class as the implied reader in Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* (1929). I examine the structural importance of the photobook's text-image combinations as "functional montages" that enable working class readers to develop a critical view of themselves and their surroundings. I show how the working class "invades" the public sphere by being granted a double role of readers who identify with the workers portrayed, while at the same time gaining a critical view of this representation and becoming self-aware of their potential as a "counter-public." This chapter first discusses both prefaces of Tucholsky's and Heartfield's work, in which they educate the working-class reader by appealing to their senses when looking at and eventually interacting

with photographs and montages of texts and images. While the second preface already performs a "functional montage," a comparison of the photomontages in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* with "functional montages" will elaborate further on the latter's horizontal and vertical dimensions, showing how these serve to engage the implied working-class reader, eventually enabling him/her to develop a critical view. In the final section and "functional montage" of *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, called "Heimat," readers are then tasked to employ their critical view when evaluating their perception and their idea of Germany. In this way, Tucholsky and Heartfield do not tell their readers how to think of Germany as their "Heimat," but rather ask them to define their own idea of Germany and "Heimat," relying on their individual senses and their critical perspective, which they have developed via "functional montages" throughout *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*.

My third chapter analyzes the representation of WWI soldiers in Ernst Friedrich's two volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!* (1924/1926). I demonstrate how Friedrich captures aspects of the common soldier that "remove" him from the frontline, which is alien to the post-war public, and "insert" him back into contexts and ideas familiar to them. Instead of showing the soldier as a fighting hero, Friedrich portrays him, for instance, as a family member, in his miniature toy form, or as a witness of the events during the war, which are then transmitted to readers via the photographic medium. This chapter begins by examining the opening "functional montage" of *Krieg dem Kriege!*, which frames the idea of the soldier via war toys and games, directly addressing parents and other educators and aiming to change their perspective on soldiery. Friedrich brings the soldier even closer into his readers' experiences by re-contextualizing him as a father, son, and even pet owner. After examining these alignments with domestic roles, I focus on the representation of the soldier's body. In comparing a sequence of medical photographs of

facial wounds in the first volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!* with a "functional montage" in the second volume that also focuses on the soldier's corporeality, I show how the former representation only shocks and distances readers. While this sequence of severe facial wounds focuses too much on the vertical axis of the montage and thus overwhelms readers, the "functional montage" of similar photos in the second volume decreases this distance and balances the horizontal and vertical dimension, i.e., how readers experience the sequence of photos and captions. The final section of this chapter elaborates on the most prevalent theme in Friedrich's work: the soldier as a witness, which, in the end, turns readers also into witnesses, urging them to develop a critical view of soldiery. Friedrich's strategies, which combine an intricate montage method with great attention to the choice of photographs and their combinations with captions and texts, come close to the strategies that Benjamin and Tucholsky employed to make use of the photobook's potential; in Benjamin's case, to change writing and reading practices, and, in Tucholsky's case, to educate the worker, aiming for him to develop a self-conscious and dynamic view of himself and his place in the public sphere. Friedrich's readers are guided similarly, moving via his montage strategies from familiar to unfamiliar, previously invisible perspectives on soldiery. Friedrich thus both de-familiarizes and, at the same time, re-contextualizes the soldier for his readers, aiming to achieve an alternative public that opposes war.

My coda, finally, addresses the photobook's portrayal of women. Although women constituted a big part of the readership at the time, they were often only represented stereotypically in mass media, for instance, as mothers or as objects of desire. Revisiting the representation of women and womanhood in the photobooks analyzed in previous chapters, I show that they offer a possibility for women to develop a self-awareness that goes beyond mass

media's black and white view of them. Throughout *Einbahnstraße,* Benjamin plays with facets of the "New Woman," but also with other ways of seeing women, ranging from their roles as mothers, engineers, partners, or femme fatales. Placing Benjamin's way of representing women in relation to his practice of deconstructing and reconstructing his readers' reception process, shows in the end a refracted idea of womanhood. As Tucholsky, Heartfield, and Friedrich also perform a similar movement of deconstructing and reconstructing their readers' views via "functional montages," they also refract the image of the "New Woman," representing women as mothers, entertainers, workers and even as violated subjects in WWI. While women are not integrated in "functional montages" in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!,* the way Tucholsky, Heartfield and Friedrich portray them – via deconstructing and refracting the manifestations of the "New Woman" – contributes in the end to a change of perspective that their readers and viewers were able to develop, potentially turning them into more critical recipients of representations of women in mass media.

Chapter One

Reconfiguring Writing and Reading Processes: Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* as a Modern Emblem

During the 1920s, Germany's capital Berlin became the third largest city in the world, surpassing four million inhabitants in 1925 (Bienert and Buchholz 29). The city's expansion called for a construction boom as the rising number of Berliners necessitated the construction of affordable housing. This surge of Berlin's population also impelled a growth of its infrastructure: streets, train stations, new covered markets, office buildings and shops were needed. According to Bienert and Bucholz, all these components contributed to turn the city into a "riesige Maschine" (65), which is a fitting term, especially considering the increase in traffic, so called "Massenverkehr" (65). This term reflects in particular the new mass of citizens that had to navigate their way through their "Asphaltstadt" (261), which is what Bertolt Brecht called Berlin in his 1922 poem "Vom armen B. B." Constructing and paving new streets was an ongoing process throughout the 1920s. In 1921, the AVUS, short for "Automobil- Verkehrs- und Übungs-Straße" (Bienert and Buchholz 43), opened. It was the world's first freeway, though it was primarily used for racing – a sign that the car was more a luxury product for the upper class than a means of transportation. Even though Berlin's population had surged to over four million, only 50,000 private cars were registered in the city. Many horse-drawn carriages still struggled through the bustle of traffic alongside buses, streetcars, trucks and motorcycles (Bienert and Bucholz 43). The streets started to reshape the city's look. However, while the streets enabled the masses to get around quickly, they also prescribed their movement and, by extension, their perception of the city. Already in 1903, twenty years before Berlin's vast expansion of its population, Georg Simmel attested to "Steigerung des Nervenlebens" (116) for the city dweller,

due to the ongoing and quick "Wechsel äußerer und innerer Eindrücke" (116). The city as a machine, partitioned out and fueled by its streets, was set to turn its inhabitants into uniform cogwheels, altering their movements, perception and, according to Simmel, even their psyche.

This new city-machine was, however, not immune to chaos in its streets. Berlin needed to regulate the increasing traffic. The city established a central administration for its public transportation, constructed arterial roads (Bauer 56), and switched many regular two-way streets to one-way streets in the city center. Nonetheless, even the controlled traffic had an over-powering effect on the city dweller. Alfred Döblin described this experience in 1922 in a piece for the *Vossische Zeitung:* "Diese Erregung der Straßen, Läden, Wagen ist die Hitze, die ich in mich schlagen muss, wenn ich arbeite, das heißt: eigentlich immer. Das ist das Benzin, mit dem mein Motor läuft" (Döblin "Berlin und Künstler" 38). Although he continues by emphatically praising "diese Erregung" and raves about how wonderful Berlin's urban development is, his assessment shows how the human and the city are about to converge when the city's heat flows into the human body, replacing its heart with a motor. Yet, his description is neither abstract nor a simple comparison of people and machines. His observation shows how the human sensorium is internalizing the urban body: The city dweller needs to absorb the new heat generated by the streets and automobiles in order to function. The city resident is then not just a cogwheel in the machine. His body *becomes* a machine. It is not fueled by blood anymore, but by gasoline, which fuels the motor that replaced the heart.

However, this physical change did not lead to a psychological change, as the body did not become a *mindless* machine. Döblin does not surrender to the machinery or describe this experience via an abstract comparison. Like Döblin, citizens are also not making sense of his new environment via an abstract, ontological analysis**,** but through an immersive experience.

Such an experience was the subject of many novels of the 1920s, including Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* or Irmgard Keun's *Das Kunstseidene Mädchen*. Authors also used shorter non-fiction prose, such as the genre of the essay, to discuss the impact of the urban experience on the formation of knowledge: Georg Simmel's "Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben" (1903), as mentioned, comments on the individual's resistance to social and technological mechanisms, and Walter Benjamin's essays on Charles Baudelaire describe the flâneur figure as the urban spectator. However, it is in particular Benjamin's book-length montage of essays and aphorisms in *Einbahnstraße,* published in 1928, that both finds a suitable form to represent the new urban experience and manages to break open, expand, and change both writing and reading processes. In this text, Benjamin puts together essays and aphorisms like modern emblems and creates a work that, even without the addition of photos, operates like a photobook (Stoll *Schools for Seeing* 2015). *Einbahnstraße,* as a montage of modern, imageless emblems,[1] becomes a way for Benjamin to showcase a new way of writing and reading. *Einbahnstraße* demonstrates a different way for the modern individual to navigate the city, its masses, and, by extension, the ubiquitous mass media. Benjamin's work seeks to reconfigure writing and reading practices. By subverting a coherent textual construction with emblematic montages and literary images, *Einbahnstraße* turns writers into surgeons and engineers, and readers into both strollers and detectives who have to constantly think on their feet.

Einbahnstraße does not codify Benjamin's private experiences, thoughts on public life and on changing practices of writing and reading in cohesive prose; instead, it relies on the structure of the emblem, both for the entire work and for the individual texts as well. Benjamin divides *Einbahnstraße* into sixty sections, each of which also forms emblems. The titles of these

[1] Aside from the cover image, which is a photomontage by Sasha Stone, no images are included in *Einbahnstraße*.

sections often refer to urban signs, as in "Achtung Stufen!" (27) or "Wegen Umbau geschlossen" (65), to objects, as in "Chinawaren" (12) or "Normaluhr" (10), or to parts of a city, as in "Tankstelle" (7) or "Poliklinik" (62). However, the content of these sections does not follow up on what these titles might promise. The texts rather focus on Benjamin's personal experiences or observations and on critiques of the Weimar Republic. Some of these sections only consist of a single sentence or a sequence of statements, some feature numbered lists of maxims, while others, like the "Kaiserpanorama" (18-26), contain several subsections, forming a short treatise into themselves (Schöttker *KG* 557).[2] Scholars have not agreed on a label or genre for these sections that would describe both their content and form. Theodor W. Adorno called them "scribbled picture puzzles" (322), while others called *Einbahnstraße* a "book of aphorisms" (Spicker 2011) and its parts "snapshots" (Richter "Matter of Distance" 141), or a compilation of "Minimalprosa wie Kurztraktat, Thesengruppe, Glosse, Prosaskizzen und anderes mehr" (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 502). While Benjamin himself spoke at first of aphorisms in a letter to Hugo von Hofmannsthal in 1925 (Schöttker *KG* 260), already in 1926 he wrote to Gershom Scholem: "Es [*Einbahnstraße*] ist eine merkwürdige Organisation oder Konstruktion aus meinen 'Aphorismen' geworden, eine Straße, die einen Prospekt von so jäher Tiefe – das Wort nicht metaphorisch verstehen! – erschließen soll, wie etwa in Vicenza das berühmte Bühnenbild Palladios" (Schöttker *KG* 261). Benjamin refers to the trompe-l'œil onstage scenery in Vicenza's Teatro Olimpico that creates an illusion of long streets receding into a distant horizon. Benjamin's comparison of *Einbahnstraße*'s aphorisms and their organizational structure with a constructed image on the theater stage suggests that another genre can also describe the structure of *Einbahnstraße*: the baroque emblem, which connects Adorno's label of "scribbled picture

[2] Henceforth, I will use the abbreviation *KG* for Schöttker, Detlev, editor. *Walter Benjamin: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. *Einbahnstraße*. vol. 8, Suhrkamp, 2008.

puzzles" (322) to Benjamin's own emphasis on the *construction* of aphorisms in his finalized work. The idea of the emblem,[3] which Ernst Bloch, Burkhard Spinnen, Detlef Schöttker[4] and most recently Andreas Huyssen have applied to *Einbahnstraße*, manages to address and integrate all three components of each of the sixty sections. Following baroque scholar Albrecht Schöne's division of the emblem into pictura (image), inscriptio (title) and subscriptio (often an epigram) (18), for Benjamin, the visual *idea* of the street or of parts of the city becomes the pictura, the title of each text functions as the inscriptio, and the texts, i.e. Benjamin's essays and aphorisms, emerge as the subscriptio (see fig. 1). The picturae in *Einbahnstraße* are not real images, but rather, triggered by the titles' references to the real-life city, mental images that form in the reader's mind. For instance, the title "Tankstelle" (*EB* 7) allows readers to imagine a real fueling station.[5] The two bold and black lines in the middle of each double page (see fig. 1) function as an additional trigger to imagine the titles of the work's texts – be it places, shops or signs – as references to their real-life counterparts in a city.

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[3] Often the German term „Denkbild" (Richter *Thought-Images* 46) has also been applied to *Einbahnstraße,* Huyssen emphasizes that there is indeed a difference between „Denkbild" and emblem, even though the German term might be a good translation for "emblem:" "*Denkbild* is indeed the German term for emblem. But Benjamin himself did not use the term until later and never in relationship to the miniatures of *One-Way Street*. His later *Denkbilder* collection contains texts of a very different nature" (Huyssen *Metropolis* 317).

[4] Schöttker points out Benjamin's familiarity with baroque emblematics due to his work on *Ursprung des Deutschen Trauerspiels*, published in the same year as *Einbahnstraße*: "Die Form der Texte der 'Einbahnstraße' weist darüber hinaus Entsprechungen mit der barocken Emblematik auf, die Benjamin seit seiner Arbeit am Trauerspiel-Buch kannte. ... In einem Brief an Scholem vom 5. März 1924 spricht er von seiner 'Passion für barocke Emblematik' (GB II, 433). Benjamin hat das Verfahren literarisch umgesetzt: die Überschriften, die sich an sprachlichen Versatzstücken der Großstadt orientieren, evozieren Vorstellungsbilder, die in den Texten und den hier eingebauten Zitaten unterlaufen werden, so daß die Konfrontation von Bild und Text zum Nachdenken anregt" (Schöttker *KG* 559).

[5] See also Burkard Spinnen, *Schriftbilder,* pp. 251-315. Spinnen, however, associates *Einbahnstraße's* titles with the emblems' picturae (305). Werner Helmich, who argues that the titles take on a parodying function of the texts, sees the texts as the picturae of *Einbahnstraße's* emblems (269).

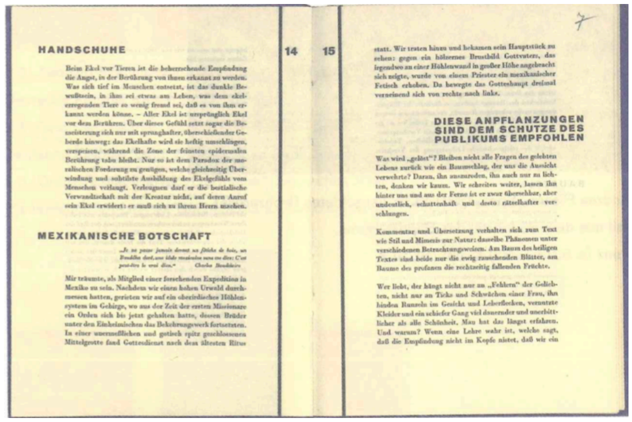

Fig. I. 1. Double page with vertical stripes at the center in *Einbahnstraße*. The double stripes are triggers for the modern emblem's (1) visual idea of the street (the pictura is not a real image, but referring to reality). Then, there are (2) the titles of each text that form the inscriptio and (3) the texts that take on the function of the subscriptio. Benjamin, *Einbahnstraße,* Rowohlt, 1928; rpt. in Detlef Schöttker, *KG*, Suhrkamp, 2009, p. 595.

In fact, the entire work forms an emblem: The photomontage on the cover of *Einbahnstraße* forms the pictura, Benjamin's dedication to his then-partner Asja Lacis is the inscriptio, and the sixty sections form altogether a subscriptio.[6] The emblem in *Einbahnstraße* pursues a "Doppelfunktion" (Schöne 20): on the one hand, it represents a certain concept or idea via its pictura; on the other hand, in combining the pictura with the inscriptio and subscriptio, the emblem calls for an interpretation by its beholders (Schöne 18).[7] Andreas Huyssen, who analyzes *Einbahnstraße* in relation to Siegfried Kracauer's *Strassen in Berlin und Anderswo,* also hints at this double function: the emblem was not only "a *multimedial* mode of representing and interpreting a world out of joint" (*Metropolis* 140; my emphasis), but emblems were also used "as educational and pedagogic tools" (141). While Huyssen's focus lies on "the specific

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[6] Between 1928 and 1932, Benjamin continued to write aphorisms in the manner of *Einbahnstraße*, which are collected in the "Nachtragsliste zur Einbahnstraße.“ However, since they differ thematically from those in *Einbahnstraße*, I will not consider them for my analysis (Schöttker *KG* 563; Huyssen 142).

[7] While Mike Hiegemann does not use the idea of the emblem to describe the structure of *Einbahnstraße*, claiming the sections having the "cryptic character of a rebus" (249), this label nonetheless also hints at the idea of the "Rätsel" (19), which is how Albrecht Schöne has characterized the emblem's function.

media constellation of the emblem" (141) and on its missing pictura that turns the emblem into a "structure of absence" (141), my emphasis lies on the educational character of the emblem as well as on its deconstructed state in *Einbahnstraße*. Benjamin plays with the emblem's structure. He uses a deconstructed form of the emblem that demonstrates how writing practices, and by extension, reading processes need to be deconstructed and reconstructed differently in the 1920s, so as to adapt to the changes in technology, visual culture, and urban life. To that end, Benjamin experiments with emblematic structures and literary images in order to both de- and then reconstruct[8] writing and reading processes, thus building on the educational function of the emblem. The emblematic montage[9] thereby educates other writers as well as Benjamin's readers.[10] The latter group is no longer moving like a flâneur along this "Textstraße" (Köhn *Straßenrausch* 207). Instead, they have to utilize "flanierendes Denken" (Köhn *Straßenrausch* 207), which forms a fitting response to Simmel's observation of the quick "Wechsel äußerer und

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[8] This idea is building on Detlev Schöttker's analysis in his essay "Reduktion und Montage" that points out that Benjamin was influenced by Constructivism in the 1920s, taking over "ihre künstlerischen Prinzipien" (746). My argument emphasizes that Benjamin indeed took over these two principles that were already the basis of architecture and the fine arts (Schöttker "Reduktion und Montage" 749). In *Einbahnstraße*, he then intertwined them in that he experimented with the baroque emblem, both reducing and deconstructing it, while also, based on the idea of montage, reconstructing it. In this way, Benjamin aimed to both adapt his writing to the new reading habits of 1920s city dwellers, who were surrounded by montage-based films, photobooks and magazines, while he also still intended influencing their ways of reading and seeing.

[9] Also Schöttker speaks of a "Prinzip der Montage" (*KG* 558) that is at work here, while Huyssen sees a contradiction between the emblem and the idea of the montage, because Benjamin's emblems lack a picture: "By foregoing the emblematic picture in the text, Benjamin marks his position vis-à-vis the avant-gardist montage experiments with word/image constellations, practices toward which he felt drawn theoretically and philosophically" (Huyssen *Metropolis* 145).

[10] While Michael Jennings and Wolfgang Bock do not recognize emblematic structures in *Einbahnstraße* (they instead apply the idea of the Denkbild), they both see Benjamin's work as a "manual of the new critical writing" (Jennings "Weimar Criticism" 208) that is "teaching the author" (Bock 81). Jennings also points out the "einmalige Leseerfahrung" (Jennings "Trugbild" 517) for which Benjamin constructed *Einbahnstraße* so as to change the perception of his readers: "Vorgänge des Sehsinns, der Wahrnehmung und des Lesers umzuschulen" (Jennings "Trugbild" 523).

innerer Eindrücke" (116) demanded of modern humans in the city: "Die Prosastücke der 'Einbahnstraße' dokumentieren den Rhythmus einer Denkbewegung, die sich an der Inschrift eines Schildes entzüdend plötzlich innerhalb der Synthestizismen des Bewußtseins einen Gegenstand ergreift, ihn sprachlich fixiert, um schon im nächsten Augenblick dem folgenden sich zuzuwenden" (Köhn *Straßenrausch* 207).[11] Benjamin's emblems in *Einbahnstraße* hover between their construction and deconstruction as much as their readers are tasked to form meanings. Readers thus find themselves both as flâneurs and as detectives,[12] neither leaving their walk through the city entirely behind[13] nor completely turning into a "literary detective" (Jennings "Weimar Criticism" 211),[14] who, completely removed from the mass, only searches for clues to decode.

Before I further explore the convergence of the flâneur and the detective in the readers of *Einbahnstraße*, I will first uncover the emblematic structure of Benjamin's work as a whole and in its individual texts, and then turn to its impact on changing manners of reading and writing. The longest section in *Einbahnstraße,* called "Kaiserpanorama" (*EB* 18-27), serves as an

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[11] This immersive experience of *Einbahnstraße's* readers corresponds with Döblin's description of the city and its streets that penetrated Döblin both as a human being and as a writer: "Diese Erregung der Straßen, … die ich in mich schlagen muss, wenn ich *arbeite*, das heißt: eigentlich immer" (Döblin 38; my emphasis).

[12] See Heiner Weidmann for the connection of Benjamin's development of his theory of the flâneur to the development of the detective story.

[13] Also Habermaier writes: "Aber die 'Einbahnstrasse' ist keine Passage, wo der müssige Flaneur des 19. Jahrhunderts hin- und herspazieren mochte. So viel Sympathie Benjamin dem Typus des Flaneurs wie allen zweispältigen, latent oppositionellen Gestalten in der hochbürgerlichen Gesellschaft auch immer entgegenbringt, ist ihm aber eine der vordringlichsten Einsichten in den Pegelstand der Geschichte, dass die Ära des 19. Jahrhunderts im Feuer des Weltkrieges verglüht war" (8-9). In agreeing with Habermeier, I would suggest that, if at all, the flâneur transforms to become a figure located somewhere between the man of the crowd and the detective. Hence, I do not agree with Schöttker when he compares the readers of *Einbahnstraße* to just the flâneur figure, moving on the text's streets and between its shops ("Aphoristik" 497).

[14] While Jennings suggests the literary detective as a "necessary antidote" ("Weimar Criticism" 211) and points out Benjamin's affinity for detective stories, he does not further pursue the idea of the reader as detective.

example to showcase these new writing and reading practices. Finally, I will turn to the sections of *Einbahnstraße* that directly address and demonstrate these changes in literary production and reception, including creating a reader figure that hovers between the ideas of flâneur and detective.

Einbahnstraße **as a Modern Emblem**

Both Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* and the Baroque emblem value the combination of image and text. The tripartite form of the emblem (pictura, inscriptio and subscriptio) is mirrored both in Benjamin's individual texts and by the entire book. The cover image, dedication and the sixty sections fulfill the characteristics of the three parts of an emblem. This parallel between *Einbahnstraße*'s modern emblem and the Baroque emblem starts already with the production context of both genres. In regard to the emblem, "Autor, Holzschneider (oder Radierer) und Drucker sind ohnehin von verschiedenen Nationalitäten" (Schöne 18). This suggests that the emblem is a genre that values the *process* of creation and construction more than a single-authored, cohesive *product.* Turning to *Einbahnstraße*, Benjamin might be the sole author, but he did not compose this work over the course of a short, contiguous time span. He wrote many pieces between 1924 and 1926, and already published some of them in the feuilleton sections of various newspapers and magazines (Jennings "Weimar Criticism" 208). The finalized version of *Einbahnstraße* was published together with *Ursprung des Deutschen Trauerspiels* in 1928. In the latter work Benjamin measures the emblem against the conception of the symbol. As Peter Daly points out in a comment on *Ursprung des Deutschen Trauerspiels:* "Benjamin regards the emblematic mode of perception as one of 'discontinuity' and 'disintegration'; it possesses only the 'false appearance of a totality'" (206). While both of these works were published at the same

time, Benjamin did not link his characterization of the emblem directly to *Einbahnstraße.* Nonetheless, the high number of emblematic sections in this work, sixty in all, shows that there is an understanding of the emblem's "discontinuity" and its lack of "totality." After all, there is no omniscient narrator who would make any connections between or within the sections for the reader. Nonetheless, Benjamin actually has a constructed work in mind. He connected the sixty sections much like an engineer would link these parts following a plan. Benjamin's plan was to connect these texts in an analogy to a street, yet with more of a focus on the *process* of construction than on the final *product.*

In a letter to his friend Gershom Scholem in November 1928, Benjamin describes his choice of textual construction: "Es ist eine merkwürdige Organisation oder Konstruktion aus meinen 'Aphorismen' geworden, eine Straße …" (Schöttker *KG* 557.) Benjamin's use of "merkwürdig" and the quotation marks for his label "Aphorismen" show that he is using a novel and peculiar way of construction for *Einbahnstraße,* as he seems to be unsure of his own choice of terms and of the nature of his final product. The form of *Einbahnstraße* is also novel, as Benjamin's short reflections do not, in fact, form a one-way street, as indicated by the title. *Einbahnstraße*'s "street" does not present a stringent and coherent critical argument on *one* topic. The collection of the sixty sections comments on various topics, ranging from Benjamin's own dreams, travels, and experiences with love, to themes such as changes in society, economy and literary production (Schöttker *KG* 554).[15] Benjamin favors none of these topics in particular; rather they become interlinked – hence his reference to "Konstruktion" in his letter to Scholem – much in the *manner* as one would take an explorative walk through a city. Yet the emphasis lies

[15] See Spinnen for a detailed overview of topics and themes.

on *manner*, as *Einbahnstraße*'s emblems, in fact, never just share simple street observations with readers.

Benjamin's attempt to demonstrate the "Wandel der Kunst- und Wahrnehmungsformen" (Schöttker *KG* 554), while at the same time also admitting to an "unendlich, verzettelte Produktion" (554), resulted in a divided reception. Some reviewers at the time celebrated this work, some condemned it as unreadable.[16] Walter Petry criticizes that Benjamin achieves no real knowledge that a reader can employ: "Hier wird nicht Erkenntnis in eine praktikable allgemeine Form montiert; der individuelle Fund ins Gemeinschaftliche 'zu allgemeinem Nutzen' nie eingebaut" (qtd in Schöttker *KG* 503). The expectation of a practicable guide for readers to change their lives ignores the actual achievements of Benjamin's emblematic sections. *Einbahnstraße* moves from an ontological and teleological realm to a phenomenological one. As Franz Hessel points out, the reader "muß aufpassen, ausweichen, fühlt, daß Denken eine Gefahr ist, in Gedanken stehenbleiben ein Verkehrshindernis" (qtd in Schöttker *KG* 511). Readers are tasked with both constantly thinking *and* with approaching this task through their senses, being alert, jumping aside, and feeling a potential danger caused by thoughts.[17] Readers need to learn how to handle this new kind of emblematic writing. An anonymous review in *Die Welt am Abend* in 1928 underlines the metaphors Benjamin uses in order to write in a way that draws the reader in, while also creating an alternative view of the Weimar Republic in the mid-1920s: on

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[16] An anonymous critic goes even so far to call *Einbahnstraße* eine "Sackgasse" (Schöttker *KG* 517). Walter Petry goes even one step further when he calls Benjamin's text in the *Magdeburgische Zeitung* "keine Synthese von Schreibtisch und Straße" (Schöttker *KG* 502). According to Petry, Benjamin remains in the sphere of dreams and does not manage to go beyond a surprising, allegorical effect that his aphorisms have. His work has nothing to do with reality and cannot connect to the reader.

[17] Lysaker goes one step further and views *Einbahnstraße* as a "mode of political action" (396) and also foregrounds the addressee: "*One-Way Street* offers its readers, particularly those already engaged in the transformation of social life, a way of being historical that resists and redirects the meaning and significance of dominant symbols and personal experiences" (410).

the one hand, this reviewer calls Benjamin's book a "Scheinwerfer" (qtd in Schöttker *KG* 507) while, on the other hand, the short texts are "geometrische Gerüste, an denen sich die Kristalle seiner Gedanken bilden" (qtd in Schöttker *KG* 507). In order to turn his text into a headlight ("Scheinwerfer"), Benjamin employs many visual images that are embedded in spatial forms, i.e. in geometrical scaffolding ("geometrische Gerüste"). To this end there are, in fact, two scaffolds, or, put differently, two emblematic structures at work in *Einbahnstraße,* since emblems can also be seen as scaffolds of ideas and thoughts. First, the entire work with its sixty sections, its cover image and the dedication all display the visual-spatial character of the emblem. And secondly, Benjamin continues this emphasis on the visual and the spatial for each section of his work, via an emblematic structure as well. Benjamin employs an emblematic structure on these two levels to stay at pace with an age that redefines and is redefined by both urban spaces and visual media.

While the title *Einbahnstraße* suggests a linear narrative, both the cover image and the dedication to his then-partner Asja Lacis (Bock 70) clarify that it presents a challenging task to its readers, asking hem to reconsider their reading process, which is never a straight-forward one in this work. Already the cover design by the Constructivist photographer Sasha Stone hints[18] at the multidirectional movements inherent in Benjamin's work (see fig. 2).[19]

[18] "My point is that the text's one-way street is not the street you see on the front cover, but rather a street out-side the frame and outside the image – invisible unless, of course, you open the book and begin to read" (Huyssen *Metropolis* 150-151).

[19] Benjamin was elated to have this cover image for his book: „Auch der Umschlag der 'Einbahnstraße' fand Benjamins vollste Zustimmung. Er sei 'einer der wirkungsvollsten, die es je gab.' Die Vorlage stammt von Sasha Stone, einem Photographen aus dem Kreis der Berliner Konstruktivisten, mit dem Benjamin seit 1926 bekannt war (vgl. GB III, 172)" (Schöttker *KG* 558).

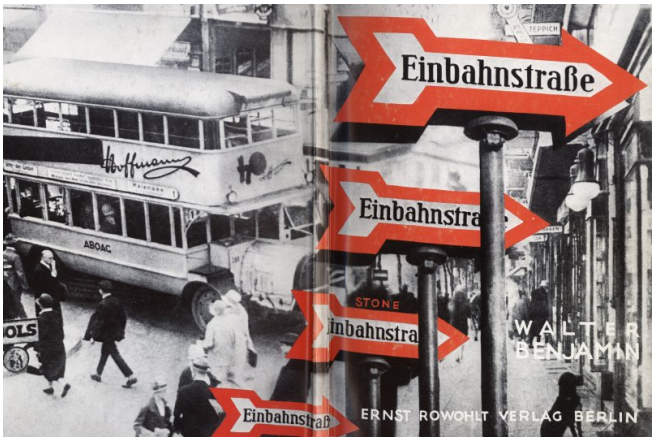

Fig. I. 2. Cover, in black, white and red, of Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* by Sasha Stone, Rowohlt, 1928; rpt. in Detlef Schöttker, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* Suhrkamp, 2009, p. 595.

The double-decker bus on the reverse of the cover indicates a movement in one direction (see fig. 2), while the pedestrians next to the bus are walking in the opposite direction. A similar contradicting movement becomes apparent on the front side of the cover (see fig. 2). The four red-framed street signs point towards the right. The arrow-shape of the signs, combined with a bright red color, emphasizes this direction. In the background of this photomontage, there is, however, no road that follows that direction. Instead, the background of the photomontage is a straight-angle shot of a street, possibly a shopping arcade. The photographer stood in the street, photographing shoppers walking down the street and, visible in the front of the picture, a dog, looking at a shop window. Yet this is not a simple agglomeration of movements in *Einbahnstraße*'s pictura. Combining the street signs with a street that does not follow the arrows of the signs creates an oppositional dynamic, which becomes multi-perspectival when also taking into account the reverse of the cover. Sasha Stone extends these opposing movements in his montage by creating opposing perspectives for his viewers. Looking at the reverse of the cover, the viewer has a bird's-eye perspective of the bus and the people (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 496). Stone allows viewers to question why the people are not moving in the same direction as the bus, and as prescribed by the street sign on the front cover. The front cover, in turn, dissolves this

aerial perspective. The viewer "… wird auf der Vorderseite in die abschüssige Straße hineingezogen" (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 496). This multi-perspectivity is a programmatic announcement to the readers.[20] They will find all the elements of the city in this text, just as all of them are visible on the cover image. Yet they will not follow the course of a road or a certain direction, and they will also not be able to identify with a single protagonist. The citizens on the cover image are too far removed, and only a dog becomes a focal point. There will also not be a guiding narrator for the reader: "Die Komposition folgt einem städtebaulichen Analogieprinzip, das den Grundgedanken des Konstruktivismus in den zwanziger Jahren, die Angleichung von technischer und künstlerischer Produktion, literarisch umsetzt" (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 495). Sasha Stone belonged to the Berlin circle of Constructivists. Constructivism originated as an artistic philosophy in Russia and aimed at using art for social purposes by combining it with principles of technology. For instance, a Constructivist does not create a natural representation of an object, but rather combines its abstraction with a spatial presence. This practice is similar to drawing an emblem's pictura, in which the figures, animals, and objects had to be abstracted and simplified in order to be easily recognizable and relatable to a wide audience. In the case of *Einbahnstraße's* cover, Sasha Stone does not depict the one-way street signs in a realistic manner. Rather he heightens their importance by employing the color red, quadrupling the signs, and by mounting them on iron posts that are imitating antique pillars (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 496). Furthermore, he arranges these four pillars to appear from the depth of the image, moving

[20] In 1926, Benjamin wrote to Scholem about the concept of *Einbahnstraße* as being able to develop "einen Prospekt von so jäher Tiefe wie das berühmte Bühnenbild Palladios: Die Straße" (Benjamin *Gesammelte Schriften III* 197). He is referring to the stage design by Vincenzo Scamozzi in 1582 for the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, Italy. A set of seven realistic trompe-l'œil false perspectives provide the illusion of long street views, while actually the sets recede only a few meters: "Wie hier der Bühnenraum durch eine weit in die Tiefe dringende Straße verlängert werde, so sollte auch sein Buch einen Prospekt von 'jäher Tiefe' erschließen" (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 498).

from the background to the foreground, eventually dominating the front cover. The street's spatiality, as represented on the cover, paired with the visual montage of the cover's elements, is not the only instance that shows Constructivism's influence. As the pictura of *Einbahnstraße*, it announces that its spatial-visual construction, which demands that its readers continuously reorient themselves, will continue with Benjamin's text.

Benjamin's dedication of *Einbahnstraße* to Asja Lacis, which stands in for the work's inscriptio, continues the montage technique of Sasha Stone's cover image both on the level of content and on the level of form (see fig. 3).

Fig. I. 3. Benjamin's dedication to his then-partner Asja Lacis. Benjamin, *Einbahnstraße,* Rowohlt, 1928, p. 5.

The sentence is divided into five lines. While the font type does not change, the font size shifts, setting "Asja-Lacis-Strasse" and the fourth line "Als Ingenieur" at twice the size of the other three lines. The enlarged fonts emphasize that *Einbahnstraße* is dedicated to Benjamin's then-partner Lacis.[21] The fourth line even puts her in an active position relating to Benjamin: "Diese Straße heisst Asja-Lacis-Strasse nach der die [Lacis] sie [die Straße] im Autor durchgebrochen hat" (5). Lacis acts as an engineer who not only brought the street closer to the author or simply

[21] Benjamin and Lacis met on Capri in 1924 and they lived together on Berlin in 1928, when *Einbahnstraße* was published. However, "their love came soon to and end; as early as 1929 they went their own ways again" (Bock 70).

represents it to the author, but actually "cut it through the author."[22] Benjamin transfers Lacis' proper name to a street, which she did not just engineer *for* Benjamin, but actually "cut *through* to him," literally breaking it through or inside him.[23] The verb "durchbrechen," according to the *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, denotes a negative act of breaking objects, breaking through a barricade or, metaphorically, breaking a law or rule. Yet the etymology, particularly when looking at the noun "der Durchbruch," adds a positive connotation. One "durchbricht einen Teufelskreis" or "eine Schallmauer" or claims a scientific achievement, i.e., a breakthrough. These examples show that the negative connotation can be converted to a positive outcome. The dedication becomes an example of deconstruction and re-construction in *Einbahnstraße*. In breaking up the entire sentence and using various font sizes, Benjamin makes the sentence a challenge to read. Grammatically the sentence is correct, yet the reference points of the articles and personal pronouns are not quite clear from a cursory reading, as the "they" can refer both to Lacis and the street, which, in German, shares a grammatical gender with Lacis. In addition, the first letters of each word in "Asja-Lacis-Straße" (5) form together the conjunction "ALS" two lines later, in which case Lacis and the street overlap in one single word. Yet while Benjamin is deconstructing the sentence in both form and content, playing with grammatical genders, he is reconstructing a new meaning at the same time, in that both his then-partner Lacis and the street affected his thinking and way of translating it into writing. Hence a meaning is not completely lost, but readers are asked to do a double take. This double move of deconstruction and reconstruction aligns with the ideas of Constructivism and its "künstlerische Prinzipien der Reduktion und Montage" (Schöttker "Reduktion" 746), which already influenced Sasha Stone's design of *Einbahnstraße*'s cover image. Benjamin worked for Constructivist magazines and was

[22] My translation of "im Autor durchgebrochen hat."
[23] Burkhard Spinnen interprets the notion of "durchbrechen" differently (268).

familiar with the ideas of Constructivism.[24] For Constructivists, construction, reduction and rationalism belong together, just as art and engineering go hand in hand. Constructivists wanted to match the principles of art with those of engineering and treat artistic materiality like engineers treat iron and steel (Schöttker "Reduktion" 749). Thus the verb "durchbrechen," referencing an act of engineering, alerts the reader that Benjamin's writing will follow a principle of montage that makes the processes of deconstruction and reconstruction visible. The emphasis lies more on the constructive than on the deconstructive part in the dedication, as indicated by the larger font size of "Ingenieur" (5), compared to "durchgebrochen" (5), putting the ideas of constructive engineering above an idea of just breaking up a cohesive entity. This emphasis of the dedication, which functions as an inscriptio, lies on constructing and engineering. Benjamin will engineer, construct and build in *Einbahnstraße*, for which breaking and fragmenting his thoughts becomes necessary. As an inscriptio, this dedication becomes a motto for *Einbahnstraße,* in that it tasks readers to turn back to the picture of the cover image, while also prompting them to use it as a key for reading and understanding the subscriptio, which are the sixty sections to follow. This inscriptio suggests, in the same way as the multi-perspectival pictura of the cover image, that readers will have to read the sixty sections to come in the same manner as the pictura and the inscriptio, expecting meaning to be both deconstructed and re-constructed in a different way.

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[24] For Benjamin's relationship to Constructivism, including his contribution to Constructivist magazines, see Schöttker "Reduktion und Montage," pp. 747-753: "Benjamin hat sich die Grundgedanken der Ingenieurtechnik angeeignet und seine Arbeitsweise daran ausgerichtet. Kein Begriff taucht in seinen Schriften seit Ende der zwanziger Jahre häufiger auf als der der Konstruktion" (Schöttker "Reduktion" 748). "Die Konstruktivisten waren zweifellos jene 'kleine aber wichtigste Avantgarde,' der sich Benjamin 1931 in einem Brief an Scholem zurechnete. … Durch seine Mitarbeit an [den Zeitschriften] 'G' und 'i 10' war Benjamin seit Anfang der zwanziger Jahre mit den Positionen und Konzeptionen der konstruktivistischen Avantgarde vertraut." (Schöttker "Reduktion" 751).

Benjamin as Engineer, Writer, and Surgeon:
Deconstructing and Re-Constructing as a New Way of Writing

The emblematic structure of *Einbahnstraße*, introduced by the cover image as pictura and the dedication as inscriptio, continues in Benjamin's texts. All of these parts form the subscriptio to the cover image and the dedication, while each of them is an emblem in its own right as well. Benjamin's deconstructive and reconstructive way of writing, which was introduced in *Einbahnstraße*'s dedication by relating it to engineering, continues in his aphorisms and essays. This new idea of writing affects both the role of the writer and the writing process in general. Each of the sixty sections in *Einbahnstraße* follow an emblematic structure. Several scholars have pointed out an affinity of the sections' structures to the Baroque emblem, particularly referring to their titles, which often copy store names, company signs, or advertisement slogans. Burkhard Spinnen points out: "Der großstädtische 'Prospekt' … [ist] mit dem [besetzt], was das 20. Jahrhundert Emblem nennt: mit Firmenschildern und Werbeparolen" (265). Detlev Schöttker looks further into Benjamin's impetus behind his book's structure: He was inspired by reading a French picture book while he was in Paris in 1926: Henri Guilac's and Pierre Mac Orlan's *Prochainement Ouverture ... de 62 Boutiques Littéraires*.[25] According to Schöttker, Guilac's and Orlan's collection of drawings follows the emblematic construct of pictura, inscriptio and subscriptio ("Aphoristik" 500). Each page features a colored drawing of a French writer or philosopher. The drawings turn them into shopkeepers or barkeepers, standing in the entranceways of their establishments. Guilac and Orlan named these shops or bars after major works of these authors and placed figures or symbols related to the philosopher's or writer's ideas or texts in the drawings.

[25] Benjamin writes to Hofmannsthal in 1927 to let him know that this picture book inspired the form of what would become *Einbahnstraße* (Schöttker "Aphoristik" 500).

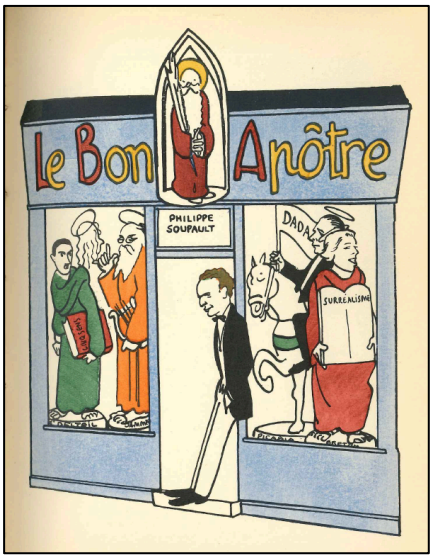

Fig. I. 4. Excerpt from Henri Guilac and Pierre Mac Orlan's *Prochainement Ouverture ... de 62 Boutiques Littéraires*, Kra, 1925.

In this example (fig. 4), the French writer Philippe Soupault is leaning at the door of his imaginary shop. Soupault's first novel *Le Bon Apôtre* (1923) and his name are the inscriptio for the entire drawing, which altogether forms the pictura. The pictura shows the apostle who is the protagonist of this novel, standing right over the entryway. The other characters are fellow writers of Soupault dressed up as apostles. Joseph Delteil on the far left holds his novel *Le Cinq Sens* (1924) under his left arm, angrily looking at André Breton on the far right side of the pictura. As the co-founder of Surrealism in 1919 (together with Soupault), Breton holds Tablets of the Law entitled "Surrealisme." Though Delteil was initially praised for his surrealist writing, he was later rejected by Breton, which explains Delteil's angry look. Francis Jammes, to the left of Delteil, raises his finger, vouching for his lyrical and catholic poetry. Francis Picabia, not pictured in a monk's cowl like the others, but in a tuxedo on a horse, holds a "Dada" banner, symbolizing his position as a leading figure of Dadaism. The actual subscriptio is not included here, but it is represented by the entire novel by Soupault. This novel is not structured in a first- or third-person narrative, but as a surrealistic mock-conversation between an apostle and

Soupault. The emblem in this picture book invites readers to get to know Dadaism and Surrealism, its contributors, and the convergences and discrepancies between their writings, so as to project these ideas onto Soupault's written work, such as *Le Bon Apôtre*. Yet the pictura and the inscriptio of this emblem are not only an invitation to further explore Soupault's work. This emblem's pictura utilizes the idea of a capitalist framework, as Soupault, his fellow writers, and their ideas are offered like goods in a shop, even displayed in shop windows. The writer's ideas and works need to be sold, and readers-turned-consumers need to be lured in to buy (into) these new ideas.

Expressing their ideas only on a visual plane and using the shop as a symbol for consumerism allowed Guilac and Orlan to communicate their ideas to a changed readership. The Parisian reader and city-dweller had been confronted with a changing environment at the beginning of the 20th century: the metro system, new avenues, and arcades filled with shops and department stores changed the city's structure and image. These changes influenced the city-dweller so much that Benjamin was able to use the type of the flâneur in his essays on Charles Baudelaire and Paris to describe the new urban experience.[26] The flâneur moves with the crowd, but also indulges his curiosity and investigates his new surroundings. It was also clear to Benjamin that the idea of the department store was built on the concept of flânerie. These stores adapted to the flâneur's leisurely, yet curious walk by constructing big hallways on multiple store levels: "Das Warenhaus ist der letzte Strich des Flaneurs" (Benjamin *GS V* 54).[27] Guilac

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[26] Benjamin's concept of the flâneur was informed by both Baudelaire's and Fournel's views: Charles Baudelaire describes the "flâneur" in *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863), as a passionate spectator, who moves with the crowd, and Victor Fournel's idea of "flânerie" in *What One Sees in the Streets of Paris* (1887) becomes a way of actively engaging with and understanding the new urban surrounding.

[27] GS ist the abbreviation for Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 7 vols. Edited by Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Suhrkamp, 1972-99.

and Orlan build on this convergence of the flâneur with consumerism. Their reader is imagined as a flâneur, walking through their book by turning pages – quite similar to the reader of photobooks. Guilac and Orlan invite the reader to engage with the elements of the emblem or to recall the texts they refer to. Benjamin takes up this emblematic concept that imagines a flâneur moving through the sixty emblems of *Einbahnstraße*. Similar to the flâneur, who merged with the consumer in Guilac's and Orlan's work, Benjamin's flâneur-figure also needs to be updated to a figure that finds himself as a reader still invited to go on a city walk, but who is also tasked to turn into a quick-witted detective that needs to relearn how to look for clues in order to keep up with Benjamin's writing.

Inspired by Guilac's and Orlan's work, Benjamin also creates a street for his emblems However, they neither include photographs or drawings of the urban development in the 1920s, nor do they build on consumerism. Yet he still manages to create emblems by relying on his reader's imagination, triggered by the emblems' titles. Benjamin's emblem titles are the inscriptio, the texts following are the subscriptio and the pictura is the image of the street, its shops, signs and advertisements. Though not quite as ornamental, sweeping, and detailed as Baroque picturas, *Einbahnstraße*, in fact, has a continuous pictura: Two bold vertical stripes on the inside of the book's pages form a street by connecting the left page with the right.[28]

[28] Only the original publication by Rowohlt includes these lines. The *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (2009) by Suhrkamp and many other reprints do not.

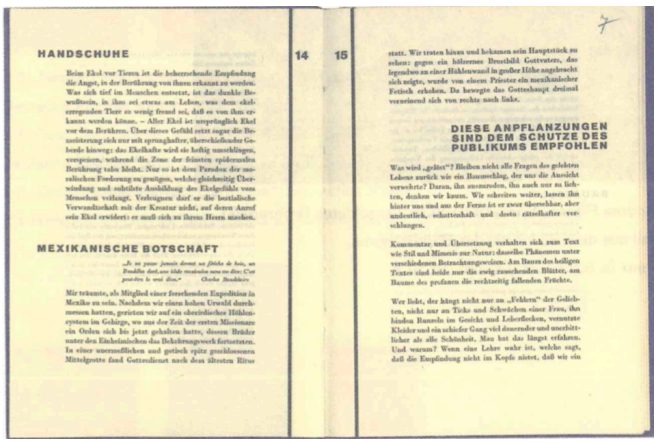

Fig. I. 5. Double page with vertical stripes in Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße.* Rowohlt, 1928; rpt. in Detlef Schöttker, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* Suhrkamp, 2009, p. 595.

This minimalistic allusion to a real street,[29] in combination with each title evoking and referring to a given place in a city, forms the pictura of each emblem in *Einbahnstraße*. The title, as an inscriptio, relates to the image it invokes in the reader's mind, but often does not explain why Benjamin included it, or announce what the emblem will be about in the following subscriptio. On the contrary, the subscriptio (the short aphoristic and essayistic narrative for each emblem) often stands in great contrast to the reader's expectations created by the titles and the imagined pictura. Hence, while it seems at first that Benjamin's readers can take a leisurely walk as a flâneur looking at shop signs, the lack of a concrete pictura, and the discrepancy between inscriptio and subscriptio turns them into detectives.

The emblem "Poliklinik" (*EB* 62) that appears as the 42nd section in *Einbahnstraße* is one example that subverts the reader's expectations when moving from pictura to inscriptio. The term "Poliklinik" evoked for a reader in the 1920s a very specific pictura of a hospital for the

[29] Schöttker compares the lines to a filmstrip, but he does not further elaborate on his comparison: "Es dominieren die gegenüberliegenden Seiten und bilden eine Straße, die Filmstreifen ähneln" ("Aphoristik" 496).

townspeople's stationary treatments.[30] The reader now expects a subscriptio that focuses either on illnesses, wounds, cures, patients, doctors, or, for that matter, on death. Yet Benjamin interweaves the operating room with his writing desk at a café.[31] Every sentence of the subscriptio replaces actors and components of an operating room with a component of the writing process:

> Der Autor legt den Gedanken auf den Marmortisch des Cafés. Lange Betrachtung: denn er benutzt die Zeit, da noch das Glas – die Linse, unter der er den Patienten vornimmt – nicht vor ihm steht. Dann packt er sein Besteck allmählich aus: Füllfederhalter, Bleistift und Pfeife. … Kaffee, vorsorglich eingefüllt und ebenso genossen, setzt den Gedanken unter Chloroform. (*EB* 62)

The writer's thought becomes the patient, lying on top of the café's "Marmortisch" (62), ready for dissection. Benjamin replaces the doctor's magnifying lens with the cup filled with coffee. Like chloroform for a patient, coffee will anesthetize the thought, focusing all caffeinated attention on it. The writer's surgical instruments are "Füllfederhalter, Bleistift und Pfeife" (62). With all necessary components in place, Benjamin moves on to further characterize both the thought and the surgeon:[32] "Worauf er [der Gedanke] sinnt, hat mit der Sache selbst nichts mehr

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[30] Instead of using the German noun "Krankenhaus" for "hospital," Benjamin chooses "Poliklinik." "Klinik" and "Krankenhaus" can be used interchangeably in everyday language, yet the *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* emphasizes that "Klinik" is a hospital where patients received stationary treatment for special illnesses. However, by adding "Poli" – Greek for "city" – as a modifier to "Klinik," the meaning of the word changes. The treatments were not only meant specifically for city dwellers, as the modifier indicates; polyclinics, established in the 19th century, also treated townspeople at the cost of the city ("Poliklinik" in *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*).

[31] Benjamin regularly wrote in cafés (Schöttker *KG* 386).

[32] A decade later, Benjamin compares in his essay "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit" the painter to the magician and the surgeon to the cameraman, hence aligning the act of writing and filmmaking. About the visual results of both processes, Benjamin writes: "Die Bilder, die beide davontragen, sind ungeheuer verschieden. Das des

zu tun, als der Traum des Narkotisierten mit dem chirurgischen Eingriff" (62). The patient under the influence of anesthesia dreams, and this dream has nothing to do with the actual surgery – just as the writer's thought has nothing to do with "worauf er sinnt" (62) anymore, according to Benjamin. As Benjamin continues to explain, the actual surgery lies in the writer's handwriting, cutting out the "Wucherungen der Worte" (62) and inserting foreign words as a shiny "silberne Rippe" (62). When finishing the surgery and writing, the surgeon uses stitches while the writer uses punctuation: "Endlich näht ihm mit feinen Stichen Interpunktion das Ganze zusammen und er entlohnt den Kellner, seinen Assistenten, in bar" (62). Werner Helmich identifies this sentence and many others in *Einbahnstraße* as isotopy. Isotopy, a semiotic term, can play with disparate semantic meanings and connect them in a single sentence, despite their different meanings. An example are the two different professions of a surgeon and a writer, connected in a single sentence, as long as there is the same plane of reality (Helmich 266). This allows Benjamin not only to find affinities between two seemingly disparate things, but also to present them in coherent sentences without having to step back and explain. These dissimilar affinities – Benjamin would later call them "Denkbilder" – allow him to deconstruct both professions while at the same time reconstructing and connecting them in an unexpected manner. This actually urges his readers to think on their feet, working like detectives that have to solve this "scribbled picture puzzle" (322), to use Adorno's words, all in order to form an understanding of the writer's profession.

Malers ist ein totales, das des Kameramanns ein vielfältig zerstückeltes, dessen Teile sich nach einem neuen Gesetze zusammen finden. So ist die filmische Darstellung der Realität für den heutigen Menschen darum die unvergleichlich bedeutungsvollere, weil sie den apparatfreien Aspekt der Wirklichkeit, den er vom Kunstwerk zu fordern berechtigt ist, gerade auf Grund ihrer intensivsten Durchdringung mit der Apparatur gewährt." (Benjamin *GS I* 459)

In fact, the reader of "Poliklinik" is included in the emblem. The readers make up the other patrons in the café. They become viewers of the emblem "Poliklinik," which Benjamin stages for them in a coffeehouse. Whereas Benjamin keeps private and public spaces apart in the early emblems of *Einbahnstraße* (as in "Frühstücksstube" (7) or "Nr. 113" (8)), in "Poliklinik" these spaces fuse. Benjamin foregrounds this new conflated space by describing the public – the other patrons at the café – as "amphitheatralisch angeordnet" (*EB* 62). Similar to a stage that changes from scene to scene, for Benjamin the space and arrangement of a "clinic-scene" with its surgeon conflates with the "café-scene" and its writer. The operating table fuses with the coffee table, which, in turn, already has been conflated with the writer's desk usually located at his home. The reader becomes an omniscient viewer who is attentive to Benjamin's paradoxical spatial and visual connections. These visual and spatial images work together not only to connect two very different professions, but also to take the writing and reading process from the private home to the public arena of the café. On the one hand, this brings Benjamin's emblematic text closer to the reader's lived world; yet on the other hand, it challenges the reader's cognitive capabilities when Benjamin employs a version of Brecht's Verfremdungseffekt, taking it from the epic theater to this emblem and the stage in the café. Similar to Brecht, Benjamin tries to alienate his readers in such a way that they cannot simply identify with the situation and the thoughts brought forward. Readers are asked to work through Benjamin's ideas in a very attentive way. Thus, Benjamin extends the emblem's pictura, triggered by the inscriptio "Poliklinik," both spatially and metaphorically in the subscriptio. In order to achieve this extension, Benjamin deconstructs the space of the policlinic, the operating table, the writing desk, and even, by extension, the surgeon's and the writer's actions. He then reconstructs them in the space of the café that doubles as a stage. At first, this move alienates his readers, but in doing

so, also educates them to pay attention to what they read and, as implied by the stage, *see*. In deconstructing and reconstructing production and reception processes by making use of the flexibility of the emblem's parts, Benjamin emphasizes that the roles of writers and readers change.

While Guilac and Orlan provide their readers with concrete visuals in their picture book, Benjamin's visual and spatial images subvert a pictura that was triggered by the emblem's inscriptio. Benjamin's inscriptios do not refer to concrete places in a city, and, even if they do, they undercut the readers' expectations, as if stopping them on their walk and asking them to look for clues. Pictura and inscriptio in *Einbahnstraße* intentionally do not match the subscriptio, so as to create discrepancies to be resolved and interpreted by the reader. The structure of the emblem – pictura, inscriptio, and subscriptio – combined with essayistic writing opens up the possibility for Benjamin to educate his readers by asking them to interpret these elements in reconstructing and possibly resolving the juxtapositions.

Throughout *Einbahnstraße* Benjamin uses the emblem both to de- and reconstruct his ideas – ranging from personal experiences, criticisms of public life, or negotiating new writing processes – in order to renegotiate the roles of writers and readers. While the emblems on personal experiences, public issues, and writing practices intersect, I will separate these different themes and discuss each in a separate section, analyzing how the emblematic structure and the visual and spatial images update the writing and reading process. By breaking up the old roles of the author sitting at his desk and of the reader as a passively absorbing recipient, *Einbahnstraße* and its texts showcase the shifted ideas about writing and reading. Recognizing these shifts will also be necessary for understanding the production and reception of photobooks, published

around the same time as *Einbahnstraße*. In these photobooks, the emblematic structure will be complete again; hence readers familiar with Benjamin's modern emblems will be needed.

Linking Space and Perception:
Spatial Seeing as the New Way of Reading

The emblematic construction of "Poliklinik" and its connection of disparate areas (a surgeon and a writer) via visual and spatial images continues in Benjamin's reflections on his own personal experiences in *Einbahnstraße*. These experiences are sprinkled throughout the text. However, they do not interrupt Benjamin's other main themes that address the changes in society and literary culture. Instead, they support the idea that the shift towards spatiality and visuality, as exercised via the emblem, does not just concern Benjamin himself, but also literary production and, as this section shows, literary reception as well. To this end, Benjamin moves from a private to a public mode of discourse. This shift updates the role of his reader, the idea of experience, his self-perception as an author and the idea of writing in general – all as a response to the current demands of the 1920s as an era of crisis, of new visuality, and of new spatial experiences.

At the beginning of *Einbahnstraße* Benjamin employs emblems that seem to use the idea of the dream as a guiding framework.[33] Yet already the first sentence of the second emblem, "Frühstücksstube," (7), clarifies that dreaming is not Benjamin's method of self-reflection, because it uses language only in its function of narrating instead of reflecting: "Eine Volksüberlieferung warnt, Träume am Morgen nüchtern zu erzählen" (*EB* 7). Thus, his main advice is to get up, wash up, sit down in the "Frühstücksstube," and eat breakfast in order to achieve a "Bruch zwischen Nacht- und Tagwelt" (7). Also work or prayer in the morning would

[33] Hiegemann also recognizes that Benjamin wanted to "establish a new way of writing, a different narrative strategy, with regard to the project he pursued" (245). Hiegemann suggests grasping this new way of writing through the "significance of awaking and dreaming" (245).

work, as long as the reader leaves the world of dreams behind before using *language* to deal with real experiences. Otherwise, it is fatal to speak about dreams: " der Mensch, zur Hälfte der Traumwelt noch verschworen, in seinen Worten sie verrät … Neuzeitlicher gesprochen: er verrät sich selbst" (8). For Benjamin, the dream can only have relevance when it is removed from the lived world. This aligns with his phenomological approach and his emphasis on corporeal experiences: "Sie [die Reinigung] geht durch den Magen" (8). He is not following latent dream contents in a psychoanalytic manner. Hence, eating and washing up allow an individual to connect to his real surroundings. The goal in this early emblem is to stimulate the reader's senses and not to provide an abstract reflection on dreams. Benjamin advises his readers to create a break between the dream world and waking life in order to prepare his readers early for what is to come in the rest of this work.

A temporal distance from the dreams' contents matches the epistemological distance created by language. The reader should be separated from dreams by not talking about them anymore. Many of Benjamin's dreams depicted in *Einbahnstraße* lie in the past. He dreams of an old school-friend, of a visit to "Goethes Arbeitszimmer" (*EB* 10), of dining with Goethe, and in "Tiefbau-Arbeiten" (*EB* 27) he even dreams of excavations in Weimar that turn out to be parts of a Mexican church. The inscriptio "Tiefbau-Arbeiten," in particular, emphasizes that dreams not only lie deep within oneself, they are also temporally far removed and out of touch with oneself, paralleling Freud's ideas in *Die Traumdeutung* (1900). However, while dreams are for Benjamin associated with the self, he leaves Freud behind by moving dreams to *someone else's* past and to *someone else's* home, like to "Goethes Arbeitszimmer" (10). Dreams are part of the citizens' lives, but not relevant for the new readers walking the streets, being alert and analyzing their surroundings. Consequently, many of Benjamin's dreams or discussions about dreaming take

place in closed-off, interior spaces ("Frühstücksstube", "Goethes Arbeitszimmer") or a space that is invisible and hidden from the public's eye, such as "Tiefbau-Arbeiten" (27), which is literally underneath the pictura of the street. In this way Benjamin emphasizes that experiences and self-reflections take place above ground, outside the house and around the city. These reflections are, true to Benjamin's phenomenological approach, linked to *seeing* and *perceiving* the new urban space and not *dreaming* about it.

Benjamin underlines this importance of the visual, i.e. of perspectives and perception, in two emblems. In "Optiker" (55), he lists six short aphorisms, each only a sentence or two. They pinpoint how the readers' perception determines their life. The direction their eyes look also influences the way they move their body. Also, the readers' surroundings, like the seasons, determine how they view objects and people: "Im Sommer fallen die dicken Leute auf, im Winter die dünnen" (55). Or, during rainfall, readers notice in spring the leafless branches of a tree, while in sunny weather they notice the first young foliage (*EB* 55). The visual impressions prevail not only in relation to the readers' selves and their environment, but also in how they communicate non-verbally: "Wie ein gastlicher Abend verlaufen ist, das *sieht* man an der Stellung der Teller und Tassen, der Becher und Speisen, wer zurückblieb, auf einen Blick" (55; my emphasis). Even the economy has realized and taken advantage of this dominating visuality by multiplying advertisements so as to be more visible to the potential consumer: "Grundsatz der Werbung: sich siebenfach machen" (55); yet without a connection to the readers' bodies and their surroundings, their perception and perspectives are meaningless.

In the emblem "Spielwaren" (56-62), which immediately follows "Optiker" (55), Benjamin elaborates on this connection of the reader's body, particularly his sensory apparatus, to the way they perceive and understand their environment. He describes a fair that takes place

on the jetty. Halfway through his lively description, one subsection has the title “Stereoskop. Riga” (58). This title frames the visual style of Benjamin’s description: “Der tägliche Markt, die gedrängte Stadt aus niedrigen Holzbuden zieht auf der Mole, einem breiten, schmutzigen Steinwall ohne Speichergebäude sich am Wasser der Düna entlang. Kleine Dampfer, die oft kaum mit dem Schornstein über die Kaimauer reichen, haben die schwärzliche Zwergenstadt angelaufen” (59). This fly-over perspective, penetrating from the sea into the city’s architecture, continues even further in this emblem: Starting from the sea and the quay wall, he moves on to the jetty and its shacks, then, at the end of the jetty to the apple market, and finally to a church. Next to the jetty are small houses that sell ship supplies. Close-by is a corner house with a shop that sells lingerie and ladies’ hats. At the corner, in front of the shop, is a gas lantern. In this entire sequence of observing a certain part of the city, Riga, the reader’s perception moves from the sea, down the jetty, and opens up to the view of the church and the houses. This description is a stereoscopic image of the city, i.e., a three-dimensional image of the city’s harbor. Instead of choosing a description that follows streets or an individual person, or that offers a list of the places and houses, Benjamin combines the visual image with a spatial one: “Mit solchen Bildern ist die Stadt durchsetzt: [hin]gestellt wie aus Schubladen. Dazwischen aber ragen viel hohe festungsartige, todtraurige Gebäude heraus, die alle Schrecken des Zarismus wachrufen” (60). This last sentence of the emblem manifests the benefit of combining a spatial and visual approach in writing. While the town comes across as built out of boxes that can be pushed neatly into a dresser, this stereoscopic viewpoint of the city allows that certain buildings stand out even more to the readers, for instance, those that are reminiscent of the terrors of Tsarism. Benjamin waited until the last sentence to translate this view, afforded by the stereoscope, into a concrete historical context for the reader. The spatial and visual take on a city, afforded by the imagery of

the stereoscope, can only go so far to cut out history. Yet by inserting a certain historical term, i.e., the highly connotated term of "Zarismus," Benjamin creates an effect similar to the "Schockeffekt" (Jennings *Dialectical Images* 83) that he would later ascribe to film.[34] He pulls readers out of their phenomenological view of this city and places them back in the teleological epistemology of the city's history. The stereoscopic view of a city actually matches the inscriptio "Stereoskop. Riga," subverting it neither in the text that follows nor in regard to the pictura it triggers. In fact, it even enhances the pictura – the imagination of Riga – via the use of literary and spatial imagery. It is only subverted by Benjamin's use of a highly charged historical term, i.e. Tsarism, which for a moment jolts readers and shifts their perspective.

In the emblem "Stückgut: Spedition und Verpackung" (65), Benjamin goes even one step further. His writing condenses two visual images, deconstructing the first image so as to reconstruct it in the second one:

> Ich fuhr früh morgens mit dem Auto durch Marseille zur Bahn, und wie mir unterwegs bekannte Stellen, dann neue, unbekannte oder andere, die ich nur ungenau erinnern konnte, aufstießen, wurde die Stadt ein Buch in meinen Händen, in das ich schnell noch ein paar Blicke warf, bevor es in der Kiste auf dem Speicher mir auf wer weiß wie lange aus den Augen kommen sollte. (60)

This emblem connects the pictura of a mixed cargo, suggested by the inscriptio "Stückgut," to the subscriptio of Benjamin's visual memory, gathered while driving through Marseille. As the car drives fast, new parts of the city do not just come into view, they are belched ("aufstießen") from the city, aligning the urban space with that of an eating body. Nonetheless, these new parts of Marseille help to turn the fleeting experience and memory of the city into a book; a stable

[34] See Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit [Dritte Fassung]," *GS I*, pp. 471-508.

medium, where memories can last. However, without starting a new sentence, he only catches a few glimpses of the urban memories in the book, before he knows he will lose *sight* of it once it is in a box in the attic. These actions – traversing a city by car, intending to switch to a faster means of transportation and catching quick glimpses of the city – are an indicator that for Benjamin even his personal memory is structured more by seeing and experiencing the urban space than by reading about it. Such a replacement of writing and reading with spatial seeing allows Benjamin to place the image of a city immediately into a book form, dissolving both the city's space and images into text, which, however, becomes irrelevant, as the book is moved into the attic, out of Benjamin's sight. While this is an example of Benjamin's critique of the form of the book, it is also a challenge for readers to allow themselves to stumble over this conflation of images and spaces and to go back and re-read the sentence. While readers of a book would only glimpse at it and eventually lose "sight" of it, i.e. forgetting about it, in Benjamin's emblem readers have to pay close attention so as to not lose "sight" of this text in this subversive way of writing that, like a surgeon, dissects a thought, and, like an engineer, puts it back together with a new one.

In the emblem "Erste Hilfe" (37), which refers again to the city of Riga, Benjamin actually describes how the visual and spatial impression of a city can come together. When his friend moves to a new part of the city, Benjamin describes how the network of streets in this neighborhood, that always looked chaotic to him, all of a sudden start to make sense due to an image that combines visuality and spatiality: "Es war, als sei in seinem Fenster ein Scheinwerfer aufgestellt und zerlege die Gegend mit Lichtbüschlein" (37). It is not the friend helping Benjamin to orient himself, but an imaginary headlight at the friend's window that sections the city into manageable parts. The visual expressed through a beam of light helps to make sense of

the urban space. This connection of the visual and spatial is reminiscent of the language the anonymous reviewer of *Einbahnstraße* used to describe Benjamin's texts, when he spoke of "Scheinwerfer" and "geometrische Gerüste" (qtd in Schöttker *KG* 507). However, sometimes this cooperation of perception and space fails. In the subsection "Briefbeschwerer" of the emblem "Papier-und Schreibwaren" (38-39), Benjamin reflects on how a monument like the Egyptian "Luxor Obelisk" at the Place de la Concorde in Paris, right at the heart of a powerful nation, can be reduced to a simple paper-weight by the mass of people passing it every day: "Nicht einer von Zehntausenden, die hier vorübergehen, hält inne; nicht einer von Zehntausenden, die innehalten, kann die Aufschrift lesen" (39). It does not matter that it stands in the middle of a big city square in Paris. Despite a spatially central location and a visually impressive façade, no one cares about the obelisk, according to Benjamin, and, most of all, no one is able to read the inscription: "Denn der Unsterbliche steht da wie dieser Obelisk: er regelt einen geistigen Verkehr, der ihn umtost, und keinem ist die Inschrift, die darein gegraben ist, von Nutzen" (39). This is one of the few instances in *Einbahnstraße* where the pictura of an emblem has such a concrete referent in the real world, even referring to the inscriptio embedded in the monument. The obelisk stands for the inscriptio's prompt to interpret the pictura. However, while this should be an easy task to fulfill, this is not the case. Benjamin points out that the modern passersby and readers of the inscriptio are not able to read and understand it anymore, because in a mass of "Zehntausende" (39), the reader is just passing by the obelisk. In modern times of the 1920s this monument and its inscriptio are not legible anymore, due to the incapability of the modern reader, who, as Benjamin writes, is swept up in the traffic that roars around the monument. Hence, it is not surprising that *Einbahnstraße* does not contain such picturas in relation to the real world, that is, in the form of a photograph of the Obelisk with the

inscriptio printed as a caption. The reason for the lack of photographs in *Einbahnstraße* is, however, not due to its insufficient form. The reason lies more in that readers would have difficulties "reading" such a photographic pictura, because, as Benjamin writes at the end of his essay "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie," modern readers are illiterate when it comes to photographs (*GS II* 385). Thus, in order to educate readers, Benjamin deconstructs the form of the Baroque emblem and reconstructs it both without the pictura[35] and with inscriptios, such as "Briefbeschwerer," that might trigger a certain mental picture. This image, however, is not fulfilled by the subscriptio that is about a monument in Paris rather than a paperweight. Yet Benjamin's modern, if incomplete, emblems still fulfill the function of presenting readers with tripartite structures, based on their visual and spatial imagery, which readers are tasked to interpret.

Benjamin's processes of deconstructing and reconstructing not only show a new way of writing, but also a new way of reading that adapts to the 1920s: In emblems like "Frühstücksstube" (7), "Goethes Arbeitszimmer" (10), and "Tiefbau-Arbeiten" (27), all located in the beginning of *Einbahnstraße*, readers are asked to leave their dream world behind, yet not to just simply read on. Instead, they are made aware in an emblem like "Optiker" (55) how their body's connection to the world is influenced by the way they see it, and how a stereoscopic view, as in "Stereoskop. Riga," can influence their understanding of the modern city. Such a stereoscopic view, which builds on a combination of visual and spatial seeing and thinking, is at work in *Einbahnstraße*'s longest emblem, called "Kaiserpanorama" (18-26), which, as the next section will show, educates readers to use this new way of seeing and reading the world in order to take a look at themselves and at Weimar's social issues.

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[35] However, it would not have been surprising if photographs would have been added (Huyssen *Metropolis* 141).

“Kaiserpanorama” – A Showcase for the New Writing and Reading Practices

In *Einbahnstraße*’s longest emblem, titled “Kaiserpanorama” (18-26), Benjamin extends the visual and spatial imagery to a stereoscopic view that his readers are supposed to employ when looking at Weimar Germany and societal changes. He still does not insert photographs, but the stereoscopic view is triggered by the emblem’s inscriptio “Kaiserpanorama,” which was a widespread and popular entertainment device at the time. August Fuhrmann invented this large device in 1883 (see fig. 6).

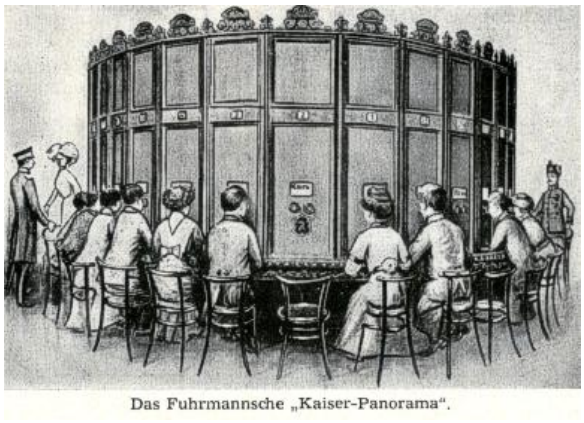

Fig. I. 6. Example of a Kaiserpanorama. Oettermann, *The Panorama,* Zone Books, 1997, p. 184.

The panorama is a circular-shaped wooden construction that offers a rotating display of fifty stereoscopic images for up to twenty-five viewers at a time. These hand-painted images were composed of various layers of photographs that were taken at slightly different angles. When viewing these images through goggles that were attached to the wooden construction, the viewers saw the images three-dimensionally because the layers of the various photographs were pressed together and thus it created an impression of depth, i.e., a stereoscopic view. By 1910, 250 Kaiserpanoramas existed and Fuhrmann supplied them with over “1000 Bilder-Zyklen” (Senf 26). Fuhrmann mainly had his photographers take pictures of social and ceremonial scenes,

of cities, landscapes, and foreign countries. “Er wusste …, was er dem zur Weltmacht aufgestiegenen Deutschen Reich und den siegesstolzen, für den begeisterten, endlich auch nach überseeischen Kolonien greifenden Deutschen schuldig war. … Man hat das Unternehmen zu Recht einen ‘Imperialismus des Auges’ genannt” (Ranke 18). With traveling everywhere, Fuhrmann turned into one of the pioneers of “aktueller Bildberichterstattung” (Senf 26). Thus, it is not surprising that his photographers also created stereoscopic images of WWI. During a viewing, martial and patriotic music accompanied these so-called “war panoramas.” Photographers captured everyday life at the front, but not actual fighting scenes, because they were considered too shocking and demoralizing. However, life at the front still included death: “The juxtaposition of images must have molded opinion back in Germany: one moment, soldiers are seen in quiet, even domesticated scenes behind the lines; the next, those same soldiers are conducting a mass burial for their dead comrades” (Macintyre 34). War panoramas were the only images depicting misery. Otherwise, photographs of exotic places or stylized images of historical European sites dominated the Kaiserpanoramas. In *Einbahnstraße*’s “Kaiserpanorama,” its fourteen subsections neither show photographs of distant places nor miseries far away from Germany’s cities. Instead, it turns its focus back on Weimar Germany’s society and its social issues in a metropolis like Berlin. The fourteen subsections pose as Benjamin’s reflections on one of the biggest issues at the time: inflation and the impact it had on society. Benjamin juxtaposes the city dwellers’ desires to view exotic places with the citizens’ aversions to look at the social injustices in their immediate surroundings.

As a boy, Walter Benjamin peered into Fuhrmann's device and related particularly the lighting of the photographs to the lighting in his room at home, as he writes later in *Berliner Kindheit um Neunzehnhundert*:

> … ich trat ins Innere und fand nun dort in Fjorden und auf Kokospalmen dasselbe Licht, das abends bei den Schularbeiten mir das Pult erhellte. Es sei denn, ein Defekt in der Beleuchtung erzeugte plötzlich jene seltene Dämmerung, in der die Farbe aus der Landschaft schwand. Dann lag sie unter einem Aschenhimmel verschwiegen da; es war, als hätte ich eben noch Wind und Glocken hören können, wenn ich nur besser achtgegeben hätte. (*GS IV* 240)

Benjamin compares the lighting in his everyday life to the lighting when seeing palm trees in the Kaiserpanorama and when doing his homework at his desk in the evening. If the lighting does not work properly, the landscape and the sky turn ashen, which, in turn, allows Benjamin to focus on his *aural* senses, trying to hear the sounds of wind and bells. This synesthetic experience adds to the new way of reading that Benjamin is aiming to show and teach in *Einbahnstraße.* He is not concerned with the exotic places represented, but with the *way* they are represented. His own experience in the Kaiserpanorama, which had an impact on his way of seeing and hearing, explains his decision to title an emblem on the impact of inflation in Weimar Germany "Kaiserpanorama."

Similar to the way he reflects on how a change of lighting affected the way he saw things as a child, Benjamin now also tries to shine a different light on Germany (particularly during the time of inflation in the 1920s), aiming to change his readers' perspective.[36] First he deconstructs their way of seeing and understanding in the first half of the "Kaiserpanorama," and then he reconstructs these abilities in the second half by providing a new perspective on life in the city,

[36] Michael Jennings points out that Benjamin does not provide an analysis of human misery in looking at the republic's economical changes: "Anstatt jedoch die in 'Kaiserpanorama' vorgenommene Analyse menschlichen Elends mit spezifischen Aspekten der Weimarer Wirtschaftslandschaft in Verbindung zu setzen, führt Benjamin die deutsche Lage auf den fortschreitenden Zerfall des Wahrnehmungs- und Erkenntnisapparates zurück" ("Trugbild" 519).

zooming out and opening up the readers' perspective.[37] In the first half of "Kaiserpanorama," Benjamin traces the downward spiral of the German people and their behavior. Their misunderstanding of the idea of economic stability, the dominance of the mass compared to the individual and the loss of compassion, all become visible in the people's use of language. Empty phrases, instead of a direct and real use of language, dominate bourgeois life as much as money and commodities: "Die Freiheit des Gespräches geht verloren. Wenn früher unter Menschen im Gespräch Eingehen auf den Partner sich von selbst verstand, wird es nun durch die Frage nach dem Preise seiner Schuhe oder seines Regenschirmes ersetzt" (23). There is no convivial exchange anymore, only one that is dominated by the only relevant condition of life: money. Yet Benjamin does not end here. He uses a comparison to the theater and to perception in order to translate his observations into literary images: "Es ist, als sei man in einem Theater gefangen und müsse dem Stück auf der Bühne folgen, ob man wolle oder nicht, müsse es immer wieder, ob man wolle oder nicht, zum Gegenstand des Denkens und Sprechens machen" (23). The spectator is an eternal onlooker, who has to talk about the subject presented over and over again on stage. While earlier in "Poliklinik" (55) he used visual images and comparisons to the stage to demonstrate his writing process (and how a play and experimentation with language help to visualize this process), he critisizes his readers' use of language directly in the first half of "Kaiserpanorama." Benjamin disempowers and dismantles everyday language, in particular sayings and idioms, as they are the most automated part of language in that they are used unreflectedly in everyday speech. For instance, Benjamin asserts that the reaction of the average German to inflation is meaningless, as it is just an empty phrase: "[es könne] ja nicht mehr so weitergehen" (18). The failure of this empty saying, as it is just a mere relative observation, is

[37] See Kieslich for an in-depth discussion of "Kaiserpanorama" and a convergence of image and action in this section.

linked to the citizens' failure not to see anything but themselves and their own property and financial security:

> Die hilflose Fixierung an die Sicherheits- und Besitzvorstellungen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte verhindert den Durchschnittsmenschen, die höchst bemerkenswerten Stabilitäten ganz neuer Art, welche der gegenwärtigen Situation zugrunde liegen, zu apperzipieren. Da die relative Stabilisierung der Vorkriegsjahre ihn begünstigte, glaubt er, jeden Zustand, der ihn depossediert,für unstabil ansehen zu müssen. (*EB* 18-19)

For Benjamin, the average citizen does not see that he is actually living in a stable environment, particularly compared to the increasing numbers of starving beggars. The reason for that, as Benjamin puts it, is the citizen's way of seeing, this so called "apperzipieren" (18). Apperceive is a psychological term, which, according to the *Duden*, means that the citizen filters all he sees consciously. This reflection that continuously evaluates the reader's status and well-being hinders an actual perception of his surroundings, which includes misery due to the inflation. Their feelings are not directed at each other anymore, but only towards themselves. Banknotes replace actual communication, which, in turn, also causes any humane feelings to disappear. As the fifth section of the "Kaiserpanorama" states, the solution is to get out of poverty, particularly one that is caused by lack of work and not by chance. Yet again a saying, i.e., the opposite of any real verbal interaction – "Wer nicht arbeitet, der soll auch nicht essen" – is a quickly passed judgment to actually change the conditions of misery. As Benjamin points out, a revolt is the solution, but this time he blames not just society relying on their useless *phrases*, but the *media*, "die Presse" (22), for reinforcing "Scheinursachen und Scheinfolgen," not actual "Erkenntnis."

The second half of the "Kaiserpanorama" maintains that German citizens are blind and blinded by both the press and by their everyday use of language. The eighth section is packed with nouns that express the decay of viewing and seeing: "Wahrnehmung des Verfalls," "Einsichten ins allgemeine Versagen," "der blinde Wille," and "allgemeine Verblendung" (23). These expressions lead Benjamin to conclude that every individual is engulfed by "Trugbilder" and "optische Täuschungen" (23). The citizen's use of superficial and repetitive idioms condemns them not to see and feel the "blühend hereinbrechende kulturelle Zukunft" (23). The "Blick für den Kontur der menschlichen Person" (24) is lost, Benjamin states in the ninth section, and, for the second time in "Kaiserpanorama" he uses a comparison to the theater to explain this missing ability to see clearly: "Man stelle sich die Bergketten der Hochalpen vor, jedoch nicht gegen den Himmel abgesetzt, sondern gegen die Falten eines dunklen Tuches. Nur undeutlich würden die gewaltigen Formen sich abzeichnen. Ganz so hat ein schwerer Vorhang Deutschlands Himmel verhängt" (24). The geological creases of the Alps and the creases of a curtain are indistinguishable at night. This is how badly the view of the Germans is impacted. They cannot see properly anymore. In the tenth and eleventh sections, Benjamin shows the consequences of this disability: "Die Gegenstände des täglichen Gebrauchs stoßen den Menschen sacht aber beharrlich von sich ab" (24). Objects used to have their own "Wärme," i.e., it was clear why someone would need them. Now, turned into commodities, they no longer tell us why we need them – people need them because they are able to buy them.

In the final sections of the "Kaiserpanorama," Benjamin zooms out and moves away from the city's masses, streets, and commodities. In comparing city and countryside in the twelfth section, Benjamin invites readers to start reflecting and to find new ways of seeing and understanding. He portrays the city as a soothing, calming space. He uses the term "Burgfrieden"

(25) to describe the city, which is the innermost area of a castle that provided protection and security. Benjamin sees the countryside as an enemy who attacks this "Burgfrieden" (25): "Große Städte, deren unvergleichlich beruhigende und bestätigende Macht den Schaffenden in einen Burgfrieden schließt und mit dem Anblick des Horizonts auch das Bewußtsein der immer wachenden Elementarkräfte von ihm zu nehmen vermag, zeigen sich allerorten durchbrochen vom eindringenden Land" (25). The countryside is always invading and endangering the city. In this example, Benjamin zooms out very far from his readers' usual views, taking on a birds-eye perspective similar to "Stereoskop. Riga," so as to change their point of view, both literally and metaphorically.

Benjamin criticizes the inability of language to respond to the inflation crisis in the first half of the "Kaiserpanorama" and offers in the second half literary images as a way to change the readers' perspective. His goal is not to provide them with a new language, but with a different language or approach to see others and communicate with them. Benjamin reveals the failure of communication when everyday language is used just for a certain purpose, for instance, when sayings label conditions instead of addressing them directly. Benjamin then moves on to replace this language by focusing on his readers' perspective. This move from a criticism of language to the change of his readers' perspective, making them aware of social grievances and the need of writing in new ways about it, is also his main concern in emblems that directly address literary production and reception.

Transformation of Literary Production and Reception

Benjamin intersperses his personal reflections and experiences at several points in *Einbahnstraße* and discusses the economic state and its influence on the German citizens in the

longest emblem, "Kaiserpanorama" (18-26). His main concern, however, is directly addressing the changes of literary production and reception in the Weimar Republic. In the first half of *Einbahnstraße,* several emblems focus on this topic, which then resurfaces in many of the later emblems. The combination of visuality and spatiality influences Benjamin's reflections on writing and reading, which not only demonstrates how practices of writing and reading change, but also how the *text* itself changes.

The emblem "Tankstelle" (7) opens Benjamin's collection in a programmatic way. The title as the inscriptio triggers the pictura of a gas station. The first modern gas stations were manually operated with a pump. They were first opened in Berlin and Hannover in 1927 (Bienert and Buchholz 44). Gas stations existed exclusively in the cityscape and were needed for another modern invention that sped up the city dweller's movements: the car. However, gas stations do not only symbolize speed. At gas stations, the citizen needs to slow down and come to a full stop in order to recharge the car. In that sense, gas stations can serve as points of reflection, albeit brief ones. Figuratively, "Tankstelle" forms both a point of departure for Benjamin's reader and it is a forced moment to reflect on the state of literary production at the time.[38] Already the first sentence delivers a poignant statement to the reader: "Die Konstruktion des Lebens liegt im Augenblick weit mehr in der Gewalt von Fakten als von Überzeugungen" (7). Facts and opinions, as constructed in the media, play the central role in the 1920s, according to Benjamin, as they affect the construction of life. The term "Konstruktion" (7) shows that for Benjamin the

[38] "Tankstelle" (*EB* 7) is the most frequently discussed part of *Einbahnstraße*. Spinnen, Köhn, Huyssen, and recently also McBride have commented on the programmatic function of this section: "The type of writing advocated in the passage ["Tankstelle"] does not simply straddle the line between literary and the mundane, say in the tradition of the feuilleton, but rather seeks to redefine the literary altogether by assimilating it to the hard-edged, impersonal, and instrumental writing of the non-feuilletonistic sections of the newspaper" (McBride "Konstruktion als Bildung" 241).

natural idea of life is de-naturalized.[39] Facts and beliefs are the powers, generated by media, that construct and govern life, yet often in such a way that facts do not leave any room for or stand in any relation to beliefs. This disconnection of facts and beliefs halts any real literary life: "Und zwar von solchen Fakten, wie sie zur Grundlage von Überzeugungen fast nie noch und nirgend geworden sind. Unter diesen Umständen kann wahre literarische Aktivität nicht beanspruchen, in literarischem Rahmen sich abzuspielen – vielmehr ist das der übliche Ausdruck ihrer Unfruchtbarkeit" (7). Hence, for creating any literary work that has significance, Benjamin postulates a solution that connects the writing process with other processes of "doing," such as being involved in one's community: "Die bedeutende literarische Wirksamkeit kann nur in strengem Wechsel von Tun und Schreiben zustande kommen; sie muß die unscheinbaren Formen, die ihrem Einfluß in tätigen Gemeinschaften besser entsprechen als die anspruchsvolle universal Geste des Buches in Flugblättern, Broschüren, Zeitschriftartikeln und Plakaten ausbilden" (7).[40] Acting and writing must be seen as a symbiotic, constantly interacting way of writing, which needs to take the writer's actions in his community into account. The writer should not try to achieve a grand gesture of writing: a book; instead, a community needs to live in the moment. Inconspicuous forms, such as leaflets, brochures, articles, and placards fit the

[39] Already the first lines of *Einbahnstraße* show the influence of Constructivism on Benjamin: "Phrases there such as 'The construction of life' or the 'the power of facts' and the privileging of 'leaflets, brochures, articles, and placards' come directly out of constructivist manifestos and the magazines of the early 1920s, to which he himself contributed occasionally" (Huyssen *Metropolis* 145).

[40] Benjamin does not advocate for media, such as photography, to be included –which is surprising – but focuses more on script: "In this context it remains puzzling that Benjamin, who did so much, together with Kracauer, to validate the new media of technical reproducibility, never used images in his own literary experiments. Benjamin does not defend *Schrifttum* (print culture) in a traditional sense, as Hofmannsthal and others who were fearful of the new media would have done at that time. But he does go all out for script in his focus on the radical change of literary culture that he calls for in the first miniature, 'Filling Station' " (Huyssen *Metropolis* 145).

demands of the current communities because only they manage to interact with daily life, which demands shorter forms so as to adapt to their readers' new, fast-paced lifestyle. Only this kind of writing, what Benjamin calls "prompte Sprache," can live in the moment and attach itself to what is happening.

"Tankstelle" (7) ends with Benjamin's first of many comparisons and literary images, taking up the idea of writing as engineering, as already indicated by the dedication that positions Lacis as an engineer and by "Die Konstruktion" as the first word of Benjamin's work: "Meinungen sind für den Riesenapparat des gesellschaftlichen Lebens, was Öl für Maschinen; man stellt sich nicht vor eine Turbine und übergießt sie mit Maschinenöl. Man spritzt ein wenig davon in verborgene Nieten und Fugen, die man kennen muß" (7). Building on this connection of the machine to society, writers have to use oil at the right points, i.e., at the right joints of society. Yet writers are also asked already at the beginning of *Einbahnstraße* to also rethink their form of writing, switching from long to short form. How this can work is exemplified by Benjamin's emblematic writing, which de- and reconstructs texts, and is addressed directly by Benjamin in sections such as "Chinawaren" (12-14), "Achtung Stufen!" (27), and "Vereidigter Bücherrevisor" (28).

In "Chinawaren," Benjamin takes a closer look at the process of reading and writing. This is the first emblem whose pictura quite literally veers off the street. It does not, as was the case in *Einbahnstraße* up to this point, designate a space in the city or refer to an advertisement slogan, but instead names both a shop and commodities. Yet as the English translation of the title, "Chinese Curios," suggests, Benjamin's emblem is less about commodities from China, than

about Chinese puzzles.[41] The emblem consists of four parts, and only the last one forms a relationship to China. The first part includes a call for improvisation in writing as an empowering activity: "In diesen Tagen darf sich niemand auf das versteifen, was er 'kann.' In der Improvisation liegt die Stärke" (12). The common writing process leads to the same results over and over again, and also leads to repetitive arguments. Improvisation, on the other hand, yields decisive moments in argumentation. Thus "Tun und Schreiben" (7) – the symbiosis Benjamin demanded in "Tankstelle" (7) – can be fulfilled by improvisation.

While the writer is tasked to improvise so as to change and update his craft, the reader is asked to change his reading process by turning it into a writing process. Again taking on a birds-eye perspective as in "Stereoskop. Riga" (58), Benjamin compares reading with flying and walking, assessing their effectiveness: "Die Kraft der Landstraße ist eine andere, ob einer sie geht oder im Aeroplan drüber hinfliegt. So ist auch die Kraft eines Textes eine andere, ob einer ihn liest oder abschreibt" (13). In this imagery, "Landstraße" stands in for the text, flying for reading, and walking for transcribing. Reading a text, as much as only flying over a road, provides readers merely with an overview and the gist of what is being communicated, without engaging on a deeper level with the text. Only walking down a street, which he compares to transcribing a text as the Chinese used to do – and which Benjamin literally does in *Einbahnstraße* by transcribing the city signs – means really reading and engaging with a text. The comparison of reading and walking down the street then becomes a manual not just for writers, but also for readers. High up in the air, the "flying" reader is not living in reality, but has committed to the realm of dreams, according to Benjamin (13). But only when writers and readers combine "Tun und Schreiben" (7) like the Chinese, will they have a chance to live not in

[41] See Goebel for the relationship of Western urban modernity to citations from non-Western cultures in *Einbahnstraße.*

a dream, but to understand the riddles and puzzles of life. Benjamin shows in "Chinawaren" (12-14) that writing and reading are processes that, similar to "Tun und Schreiben" in "Tankstelle" (7), are much more connected than one expects.

In one of the shorter emblems, "Achtung Stufen" (*EB* 27), Benjamin elaborates further on this combination of "Tun und Schreiben" (7). While the inscriptio "Achtung Stufen!" refers to an actual warning sign, Benjamin subverts it and turns it into a manual for writers, deconstructing the writing process and reconstructing it step-by-step: "Arbeit an einer guten Prosa hat drei Stufen" (27). Writers need to be reminded what kind of steps they are supposed to take: "eine musikalische [Stufe], auf der sie komponiert, eine architektonische, auf der sie gebaut, endlich eine textile, auf der sie gewoben wird" (27). The first step refers to composition, the second is architectural and refers to the combination of planning and building the text, and the third step refers to the masterful weaving of the text. The hierarchy in these steps moves from working with one's mind to actually crafting with one's hands. Writers should not only look at their own discipline and not only rely on typical crafting, but also use the creativity of other disciplines. In the end, Benjamin's reference to the craft of weaving opens up the connection of writing not only to hearing (music) and seeing (architecture), but also to crafting the actual texts and its words.

Immediately following "Achtung Stufen!" (27), Benjamin inserts the emblem "Vereidigter Bücherrevisor" (28), in which he constructs a description of the new occupation of the auditor. This harks back to "Tankstelle" (7) as "it elaborates the theme already struck in the very first miniature, 'Filling Station,' which argues that 'true literary activity cannot aspire to take place within a literary framework.' 'Attested Auditor of Books' provides the rationale" (Huyssen *Metropolis* 145). Moreover, he also addresses writing and reading practices and their

connection to the actual text, showing that all three components influence each other. Benjamin provides first a history of the printing press and ends with predicting a new script that will appear in the future. Though the print book has been around for three centuries, Benjamin predicts that the book is nearing its end: "Nun deutet alles darauf hin, daß das Buch in dieser überkommenen Gestalt seinem Ende entgegengeht" (28). As an example and reference point he names Mallarmé's *Coup de Dés*. Mallarmé's writing does not follow the regular justification on a page anymore. The content dominates the page layout's space in that Mallarmé's work takes advantage of the provided space on a page and breaks out of the conformity of the justification. This idea is based on translating another genre, i.e., that of an advertisement with its graphical and linguistic tensions, into a literary form. Benjamin clarifies, however, that the Dadaists already went one step *too* far with this idea, as their constructions were based only on *how* their nerves sensed the final product – lacking a combination of senses and meaning-making for Benjamin. It is not just the disciplines of music, architecture and weaving that find their way into writing prose, as the previous emblem indicated. Commercial advertising also influences the actual way prose is written. However, this translation moves the text too close to becoming a commodity: "Die Schrift, die im gedruckten Buche ein Asyl gefunden hatte, wo sie ihr autonomes Dasein führte, wird unerbittlich von Reklamen auf die Straße hinausgezerrt und den brutalen Heteronomien des wirtschaftlichen Chaos unterstellt" (28). Writing has to live on the streets, governed by the economy and what he calls the economic chaos. With this idea of writing, words and texts entering streets, Benjamin further reconsiders the physical space of script itself:

> Wenn vor Jahrhunderten sie allmählich sich niederzulegen begann, von der aufrechten Inschrift zur schräg auf Pulten ruhenden Handschrift ward, um endlich

> sich im Buchdruck zu betten, beginnt sie nun ebenso langsam sich wieder vom Boden zu heben. Bereits die Zeitung wird mehr in der Senkrechten als in der Horizontale gelesen, Film und Reklame drängen die Schrift vollends in die diktatorische Vertikale. (29)

From the vertical, upright inscription, the script in manuscripts and finally in the book found itself on the horizontal writing and reading plane. Yet at the beginning of the twentieth century, script returns to its vertical position: A reader needs to hold up a newspaper, and this vertical position is also required for advertisements and films. While all these forms of script are written and produced in a horizontal manner – be it at the desk or the writing table – they are only read, received and consumed in a vertical way. That's why Benjamin can speak of a "diktatorische Vertikale" (29): the recipient is required to look up for advertisements and when sitting in movie theaters.

After tracing the history of script and the production of texts and their influence on the reader's reception, Benjamin turns towards the writing process again, which connects directly to the title of the emblem "Vereidigter Bücherrevisor" (28). He proposes not only that a new way of using the page will dominate literary reception, but that a new system of literary production will also entail a different way of writing, completely dissolving the bound book and turning it into the new form of "die Kartothek" (29). Benjamin points out that this card index is a three-dimensional system that prevails against the current and even the former script system of runes. The book for Benjamin is not the primary system of scholarly communication anymore, but rather just a mere mediator between two card indexes. The essential information lies after all in the scientist's and scholar's card index. Nonetheless, Benjamin does not see this process growing in the future. This governing power of science and economy will not forever dictate a production

of script as card index. To him, this quantity-oriented production will switch to a quality-oriented one, when the script becomes graphical and visual. Writers will have to get to know this new script by mastering the fields in which it is being constructed: "die des statistischen und technischen Diagramms" (30). Benjamin calls this an "internationale Wandelschrift" (30). By mastering this script, writers will be able to reinstate their authority. Benjamin's summarizing description of the development of script in "Vereidigter Bücherrevisor" manages to reflect both on writing and reading practices, which can only change after going through processes of deconstruction and reconstruction; script moved from the vertical to the horizontal *and* back to the vertical plane, which influenced reading practices. Even the book dissolved into a "Kartothek." Script, however, is not reconstructed in the book form again, but becomes a "Wandelschrift" – a term that underlines its flexibility for further processes that it will have to go through, so as to keep up with changing methods of writing and reading.

Conclusion
Reconfiguring Writing and Reading Processes, Reconfiguring Authors and Readers

In *Einbahnstraße,* Benjamin provides new perspectives on Weimar Germany's society and literary culture by employing emblematic structures and literary and spatial images.
He positions himself within these reflections and educates his readers in that his modern update to the baroque emblematic structure (lacking a pictura and disconnecting inscriptio and subscriptio) challenges readers not to just read and walk, but to work their way through *Einbahnstraße*. Readers become a part of Benjamin's process of deconstructing his writing process. Aiming to meet the demands of a changing urban environment with its omnipresent images, advertisements, and various uses of script, Benjamin creates a writer-figure that is also a

surgeon and an engineer, and a readerwhot does not remain entirely a flâneur , nor wholly a detective nervously looking for clues. This new figure of the reader is, at first, reminiscent of the flâneur, which Benjamin characterized as "die letzte Bastion der Individualität" (Jäger 111). However, due to the changes in the city, the new reader-figure is also a "Mann der Menge" (Weidmann 86). This figure, referring to Edgar A. Poe's man of the crowd, behaves "schockartig, unmittelbar reaktiv" (Weidmann 86), which stands in opposition to the flâneur's activities. The flâneur, a 19th century phenomenon predominantly in Paris, was able to view the world via "Superimposition" (Weidmann 90). The flâneur walked through passages, not being a man of the crowd, but rather an individual who observed and "read" his surroundings, and compared his observations based on their similarities and differences. The flâneur lived in the street as if it were his apartment: "Die Straße wird zur Wohnung für den Flâneur, der zwischen Häuserfronten so wie der Bürger in seinen vier Wänden zuhause ist" (Benjamin *GS I* 539). The flâneur reacts to his surroundings, but not like a simple citizen. Benjamin takes care to use two terms here: flâneur and "Bürger," which turns the flâneur into an outsider. Yet in the 1920s, there are no longer any outsiders. Everyone is seemingly absorbed by the mass, because as Benjamin writes in the *Passagenwerk*, now the "Straßen sind die Wohnungen des Kollektivs" (Benjamin *GS V* 533).

How does a mass, and the individual reader within that mass, deal with its new urban surroundings? First of all, the man of the masses needs to compete with the increasing motorized traffic. He is not a flâneur who contemplates the cityscape like a landscape in front of him. He cannot control frequency and intensity of stimuli. He cannot even choose where to walk: "Die freie Richtungswahl ist in der Großstadt, nicht nur durch Straßen, Fußwege und Häuserblöcke eingeschränkt, sondern auch durch die bewegte Masse anderer Menschen, durch die sich der

Spaziergänger einen Weg bahnen muss, die [Masse] somit zum Hindernis, jedoch auch zum Gegenstand der Betrachtung wird" (Jäger 114). Increased traffic, new houses, and other citizens in the form of the mass destroy any opportunity to contemplate and react like a flâneur. Instead, he becomes, what Franz Hessel called a "Spaziergänger" (qtd in Jäger 114). This term mainly expresses (1) slow walking and (2) choosing not to do so via a motorized vehicle or even via a bike. The Spaziergänger, not being a flâneur, but also not being part of the traffic that is dictated by rules, can choose his own tempo and direction and has a chance to reflect, which makes "Spazieren zum [neuen] Medium der Erkenntnis" (Jäger 114). However, I propose that the Spaziergänger has to be combined with the figure of the "Detektiv," which Michael Jennings described as the one who can confront Benjamin's "Denkbilder:" "The literary detective is the necessary antidote, as he brings his powers of ratiocination to bear on the decoding of a thoroughly irrational space" (Jennings "Criticism" 211). Walking while analyzing is the only possible combination for a new path to understanding, both of the city and of Benjamin's emblems in *Einbahnstraße*.

This "Detektiv-Spaziergänger" needs an author who can write in a way that translates the experience of the modern society into a text. Benjamin's update of the emblem and its way of deconstruction and reconstruction is an effective approach. He uses visual and spatial images that trigger the readers' senses in such way that "Sprunghaftigkeit" (shock-character) is induced. This, in turn, brings out the "Detektiv" in the "Spaziergänger," who cannot simply progress "from one cognition to the next" (Richter *Thought Images* 62): "for Benjamin, what is significant about thinking is not it's teleological progression from one certain fact of knowledge to the next, the progressive movement of covering the terrain that is to be fully thought, but rather an appreciation of the leap or crack, the blind spots without which conceptual thinking cannot

occur" (Richter *Thought Images* 63). The genre of the emblem fits this task, which is why Patrizia McBride writes in relation to the emblem "Madame Ariane Zweiter Hof Links" in *Einbahnstraße*: "At stake is an absolute awareness of the present moment, not as a form of knowledge but as a heightened mode of perception" ("Konstruktion als Bildung" 246). What to perceive, how to perceive it, and what to do with this perception is becoming the new way of attaining knowledge in the 1920s, particularly in photobooks whose montage of texts and photographs relies on an updated understanding of writing and reading as exemplified in Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße*.

Chapter Two[1]

Revolutionizing the Public Sphere: Invasion of the Working Class in Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*

Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's photobook *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*[2] appeared in 1929 when the media landscape was saturated with illustrated magazines and books that had discovered photography's presumed authentic qualities. Nonetheless, *Deutschland* prompted a big response from both the leftwing and rightwing press. Already its title and its ironic play on the first verse of the national anthem, *The Song of the Germans,* which President of the Reich Friedrich Ebert had chosen in 1922, indicates that the condition of the Weimar Republic is at stake in this photobook. The irony, with which the rightwing press took issue lies in the fact that Germany is not "above all" in 1929, but is struggling politically and economically. Yet Tucholsky and Heartfield offer in their work neither clamoring ramblings nor solutions for how to change the course of the Weimar Republic. Instead, they opt for a showcase and criticism of the media's portrayal of Weimar's current state. They aim to unveil its actual condition by including, educating, and addressing the working class, questioning its visibility and representation within the German public sphere. Similar to the "Detektiv-Spaziergänger" in Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße,* who "maneuvered" Weimar Germany via modern emblems, learning a new way to read, the implied readers, and particularly the working class readers, of

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[1] An article based on this chapter has been published: Kick, Verena R. "From Photomontage to 'Functional Montage': Staging an Intermedial Assembly Line in Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*." *Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2018, pp. 1-21.

[2] In this chapter, I will use in my analysis the abbreviation *Deutschland* for the primary work's title. When directly citing from *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, I will continue using the abbreviation *DD.*

Deutschland are supposed to learn to see themselves and their world differently. As this chapter will show, what I call "functional montages" – a visual extension of Benjamin's modern emblem – allow working class readers to recognize themselves, while they learn at the same time to take a critical stance on their position within the German public sphere.

Many publications at the time, particularly so-called "Deutschland-Bücher,"[3] tried to reinforce a "Prozess der nationalen Identitätsfindung" (Köhn "Fotobücher" 173), grappling with the fundamental changes in the public sphere since WWI. Yet even among these "Deutschland-Bücher," *Deutschland* remains a unique take on the status of Germany, due to its intriguing text-image combinations,[4] its high volume of photographs,[5] and its collaborative nature: Tucholsky, Heartfield, and an array of anonymous photographers whose photos were previously been published by various media outlets and were reused in *Deutschland*. By 1929, Kurt Tucholsky had been a successful political journalist, satirist, and novelist for over a decade. He contributed to publications such as *Ulk, Die Weltbühne,* the *Vossische Zeitung,* and the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung (AIZ)*. John Heartfield was a successful producer of stage sets and illustrator of book jackets, and a contributor to *Die Rote Fahne* and the *AIZ.* Particularly the latter featured many of

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[3] While authors and publishers have used this term frequently since 1915, there has not been a lot of scholarship on this particular kind of photobook. Manfred Heiting is the editor of the first comprehensive overview of "Deutschland-Bücher," *Deutschland im Fotobuch. 287 Fotobücher zum Thema Deutschland aus der Zeit von 1915 bis 2009* (2011). In 2012, Eckhardt Köhn discusses in his article "Populäre Fotobücher in der Weimarer Republik" the origins and concepts of the "Deutschland-Buch," offering a description of their functionality, i.e., their "nationale Identiätsfindung" (173) after WWI, in referring to the two most successful publications at the time: *Die schöne Heimat: Bilder aus Deutschland* (1915) and *Deutschland: Baukunst und Landschaft* (1927).

[4] *Deutschland* is not a photobook like many others. For instance, it is not like August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit* or Albert Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist schön*, which employ portraits or photographs without text to capture the German people and the state of their country. Instead, *Deutschland* stood uniquely in the publication landscape, and even triggered similar publications, as the *Volksbuch 1930* by the NDV, published in subsequent years.

[5] 188 photographs and photomontages are combined with 96 texts.

his photomontages, for which he is not only best known today, but which also grant Heartfield the status of the inventor of the political photomontage.

This collaboration of a writer with an illustrator and photographer is not only unique due to the connotation of texts (short essays, poems, songs) with photographs, but also because each of these combinations condenses the authors' personal views in a public voice. Tucholsky and Heartfield are concerned with the way they portray their personal views, *how* these views then become public and, most importantly, *what* public sphere they encounter, particularly in regard to the working class; hence in writing *Deutschland*, they are reshaping the ways a public sphere can be represented in the media, both trying to destabilize the current sphere, while presenting an alternative public sphere that is not defined simply by bourgeois or nationalist views. Their focus is on finding ways to create a representation of Weimar society that exposes the working class next to the more common portrayals of politics, the justice system, and the military in publications at the time. While Tucholsky and Heartfield reveal to the workers how they are portrayed and teach them at the same time how to read and understand text-image-combinations in a critical way, they are not crossing the line from a public to a private view, exposing certain individuals. Yet Tucholsky and Heartfield also do not go to the other extreme and show the workers as a mass. They are trying to find a way to balance and connect the individual to the public realm, which is very much defined by mass culture.

Many binaries shape the German public sphere at the time, such as the dichotomy between the individual and the mass, or between the working class and the public sphere. For the former binary, Friedrich Kracauer and Georg Simmel provide a framework for analyzing the representation of the working class in relation to the mass culture dominating the public sphere. The latter contradiction was the focus in Vera Middelkamp's analysis of *Deutschland*. She

examines its binary structure: on the one hand, it depicts "anti-republican nationalism" in institutions such as the military, and, on the other hand, it shows the "subversive potential of low culture" (i.e. of the working class) (Middelkamp 215). She argues that Tucholsky imagined an alternative public, despite being part of the bourgeoisie himself. However, just as *Deutschland* exhibits a binary structure, Tucholsky also seemed to act contradictorily, both as a "critical, yet amusing feuilletonist" (Middelkamp 177) and an activist-writer, publishing in communist papers. *Deutschland* was published in the communist publishing house Neue Deutsche Verlag (NDV) that could reach the working class, who, in turn, had the potential to counteract the growing nationalism and National Socialism in the Weimar Republic (Middelkamp 178). While this faith in the working class seems at first at odds with Tucholsky's position as a public intellectual with a bourgeois background, he underscored his role as a mediator between the workers and the bourgeois public, which "did not necessitate a full identification with the lifestyle, the ideology, and the material circumstances of the working class" (Middelkamp 180). Middelkamp shows how Tucholsky dunctioned as a mediator and created a counter-public in *Deutschland.* She examines particularly his use of graphic satire, parody, and montage (referring mainly to Heartfield's photomontages), all of which, as she argues, expose the dichotomies in the public representation of the "German nation" (202-203.) While Middelkamp's analysis of Tucholsky's writing and his use of parody is very exhaustive, my analysis builds on and extends her assertions about the use of images, going beyond investigating only individual text-image relations. My analysis looks at how the working class was included in *Deutschland* – as opposed to other parts of the public sphere – and how the working-class readers were addressed by functional montages that go beyond the technique of "graphic satire" (Middelkamp 205).

When the Neue Deutsche Verlag, a publishing house that the well-known communist Willi Münzenberg acquired in 1929, approached Tucholsky to write and reuse previously published texts, he was already known for publishing essays in the illustrated press, though he never took the accompanying photographs himself (Hans *1000 Worte* 43).[6] Nonetheless, he was highly aware of the powerful uses of photographs in mass media. Already in 1912 he advocated in the newspaper *Vorwärts* that "mehr Fotografien" are a necessity: "Nichts beweist mehr, nichts peitscht mehr auf als diese Bilder. Es gibt so wenige, zerstreut, durch Zufall entstanden. Das ist nichts. Systematisch muß gezeigt werden: so wird geprügelt, und so wird erzogen, so werdet ihr behandelt, und so werdet ihr bestraft. Mit Gegensätzen und Gegenüberstellungen. Und mit wenig Text." Photographs not only function as witnesses, they are also able to influence the masses, particularly those at the margins of society in the Weimar Republic. These are the parts of the population that are not able to exert political power or economic influence, i.e. women, the elderly, the unemployed and, most of all, the workers. Often these demographic groups were only marginally aware of the scale of their suppression. Having those parts of the population in mind, Tucholsky postulates that photography needs to be employed strategically and will also need the written word to achieve its effect. While he writes in 1912 "mit wenig Text," it will turn out that only the "Gegenüberstellungen" of images with other images or texts will cause and manifest the desired effect ("Mehr Fotografien!"). Tucholsky's changing assessments of the power of texts and images is a sign of the times when photographs took on such an important status in publications. Yet journalists, artists, and authors still had to figure out how to deal with such power. This includes Tucholsky, who is also grappling with a change in the genre of essay

[6]Early examples include publications in *Ulk* (1907), but Tucholsky also contributed short photo essays later to the *AIZ.*

writing, when images can achieve an effect that texts cannot, particularly in regard to the working class.

In order to engage such a readership and adequately respond to shifts in the public sphere, making visible what has remained hidden from the public eye, *Deutschland*'s text-image-combinations and the collaboration of Tucholsky and Heartfield were vital. Scholarship has not been able to fully retrace the exact process by which the NDV encouraged Tucholsky and Heartfield to collaborate for *Deutschland.* Yet Sarah Hans, coeditor of the annotated edition of *Deutschland,*[7] has been able to establish, in her in-depth analysis *Kurt Tucholsky: Ein Bild sagt mehr als 1000 Worte,* that the NDV neither did not simply present Tucholsky with photographs to be combined with his texts, nor did Heartfield just add images to texts. Hans quotes from a letter from Heartfield's brother: ". . . 'Heartfield . . . übernahm, für das Buch 'DD' von Kurt Tucholsky Fotos zu beschaffen, die zum Text paßten. Als der Autor das Illustrationsmaterial sah, entschloß er sich, den Text wesentlich zu ändern und zu erweitern, was wiederum Heartfield dazu anregte, weitere Fotos und Fotomontagen beizutragen'" (28). The authors of the book worked hand in hand. Tucholsky re-used texts[8] and photographs he found in the publisher's archive, which had been used both in the bourgeois press and in the worker-oriented *AIZ.* Heartfield also worked with photographs he did not take himself, but found elsewhere. Not all of the material, though, was found elsewhere. There are also texts by Tucholsky that appeared for

[7] The annotated edition of *Deutschland* was published as part of Rowohlt's twenty-one-volume collected edition of Tucholsky's works, titled *Kurt Tucholsky Gesamtausgabe, Texte und Briefe* (1997-2011).

[8] According to Hans, 34 writings were first published in the *AIZ*, the *Weltbühne,* and the *Vossische Zeitung* (*1000 Worte* 43).

the first time in *Deutschland,* [9] and Heartfield created twelve photomontages specifically for the book, also counting the cover images. Sarah Hans argues that the "Unterscheidung von Erst- und Nachdrucken der Texte des Deutschland-Buches ist einer der entscheidenden Aspekte zur Charakterisierung der verschiedenen Anwendungstechniken" (Hans 43).[10] Hans mainly establishes that new texts written for *Deutschland* have a direct relationship to the photograph: "Das Bild fixiert den Stoff, der im Text dargeboten wird, so daß dem Leser gleich zweifach, verbal und bildlich, dieselbe Thematik vorgestellt wird" (44). For previously printed and reused texts, she states: "Das Bild hat hier keine tragende Ordnung mehr, die die Bild-Text-Montage mitkonstituiert" (63). She concludes that the photograph becomes a simple ornament for the text. Hans goes into further detail about the text-image-interactions for both categories. While I agree in part with her study and categorizations, my analysis will build and add on her investigations. I will take a step back and look at the broader compositions and interactions of text and images that go beyond the short sections of just one text interacting with one or more photographs. In that regard, for example, her assessment of the section of "Deutsche Richter" that is "geradezu willkürlich mit Fotografien bestückt" (66) is true for the section itself, but no longer holds once "Deutsche Richter" is put in relation to previous and following sections. My analysis takes up Vera Middelkamp's and Sarah Hans' positions as well as Dieter Mayer's interpretation of these

[9] According to Hans, there were 56 first prints, though this does not mean Tucholsky specifically wrote them for *Deutschland* (*1000 Worte* 42).

[10] Sarah Hans points out that two other scholars have categorized the relationship of images and texts in *Deutschland.* Burkhard Spinnen in *Schriftbilder* compares the text-image-combinations to emblems (Hans 47), while Dieter Mayer offers in "Aktiver Pessimismus" mainly two categorizations of the text-image-combinations (Hans 41). He argues that the texts are reading aids to prevent misunderstandings and that the photographs are there to intensify the text's pleas. For Hans, Mayer's application of only two categories to describe the relationship of images and texts is too short-sighted, particularly since Tucholsky himself suggested up to five different combinations and usages of texts and images in *Deutschland* (Hans 41).

combinations: the photographs take on the more decisive function, while the texts become a mere "Lesehilfe" (Mayer 87). My analysis will add to these positions and establish a different way of interpreting these montage techniques. I contend that beyond the formal relationships of *Deutschland*'s texts and photographs, which scholarship has focused on so far,[11] there are larger montage sequences that try in form *and* content to reflect the public sphere of Weimar Germany. I will demonstrate that *Deutschland* tries to shift the idea of Weimar's public sphere, as it is represented in the media, by using a montage technique that spans several images at a time. This both manifests and expands the photobook's conventions – an expansion already marked by the collaboration of two authorial voices. On a formal level, this will demonstrate how the "functional montage" operates here; and in terms of the thematic issues at stake in *Deutschland*, this will show how Tucholsky is not only educating his readers, particularly working class readers, but also refining and shifting the ideas of the individual, the mass, and mass media, which dominate the discourse on the public sphere at the end of the Weimar Republic.

My guiding questions throughout the analysis will ask in what ways *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* represents the Weimar public sphere, in particular the working class, and what role the relationship between texts and photographs plays in that regard. Focusing on both prefaces of *Deutschland,* I will first elaborate on how Tucholsky, in the first preface, imagines his implied reader as an individual encountering the German people. In the second preface,

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[11] There is also a line of scholarship that opposes Hans, Spinnen, and Mayer, arguing that the selection of text and images is made almost at random. Anton Kaes, for instance, calls it "ein wilder und unreiner Text" ("Tucholsky und die Deutschen" 21). Dieter Schiller also shares this impression in his essay "Ein deutsches Bilderbuch 1929:" "Es gibt keine zusammenhängende Abfolge von Themen oder Gedankengängen in diesem Buch von Tucholsky und Heartfield. Die Bücher und Beiträge sind – sozusagen – kaleidoskopartig montiert, sie umfassen Momentbilder der Wirklichkeit, ironisch-satirische Betrachtungen und Kommentare zu Tagesereignissen, Facetten des Alltags aber auch feuilletonistische Miniaturen " (32).

Tucholsky then teaches his reader to retain this individuality when evaluating photographs, refraining from taking them either as purely authentic documents or as an invasion of a photographed subject's private sphere. Both prefaces set up the educational trajectory that Tucholsky and Heartfield have designed for their implied readers to face the idea of "Heimat" (226-231), in the very last section of *Deutschland.* My analysis follows *Deutschland*'s trajectory and discusses this final section only at the end, because the individual working class reader arrives as a different kind of reader at this last section treating the idea of "Heimat," which is supposed to be an alien concept at the time of the Weimar Republic falling apart. Tucholsky puts it at the very end to reintroduce it to his reader, particularly to the working class, who, in the meantime, has encountered the main part of *Deutschland* via "functional montages." These allow the workers to "invade" the public sphere, at least in its representation in *Deutschland,* and thereby enables them to stand out compared to other parts of the public, i.e., compared to politicians, judges, and military officials, which are also included in the photobook. After showcasing how a "functional montage" operates, using the section "Das Parlament" (138-139) as an example, I will move on to show how the working-class reader "invades" the public sphere by being granted a double role of a reader being able to see and identify with the workers portrayed, while at the same time also gaining a critical standpoint about this representation. In a last step, I analyze the last section "Heimat," where the concept and ideas of the functional montage and Tucholsky's idea of a public sphere through a personal and individual lens come together.

Educating the Working Class Reader:
Dissolving the Mass and Creating the Worker's Double Role

Technological developments, urbanization processes, the prevalence of mass media, and most of all the rupture brought on by WWI were the main causes for shifts in Weimar's public sphere. These shifts underpinned the evolution of mass culture that dominated the public sphere, resulting in a binary between the individual and the mass. This binary is also a predominant concern in *Deutschland*, particularly in the two prefaces. The first preface, an excerpt taken from Friedrich Hölderlin's epistolary novel *Hyperion* (1797), describes the eponymous protagonist's encounter with Germany and the German people at the end of the 18th century.[12] In the second preface, "Vorrede: oder die Unmöglichkeit eine Photographie zu textieren" (10-12), Tucholsky also focuses on the dichotomy between individuality and group mentality, albeit it in a more subtle manner. This "Vorrede" focuses not only on the issue of photography's claim to authenticity, but also on the individual's double role: He becomes a member of a group or social class, entering a broad public sphere when being photographed for a news outlet, while he also retains his individuality and his private sphere. Both prefaces are relevant for my discussion of the working class, and particularly the implied working class readers, who encounter a text as members of a social class *and also* as individuals, in this case, as the readers of *Deutschland* who

[12] Scholars have often only focused on the second preface of *Deutschland*. In addition, scholarship also often followed Herbert Ihering's opinion in his review of *Deutschland* that was included in the original publication. Ihering accuses Tucholsky to write from the same standpoint as Heinrich Heine: "Diese Art der Polemik aus der Ferne war wohl möglich zu der Zeit, als Heinrich Heine in Paris saß." (*Deutschland* no pag.) A connection to Heine is undeniable, after all a photograph of the Heine-Denkmal appears in the photobook (*DD* 16). However, when Tucholsky quotes Hölderlin in the very beginning, this connection needs to receive the same consideration. In addition, while Heine and his viewpoint of Germany as an outsider was often a role model for Deutschland-Bücher at the time, Tucholsky writes from the position of an insider, like Hyperion, as someone *among* the German people, as the opening statement indicates: "So kam ich unter die Deutschen" (*Deutschland* no pag.)

are put in a position that enables them to examine their own portrayal from a distance – similar to Hölderlin's Hyperion reflecting in retrospect on his encounter with the Germans.

Deutschland begins with an abridged excerpt[13] of Hölderlin' s *Hyperion* that opens up for the whole photobook a narrative frame on the ideas of nationhood, homeland, and the individual's position in this national context, which will reach its culmination in the very last section called "Heimat." Compared to Tucholsky's target audience – Germans living *within* Germany – Hölderlin's protagonist Hyperion is writing to his German friend, Bellarmin, as a foreigner. He describes his experiences coming to Germany, after having to leave his Greek homeland due to an uprising in the 1770s. Hölderlin scholarship has often referred to this letter as the so-called "Scheltrede," as Lawrence Ryan points out (100). Hyperion's diagnosis of Germany and its people is staggering: Hyperion came "unter die Deutschen" as a "Fremdling" and in despair about his destroyed home country (Hölderlin 153-156).[14] Yet to him, Germany and its people are "Barbaren von Alters her, durch Fleiß und Wissenschaft und selbst durch Religion barbarischer geworden . . .," and a "Volk" that is more fractured than any other (Hölderlin 153). Tucholsky quotes the beginning of this scolding speech to align both himself and his reader with Hyperion:

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[13] Tucholsky omits one paragraph from the original text, which would come right before the last paragraph Tucholsky quotes, probably in order to cast not even a worse slur at the Germans: "Die Tugenden der Alten sei'n nur glänzende Fehler, sagt' einmal, ich weiß nicht, welche böse Zunge; und es sind doch selber ihre Fehler Tugenden, denn da noch lebt' ein kindlicher, ein schöner Geist, und ohne Seele war von allem, was sie taten, nichts getan. Die Tugenden der Deutschen aber sind ein glänzend Übel und nichts weiter; denn Notwerk sind sie nur, aus feiger Angst, mit Sklavenmühe, dem wüsten Herzen abgedrungen, und lassen trostlos jede reine Seele, die von Schönem gern sich nährt, ach! die verwöhnt vom heiligen Zusammenklang in edleren Naturen, den Mißlaut nicht erträgt, der schreiend ist in all der toten Ordnung dieser Menschen." (Hölderlin 154)

[14] Citation following *Friedrich Hölderlin: Sämtliche Werke.* 8, as *Deutschland* has no pagination for the preface.

> ich kann kein Volk mir denken, das zerrißner wäre, wie die Deutschen. Handwerker siehst du, aber keine Menschen, Denker, aber keine Menschen, Priester, aber keine Menschen, Herrn und Knechte, Jungen und gesetzte Leute, aber keine Menschen – ist das nicht, wie ein Schlachtfeld, wo Hände und Arme und alle Glieder zerstückelt untereinander liegen … (*DD* no pag.)

While Hyperion's comparison to the battleground derives from his memory of the war in Greece, for Tucholsky and his readers it invokes the memory of WWI. Hyperion does not find human beings ("keine Menschen") anywhere, which could be interpreted as Tucholsky's reckoning with the German people, putting them on a level with barbarians. Yet this comparison is rather contextualizing *Deutschland* for his reader. It allows Tucholsky to quickly define the public sphere in which he locates his reader. The social groups he mentions are "Denker," "Priester," "Herren," "Knechte," and first and foremost the "Handwerker." While the former groups can be seen as allusions to the politicians, military men, or lawmakers in the 20th century, the "Handwerker" is a direct relation to the working class and the worker – a group Tucholsky aims to include as readers and in his portrayals of the German public. However, the points of departure for both Hyperion and Tucholsky's readers are of more importance: His readers should see themselves as homeless as Hyperion and as "foreigners" in Weimar Germany. Hyperion is homeless and Tucholsky's reader should start to think of themselves as "heimatlos," to counteract their assumptions of being tied down to their position in society, which is heavily influenced by the purpose that is given to them: "denn wo einmal ein menschlich Wesen abgerichtet ist, da dient es seinem Zweck, da sucht es seinen Nutzen, es schwärmt nicht mehr . . ." (*DD* 9). Tucholsky's reader is supposed to rhapsodize again in order to imagine an alternate Germany and homeland. To that end, the Germans need to recognize that they are suffering: "Ich

sprach in deinem [Bellarmins] Namen auch, ich sprach für alle, die in diesem Lande sind und leiden, wie ich dort gelitten" (*DD* no pag.). However, for Hyperion this suffering has an ending. Just when he wants to leave Germany behind, springtime becomes his watershed moment. Spring fully engrosses and captivates him, and he livens up, giving himself to nature. It even goes so far that he does not see "Zerrissenheit" anymore, but "Versöhnung" and "Einigkeit" in Germany (StA 160). As Ryan writes, this "Scheltrede" is necessary for Hölderlin's novel, as it represents a "Wendung in der Einstellung Hyperions" (100). Similar to Hölderlin, Tucholsky is preparing his readers for a "Scheltrede" that is to come in *Deutschland*. Yet he also wants his readers to take on a position as a critical outsider, like Hyperion.

However, Tucholsky does not add Hyperion's watershed moment and change of mind in this preface. *Deutschland* itself will have to initiate this turning point, ending with a section called "Heimat" that, similar to Hyperion's connection to nature, encourages his reader to find a similar connection to his country. However, as Fritzsche points out in his essay on the new economy of experience in Weimar Germany, this connection will not be in the context of "rural landscapes [of] the Heimatbewegung" (374). The Volk and the "Volksgemeinschaft," albeit in a completely different context than in Hölderlin's time over 200 years ago, have emerged as key issues in Weimar politics (372). Yet at the same time, Fritzsche emphasizes that "the new subjects were masses, not *Völker*, their places were cities not nations; and they composed lifestyles rather than culture" (366). Moreover, while technology penetrated both the public, and the private spheres, mass media continued to perpetuate mass culture (366). For Tucholsky, Heartfield, and *Deutschland*, the question remains how a discourse about "Volk" and a sense of a communal "national subject," which pleaded to be redefined and recreated after WWI, can be implemented, while also reintroducing a sense of individuality (Fritzsche 369). Tucholsky does

so by aligning his implied reader not only with Hyperion, i.e., the position of an outsider, but also by leaving him with specific instructions about how to see himself within *and* outside a group.

This education of the reader continues in the second preface, which, however, is less concerned with *what* is at stake, than with *how* it is conveyed to the reader. In his second preface "Vorrede: oder die Unmöglichkeit eine Photographie zu textieren," Tucholsky leaves instructions for his reader about how to read and grapple with text and images, instead of just consuming them like any another piece of mass media. Mass media gained "authority not so much by virtue of their verisimilitude but through the fact that they were so widely consumed" (Fritzsche 366). Tucholsky aims to emphasize the individuality in his reader and his reading habits, while at the same time not losing sight of the complicated dynamics between the individual and the mass.

Siegfried Kracauer and Georg Simmel were the most prominent figures at the time to discuss this issue, which both thinkers interpreted in favor of the mass, which was erasing the individual. Kracauer, for instance, saw in *Die Angestellten* (1930) the all-encompassing power of the mass, finding itself constantly moving, while never changing.[15] The employees, he argues, are continuously distracted by the present moment and never take time to reflect on their position within the public sphere. They are no longer individual selves, but part of a group. Already in an earlier essay, "Die Gruppe als Ideenträger" (1922), Kracauer asserts that a "Vollindividuum," the

[15] Fritzsche elaborates on Kracauer's view in his essay in the edited collection *Weimar Publics, Weimar Subjects*: "However, Kracauer was alarmed at the nontransformative nature of constant motion. The big-city public of clerks and employees, whom he studied with care, remained entirely distracted by the present moment, their interests and commitments pressed into the same sandstone forms as the city's facades. For Kracauer, this meant that metropolitans were not able to take their bearings or understand their historical condition, and thus could not act in politically liberating ways (368).

full self, no longer exists within a collective, only a "Teil-Ich": "Das Subjekt als Gruppenmitglied: ein von seinem vollen Wesen abgetrenntes *Teil-Ich*, das gar nicht mehr über die Bahn hinausdringen kann, die ihm durch die Idee vorgezeichnet ist" (477). In *Deutschland,* Tucholsky does not aim to reconnect the partial to a full self, but assigns the reader a double role, being able to *switch* between a partial and a full self. In a mass culture, only "Fragmente von Individuen" (477) are left for Kracauer – a view that Georg Simmel already expressed before WWI in his essay "Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben" (1903), seeing the individual even further reduced in relation to the mass, i.e., as a "Staubkorn gegenüber einer ungeheuren Organisation von Dingen und Mächten, die ihm alle Fortschritte, Geistigkeiten, Werte allmählich aus der Hand spielen" (129-130). In light of these obliterating views, one needs to ask if there are any ways to valorize the individual, maybe not to return to a "Voll-Individuum," but to grant the individual a certain agency when facing the products of mass culture, particularly of mass media. Stefan Jonsson also discusses this binary between the individual and the mass in his essay "Neither Masses Nor Individuals" and comes to this conclusion about how to approach this binary and resolve it: "a representation of the masses as disorderly and destructive, as an agent of leveling passions . . . must either be raised by education, struck down by suppression, or cleansed by fascist pedagogics" (Jonsson 286). Tucholsky takes up on the first option Jonsson lists, and attempts to educate his implied reader, yet in a dual role: both as a member of a group and a social class, and as an individual observing this group.

In the "Vorrede oder: Die Unmöglichkeit, eine Photographie zu textieren," all three of the included photographs, forming and performing a functional montage, depict various group settings. The first one shows four middle-aged men, wearing light summer clothing, and two women, wearing black bathing suits (fig. 1).

Vorrede

oder: Die Unmöglichkeit, eine Photographie zu textieren

Sehn Sie — das ist nun dieses Bild.

Und solcher Bilder haben wir uns Hunderte und Tausende angesehn; alle aus Deutschland; alle aus dem täglichen Leben, mehr oder minder bezeichnend für eine Klasse, einen Stand, eine Ortschaft, eine Gegend — wir haben sie uns alle angesehen. Und aus diesen Bildern sollte nun ein einziges Bild aufsteigen:

Deutschland

Fig. II. 1. Excerpt from "Vorrede." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929, p. 10.

The photographer staged the photograph and composed the subjects' positions symmetrically, the four men lying on their stomachs, facing the camera head-on, while both women are placed horizontally in front of them, appearing as if they are doing a somersault on the ground. While this photograph captures a time of leisure, the second photo shows a group of press photographers at work (fig. 2). They stand close to each other and hold up their cameras to capture a person or an event that is to their right and outside the frame for the reader. The last photograph in the "Vorrede" is again a staged one, showing members of a club in their best Sunday frocks, some wearing sashes or uniforms (fig. 3).[16]

[16] The commentary on *Deutschland* lists that publication date, place and context of this photograph are known, which is not the case for the first two photographs. The third photo was included in a photo reportage on the monarchist character of public events, despite the abolishment of the monarchy. Former aristocratic members, including the sons of Kaiser Wilhelm II, attended public events.

und ich bin ein Lump im Amt — und immer mehr kommen, und die Bilder nehmen gar kein Ende, Gerichter und Popos und Wohlhabende und Reiche und die Millionen, die arbeiten, und die Plätze, an denen sie arbeiten, und die Häuser, darin sie wohnen, und die Felder drum herum, die Wiesen, die kleinen Seen, das Meer, die Türme der Stadt, der Wald, die Werke, die Hütten, die Äcker, die Fabriken, die Büros, die Kinos . . . ein unendliches Bilderbuch —: Deutschland.

Alle diese Bilder sprechen. Und von den wenigsten kann man den Text aufschreiben. Denn:

Diese Photographien sind immer zweierlei: sie sind typisch für etwas in Deutschland — und sie sind gleichzeitig p r i v a t. Du oben auf dem Bild zum Beispiel amüsiert sich der bessere Mittelstand — aber es sind gleichzeitig die Herren A., B., C., D. und ihre Damen. Lasse ich nun die Figuren a l s T y p e n sprechen, als Vertreter einer Schicht, als Exempel — so geht das ohne böse Kratzer nicht ab. Die Herren A., B., C., D. hätten vielleicht nichts dagegen; sie sehen so aus, als hätten sie Humor. Aber sie haben nicht nur Humor — sie haben auch Feinde.

Und im Augenblick, wo man eine Photographie, die einen Bürger, einen Arbeiter, irgendjemand darstellt, der nicht im öffentlichen Leben steht, so textiert, daß diese Figur das ausspricht, was aus der Gesinnung ihrer Gruppe kommt, dann gibt es ein Malheur. Zunächst ein urheberrechtliches. Darauf könnte man allenfalls pfeifen. Aber alle diese photographierten Männer und Frauen haben Feinde, die sich mit Wonne auf einen Scherz stürzen und sagen: „Hier! So ist Herr Werkmeister Pomuchelskopp abgebildet! Da! Das also denkt unser Prokurist!" Und dann wird die Privatseele, die in diesen Kollektivgeschöpfen wohnt, böse; dann steht der Untertan auf, dann werden die hundertfach Geprügelten frei, recken sich, chartern sich einen Rechtsanwalt — und dann kann dieses Buch nicht erscheinen.

11

hat, jene Zeile aus einem wirklich schlechten Gedicht, das eine von allen guten Geistern verlassene Republik zu ihrer Nationalhymne erkor, und leider mit sehr viel Recht! — das wollen wir uns erzählen, wenn wir uns am andern Ende dieses Buches wiedertreffen.

12

Fig. II. 2. and fig. II. 3. Excerpts from "Vorrede." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 11-12.

While Tucholsky addressed in the first preface the binary between individuality and group culture indirectly by quoting Hölderlin, he faces it head-on here, tying in the issue of photography and its presumed authenticity. Photographs can blur the lines between the private and the public sphere. The first photo can be considered typical for the "bessere Mittelstand" (*DD* 11) while it is also "privat" (11), showing individuals as Tucholsky marks by at least providing placeholders for their individual names: "Herren A., B., C., D. und ihre Damen" (11). The danger of misinterpreting the photo lies not only in its openness to be interpreted either way: a textual component, which could provide clarification to the visual ambiguity, also carries a risk due to its irreversible unequivocalness. Once a citizen or worker, who is not part of the public life, is photographed and then "textiert," so that he becomes and represents his social class, it can also lead to a mishap and even legal complications that would threaten the publication of *Deutschland* (11). Hence, Tucholsky directly reasons with his readers that are not part of the

public sphere, (i.e. middle-class citizens and workers) that he will provide texts for photos (despite the preface's title about the impossibility to write text for a photograph) – all in order to find the typical in them, "das Typische" (12). Even the font for "das Typische" is changed in the third to last paragraph of the "Vorrede," making it stand out and underline Tucholsky's goal to provide a profile of Germany, not leaving out the "Maden" (12) like so many picture books at the time did (12).

While this direct assertion that he will not invade the individual's private sphere certainly influences the readers' mindset, there are two additional ways Tucholsky is educating his reader, discouraging them from being a mass-consumer who just briefly looks at photographs while moving on to reading, and thereby remaining a "Teil-Ich," to use Kracauer's label. The first way is the focus on the reader's body and senses, which determines the vertical dimension of this functional montage, as Tucholsky addresses the bodily experience of his readers in order to establish an axis between the book's pages and the readers. With appellative commands, using the imperative "Sehn Sie" (10), and later on directly addressing the reader with the informal "du," Tucholsky aims to foster a very personal interaction of the reader with the photographs. This goes so far that the reader is told not to just look at a photo for several minutes, but to crawl ("hineinkriechen") into a photograph (10). This goes beyond the critical stance of a reader just looking and observing. The reader's crawling, aligning him with an infant who is also still learning, will then lead to the images talking back, as Tucholsky claims. However, the reader will not learn any facts, but get to know the photo's subjects, their emotions and mindsets. By casting his readers as infants paired with an emphasis on using their senses, Tucholsky underlines that his readers do not require an intellectual approach in order to understand images. Anyone, high or low class, literate or illiterate, has a chance and ability to understand what they

see. Once a reader immerses himself in a photograph, these will "sprechen" and deliver messages that are part of an endless stream of visual messages – similar to the mass media's constant output of content (10). There is a flood of images, an "unendliches Bilderbuch – Deutschland" washing over his readers in the rest of the photobook (11). In one long sentence, Tucholsky lists what can be seen in these pictures: the list moves from people and their various personal characteristics, to their economical status, focusing on the millions of workers; and finally it moves to places, starting with the workers' houses, which Tucholsky surprisingly does not place within cities. In his idyllic imagery, the workers' houses are surrounded by "Felder" (11). Workers, as this photobook will show in text and image, usually lived in tight quarters within a city. The list of places continues with references to both landscapes and public buildings. Natural spaces with neutral or positive connotations, "Wiesen," "Seen," "Meer," "Wald," are mixed with places that conjure up the connotations of work, "Werke," "Hütten," "Äcker," "Fabriken," "Büros," with the exception of the last place, the "Kino" (11). This long sentence and its endless list of places, marked by an ellipsis in the end, ends neither with a natural space, nor with an artificial one, but with one of imagination: the movie theater. While the entire paragraph is based on the antitheses of natural spaces and artificial ones, Tucholsky ends with the cinema and the final words: "Bilderbuch – : Deutschland" (11). Like in the movie theater and the picture book, *Deutschland* will show Germany to its readers, asking them to be open to this representation, without seeing themselves in natural spaces or at work. Instead the reader is supposed to take a step back and consider their actual reality versus the one presented in the photographs. While acknowledging the difference between these two kinds of realities, readers are also tasked to imagine an alternative reality, along the lines of Hyperion's change of mind. Tucholsky encourages this by underlining that an image is more than just what the readers see. Images are

able to play with an ambiguity that escapes the unequivocalness of words. In addition to directing the readers to differentiate between the photographed subject as a private figure or part of a social class, Tucholsky asks them to rely on their body and senses, in short, their individuality.

When interacting with *Deutschland's* photographs, it is Tucholsky's and Heartfield's goal to educate the reader to become visually literate. The reader is tasked to take a step back on this vertical dimension of the functional montage so as to not merely identify himself with the subjects, the parts of a mass, but to look beyond and recognize just how powerful photographs, montages, and photomontages can be. While Tucholsky comments in-depth on the first photograph of the "Vorrede," he seems to neglect the other two: the press photographers at work and the group photograph of the club members. Yet their careful placement within and next to the text performs the horizontal dimension of the functional montage creating a second, visual narrative for this preface, one that parallels the textual one.

The image of the group of photographers is unlike the other two, neither preceding nor following the text. It is set on the right side of the page, its width broader than the text to the left of it. The text's narrow, column-like appearance underlines its content: a list of subjects and places whose images conjure up an image of Germany, captured in a "Bilderbuch" (11). It is no coincidence that the photo of the photographers is to the right of this text column. Their lenses are after all pointed to the left at the list, underlining that, indeed, the list of places are the photos the reader finds in picture books (fig. 2). Though they are not depicted here in the blank space between the text and the image, they probably come to the reader's mind. While the reader is learning about how text and images can be combined meaningfully, the photograph itself acts out what Tucholsky demands from his readers, when he addressed the binary of a photo's subject

either being a private person or a typical representation of a group or class. While the first group photo left this binary undecided (are the six people well known or not? the image of the press photographers does not. These men all hold their cameras while being tasked to stand outside and wait for an event or a subject to be photographed. This picture is not staged, it just seems to be another photographer observing his colleagues at work. The subjects do not look towards the camera, and many of their faces are not clearly visible, blurred even, or hidden behind cameras. Indeed, the lenses and their cameras dominate not their identities. The reader neither questions their single identities nor is interested in them. This visual narrative is then further extended when seen in relationship with the other two photos. To that end, the reader has to take a further step back, recognizing the montage of the entire preface. While the second photograph shows how the ambiguity of private and public can be resolved, at the same time, in context with the other two photos, it demonstrates the power of the photograph that does not lie in depicting events and subjects authentically, but in creating ambiguity or, on the contrary, imposing an unambiguity. With the photographers' lenses pointed left, it appears that, on the opposite page, they are photographing the men and women of the first group photo (see fig. 4).

Vorrede
oder: Die Unmöglichkeit, eine Photographie zu textieren

Sehn Sie — das ist nun dieses Bild.
Und solcher Bilder haben wir uns Hunderte und Tausende angesehn; alle aus Deutschland; alle aus dem täglichen Leben, mehr oder minder bezeichnend für eine Klasse, einen Stand, eine Ortschaft, eine Gegend — wir haben sie uns alle angesehen. Und aus diesen Bildern sollte nun ein einziges Bild aufsteigen:

Deutschland

und ich bin ein Lump im Amt — und immer mehr kommen, und die Bilder nehmen gar kein Ende, Gesichter und Popos und Wohlhabende und Reiche und die Millionen, die arbeiten, und die Plätze, an denen sie arbeiten, und die Häuser, darin sie wohnen, und die Felder drum herum, die Wiesen, die kleinen Seen, das Meer, die Türme der Stadt, der Wald, die Werke, die Hütten, die Äcker, die Fabriken, die Büros, die Kinos . . . ein unendliches Bilderbuch — : Deutschland.
Alle diese Bilder sprechen. Und von den wenigsten kann man den Text aufschreiben. Denn:
Diese Photographien sind immer zweierlei: sie sind typisch für etwas in Deutschland — und sie sind gleichzeitig p r i v a t. Da oben auf dem Bild zum Beispiel amüsiert sich der bessere Mittelstand — aber es sind gleichzeitig die Herren A., B., C., D. und ihre Damen. Lasse ich nun die Figuren a l s T y p e n sprechen, als Vertreter einer Schicht, als Exempel — so geht das ohne böse Kratzer nicht ab. Die Herren A., B., C., D. hätten vielleicht nichts dagegen; sie sehen so aus, als hätten sie Humor. Aber sie haben nicht nur Humor — sie haben auch Feinde.

Fig. II. 4. Excerpts from "Vorrede." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 10-11.

Since it is not just a random photo of workers shown here, but a mass of press photographers, the image to the left is put in a different context, questioning whether this is a private group shot, intended for a photo album, or a group of famous public figures photographed at a time of leisure.[17]

Factoring in the third photo – the members of a club standing next to each other, taken from an angle as if the photographers of the second photo had taken the picture (see fig. 3) – the sense that the first photo is one *of* the public *for* the public is reinforced. Whether this is the case or not, the functional montage of these three photographs in a consecutive, interacting way, at least suggests this interpretation. More importantly, it instructs and educates the reader to watch out for more visual narratives of this sort in *Deutschland,* which require the reader to take a step back and view everything as if from the outside – an education, enabled by the combination of the vertical and the horizontal dimension of the functional montage.

While this montage and others to come in *Deutschland* can hardly be called an ornament per se, there is a parallel to Kracauer's idea of the mass ornament. The montage in the second

[17] The commentary on *Deutschland* indicates that neither the identities of the men and women are known nor the publication date and place.

preface takes it one step further, elevating the partial selves not to "Vollindividuen," but to individuals who can take on various roles even within mass culture. For Kracauer, choreographed mass ornaments are a "result of a reorganization of human relationships according to principles of reason," formed by dancers or athletes (Jonsson 290). Yet as Jonsson continues to point out "the patterns they form in the stadium or on the stage are not offered to their senses but can be seen only by spectators placed at a distance, like an aerial photograph" (290). In *Deutschland,* the reader is empowered to do both: be part of the ornament – which means identifying with the subjects in the photobook's photographs – and, *at the same time,* become spectators of their own depiction and interaction with these photographs, "placed at a distance." This awards agency to the reader to both react to photos and view them critically, both in *Deutschland* and, by extension, in mass media more generally.

This will be achieved in particular for the working class, not only because images of workers are included at certain points in *Deutschland,* but also because these montages are put together so as to resemble the functionality of an assembly line in a factory. The next section will further elaborate on this "functional montage," comparing it also to photomontages, and preparing my argument of the worker's "invasion" into the public sphere.

From the Photomontage to the "Functional Montage":
Staging the Assembly Line in the Photobook for the Working-Class Reader

After WWI, Berlin Dadaists, whose members included John Heartfield, coined the term "photomontage" for images that are composites of several photographic fragments. It was also already a practice before the 1920s for artists to break up images and to juxtapose the photographic fragments in one final photo, creating photomontages; yet now those became an art

form. These montages were not only a new form, aiming for a new kind of artistic and aesthetic expression, they were also an "art of agitation… The idea of photomontage was as revolutionary as its content: it emphasized the links between politics and the technological age to expose the disorder of bourgeois society," [18] as art historian Dawn Ades writes (13). Photography had not only become a mass medium during the Weimar Republic, available to many and used by the media and in advertisement. Photomontages, in particular, became even more powerful because they strove for more than just being an authentic record of reality. They connected politics to the public sphere in new ways. The main goal of a political photomontage is to expose, provoke, and form an "explosive image" that does not invite its viewer to further reflect, but to inform him quickly and persuade him instantly (Ades 13). As much as they belonged to the technological world and the world of photomechanical reproduction, photomontages link to revolutionary politics, and hence were predestined them for mass communication. "From about 1923 until 1931 the uses of photomontage were rapidly extended in the fields of commercial publicity and political propaganda," Ades points out, while she underlines that the role of the photomontage was to shape and reorganize public consciousness, not to reflect on it (15). Photomontages educated, informed, and persuaded the broader public. Yet their lack of additional text and of self-reflexivity turns them not only into a potentially dangerous propaganda tool: they also invite their audience to be passive receivers. The reader and the viewer see only the final, polished product. However, the processes of putting the photographic fragments together, as well as their original visual contexts, remain invisible and inaccessible to them. One fragment that expresses a

[18] The expression "art of agitation" can be ascribed to Gustav Klutsis, a photographer and major member of the Constructivist avant-garde. The statement "appeared in Moscow in 1931 and was also printed in the catalogue of the photomontage exhibition in Berlin in the same year" (Ades 15).

certain idea or concept builds on another, similar to letters forming a word, but they leave their original context behind. How can these various visual concepts and their meanings be rendered visible and attainable, in order to go beyond just informing a viewer, also educating him? This question particularly pertains to the implied working-class reader and how he can be turned into a visually literate and critical viewer. *Deutschland* combines images with texts or other images to extend the meaning of a single photograph or of a photomontage. Images and text come together like words in a sentence or the shots in a Soviet film montage, forming the horizontal dimension of the functional montage. This means that images and text both form certain continuity, while there are also interruptions (when texts and images do not relate to the same referent) or gaps produced by the white spaces between texts and images. Both texts and photos expose the functionality of their parts when forming their meanings. They operate self-reflexively before the reader's eyes and educate him how to read not only the texts, but also the images and their relationships to other texts and images.

The section "Das Parlament" (138-139) demonstrates how images and texts can work together to extend each other's meaning, educating their readers on the collaboration of text and images. It also demonstrates how photomontages, which are effective in instantly convincing a reader, fall short when it comes to turning the reader from a passive receiver into an active, critical and visually literate consumer. For instance, the cover image of *Deutschland* is a montage that contains Wilhelmine, military, and bourgeois symbols that merge to comment on the Weimar Republic's unstable and unclear leadership (see fig. 5).

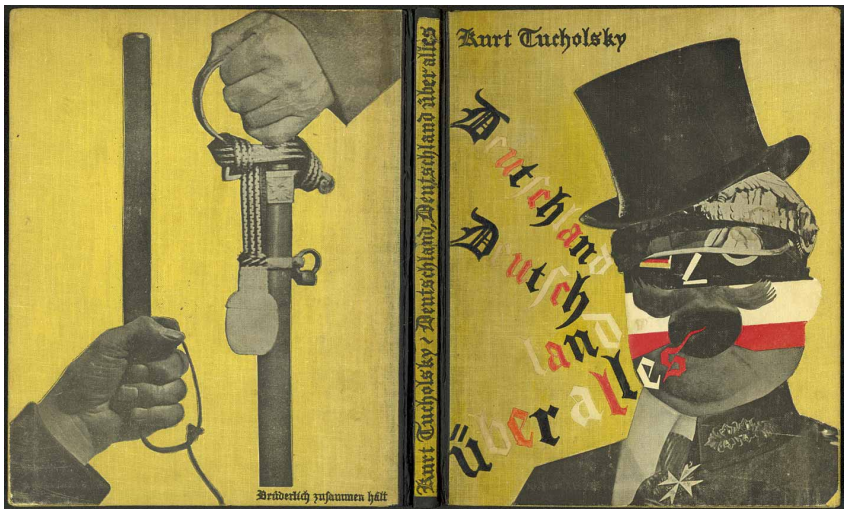

Fig. II. 5. Cover images. Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929.

Heartfield created a montage out of photographs of a bourgeois suit and top hat for one half of the portrait, and a military uniform and spiked helmet for the other. He used the colors of the former German Empire for the upper part of the face and employed the colors of the new flag of the German Republic to replace the figure's right eye. The paradigms of the military, the bourgeoisie, and of both the former German Empire and the Weimar Republic come together in this montage, commenting on the "Verflechtung zwischen den herrschenden Mächten," as Böhme-Kuby has remarked (119). Yet there is no textual element that would further elaborate on this photomontage and its newly created paradigm for the unstable state of the Weimar Republic. In fact, Böhme-Kuby calls it an "unentwirrbares, ästhetisches Monstrum," which underlines the aesthetics at work here, yet also shows how inextricable and chaotic this montage's meaning may be for a reader. The reader has to be visually literate to recognize these various symbols and understand the point and criticism expressed here. And yet, even if he does, the meaning is not conclusive, putting military and bourgeoisie in a chaotic relationship without a clear comment about the relationship of these institutions. Only a quotation by Tucholsky, cited by Böhme-Kuby, clarifies why the top hat is placed on top of the spiked helmet: "'Ich gehöre seit dem Jahr

1913 zu denen, […] die die verfassungsmäßige Demokratie für eine Fassade und eine Lüge halten, und die auch heute noch […] einen hohlen Stahlhelm noch für lange nicht so gefährlich halten, wie einen seidigen Zylinder' hatte Tucholsky am 17. 5. 1927 in der 'Weltbühne' geschrieben" (118). The aesthetic photomontage critically points to a deficiency, yet without any further elaboration that would help a member of the working class make sense of the montage. That may explain why there are very few photomontages in *Deutschland.* Instead, each section pairs one of Tucholsky's essays with photographs that he and Heartfield selected. This combination of texts and images is less condensed than a photomontage, and hence can no longer be called a photomontage or aesthetic montage. While the photos and essays, poems and songs are still paradigms in themselves, they relate to each other differently. They don't overlap or form one single and autonomous unit, but instead relate to each other syntagmatically, i.e., like words in a sentence, or like parts of a filmic montage rolled out or taken apart on the book's double page, almost as if Tucholsky and Heartfield work like Benjamin's writer-turned-surgeon in *Einbahnstraße*. One section in *Deutschland* demonstrates this transition from an aesthetic photomontage to a "functional montage." Each part of such a montage operates on its own, yet the parts come together to form a sequence, similar to Eisenstein's and Vertov's film montages, as well as the industrial montage of the assembly line in a factory, still delivering each part of the functional montage to the readers in a sequence, despite its ruptures. Due to these ruptures, i.e. the lack of correspondence between images and texts, all parts of the functional montage remain clearly visible and distinguishable to the reader.

The section "Das Parlament" contains a photomontage that via the inclusion of text, is extended to become a "functional montage." A photomontage by Heartfield and a poem by Tucholsky fuse to comment on the political inertia in the Weimar Republic. Heartfield

superimposes the image of a parliament member over an aerial shot of the Reichstag building in Berlin, the angle and quality of the photograph suggesting the original image used to be a postcard (fig. 6).

Fig. II. 6. Excerpt from "Das Parlament." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p. 138.

The parliament member appears to be asleep, as his posture suggests: his legs are lazily spread apart, his right elbow propped up on his leg, and his head resting in the palm of his right hand. Yet the man is not shown sitting down on a bench or chair inside the Reichstag, but appears to be sitting right on top of the building. The Reichstag was – and still continues to be nowadays – a symbol of democracy, underlined by the inscription "Dem deutschen Volke" that was installed above the main façade of the building in 1916,[19] dedicating the building, and by extension, the parliament's activities to the German people. In this aesthetic photomontage, a democratic

[19] The inscription is not visible in the image of the Reichstag in "Das Parlament," as the original postcard probably dates back to some time before 1916. The original Reichstag building was completed in 1894. In 1916 the iconic words "Dem Deutschen Volke" were placed above the main façade of the building, much to the displeasure of Wilhelm II, who had tried to block the addition of the inscription due to its democratic significance.

symbol is rendered powerless by association with a symbol of inertia: one member of the parliament literarily blanketing democracy by being placed, appearing larger-than-life, on top of the Reichstag. It comes across as an extension of *Deutschland*'s title, yet, even more ironically, in that not "Germany" is "above all," figuratively speaking, but a sleeping politician is above all – quite literally.

While Heartfield's montage can be interpreted as an expansion of the title, Tucholsky's following poem is an extension of Heartfield's photomontage. The poem builds both formally and thematically on the photomontage, extending its visual symbolism and implications on a textual level. Tucholsky first published this poem in the *Weltbühne* in 1928, four days before the Reichstag elections, when the parties on the left (particularly SPD and KPD) were able to win new seats in the parliament, while the German National People's Party and other parties of the political center suffered significant losses (Tucholsky *Gesamtausgabe* 370). In the end, a grand coalition was formed with members of the SPD, the German Democratic Party, the Centre Party, and the German People's Party. However, while Tucholsky and Heartfield were working on their photobook for its publication in August 1929, it became clear that internal divisions plagued the coalition. Each party was more concerned with their self-interest than the interest of the government, and eventually Chancellor Müller asked President Paul von Hindenburg for emergency powers in March 1930, marking the end of the "last genuinely democratic government of the Weimar Republic" (Evans 88).

Tucholsky's poem comments on the dissociation between the parliament and the voting public. The sleeping parliament member represents a phlegmatic parliament, while the Reichstag building serves as a metaphor for the German people. The parliament is supposed to represent the German public within the walls of the Reichstag building, making decisions that affect, in

turn, the public sphere outside of these walls. The symbols of democracy and inertia, combined in Heartfield's photomontage, express this deficiency. Yet exasperating this situation of inertia, the public, i.e., the voting people, cannot make any changes, as Tucholsky points out in his poem. As Heartfield paradigmatically connected two symbols, Tucholsky also brings together two elements in his poem: he links two voices, not paradigmatically, but syntagmatically, i.e. not merging two concepts, but creating, quite literally, a sequential relationship out of these two components, in the form of a question-and-answer game. In each of the three stanzas an interrogating voice poses both indirect and direct questions to an answering voice, which repeats in Berlin dialect after each first and fourth verse, as well as at the end of every stanza: "is ja janz ejal! / is ja janz ejal! / is ja janz ejal – !" (138). While the questioning voice takes on the persona of a journalist, a critical mediator between politics and the public, the answering voice stands in for the German public, particularly the common people and the worker as marked by the use of dialect, which adds another layer of contrast to the questions formulated in standard German. The indirect questions aim to expose the irrelevance of the elections. It does not matter whether the "Sozialisten", "Volkspartei" or the "Demokraten" (138) win, in the end, the industry and the banks decide the real fate of Germany and the "Volkes Stimme / is ja janz ejal!" (139). The elections are meaningless, the voice of the people is irrelevant to such an extent that they are not heard by their representatives, who are asleep, as seen in Heartfield's photomontage.

These questions, and the repetitive, unvarying answers, build on the visual superimposition of the photomontage, yet syntagmatically present components on their own, and, more importantly, draw attention to their functions. While the photomontage sets up a juxtaposition between an inactive parliament and the German people, the function of the poem and its two voices shows that even in a dialogue the people are only allowed to answer

communally as a mass and with a statement of resignation. The function of "is ja janz ejal" (138) as a statement of indifference mirrors the napping parliament member who cares as little about the people as they care about the election. While the photomontage does not include an interruption or gap, there is a rupture between the photomontage and the text's script. Yet to form the horizontal dimension of this functional montage, this gap is bridged in that both photomontage and text comment on the malfunctioning democracy. This horizontal dimension is extended by the vertical dimension, when the experience of inertia, as symbolized by the position of the lazy legs, extends to the poem's form, in that each stanza's shape mirrors the position of these legs. The text becomes visual and the image textual, playing with the gaps and continuities between the two forms, both of which both address the idea of Weimar's failing democracy. The effect of this vertical dimension on the reader is one of surprise, while he should also doubt the status of the image and the text at the same time. This combination of reading experience and education aims to allow readers to develop a dynamic view. The functional montage is arranged so as to draw attention to itself, instantiating a self-reflexive move the aesthetic photomontage wants to avoid. A functional montage wants all of its parts to be as clearly visible and distinguishable as possible, and seeks to demonstrate to its reader how the montage comes together to achieve this effect and to educate the reader.

In his article "Montagen Montieren," Bernd Stiegler also explores two different types of montages, comparing an artistic montage, as used in film and photography, to a technical montage, employed on assembly lines in industrial productions. The latter was the focus of an exhibition on *Literatur im Industriezeitalter* in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach in 1987 that drew a clear distinction between "Montage als industrielle Fertigungstechnik und

künstlerisches Verfahren" (137).[20] Stiegler questions this distinction and attests that filmic and industrial montage go hand in hand, using the Stalinist operetta *Der leuchtende Weg* (1940) as an example. The life of the protagonist Tanya changes for the better once she joins the workforce, translating her household skills, which already follow the production logic of an assembly line, into the industrial production line. The film shows how the working life of a member of the proletariat permeates their life at home and vice versa. The life of the working class is booked solid, every day determined by the same repetitive actions. Their everyday life comes together like on an assembly line. This industrial montage, based on the content of the film that is decidedly influenced by communism, is met by a filmic montage that aligns dream sequences with the everyday life of industrial production, diluting the assumption that a worker's life is too hard. The filmic montage turns life determined by the industrial assembly line into a desired life. In the end, life is

> ein in toto von der Montage durchdrungenes. Wenn Tanya das gelobte Land der Montagehalle betritt, so findet sie ihre Heimat: den Ort, der ihrem Leben, ihrem Schicksal und ihrem Weg entspricht. Sie wird nun ihrerseits zum Vorbild werden, um so den Lebensentwürfen der Zuschauer ihr Ziel vorzugeben. Subjekt und Objekt werden eins . . . So wie Du montierst, so wirst auch Du montiert werden. (Stiegler "Montagen" 141)

[20] The quote continues and elaborates on this dichotomy: "Die eine setzt Teile aus gleichartigem Material zu einem funktionalen Ganzen zusammen, während die andere zunächst den Effekt des Dysfunktionen sucht, in dem sie Materialien, die gerade nicht zusammenpassen, aus ihren Herkunfts- und Funktionszusammenhängen reißt, um sie in der künstlerischen Bearbeitung einem neuen Kontext einzufügen, der geeignet ist, gerade auch über den ursprünglichen Zusammenhang eine Aussage zu machen.' " (Stiegler "Montagen" 137).

The strategy of the montage is not employed to turn the film into a seamless sequence of actions, but to draw attention to every shot, and to the worker's life. The montage connects protagonist and viewers, aiming to change the viewers' mindsets. The the director of the operetta, Grigori Aleksandrov, like many Russian filmmakers at the time, including Dziga Vertov and Sergej Eisenstein, aimed to condition their viewers (Stiegler "Montagen" 143). Yet this approach is not solely a Soviet or filmic one. Moholy-Nagy, professor at the Bauhaus in Weimar at the time and the author of *Malerei Fotografie Film,* recognized that art and photography are a training ground for the modern man to become fit for the new, technology-influenced society. For Moholy-Nagy, any objective reproduction already aims, thanks to film and photography, for "objektivierbare Veränderungen einer planmäßigen Production" (28). This idea that viewers and readers can be educated and even changed, so that they adapt to new living conditions, was also the case for print media and the interrelationships of text and images to each other. While Stiegler refers mainly to "Technikfotografien" (149), i.e. photos of technical constructions, steel mills, factories, bridges etc., he also mentions Heartfield at the end of his essay and references his technique of the photomontage, which has a calculating effect on the viewer, controlling and restricting his imagination.

This explains why, there are not many photomontages in *Deutschland.* Instead, Tucholsky and Heartfield aim to achieve via functional montages what Moholy-Nagy, and, even more so, Eisenstein and Vertov had in mind. That is, they seek not just to shape and train the viewers' mindset and imagination, but to educate them and integrate them as readers and viewers. As much as Tucholsky and Heartfield voice their personal opinion as a public voice, the public should also have an opportunity to respond; not as an act of mass response, but to act as an individual reader who is supposed to identify with the issues presented, yet also supposed to

take a critical stance – being an insider and outsider, an individual and a member of the public sphere at once. Hence an "invasion" of the worker into the public sphere is achieved by functional montages that address him as the implied reader, and that show him, as the next section will demonstrate, as an individual and less as a part of the mass.

"Invasion" via the Assembly Line:
Representation and Inclusion of the Working Class via Functional Montages

This section will examine how Tucholsky's instructions for the reader, his ideas about the reader both as an individual and as part of a group, and the employment of functional montages come together to have the worker "invade" the public sphere. *Deutschland* also portrays other parts of the public, particularly those in power: politicians, judges, and military officials. Yet only the working class receives a portrayal in functional montages, in order to educate the implied working-class reader to develop a dynamic view of his place in society. There is only one other kind of citizen in this photobook that influences as a group the image of the public sphere as much as the workers: soldiers. It is crucial to emphasize that I do not mean higher military officials, whom Tucholsky and Heartfield portray very differently, but rather the common infantryman, who is essentially a worker sent to the front. Before my analysis moves to the representation of the worker, it is important to point out that Tucholsky and Heartfield only employ one functional montage for the portrayal of soldiers. In all other cases, straightforward comparisons of two images, photomontages and photos of ornamental military parades, aim to distance the working class readers from the image of the soldier. The working-class readers should *no longer* be able to identify with their role as WWI soldiers, putting the trauma of the

war behind them. Instead, they should take on the role of observers and critical spectators in regard to their former role as soldiers and their representation in the media.

In the section "1918 am Rhein" (13), soldiers appear for the first time in *Deutschland*. The section shows a photograph not of soldiers at war, but of troops retreating and returning from the Western front after an armistice agreement was reached on November 11, 1918. The photograph is one of the few in this photobook that is not staged, when it comes to covering the topic of the military. The photo is taken from a distance, trying to capture the entire length of a bridge over the Rhine close to Koblenz, with cordons of soldiers walking towards the camera. Their faces, however, are too far away to be clearly discernable. The main point of the photograph is to depict this group of soldiers, all wearing the same dark uniforms, the same dark boots, and carrying the same weapons. The reader remains at a distance, being confronted with a mass of soldiers, who are essentially workers in uniform. This piece of information about the worker-turned-soldier in Tucholsky's accompanying essay comes unexpected. Tucholsky does not comment on the soldiers' wartime experiences, and instead emphasizes how the war's aftermath will leave these soldiers facing unemployment (*DD* 13). Yet it is most striking that Tucholsky strips away the mask of the soldiery, exposing the masquerade brought on by the war: "Verkleidete Bergarbeiter, Handwerker, Rohrleger, kaufmännische Angestellte" (13). *Deutschland*'s readers are supposed to take a critical stance towards this mass of soldiers walking across the bridge, seeing the uniform as a costume, prompting them to look for the worker underneath the uniform.

Before turning to the worker exposed beneath the uniform, let me point out the lengths to which Tucholsky and Heartfield go to dismantle the role of the soldier, for instance, by showing the empty symbolism of the soldiers' colorful parade uniforms. They not only start to look like

marionettes, but even become ornaments (fig. 7), representing the power of the republic only for the sake of representation. With one exception, all the photographs of soldiers show them in a group setting. Even the one exception, which shows a soldier on the ground using a mine thrower, does not depict him as an individual (*DD* 43). His face is not recognizable because a camouflage net is cast over his head.[21] Indeed, faces, and hence the identities of single soldiers that would invite a reader to "crawl into" the picture, sensing the soldier's feelings and thoughts (as Tucholsky asked for in the preface) are, with the exception I mentioned above, not included in the photobook. Instead, photographs of soldiers are staged. Often the photographer does not even have to arrange them in order to have the soldiers appear as a group. Photographs in the sections "Die Nation der Offiziersburschen" (*DD* 14) and "Die vom Sterben leben!" (*DD* 39) display how the majority of *Deutschland*'s pictures portray soldiers standing in rank and file, their heads not facing the camera, but turned toward their superior. The photographer is usually taking the picture from a right or left angle so as to emphasize the straight line of soldiers, each one looking like the other. Even their postures become alike, erasing the soldiers' individuality. They truly become what Kracauer called a "Teil-Ich," and in some instances they even form a mass ornament. While Kracauer saw dancers and athletes as enactors of such ornaments, Tucholsky and Heartfield employ soldiers to represent a mass ornament and the lack of the soldier's individuality. In that regard, Tucholsky does not spare any irony especially in the sections "Dieses Theater" (*DD* 38) and "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles" (*DD* 92-93), where he exposes the irrelevance, not only of such ornamental presentations, but also of the

[21] Tucholsky, in his accompanying few sentences even calls the image an allegory (43). As the commentary explains, the title of the section and the photograph, "Die Tarnung", is referring to the illegal rearmament of the Reichswehr as early as 1920.

individuals participating in them (fig. 7).


Dieses Theater

Zapfenstreich vor dem Palais des Reichspräsidenten

wurde — in Ermangelung eines eigenen Königs — von der hiesigen Republik für den chemaligen Herrscher von Afghanistan veranstaltet. Die Kosten der Empfänge und Geschenke betrugen etwa den Geldeswert des deutschen Jahresexports nach Afghanistan.

38

Fig. II. 7. "Dieses Theater." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p.138.

The photograph shows the "Zapfenstreich vor dem Palais des Reichspräsidenten" (*DD* 38), as the caption informs the reader, which is a curfew parade held in honor of the former Afghan king's visit in Berlin. Tucholsky includes this piece of information in a caption, while almost all photographs in *Deutschland* come without captions – the section turning in this way into a modern emblem. In this case, the caption functions as a prompt for Tucholsky to comment on the irony of this ceremony, already before the reader gets to his essay. He titles the section "Dieses Theater" (38), followed by the image of the curfew parade. While he goes on to elaborate on the irony that the curfew parade costs as much as the yearly exports to Afghanistan, Tucholsky's comparison of this parade to the representational function of the former German monarch both underlines his antimonarchist sentiments and emphasizes how former full individuals ("Voll-Individuen") become partial selves ("Teil-Ichen") (Kracauer "Gruppe als Ideenträger" 477). The soldiers come together in the ornament of the curfew parade to symbolize the state's power as

much as the monarch, in this case the Kaiser, used to. The reader can look at this photo from a high-angle and from a great distance, looking at soldiers the size of ants forming a circle around the fountain in front of the Palais. Compared to viewing photographs of soldiers standing in file and rank, this aerial shot encourages the reader to take a critical stance towards soldiery, questioning its functions and meaning. There is only one instance in *Deutschland*, in which such a symbolic and ornamental display of military strength occurs that surpasses the ornamental arrangement of the curfew parade. Taking up an entire double-page, Heartfield included two photographs of military parades. The caption, in a font size larger than in other captions in the photobook, spreads across both pages and echoes the photobook's title: "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles" (fig. 8).

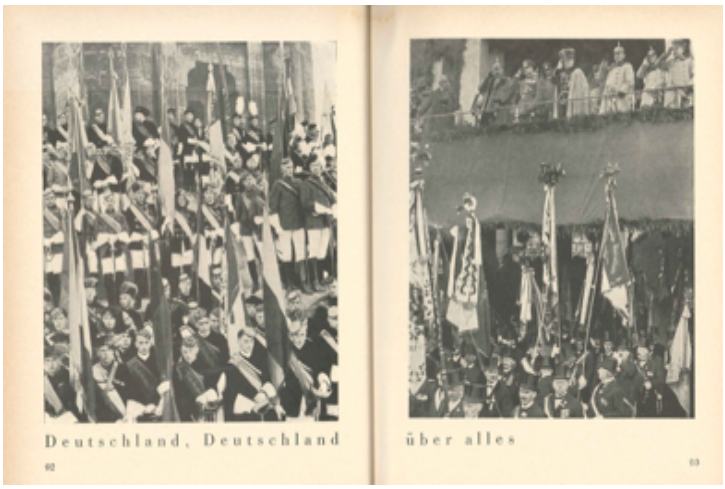

Fig. II. 8. "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* pp. 92-93.

Besides the caption there is no text. The person recognizable here is President of the Reich Hindenburg, who was frequently featured in the illustrated press. He is pictured in the upper part of the photograph to the right, standing on the terrace of the stadium in Berlin. To honor his 80th birthday in 1927, veterans' associations marched through the stadium. Walter Hasenclever writes about this event, emphasizing that here the Germans showed their "ungehemmte Kriegslust"

(Tucholsky *Gesamtausgabe* 332). Both photographs show men holding ornamental, presumably colorful flags and banners. However, there are no weapons or any war machinery visible. There are not even active soldiers present, in actual uniforms they would have worn in the field. In fact, the older men on the right page are veterans, while the younger looking men on the left page are members of student fraternities (Burschenschaften). Yet the photo on the left is not taken at the same event, even though the photograph's angle and the ornamental parade uniforms make it appear as if they are in the same location. Like the members of the veterans' associations, the members of the student fraternities also wear their dress uniforms with white pants and gloves, long black boots and sashes. Actual weapons are barely visible, and if they are, they are only swords and sabers, worn for ornamental purpose. Hasenclever's assertion that this is a demonstration of "Kriegslust" comments on the symbolic power of such parade uniforms. However, what they *do* achieve is hiding the actual war atrocities and, moreover, the individual identities of those wearing the uniforms. They are a group of veterans, a militaristic mass, originally plucked from the working class, then stripped of their individuality to take on a uniform that is supposed to unite them. Yet this unity only takes on the representational function of what the group symbolizes to the public. The caption "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles" spans from the Wartburgfest in 1817, which the gathering of fraternity members on the left photo is commemorating, to 1929 and the celebration of the Weimar Republic the way Hindenburg and the other generals imagine it. For over a century, according to the photomontage of these two images, the idea of Germany has been one created by fraternity members and by former members of the military, who, while surely a part of the German public, are neither their broad foundation nor capable of lifting Germany to a status that is "above all."

Soldiers and the military remain a part of Germany's public sphere that Tucholsky and Heartfield repeatedly strip off any meaning that goes beyond their ornamental, representational function, all in favor of their portrayal of the working class. While the working class is presented to the reader in functional montages, Tucholsky and Heartfield employ only simple comparisons of photographs or photomontages to showcase their view of the military's vanity. Only once do they use a functional montage that shows the futility of military actions. In the section "Endlich die Wahrheit über Remarque" (216-219),[22] two group portraits of soldiers are included, both showing them in celebratory mood, judging by the soldiers' exaggerated goofy faces and gestures towards the camera (see fig. 9). Yet once the reader turns the page, both group portraits are replaced by two other photographs (see fig. 10). As these have the same frame size as the two previous photographs, it invites readers to directly compare both pages.

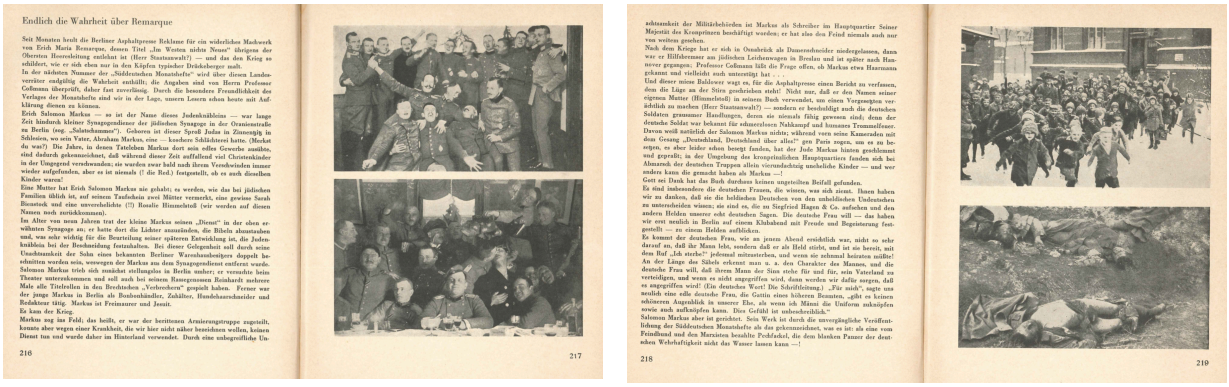

Fig. II. 9 and fig. II. 10. "Endlich die Wahrheit über Remarque." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* pp. 216-219.

While the first page showed cheerful soldiers, the second page depicts quite the opposite: The photograph at the top shows a horde of schoolchildren leaving a school building, running towards the camera, their faces full of excitement. The photograph at the bottom could not be more removed from the schoolchildren: it depicts dead soldiers, one of them stripped naked,

[22] For a further discussion of this essay, see Hans, p. 72.

lying on the ground. Heartfield and Tucholsky go to an extreme here, not just contrasting celebrating and drunken soldiers with their possible fate of death in the trenches. They align the soldiers with the children and their excitement when being let out of school. The children's excitement running into the schoolyard is paralleled with the soldiers' enthusiasm running onto the battlefield, full of "Kriegslust," to use Hasenclever's term. Yet, an image of the latter action is missing here. The running children fill in the missing gap between the photograph of the drunken soldiers and the dead ones, similar to a montage Eisenstein might employ. The photographs on the first page create continuity that experiences its first rupture when the soldiers "turn" into children, and the second rupture when the subjects of the last photos return to being soldiers, though now fallen ones. The image of the excited children first creates a rupture, but then it becomes apparent that it is used to bestow innocence on the soldiers, turning their later deaths in the trenches into an even crueler fate. The photos are a comment on Tucholsky's essay, yet do not directly relate to it. Instead, they become a montage of their own, and even a functional montage as the horizontal dimension is extended by the vertical one: the reader needs to interact with this montage in order to "complete" it and turn it into a functional one: he needs to turn the page so that the photos of the schoolchildren and the corpses replace the photographs of the jubilant soldiers. Turning the page induces not only a shock or surprise, but also doubt in the reader's mind – a doubt about the soldier's purpose and actual wartime experience when his life can go from celebration to death within an instant.

Such a functional montage aims for readers to develop a dynamic and critical view of the military, something that's not that easily achieved in a photomontage, such as in John Heartfield's "Tiere sehen dich an" (63). Heartfield chooses eight portraits of generals and admirals that were probably recognizable to the reader at the time. His caption "Tiere sehen dich

an" (63) removes their identity, rendering their names, their rank, and exact function within the military irrelevant (fig. 11).

Fig. II. 11. "Tiere sehen dich an." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p. 63.

They become types of generals and officers in charge, who command their soldiers like "Tiere" (63) that follow their instincts, without employing further reflection on the deadly impact their commands might have for the infantrymen. Tucholsky, however, was not pleased that Heartfield added this page last minute, right before the photobook went to press (Tucholsky *Gesamtausgabe* 311). To him, the attribute "tierisch" stands rather for something "Dumpfes, Animalisches – also etwa einen brutalen Henker" (Kommentar 311) than a concept that questions the ethics of this high ranking military personnel. While Tucholsky's alignment of animals and animalistic instincts with an executioner is questionable – after all, animals act upon their instincts, while executioners follow commands – he also does not believe that Heartfield completely failed here (Tucholsky *Gesamtausgabe* 64), Yet this disagreement about the idea of the animal and its implications reveals the problems that arise when individuals are treated as types. The similarly decorated uniforms, the shared age of these generals, and even their similar

looks, i.e. beards and hairstyles, create a typology that could easily be the point of this photomontage. However, the caption, particularly the noun "Tiere" (63), creates a second-order typology that leaves, in this case, too much room for Tucholsky's interpretation of Heartfield's intentions. Do these members of the military act instinctively? Are they free of any ethics? Are they brutally following orders like a hangman? Tucholsky, though he liked the concept of the montage – "Schade, daß dir das nicht eingefallen ist" (Tucholsky *Gesamtausgabe* 311) – underlines that this is not his kind of satire, since it is simply too boorish. The reader does not have to reflect on the photomontage (compared to a functional montage, when he even has to turn pages), except for being able to recognize that these are military members. The comparison of military officers with animals is the main takeaway, which could have been achieved without the photomontage and without any further consideration from his reader. Readers neither have to use their senses nor have to crawl into ("hineinkriechen" *DD* 10) this photomontage, whereas in the functional montage "Endlich die Wahrheit über Remarque" (216-219), they had to make connections despite the montage's ruptures, in order to form a critical view of the military. Overall, though, the portrayal of the soldier in *Deutschland* is supposed to distance the readers by showing them the ornamental functions of soldiers, such as the curfew parade or the double page of the fraternities' and veterans' parades. When it comes to the working class, their portrayal for the implied working-class readers is done for quite the opposite effect. As the following analysis will show, it is again the functional montage that connects the reader to the text and to the images, both physically and mentally.

While there are several photomontages, none involve the common citizen or the working class. In fact, when it comes to the portrayal of the working class, Heartfield and Tucholsky employ not only functional montages, but also portraits of individual members of the working

class (*DD* 18, 34, 61, 169). In "Schöne Zeiten" (33-35), such a portrait both takes up a full page and is part of a functional montage. The portrait provides the reader not only with an opportunity to identify with a worker, but also allows him to take a critical stance and see what idea of the working class this section provides to its reader. In "Schöne Zeiten," three photographs are combined with an essay by Tucholsky. The title "Schöne Zeiten" refers ironically to the November Revolution, a conflict in 1918 that lasted about one year and resulted in the replacement of the German imperial government with a republic that later became known as the Weimar Republic. The first photograph of this section (see fig. 12) shows Philipp Scheidemann standing at the window of the Reichstag, proclaiming the republic in front of a mass of demonstrators that had gathered to demand a total demolition of the monarchy. Scheidemann specifically mentions in his speech an "Arbeiterregierung," and he maintains that everything should be done "für das Volk … Nichts darf geschehen, was der Arbeiterbewegung zur Unehre gereicht" (*DD* 33). Paraphrasing Scheidemann's speech, Tucholsky specifically uses the verbs "sehen" and "hören" as he did already in his instructions in the "Vorrede," when he called on readers to use their senses: "Hier sehen wir . . .", "Hört ihr das Bild sprechen - ?" (*DD* 33). In doing so, he establishes the vertical dimension of the functional montage, asking readers to engage with their entire sensory apparatus, turning them from passive viewers into active witnesses. In their interaction with the photograph, readers should question what message it actually conveys, comparing it to what they know about the November Revolution, *ten* years after the picture was taken.[23] While this comes across as Tucholsky accusing the crowd for not knowing what they actually demanded, he clarifies that this is not the case, because even if one

[23] "Heute wissen wir, was damals geschehen ist. Heute kennen wir den Verrat auf der einen Seite – die Sorglosigkeit, die Unklarheit, den Brei der andern" (*DD* 33).

questioned them at the time, their answers would have been diffuse: “Hättet ihr gefragt, was sie denn nun eigentlich wünschten —: ihr hättet sehr merkwürdige, sehr verblasene Antworten zu hören bekommen” (33). Despite the photograph’s authentic depiction of a gathering of people who stand for the idea of the German people, the reader is supposed to rethink what kind of public and public event he sees here.

Fig. II. 12. Excerpt from “Schöne Zeiten.” Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p. 33.

Tucholsky now tries to teach his current and future reader that one cannot project a public sphere, in the sense of a political power, onto this scene. “Da standen vor allem einmal *müde* Menschen; solche, die die Nase voll hatten vom Krieg; die das Ganze satt waren; die nicht mehr auf Karten anstehen wollten; müde waren sie, und nach Hause wollten sie, und sie hatten genug” (33). In establishing the vertical dimension of this montage by calling for his readers to use their senses, they are prepared to interact with the horizontal dimension, which consists of the following text and the next two photos.

On the subsequent two pages, Tucholsky aims to turn his reader into a reader and viewer with a critical perspective. He applies his demand for using one’s senses to a photograph of a single worker who was actually carrying the revolution: “Es waren die Arbeiter, die das

vollbracht haben, die zurückkehrenden Soldaten und vorneweg die Matrosen. … Laßt sie keimen" (35). This very earthy and physical verb, "keimen," which describes the germination of a seed, suggests that the worker, regarding his political function and strength, is also just a seed that needs to grow in order to take on agency as a political force. Hence, the photograph of a road worker holding a hammer (fig. 13) is a stark contrast to the image on the previous page of Scheidemann speaking to the demonstrators. He is not recognizable and the camera's bird's-eye perspective turns the reader's focus to the crowd. In contrast, the straight, slightly low angle shot of the worker frames his body from the hips upward (*DD* 34). This portrait lets him dominate over both the previous photograph and the text's lines to its right.

elastisch sein muß wie bester Eisenstahl — mit Gefühlen allein kann man keine Revolution machen. Aber ohne sie auch nicht.
Wer, wie Fritz Ebert vom ersten Tag an, gefühllos seine Akten aufgearbeitet hat, der ist beileibe kein „Realpolitiker", wie sie das nennen — sondern ein Schreiber. Die Flamme muß in einem brennen, sonst schafft man nicht; noch nie ist irgend etwas auf dieser Erde ohne Heroismus gestürzt, gewandelt und wieder aufgebaut worden. Das ist ein deutscher Aberglaube.
Schöne Zeiten . . . . Immerhin, die es miterlebt haben, die wissen eines, so wie ich es weiß, wie wir alle es wissen:
1918 hat einmal — ein einziges Mal — in Preußen die Erde gebebt. Einmal ist eine Luft durch die Straßen gezogen, die ihnen sonst fremd gewesen ist; einmal hat sich der Boden unter den

Fig. II. 13. Excerpt from "Schöne Zeiten." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p. 34.

This worker looks to the side. His face is divided between shade and sun, as it is presumably midday. Because he squints, the reader cannot see his eyes, but his facial features can be described as angular. He is wearing a simple hat and a belt holds up his pants. The right arm holds a big hammer that is rests on his right shoulder, suggesting the worker is either taking a break or observing something to his left. This shot and its size portray him as a towering figure, much bigger than Scheidemann a page earlier. He also towers over the soldiers in the last

photograph of the section on the right hand side of the double page, which shows three soldiers standing on Berlin's Spittelmarkt in 1919 (fig. 14).

Fig. II. 14. Excerpt from "Schöne Zeiten." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p. 35.

These soldiers were sent to the Spittelmarkt to suppress any crowds that might demonstrate for the "Sozialisierungsrecht" (35) of the mining workers. These workers-turned-soldiers become traitors against their own class and the Council of People's Deputies, which had passed the resolution for the "Sozialisierungsgesetze" (35). In comparing these two photos, placed on opposite sides of a double page, Tucholsky and Heartfield allow the member of the working class to stand out as an individual compared to other citizens, including the crowd in the first photo of the montage or the soldiers.

This functional montage exposes a dichotomy between the individual and the group. The portrait allows the implied reader to identify with the countenance of the worker and to actually *see* the worker, which is not possible in the case of the soldiers, who look to the side or stand with their backs to the photographer. Just as the functional montage achieves this effect on the readers via its vertical dimension that prompts them to interpret these photos by evaluating their own relationships to the portrayed subjects, the horizontal dimension, that sets up these three

photos in “Schöne Zeiten,” goes one step further. The dominance of the worker’s portrait also affects the text, in that it becomes difficult to read the lines to the right of the portrait. In these lines, Tucholsky condems President Friedrich Ebert’s lack of compassion for his people, while these, according to Tucholsky, formed a “Volk” (35) that had, unlike the “Gassenbesoffenheit” (35) for WWI in 1914, the ability to change their circumstances during the November Revolution of 1918-1919. Compared to these lines about Ebert, the statements about the “Volk,” and the workers in particular, are not in a column format like the lines next to the portrait (fig. 15), but easily readable, right *above* the photo of the soldiers, reinforcing the worker’s status compared to the soldier’s.

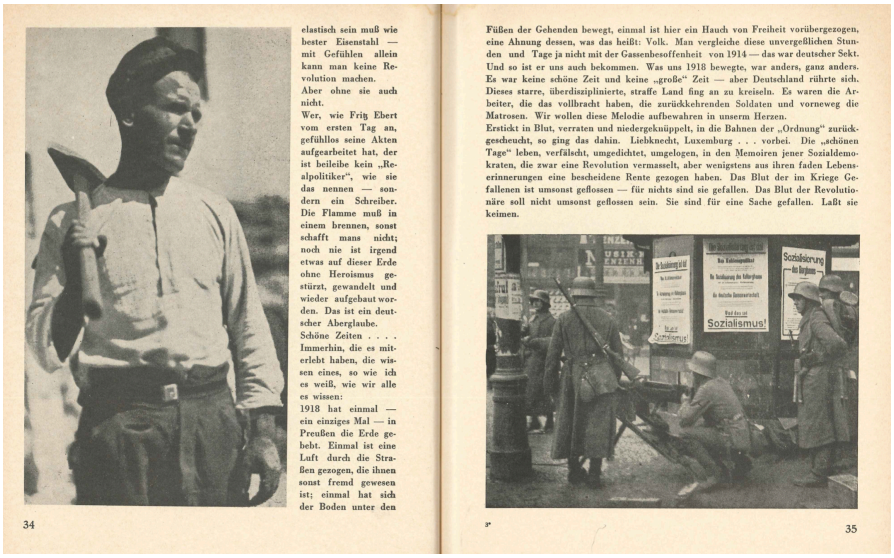
elastisch sein muß wie bester Eisenstahl — mit Gefühlen allein kann man keine Revolution machen.
Aber ohne sie auch nicht.
Wer, wie Fritz Ebert vom ersten Tag an, gefühllos seine Akten aufgearbeitet hat, der ist beileibe kein „Realpolitiker“, wie sie das nennen — sondern ein Schreiber. Die Flamme muß in einem brennen, sonst schafft mans nicht; noch nie ist irgend etwas auf dieser Erde ohne Heroismus gestürzt, gewandelt und wieder aufgebaut worden. Das ist ein deutscher Aberglaube.
Schöne Zeiten . . . . Immerhin, die es miterlebt haben, die wissen eines, so wie ich es weiß, wie wir alle es wissen:
1918 hat einmal — ein einziges Mal — in Preußen die Erde gebebt. Einmal ist eine Luft durch die Straßen gezogen, die ihnen sonst fremd gewesen ist; einmal hat sich der Boden unter den
34
Füßen der Gehenden bewegt, einmal ist hier ein Hauch von Freiheit vorübergezogen, eine Ahnung dessen, was das heißt: Volk. Man vergleiche diese unvergeßlichen Stunden und Tage ja nicht mit der Gassenbesoffenheit von 1914 — das war deutscher Sekt. Und so ist er uns auch bekommen. Was uns 1918 bewegte, war anders, ganz anders. Es war keine schöne Zeit und keine „große“ Zeit — aber Deutschland rührte sich. Dieses starre, überdisziplinierte, straffe Land fing an zu kreiseln. Es waren die Arbeiter, die das vollbracht haben, die zurückkehrenden Soldaten und vorneweg die Matrosen. Wir wollen diese Melodie aufbewahren in unserm Herzen.
Erstickt in Blut, verraten und niedergeknüppelt, in die Bahnen der „Ordnung“ zurückgescheucht, so ging das dahin. Liebknecht, Luxemburg . . . vorbei. Die „schönen Tage“ leben, verfälscht, umgedichtet, umgelogen, in den Memoiren jener Sozialdemokraten, die zwar eine Revolution vermasselt, aber wenigstens aus ihren faden Lebenserinnerungen eine bescheidene Rente gezogen haben. Das Blut der im Kriege Gefallenen ist umsonst geflossen — für nichts sind sie gefallen. Das Blut der Revolutionäre soll nicht umsonst geflossen sein. Sie sind für eine Sache gefallen. Laßt sie keimen.
Sozialisierung der Betriebe
Sozialismus!
35

Fig. II. 15. Excerpt from “Schöne Zeiten.” Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 34-35.

This higher value of the worker also becomes clear when he dominates the soldiers by looking down at them. Due to the page layout and the different frame sizes of both photos, the worker’s critical gaze is matched up with the soldier’s gun barrel pointing at him.

In this functional montage, the focus remains on the photograph of the worker. The implied reader is supposed to identify with this portrait, also taking a break, contemplating what

actually happened ten years prior during the November Revolution. Each element of this montage shapes the way this single worker is portrayed and received by the working class readers who, in the end, are asked to wonder if anything has changed for this individual worker, and, by extension, for them. The first and the last photograph have specific historical origins, while the portrait of the worker is timeless, a kind of allegory of a worker taking a break and contemplating his work life. Both in spatial terms, via its frame size, and in a temporal sense this portrait at the heart of this functional montage removes the worker from the mass and the soldiery, and asks the implied working-class readers to consider the condition of their class.

The very same image of the worker was used for an article in the *AIZ* in 1928, accompanying with an array of other photographs a poem by Tucholsky, called "Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik." While the arrangement of the stanzas in Tucholsky's poem mimics a downward movement, demonstrating in form and content the "fall" of the Weimar Republic, the portrait of the worker on the far right side of the article comes as an afterthought (fig. 16).

Fig. II. 16. "Zehn Jahre Deutsche Republik." Tucholsky, *AIZ*, November 1928.

While his critical gaze is directed at the photo next to him, showing President of the Reich Hindenburg's birthday celebration, the picture does not interact with the other photos on the double page. There are images of working class women, protests, politicians, and soldiers. Indeed, the same photo of the soldiers on the Spittelmarkt as in "Schöne Zeiten" (see fig. 14) is included, again on the opposite side of the double page. This time, however, the worker is not thoughtfully placed in relationship to these soldiers. The worker is not a dominating, but a resigned figure in this composition. In addition, captions for every photo fill the white gaps between the poem and the images, adding more information for the reader, which does not leave much space for contemplation, as was the case for the functional montage of "Schöne Zeiten" (33-35).

While "Schöne Zeiten" manages to bestow a double role of an identifying reader and critical observer on the implied working class reader,[24] there is also a kind of functional montage in *Deutschland* that relies more on its images than on its textual elements. These functional montages occur in two sections: "Statistik" (46-55) and "Nie allein" (124-131). In particular, the functional montage "Nie allein" stands out when Tucholsky and Heartfield address their working-class readers by not only showing them how workers actually live; they are also prompting workers to turn towards their own class and their place in the public sphere. "Nie allein" features eleven photographs of working-class families and their living quarters. Tucholsky and Heartfield not only use the photos as representations, but actually give them syntactical functions, each building on the other like words forming a sentence, similar to a product being assembled on an assembly line. Instead of spelling out the object of the sentence

[24] There are several other functional montages that rely on both images and text in *Deutschland* (59-62; 17-21).

and circumscribing it with attributes and nouns, they use the particle “so,” followed by a photo. (figs. 17 and 18)

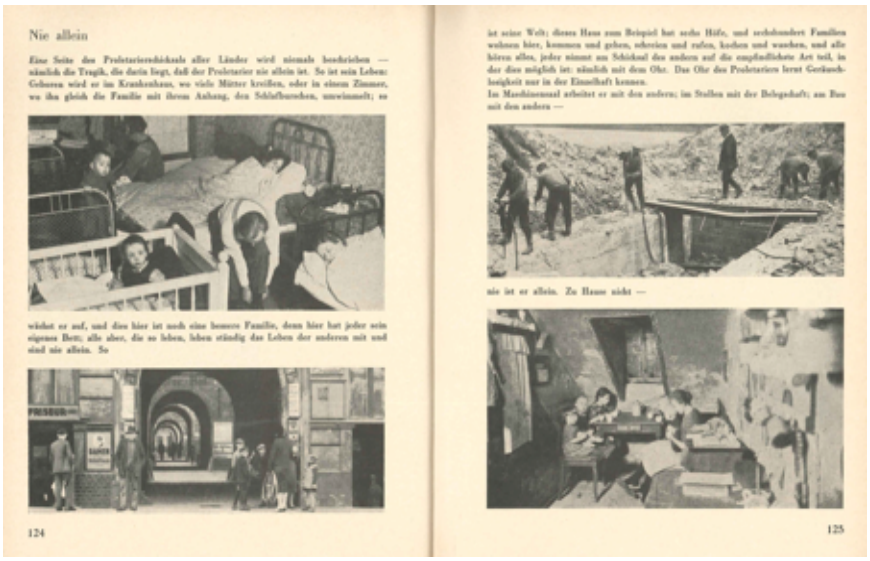

Fig. II. 17. Excerpt from “Nie Allein.” Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* pp. 124-125.

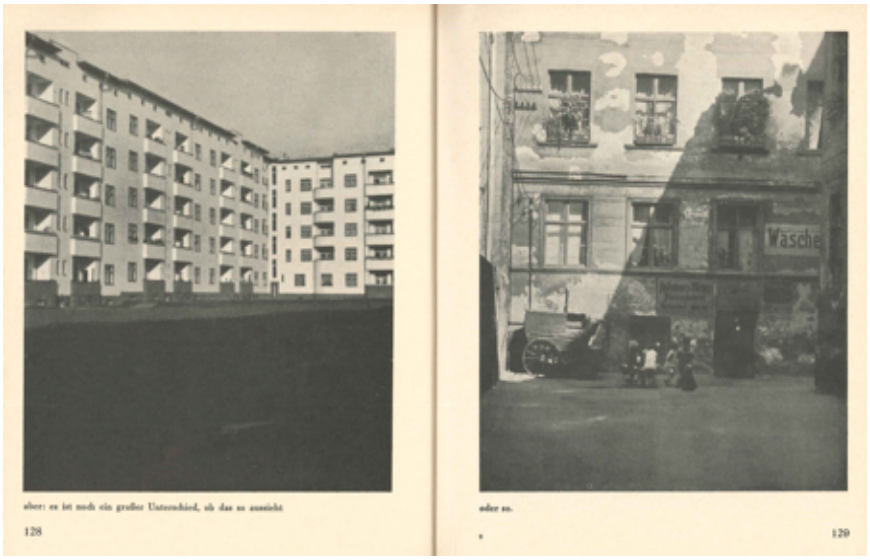

Fig. II. 18. Excerpt from “Nie Allein.” Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* pp. 128-129.

At this point, halfway through *Deutschland*, Tucholsky's and Heartfield's implied readers have learned to read and question photographs, questions their authenticity and what they reveal or hide. Yet in the case of "Nie allein," nothing is invisible. Everything is made visible about the worker, his family, and their living quarters. The photographs are at once illustrative and educational when it comes to showing how easily the terrible housing situation in Berlin could be changed, replacing outdated barracks with residential complexes that not only have enough space but equal space, for every worker (fig. 18). No one would have to live in the kitchen anymore, share their bed with roomers ("Schlafbursche") (*DD* 124), or live in a stable with cows and horses (*DD* 131). While these demands are all not unexpected in a photobook that criticizes state institutions, the actual issue about these tight living quarters is indeed something that is not often discussed: no one can ever be really by themselves, as the title "Nie Allein" indicates. Tucholsky points this out himself: "Eine Seite des Proletariatsschicksals aller Länder wird niemals beschrieben – nämlich die Tragik, dass der Proletarier nie allein ist" (*DD* 124). Yet it is not Tucholsky's point for the workers to fight to be alone and isolated from their group. Instead, he describes a typical working-class biography: born among others in a hospital, growing up among many families, participating in each others' lives, also at work, and even when dying, the worker is not alone. Then he makes the decisive point: fighting for their rights to have more and equal space is not a "falsches Bürger-Ideal" (126); the worker would not abandon his class and the ideals of "Kollektivität" and "Solidarität" (126). Instead, fighting for his right for better housing would add a layer of individuality to him: "Aber gibt es ein menschliches Wesen, das da mehr sein will als nur Arbeitsmotor, Fortpflanzungsapparat und Verdauungsmaschine, und das nicht den Wunsch hätte, einmal, nur ein einziges Mal, allein zu sein?" (126). First of all, it is necessary to point out that the worker already has various layers other than just work to himself.

For instance, he is also portrayed as a father figure. In contrast, soldiers, politicians, and judges all remain one-dimensional in *Deutschland*. Yet to become more of an individual, who can let "die Seele ausdünsten" (126), more is needed. Tucholsky goes one step further and expands the one-dimensional gender assignment of the male worker-figure in order to include both genders. In no other parts in this photobook – with the exception of the entertainment industry – have women played a role so far. It is very different in the case of the working class. Women and children also have a right for space and self-realization. If these living conditions do not change soon, the "Mensch" – Tucholsky does not use a gendered term of the words "Proletarier" or "Arbeiter" anymore – can neither fight for their class nor can they be human beings. The worker would start to "knurren" (131) like a dog, loose its dignity as a human being, and turn into an animal.

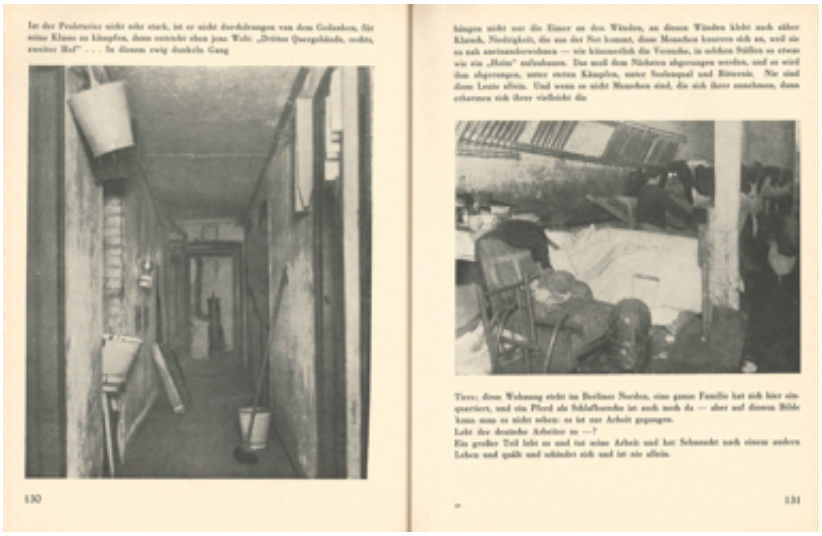

Fig. II. 19. Excerpt from "Nie Allein." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* pp. 130-131.

Tucholsky is referring to a photograph of a family living in a stable (see fig. 19). Similar to "Tiere sehen dich an" (63; see fig. 11), the word "Tiere" is also the first word under the photograph to the right. However, unlike the generals' portraits, this is not a photomontage. A

hen and cows are visible in the background; a woman and her daughter with a bow in her hair are watching them. The only animal missing, the horse, is anthropomorphized by Tucholsky: "ein Pferd als Schlafbursche ist auch noch da – aber auf diesem Bilde kann man es nicht sehen: es ist zur Arbeit gegangen. Lebt der deutsche Arbeiter so - ?" (131). While in "Tiere sehen dich an" (63) the point of comparison is not quite clear and the animal is downgraded to a brutal, immoral being, in "Nie allein" the animal has as much dignity as the human being: the horse working like a man, and the man working like a horse. Yet their living space should not be a shared one. Compared to "Schöne Zeiten" (33-35), the human figure disappears in this functional montage, moving together with the text into the background. The photographs of living quarters, empty hallways, and house fronts take on the primary function. In both zooming in, showing bedrooms and dark hallways, and zooming out, showing entire housing complexes (see figs. 17 and 18), the implied working-class readers can place themselves next to the beds and the kitchen tables, and take a critical perspective when seeing the differences in living standards. The anthropomorphization of the horse then takes the critical perspective of this montage a step further: it is not military personnel looking like animals at the working class (*DD* 63), but workers are tasked to question the horse having the status of the worker and vice versa.

This functional montage shows that for its goal – its readers being able to develop a dynamic and critical view – it is necessary to balance texts and photos and to understand each of their advantages and disadvantages. Photomontages can have a big and direct effect on the reader, but might gloss over more elaborate issues, as was the case in "1918 am Rhein" (13), in "Tiere sehen dich an" (63), or for the parade in "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" (92-93). In turn, simple texts with photos added might not be able to illustrate the issue they are trying to explain, for instance, in the case of Tucholsky's illustrated poem "Zehn Jahre deutsche

Republik." Only in the case of the worker do Tucholsky and Heartfield create a functional montage, to show the workers' several identities and perspectives, which is not possible for the soldier, who, due to his uniform, has only one single identity. Compared to the judges, the politicians, and the soldiers, only the worker can take on different roles and is not confined to one type, as shown by "Nie allein" (124-131). Tucholsky and Heartfield try to show their implied readers, and working-class readers in particular, how photographs depict them to the public: defined by their occupation and actions at work. However, due to the lack of uniforms and other group markers, workers become a group within the public sphere whose individuals are still visible. In fact, as the last section of *Deutschland* shows, the working-class readers, having read and worked through many functional montages, arrive at the section "Heimat" (*DD* 226 -231), which loops back to both of the photobook's prefaces. Now the readers face the idea of Germany as "Heimat," approaching it as a reader who has learned via functional montages to employ a dynamic perspective as a way to "invade" their status quo in the public sphere. Now they get to use this perspective for the issue of "Heimat" and its representation in the final functional montage of *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles.*

From Germany in Pictures to Germany as "Heimat":
A Public Sphere through Individual Eyes

While the second preface of *Deutschland* questioned the status of what is public or a public figure when the reader sees and evaluates photographs, the final section, "Heimat" (226-231), becomes a case study for the reader to employ new skills in a critical observation[25] –

[25] Dieter Mayer points out that it is the reader's task to create relationships between *Deutschland's* sections, texts and images and that it is also the task of these readers to conceive

particularly when it takes a decided stance on the idea of Germany, viewing it as "Heimat." This section includes photographs of the places mentioned in the second preface,[26] while at the same time, curiously enough, not featuring one single photograph that depicts a human figure. While the first preface of *Deutschland* set up a clear dichotomy of an outsider, i.e., Hyperion, encountering the German people, the second preface built on this opposition of a private and a public realm, targeting the ambiguity of photography, which is able to blur easily the lines between these two spheres. It is left to the reader to determine whether the photograph and the individuals portrayed were meant to end up in a private photo album or in public media (see fig. 4). Tucholsky's "Vorrede" (10-12) provided a manual and educated the reader about how to approach texts and photographs. Moreover, it performed a functional montage that would eventually recur in *Deutschland* after the second preface. Yet Tucholsky and Heartfield do not resolve the opposition of the public and the private realms, which in the Weimar Republic is strongly aligned with the binary between mass and individuality. Various sections have demonstrated this, such as "Schöne Zeiten" (*DD* 33) with its contrast between a throng of people demonstrating and a single worker, or "Dieses Theater" (*DD* 38) with the soldiers forming a mass ornament. Tucholsky vowed to work only with "Zufallsbilder" and "gewollte Bilder" (11) – photographs taken by chance or with the intention to be seen by the public – focusing on their exemplary character to portray and create a profile of Germany. But, is an exemplary character also already a public one? Put differently, is "das Typische" (11) exemplary for a country and its people and hence the foundation of its public sphere? Or is one rather to understand Tucholsky's

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their own image of Germany that Tucholsky and Heartfield do not simply hand to them (Mayer, "Aktiver Pessimismus" 90; 101).

[26] ". . . die Bilder nehmen gar kein Ende, . . . und die Plätze, an denen sie arbeiten, und die Häuser, darin sie wohnen, und die Felder drum herum, die Wiesen, die kleine Seen, das Meer, die Türme der Stadt, der Wald, die Äcker . . ." (*DD* 11).

and Heartfield's intention as an aim to show who and which social classes have been standing in as exemplary for the German people? The question remains then: What actually are those typical and exemplary images of Germany for Tucholsky and Heartfield, and how do they and their readers attain them? Based on the "Vorrede" (10-12), the reader just needs to listen to people in photographs until they speak to them. Using this instruction, the intention to show the exemplary and the typical, by letting photographs and their depicted persons speak, sets up the reader's expectation that *Deutschland*'s last section will follow through and portray individuals, groups, and their exemplary traits,[27] eventually revising the accepted image of Germany and its people and correcting Hyperion's depiction of the Germans in the first preface.

However, "Heimat" does not resolve this setup created by both prefaces. Using "Heimat" as a title for the last section – a concept going through many changes at the time[28] – Tucholsky takes a decided stance on what Germany means to him. He promised his reader in the "Vorrede" to answer the question as to why he employed the title *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles.* At

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[27] Tucholsky's setup in the "Vorrede" (10-12) and his focus on people throughout *Deutschland* created an expectation for the reader to see images in "Heimat" that are similar to August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit*, which was comprised of portraits of various social classes and, was like *Deutschland*, also published in 1929.

[28] In the 1890s, at the height of industrialization and urbanization – Berlin's population increased from one million in 1880 to two million by 1910. The term "Heimatkunst" was used to label literature and other forms of art that were dedicated to regional and rural life. This dichotomy of rural and urban life defined the "Heimatbewegung," which became the key term for the response to Germany's modernization process. Already before WWI, the Heimat discourse became defined by oppositions, such as "province against metropolis, tradition against modernity, nature against artificiality, … fixed, familiar rooted identity against cosmopolitanism, hybridity, alien otherness, or the faceless mass" (Boa and Palfreyman 2). During WWI and after, the specific regional associations of the term Heimat started to fade into the background and the ideas of "Vaterland" and maternal Heimat "began to grow together in the myth of the nation. Throughout the 1920s and under the Third Reich the term and idea of Heimat was equated with nationhood. Eventually the myth of Heimat lost any concrete meaning and could be abused to feed into the racist Blood and Soil ideology. For more on the term of Heimat as well as its connotations and developments between 1890 and 1990, see Boa and Palfreyman.

first, "Heimat" seems to be a dangerous concept in that regard. After all, the National Socialists and their Blood and Soil ideology[29] had already started to appropriate the idea of "Heimat" during the Weimar Republic. Yet Tucholsky does not openly speak against the National Socialists in "Heimat" or elsewhere in *Deutschland,* for which many reviewers criticized him already at the time.[30] In using the title "Heimat" and only including images of German landscapes, man-made structures and buildings, which are neither political photomontages against National Socialism nor even images that include German people, it seems that Tucholsky avoids closing the frame opened by the second preface: the promise to answer why *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* received its ironically patriotic title. It seems that Tucholsky chose to give an escapist answer. However, this judgment is not only unfair, as the previous sections of the photobook are filled with criticism and portrayals of people of various social classes, but it is also besides the point. The photos included in "Heimat" show buildings and landscapes typically associated with Germany. They are exemplary for natural and man-made structures German and non-German readers would expect to find in Germany (see fig. 20).

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[29] "During the 1920s the concept absorbed agrarian-romantic, reactionary, and also anti-Semitic variants, which in turn were incorporated in the National Socialist 'blood and soil' movement. After 1933, Heimat was a synonym for race (blood) and territory (soil), a deadly combination that led to the exile or the annihilation of anyone who did not 'belong.' Under the National Socialists Heimat meant the murderous exclusion of everything 'un-German.' " (Kaes *Hitler to Heimat* 165).

[30] Theater critic and writer for the Berliner Börsen-Courier Herbert Ihering criticized Tucholsky for not going beyond his polemics to really characterize the conditions in Weimar Germany and fighting against a certain movement, which implies the rise of National Socialist party (Ihering "Polemik ohne Risiko" 1929). Also critic Walter Fabian questioned in his review Tucholsky's political goal with *DD* (Fabian "Salonkommunisten und Kritikaster" 1929).

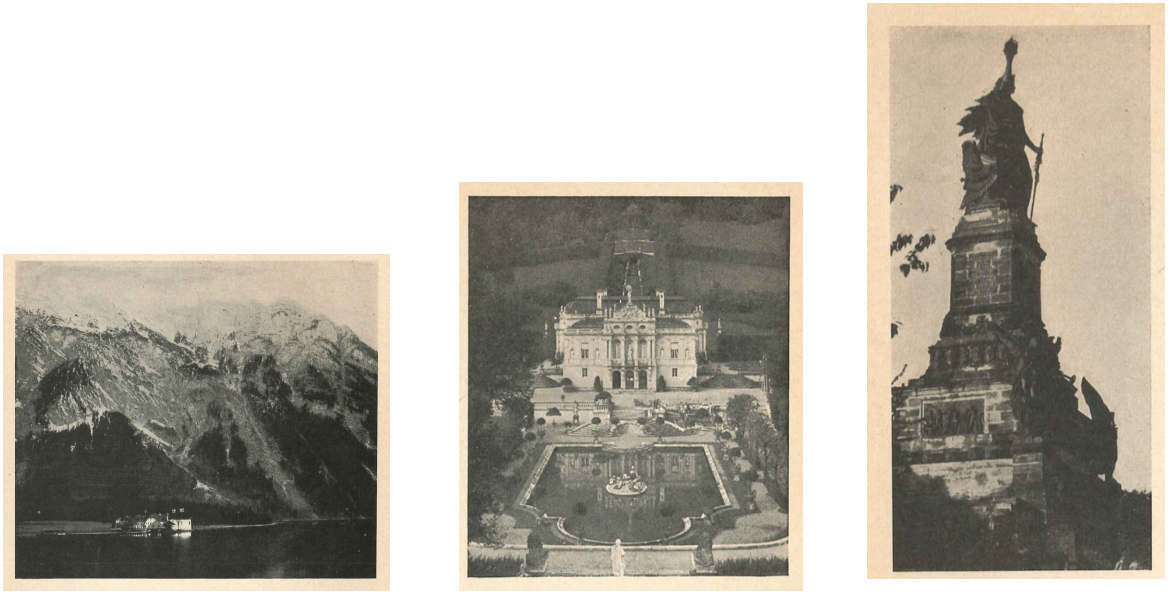

Fig. II. 20. Excerpts from "Heimat." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* pp. 227-228.

They do not show people or members of certain social classes that *should* be associated with Germany. They also do not show cities or technological developments, as might be expected for Weimar Germany and its modern advancements. Instead, the idea of "Heimat" is unfolded in this final functional montage via the association with German landscapes and landmarks, to the very south and very north of Germany.

While this sounds like a romantic approach to the idea of Germany as "Heimat," these images and Tucholsky's essay still present a strong comment to the pressing socio-political issues at the end of the Weimar Republic.[31] The photographs show, for instance, the pilgrimage church St. Bartholomew at the Königssee in Bavaria, and the Tall Anna, the famous high sea stack of red sand stone on the North Sea island of Helgoland. The latter is not a coincidence, as

[31] While Sarah Hans acknowledges that these images provide visually a cross section of Germany, she denies that they also provide a cross section in a social and political context. While I agree with her that "Heimat" is different to previous sections, my analysis argues that this section is as socio-politically relevant as previous ones.

Hoffmann von Fallersleben wrote *The Song of the Germans,* which contains the line "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," on this island in 1841.[32] For Tucholsky, even if one does not own a piece of land in the Bavarian alps, the German citizen can attach "ein Gefühl jenseits aller Politik" (227) to this landscape, establishing again the vertical dimension of the functional montage by directly appealing to his readers' personal feelings and non-political experiences. Tucholsky first seems to be propagating romantic escapism and urging his reader to leave the city for the countryside, a view often mentioned in both contemporary and subsequent reviews.[33] However, Tucholsky and Heartfield also included a photograph of a larger-than-life war monument,[34] or an image of Linderhof Palace in Southern Bavaria (fig. 20) to show that even in a seemingly untouched landscape, there are buildings and monuments that their reader views as beautiful and integrated into the landscape. Yet Tucholsky does not let his reader forget that these monuments are human-made, using the rarely employed first-person perspective in *Deutschland*: "ich vergesse nicht, daß hundert Bauern[35] in Notstand gelebt haben, damit dieses [Linderhof] hier gebaut werden konnte" (228). In opposition to prevailing scholarship, I propose that only after Tucholsky has covered all other areas, social classes, and institutions of public life in *Deutschland*, is he able to turn from this first-person perspective to a collective one: "Ja, wir lieben dieses Land" (230); "Wir pfeifen auf die Fahnen, aber wir lieben dieses Land" (231).

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[32] "The Song of the Germans" became the German national anthem in 1922.

[33] Rainer Michael Berg's dissertation *Kurt Tucholskys 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles' im Spiegel der Presse der Weimarer Republik* (2008) provides an in-depth overview of reviews and reactions at the time.

[34] The Niederwalddenkmal commemorates the founding of the German Empire in 1871 after the end of the Franco-Prussian War.

[35] *Deutschland* does not contain any images or texts concerning peasants or agriculture. This is probably due to the move from regional to urban centers at the time (Boa and Palfreyman 1-2). In addition, this also does not allow, particularly in this section that addresses "Heimat" and nationhood, for the image of the peasant to dominate, who became in the iconography of the Third Reich the representation of the German spirit (Boa and Palfreyman 5).

Continuously employing this perspective in "Heimat," I argue that he does not escape any concrete standpoint of how the public is defined or what action the public should take, particularly against the "umgekehrten Nationalisten" (231). In the end, the "wir", the public, is not just located in cities, or somewhere in the German landscape. It is located somewhere in-between. Hence Tucholsky's and Heartfield's decision to include photographs only from the very south and very north of the country. The war monument on the Rhine is the only exception. In the end, this suggests that the public is supposed to be on the move, as Tucholsky writes, moving around a city, its buildings, parks, and transit hubs, and even moving around the country, as the very last photograph of a train on the Hindenburgdamm that connects the island of Sylt to the mainland indicates (fig. 21).

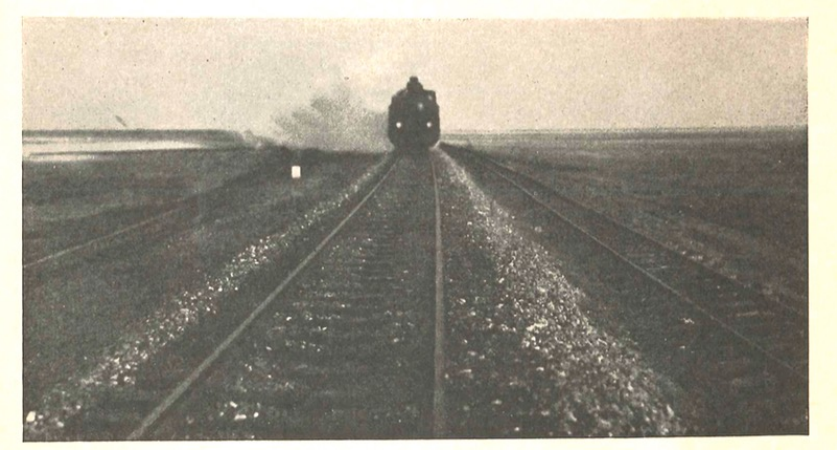

Fig. II. 21. Excerpt from "Heimat." Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929*,* p. 231.

Tucholsky stresses that every individual carries his "Privat-Deutschland" with him (228), either feeling connected to the south or to the north, and either emphasizing his own individuality or his connection to a group or social class. Thus the idea of "Heimat" is dissolved here, as much as the binaries between private and public, and between individual and mass have been dissolved in earlier sections, stressing that a mobile, fluctuating identity is necessary in the modern society

of the Weimar Republic. Thus a German citizen is not just attached to a clod of earth, "signifying the native heath to which man is supposedly attached [in the *Blood and Soil* ideology]" (Boa and Palfreyman 7);[36] his identity is rather defined by modern mobility, signified by the train connecting mainland Germany with the island of Sylt, via a thin, artificial railroad embankment. While each citizen might define their idea of "Heimat" through local loyalty, national citizenship, or even cosmopolitan openness, bridging the gaps between the island and the mainland, and between the north and the south, will make a difference. Yet this can only work when the German citizen is aware that like the train, the idea of national identity connects various concepts and ideas, and, moreover, that a national identity is an artificial construct like the railroad embankment.

Conclusion

In *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, Tucholsky and Heartfield portray and criticize the media and their display of a limited selection of public figures, i.e. politicians, judges and military officials, which creates a public sphere that does not reflect the actual German public. Tucholsky and Heartfield focus on the worker as a protagonist, holding up a mirror to him and showing him how he is portrayed, particularly through photographs and functional montages. These are designed to match the worker's everyday life, bringing him closer to the media and vice versa. Tucholsky and Heartfield also show him a different way of reading, in that they both want the implied working-class reader to identify with the photos, while also being able to take

[36] In "Heimat," Tucholsky briefly refers to soil ("Boden"), yet moves away from turning an appreciation of soil into more than it should be, not giving any credit to the blood and soil ideology of the National Socialists: "wir bewundern ihn [Boden], wir schätzen ihn – aber er ist nicht das" (*DD* 226).

the perspective of a distanced, critical viewer. In doing so, Tucholsky and Heartfield do not cross the line from the public to the private realm, singling out certain individuals; instead, they promote individuality by appealing to the readers' senses, counteracting the view of the German workers as an anonymous mass. To that end, they create a concept of the public sphere seen through the eyes of an individual. This essentially corresponds to the framework Tucholsky sets up at the beginning when he discusses the binary between an individual and the German people, between private and public realms. He closes this frame by addressing the idea of "Heimat" as mobile identity, as every reader cherishes a "Privat-Deutschland" that is not exclusively tied to a private or public sphere. This fits the idea of the reader as a "Detektiv-Spaziergänger," the updated concept of the flâneur that I identified in the previous chapter on Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße.* Similar to the functional montages in *Deutschland, Einbahnstraße* challenged the reader's and writer's movement through the script of the modern city via the modern emblem, thereby educating them and advocating for new ways of writing and reading that go against the conformity of mass media – much like the working class readers in *Deutschland* are not supposed to just follow the mass. In the next chapter, the concentration on the soldier in Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* parallels the focus on the worker in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*. Friedrich addresses the soldier as the implied reader of his work, both mirroring his experiences and educating him and the public about his situation and place in the public sphere. This connects *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!,* as all three works give attention to specific groups of implied readers: writers, readers, workers, and soldiers. These photobooks become a means not only to make these groups visible in the public sphere by combining texts and images in montages, but also to educate them as their implied readers.

Chapter Three

Re-contextualizing the Soldier in the Public Sphere: From Wound to Witness in Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!*

At the beginning of World War I, the Austrian writer and poet Georg Trakl was sent as a medical officer to the Eastern front. In the fall of 1914, he participated in the first major battle between the Austrian and Russian armies at Gródek. After this ferocious battle, Trakl was in charge of ninety severely wounded soldiers without any supplies to attend to them. In despair, he attempted to kill himself, but his comrades intervened.[1] Before he died two months later, he wrote the poem "Grodek," based on what he had witnessed during the eponymous battle:

> Am Abend tönen die herbstlichen Wälder
> Von tödlichen Waffen, die goldnen Ebenen
> Und blauen Seen, darüber die Sonne
> Düstrer hinrollt; umfängt die Nacht
> Sterbende Krieger, die wilde Klage
> Ihrer zerbrochenen Münder.
> Doch stille sammelt im Weidengrund
> Rotes Gewölk, darin ein zürnender Gott wohnt
> Das vergossne Blut sich, mondne Kühle;
> (Trakl 167)

Trakl translated his experiences from the frontline into this poem via a synesthesia of battle sounds and fall colors, aligning nature's decay with death on the battlefield. Usually quiet forests "tönen" because they are filled with the noise of gunshots. Trakl then proceeds to use all three

[1] See Otto Basil and Hans Weichselbaum for detailed accounts of Trakl's life and final months at the front.

primary colors to paint a picture of the wounded soldiers in this autumnal landscape: Between golden wheat fields and blue lakes, wounded soldiers lay dying, the meadows underneath them soaking up their red blood. While the forests are filled with gunshot sounds, the soldiers, are silent. More specifically, they are silenced, not yet by death, but by facial wounds: "zerbrochene Münder" (Trakl 167) prevent them from producing any sounds, let alone words. Trakl's poem presents an image of the frontline in 1914 that was repeated over the course of the next four years. Those who survived these four years would return home with injuries and grave facial wounds visible to family members and the public, reminding them of WWI's impact and consequences.

Even after the war, authors like Kurt Tucholsky,[2] who served as a soldier at the Eastern Front,[3] never tired of reminding the public of WWI's atrocities. In his poem "Krieg dem Kriege," published in 1919, Tucholsky warns against history repeating itself: "Geben sie uns den Vernichtungsfrieden, / ist das gleiche Los beschieden / unsern Söhnen und euern Enkeln. / Sollen die wieder blutrot besprenkeln /die Ackergräben, das grüne Gras?" (112). Similar to Trakl, Tucholsky also uses the contrast of two colors, red and green, to paint a picture of the many fallen soldiers left behind on the battlefield. Yet while poems like Trakl's or Tucholsky's can create graphic images in their readers' minds, it was photographs that could provide a much more vivid account of what happened at the front, depicting mangled landscapes, trenches, and

[2] For further details about Tucholsky's involvement in WWI, see Hepp.
[3] Later on he was a "Kompanieschreiber." From November 1916 onwards he published the field newspaper *Der Flieger*. Tucholsky saw these posts as a writer and field-newspaper editor as good opportunities to avoid serving in the trenches. Looking back he wrote: „Ich habe mich dreieinhalb Jahre im Kriege gedrückt, wo ich nur konnte. … ich wandte viele Mittel an, um nicht erschossen zu werden und um nicht zu schießen – nicht einmal die schlimmsten Mittel. Aber ich hätte alle, ohne jede Ausnahme alle, angewandt, wenn man mich gezwungen hätte: keine Bestechung, keine andre strafbare Handlung hätt' ich verschmäht. Viele taten ebenso" ("Wo waren Sie im Kriege, Herr –?" 489).

destroyed villages. Beholders of such photos do not have to use as much imagination as when reading Trakl's or Tucholsky's poems. Photographs offered a visual chronicle of the war, which was even more vivid when these photos were in color. As Peter Walther points out in his edited volume *Endzeit Europa,* Hans Hildenbrand was the only one among the nineteen officially accredited war photographers on the German side to take color photos at the Western front in 1915 and 1916 (197). Hildenbrand's photos show soldiers' camps, field hospitals, destroyed villages, trenches, and even a field of vibrant red poppies (see fig. 1). Poppies had already become a symbol of ever-resurgent nature in contrast to the never-ending deaths of soldiers.

Fig. III. 1. "Ein Mohnfeld im Kampfgebiet." Hildenbrand, *Endzeit Europa,* Wallstein, 2008, p. 216.

Yet what Hildenbrand's photos do not show are the gruesome literary images readers encountered in Trakl's and Tucholsky's texts. Even if photos accompanied these poems, what would have been their functions? Would they have been mere illustrations – an unnecessary addition to a powerful textual account of war atrocities? Or would a photograph even distract from the text, rendering the textual account irrelevant, because the visual component would capture the reader's attention? While Trakl, Tucholsky, or Hildenbrand were not confronted with these questions for their poems and photos, authors of photobooks on WWI certainly had to grapple with deciding how to arrange photos and combine them with text, if using any text at all.

After all, an abundance of photographs documenting the destructions of WWI existed and could be reused in their photobooks. Peter Walther notes that censorship did not play a major role, particularly not during the early years of the war (198). While photographers were not allowed to depict certain cities and regions due to their strategic significance, it was surprising that they had otherwise a lot of freedom to document the war's destructions, most likely since the civilian population largely remained unaffected (198). For that reason, many photographs caputring warfare, combat, everyday life, and wounded or fallen soldiers were taken during the war. Amateurs and soldiers themselves took pictures, in addition to professional photographers like Hildenbrand.[4] A few years after the war, many photobooks appeared that recycled these photos for their own purposes. Their goal was either to showcase Germany's achievements and the soldiers' heroism in the field, as in Ernst Jünger's *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* (1930), Franz Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg* (1928), or Hermann Rex's *Der Weltkrieg in seiner rauhen Wirklichkeit* (1926); or photobooks set out to expose the war's atrocities and warn against another war, like *Der Kamerad im Westen* (1930), *Friede, Freiheit, Brot – ein Deutschenspiegel* (1926), or Willy Stiewe's *Der Krieg nach dem Krieg* (1931). As much as their goals to influence the public differ, they all use combinations of photos and texts, and various montage strategies to reach their goals, which leads to the overarching questions of this chapter: How did authors of photobooks use photographs and texts to portray and comment on WWI for the post-war public? Did they find ways to use and combine both media without one overpowering the other, possibly also in "functional montages"? What do the photos show and what do they hide? This pertains in particular to the portrayal of the common infantry soldier – a figure who is a worker and member

[4] For further reading on photography during WWI, see Hüppauf ("Todesbilder aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg"), Keller, and Dewitz ("Zur Geschichte der Kriegsphotographie des Ersten Weltkriegs" and *So wird bei uns der Krieg geführt: Amateurfotografie im ersten Weltkrieg*).

of the regular public, only turning into a soldier during wartime. Do these photobooks visualize and add previously unseen aspects to the idea of the soldier? And will readers view him less as an alien figure, as someone who *also* belongs to society and the general public sphere?

In this regard, Ernst Friedrich's two-volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!* takes on a special position among photobooks covering WWI. Its photographs and their use still reverberate today, for instance in Susan Sontag's book-length essay *Regarding the Pain of Others,* which discusses the influence of narrative on war photography.[5] Published in 1924 and 1926 respectively, only a few years after the war ended, the aim of Friedrich's two volumes was to educate the broad public to counteract war with pacifism. It found wide popular appeal,[6] and "by 1930 had gone through ten editions in Germany and been translated into many languages" (Sontag 14), in addition to English, French, and Dutch, which were already included in the original edition of the book.[7] While it gained a widespread readership, the book could not effect a turn of the public to pacifism. It also failed to change the culture of how WWI should be commemorated, since it

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[5] "This is photography as shock therapy: an album of more than one hundred and eighty photographs mostly drawn from German military and medical archives, many of which were deemed unpublishable by government censors while the war was on. Almost all the sequences in *Krieg dem Kriege!* are difficult to look at, notably the pictures of dead soldiers belonging to the various armies putrefying in heaps on fields and roads and in the front-line trenches. But surely the most unbearable pages in this book, the whole of which was designed to horrify and demoralize, are in the section titled "The Face of War," twenty-four close-ups of soldiers with huge facial wounds. … Immediately denounced by the government and by veterans' and other patriotic organizations, Friedrich's declaration of *Krieg dem Kriege!* was acclaimed by left-wing writers, artists, and intellectuals, as well as by the constituencies of the numerous antiwar leagues, who predicted that the book would have a decisive influence on public opinion. By 1930, *Krieg dem Kriege!* had gone through ten editions in Germany and been translated into many languages." (Sontag14-15).

[6] 50,000 copies were sold between 1929-34. (Spree and Oelze lviii)

[7] I will cite from a reprint of *Krieg dem Kriege!*, published in 2016 by the Ch. Links Verlag. Since the original publication appeared in four languages, i.e. all captions and text have been translated into French, Dutch and English, and accompany the photographs in the same way as the German captions and texts, I will use the English translations in my analysis, unless the German wording differs significantly or becomes semantically or syntactically relevant.

competed with several other popular photobooks, including Jünger's, Schauwecker's, and Rex's works, which underlined the soldiers' heroism or Germany's accomplishments. Yet the *way* Friedrich tried to promotes pacifism deserves attention: both volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!* make effective use of montage strategies that rely on reusing photographs: and both work with photographs and other media as "found material," objects Friedrich collected for his Anti-War-Museum in Berlin and then put together for *Krieg dem Kriege!*, adding captions and short texts. The resulting montages rely surprisingly less on the portrayal of infantry soldiers and their actions in the field, than on the war's aftermath and other facets of soldiery.

This chapter investigates how Friedrich captures in both form and content other aspects of the common soldier, those that actually "remove" him from the frontline that is alien to the public and "insert" him back into contexts familiar to them. Friedrich thereby uncovers an idea of the soldier that had become invisible during the war, all in order to encourage an alternative pacifist public. Friedrich uses three new strategies to achieve this goal. First, instead of showing the soldier as a fighting hero at the frontline, he shows him as a son, a father, and pet owner, tying him in many ways closer to familial structures at home. As a second strategy, Friedrich shows in a subtler move that the soldier in his miniature toy form is more of a "timeless concept" in the public sphere than one would expect. The third and most prevailing strategy is his attempt to show again and again that the soldier is a "witness" *of* the events during the war *for* the public, presenting testimony about the war after the facts. These three strategies are articulated through an intricate montage method that evinces great attention to the choice of photographs and their combinations with captions and texts, including, but not limited to, "functional montages." Friedrich's implied readers are guided similarly, moving via all three of Friedrich's montage strategies from familiar to unfamiliar and previously inconspicuous perspectives on soldiery.

Similar to Benjamin's strategy of de- and reconstructing writing and reading practices, and also similar to Tucholsky's address of the working-class reader via montage techniques, Friedrich both de-familiarizes and, at the same time, re-contextualizes the soldier for his implied readers via montages, aiming to achieve an alternative public that opposes war.

My primary analysis will trace this dual movement in three sections. Each section moves from known images and functions of soldiers to uncovering those previously hidden. The first section is devoted to *Krieg dem Kriege!'s* first volume, particularly its opening sequence. Here Friedrich employs a functional montage over several pages, thus paralleling Tucholsky's and Heartfield's opening of *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles.* This first multi-page sequence of photo-text combinations looks at the general and timeless idea of soldiery and its indoctrination during childhood, moving from the tangible toy soldier to its narrative representation. Similar to *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,* the functional montage of this opening sequence aims to present readers with familiar views, only to use these to train them to read the rest of *Krieg dem Kriege!* more critically. In the second section, I will demonstrate how Friedrich uses juxtapositions in functional montages to substantiate the general, timeless image of the soldier presented in the opening montage. In a dual movement he removes the soldier from the front only to recast him within his original concept at home, defined by his family, animals, and even his corporeality, particularly when Friedrich exposes the injured soldier's naked body only to connect it to the reader's body. It will become clear that *Krieg dem Kriege!* differs strinkingly from other photobooks, which often focused solely on the idea of the soldier at the front. After showing how the idea of the soldier is a timeless one, existing both during and outside of wartime, and one that is never really separated from his other roles in society, the third and last section of my analysis hones in on one additional function of the soldier that can be easily

overlooked: his role as a witness. The soldier's corporeality, as depicted by images of badly mangled corpses or by medical photographs of atrocious facial wounds, figures prominently in both volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!* and is discussed widely in scholarship, since they bring the atrocities of the war closest to Friedrich's readership. In contrast, I argue that Friedrich rather relies on the soldier's function as a witness in order to connect what he has seen in the field to the reader's public eye.

From Toy Soldier to Murderer – The Timeless Idea of the Soldier

Throughout both volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!,* photographs of mass graves, graveyards, mangled landscapes, and of wounded or dead soldiers seem to dominate the way the soldier is portrayed. As a result, however, those photographs and illustrations that do *not* depict these atrocities stand out. This is particularly the case for the first volume's opening montage of photographs and illustrations. They showcase a concept of soldiery that is independent of wartime, depicting a timeless idea of the soldier in the form of toys and games designed for a child's play and education. Friedrich opens his first volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!* with a functional montage of these images in order to address especially the parents, teachers, and clergy who are all in charge of children's education at the time. While photographs of corpses and injuries are quite an effective deterrent due to their shock value and finality, the photographs of toy soldiers and war games have a different aim and effect. By showing that the idea of soldiery and war is never absent and, in fact, prevails in society at all levels, even for children, Friedrich removes the soldier from the frontline, i.e., from a place inaccessible to the broad public, and reinserts him at home, visualizing the ways soldiers and war always have had an enduring and lasting presence in homes and schools. Via the functional montage he not only

criticizes this post-WWI way of educating children to become future soldiers, but he prepares his readers to interact with the photographs and montages that follow in *Krieg dem Kriege!*.

Already at the end of Friedrich's introductory address to his readers, which directly precedes the functional montage on war toys, he focuses on children's pacifistic education. He reminds the mother not to sing "soldiers'-songs to the baby on her lap" (25) and the father not to give toys like an "air-gun," a "little sabre carved out of wood," or a "little helmet made of paper" (25) to his child. Friedrich predicts that the girls as future women and mothers will be disgusted by soldiers as husbands and fathers, and the boys will not become future soldiers (26). These textual statements at the end of the introduction are translated into the opening functional montage of *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Yet while the text introduced family figures, addressing the parents directly among the implied readers, the opening functional montage moves beyond this family structure and focuses on photos and illustrations of just the toys and songs mentioned in the introduction.

On the first four pages of the functional montage, Friedrich's readers encounter an array of photographs of toys associated with soldiery and war. An illustration of toy soldiers is followed by a photograph that shows collectibles, playing cards, and board games about war, with titles such as "Der Weltkrieg zur See", "Unsere U-Boote" or "Der Kampf gegen Russland" (38). The third page of this montage includes illustrations of instructions for building miniature canons, bombs, and barbed wire out of cardboard, wood, cork, and knitting needles (fig. 2).

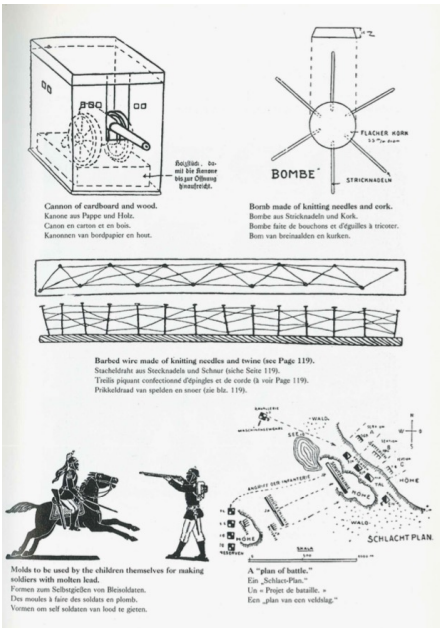

Fig. III. 2. Instructions for building miniature toys. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 39.

While these instructions show that children need a certain skillfulness to build these toys, other illustrations show that creating a toy soldier can also be done easily by pouring molten lead into molds or, as the fourth page of this montage shows, cutting out paper soldiers. While these toys depend on the child's skills to build them, they all have in common that they rely on the child's imagination to actually use them for "playing war." This idea of "playing war," in turn, has to have been influenced by the child's familiarity with warfare. Friedrich's caption of the first photograph guides this functional montage, which stretches over thirteen pages: "How children are educated for war by means of toy soldiers!" (37). Yet the first four pages actually only follow up on this statement partially, showing *what* the children play with, mainly pointing to the sheer amount of war toys, their variety, and ease of accessibility. Their depictions do not yet fully answer Friedrich's initial question: *who* is educating the children and is it actually done by only giving them war toys? After the first four pages, Friedrich then adds a drawing that continues to answer his initial question. It shows the Bishop of Westminster and a General, reviewing a parade of English Boy Scouts (fig. 3).

Fig. III. 3. Bishop of Westminster, reviewing, alongside a General, a parade of English Boy Scouts. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 41.

The caption points to the "Church as an ally of Militarism in the education of children" (41) and further clarifies *how* children are educated, by adding the information about *who* is educating them. While Friedrich's introduction of *Krieg dem Kriege!* already addressed the parents, this montage further clarifies that it is indeed not just the parents or military men, but clergymen as well, who educate children to become soldiers. The sixth page in this montage shows that the responsibility for the children's education stretches even further than just the child's home or the church. Publishing houses with far reaches, including Reclam and the Hermann Hillger Verlag, had a significant influence on children's education in that they published books that include war narratives. This part of the functional montage shows four book covers next to each other, all of equal size, framed by the captions at the top and bottom of the page (fig. 4).

Fig. III. 4. Montage of four book covers. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 42.

Included are, for instance, Reclam's "Reihenbändchen" *Der Froschkönig* or Detlev von Liliencron's *Drei Kriegsnovellen,* originally published in 1885, now reprinted in Hillger's series *Deutsche Jugendbücherei.* By including these books, Friedrich not only expands his showcase of *who* is responsible for the child's education, he also adds literature to his array of instruments that educate children about war. In this case, it even includes children that are old enough to be able to read. Friedrich makes sure to draw the readers' attention not just to the war narratives, which certainly influence the child's imagination, but also to the book covers. Their drawings of hanged soldiers, in the case of Reclam's *Froschkönig* (see fig. 4, bottom left), or of one-on-one fighting at the front, in the case of Liliencron's *Drei Kriegsnovellen* (see fig. 4, bottom right), are a strong visual prompt for the narratives in the book, similar to the relationship of a pictura to the rest of an emblem. While the stories about war certainly stimulate the child's imagination, it is mainly those images on the covers that provide an influential idea of *how* warfare looks, very

much showing and glorifying that killing, dying, and hanging are part of it.[8]

Yet, at this point Friedrich starts to insert a counter-narrative, turning this sequence of thirteen photographs into a functional montage and creating a rupture in its horizontal dimension, exactly halfway through. Already in the captions of the drawing of the parade of English Boy scouts and the montage of book covers, Friedrich reframes and repurposes the military education of children by changing the idea of soldiery. Friedrich begins to focus on the act of killing, which the montage's first drawings of photographs of board games, toy and paper soldiers do not show. He reframes the idea of the soldier already in the caption that is paired with the English Boy scouts, labeling soldiery as a "profession of murder" (41). On the following page, which shows the act of killing on the various book covers, he further specifies that educating children to become soldiers means educating them "to the greatest of all crimes: the murder of human beings" (42). Thus, after he has mirrored the view of parents and readers in general, i.e., showing the items they give to children that acquaint them with the idea of warfare, he moves on to educate his readers by creating a rupture in this montage by revolving the acts soldiers commit. These acts are no longer acts of heroism, but of murder. He is educating his readers to change their perspectives; both in regard to the soldier's narrative and in regard to the images they see.

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[8] The opening montage of the second volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!* that also focuses on the children's education combines images with poems and songs that instruct the children how to both imagine and play war (*KdK II* 42-49). In the second volume, Friedrich includes two excerpts of poems from a German schoolbook. One is called "Mein Baukasten" and one stanza of this poem reveals the content of a child's Baukasten. As much as there are "Hölzer," there are "Soldaten." The stanza then switches from the perspective of the I-voice ("Ich spiele jeden Tag / Da stelle ich die Hölzer auf ...") to the passive voice: "Nun wird Krieg gemacht" so as to make clear to the children that soldiers are for playing war and war is what they are supposed to imitate. Then, the stanza switches back to the I-voice: "Ich ...Haufen." In the second volume, this stanza is part of a sequence that shows how explicit "Mobilmachung" was already in childhood. The sequence that includes the poems moves then on to photos of schoolchildren in England, Switzerland and Persia that are trained to be soldiers, only to show them dying as soldiers only a few years later in the following montage.

This rupture in the montage changes the readers' perspective, moving from toy soldier to murderer. In doing so, the functional montage implicitly instructs readers to question the function of photographs: are they mere illustrations or are they more than that, particularly when comparing photographs with captions, then with each other, and even by doing a double-take when viewing an individual photo.

To this end, opposite the page of the montage of book covers Friedrich inserted the cover image of his earlier publication, titled *The Proletarian Kindergarten*, published in 1921 (fig. 5).

Fig. III. 5. Cover image of *The Proletarian Kindergarten*. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 43.

Friedrich's caption counteracts the one on the opposite page, stating that his book "is intended to educate in mutual help and love" (43). In addition to the textual juxtaposition of the captions, the cover image (a pen and ink drawing by Käthe Kollwitz) is the visual counterpoint to the book covers on the left hand side of the double page. Depicting fighting soldiers and even children operating a canon, those covers are the exact opposite of Kollwitz' drawing, which shows a pair of siblings. The older, serious, and sad-looking girl is holding her baby sister on her arm while

standing in a somber backyard. By avoiding shading, Kollwitz focuses the readers' attention on the children's heads and facial expressions. Not coincidentally, placed right next to their heads, in the background of the drawing, is a sign on a wall that reads: "Spielen auf den Treppenfluren und Höfen verboten." For the drawing's original use as a poster that demanded more playgrounds and better housing conditions for Berlin's citizens,[9] this sign was a reminder that not even outside, in the backyards, were children designated a space to play. However, paired in *Krieg dem Kriege!* with the cover images on the opposite page that place children on the battlefield, Kollwitz' drawing provokes the reader to rethink where children *should* then actually have a space to play, suggesting that it should probably *not* be on the battlefield.

Friedrich's guidance for the reader to rethink current conditions and extend their reading habits from a passive-receptive to an actively engaging one continues on the following page of the montage. Friedrich cites from *The Proletarian Kindergarten* he combines three different types of media on one page (see fig. 6). Trying to use the page's layout effectively, he puts a text (a statement by a thirteen-year-old author) on the bottom of the page. It elaborates on two drawings by the same author, which Friedrich places within the top half of the page so that the readers' attention is first focused on these two small drawings.

[9] Originally this drawing was used for a poster that advertised a "Versammlung gegen die krasse Wohnungsnot in Berlin: '600 000 Groß-Berliner wohnen in Wohnungen, in denen jedes Zimmer mit 5 oder mehr Personen besetzt ist. Hunderttausende von Kindern sind ohne Spielplätze.' Das Plakat mußte auf Befehl des Polizeipräsidenten wegen 'Aufreizung zum Klassenhass' von den Anschlagsäulen entfernt werden, nachdem ein Vorstandsmitglied des Haus- und Grundbesitzervereins Anzeige erstattet hatte. (*Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln*. Kreissparkasse Köln, 2019, kollwitz.de/sammlung. Accessed 1 May 2019.)

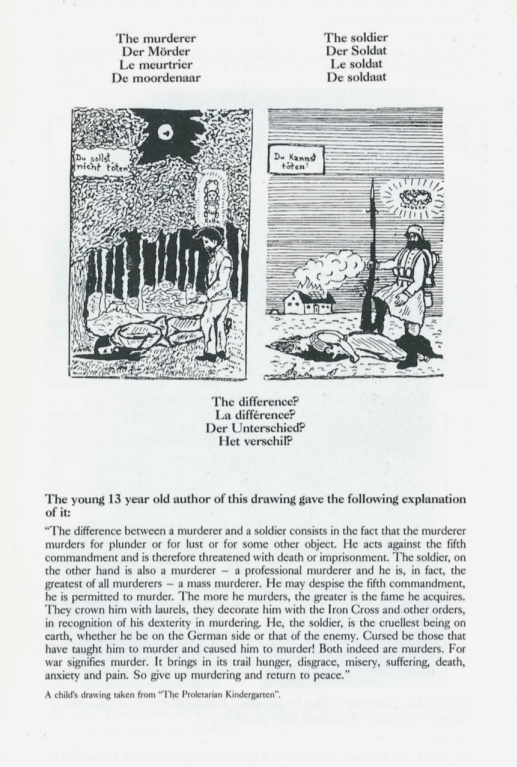


Fig. III. 6. Drawings and text by a 13 year old author. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 44.

Similar to an emblematic structure, all three of Friedrich's short captions are placed strategically around the drawings so as to make sure the readers' attention lies first on the drawings. These present opposing ideas of the soldier, emphasized by the captions. As is the case with all the captions in *Krieg dem Kriege!*, these are also printed in four languages. Yet by bolding them and arranging the translations in the form of a list, they emphasize the drawings' juxtaposition vehemently. The caption on the left reads "The murderer" and the one on the right "The soldier" (44). The third caption, placed underneath the drawings and in the middle of the page, connects both drawings with the question it poses: "The difference?" (44). Adding to this multimodality of various media on one page, the drawings by the 13 year old also include text on the left side within each drawing. The pen-and-ink drawings are small and intricate, but their purpose is nonetheless clear: The sketch on the left is set at night in the woods. In the center, a man lies on

the ground, his head in a puddle of blood. A second man, on the right side of the drawing, is standing and looking down at the dead body, his facial expression and body language almost looking remorseful. The drawing on the right side follows the same composition and also portrays two figures. However it is day and a house is burning in the background; the dead body on the ground is a young girl, holding a doll in her arm, and the man standing is not a remorseful murderer, but a soldier proud of this act. His body language underlines this, as he put his right foot triumphantly on the girl's body, alongside his weapon that the author drew in a larger-than-life manner. This not only draws the readers' attention to it, but also marks the absence of the murder weapon in the other drawing. The author's text reads "Du sollst nicht töten" – reminding the readers of the 5th commandment – while the text for the soldier reads "Du kannst töten," pointing out a bias: While a Christian society does not tolerate the act of killing in one case, it glorifies it for someone in uniform. The explanation below the drawings picks up on this bias and also answers Friedrich's question about "The difference?" between the murderer and the soldier. The 13 year old's elaboration clarifies the connection to the 5th commandment, pointing out that the soldier is not just a murderer but a mass murderer, and that while the one is punished for his crimes, the other one is celebrated. Yet in this emblematic structure of the montage, the 13 year old's essay would not even have been necessary, as the drawings already convey the point. They prompt the readers to compare, particularly due to their identical composition, reinforced by Friedrich's bolded captions and their careful arrangement around the drawings.

The purpose of these drawings at this point in the functional montage, following an array of photographs of war toys and a juxtaposition of book covers, is threefold. First, it demonstrates the timeless nature of the soldier figure. While the burning building in the background points at an on-going war, he is not killing an enemy here, but a young girl. This discrepancy divorces the

soldier's act of killing from actual warfare, which is only signified by a single burning house in the distance, placed in the background of the drawing. Thus the author of the drawing manages to focus the readers' attention on the soldier's random act of killing. He aligns him with the murderer, who is indeed a timeless figure, as he has existed since the beginning of time, even before religion tried to regulate his behavior by imposing commandments on people. In addition, this comparison follows depictions of toys, games, and books that are also not tied to wartime or any specific war. Thus, the drawings help to underline that the issue of the soldier, who is actually a murderer (like a wolf in sheep's clothing), is a *timeless* issue. The second and the third purposes of this functional montage, finding its culminating point in the comparison of these two drawings, are linked – similar to Tucholsky's and Heartfield's programmatic second preface in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* that both educate readers through a functional montage while performing it at the same time. Friedrich's readers are slowly shown, page-by-page, items associated with soldiery that children play with. Then they encounter how education can be done differently, and Friedrich also teaches his readers to use a comparative view, in terms of comparing between images, between captions and images, and even comparing between elements *contained within* a photograph or drawing. The horizontal dimension of the functional montage makes good use of the juxtapositions and ruptures it borrows from Soviet film montage.

At the end of this functional montage, the reader gets to put these viewing and comparing strategies to use. Two replicas of postcards (fig. 7), both the same size, are depicted on the last double page of the montage.

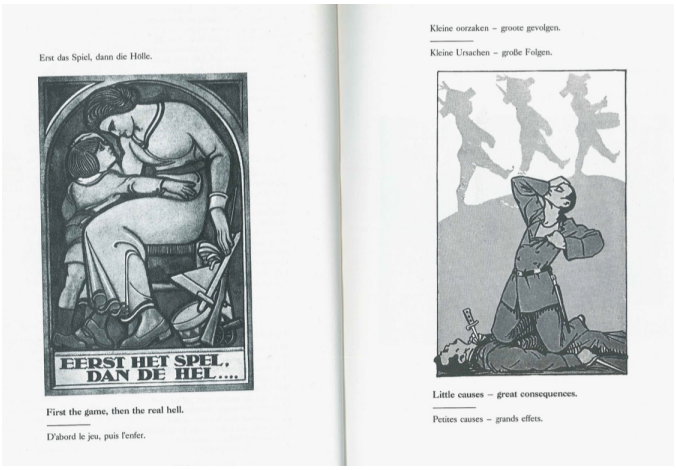


Fig. III. 7. Replicas of postcards. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, pp. 48-49.

Both postcards show drawings and, together with Friedrich's captions, they follow a consequential logic. The postcard on the left shows a mother sitting on a chair, her small son trying to reach across her lap to get to his toys: a small sabre, a tin drum, and a paper helmet. The mother, however, holds the little boy back, her left hand pushing the toys aside, while her right hand rests protectively on her son's head. Friedrich's caption, "First the game, then the real hell" (48), connects this image to the postcard on the right side of the double page and its caption: "Little causes – great consequences" (49). This caption comments on the drawing that shows a dead soldier on the ground, a dagger sticking in his throat, and his perpetrator kneeling on top of him. His body language reveals that he regrets killing the other soldier: with his left hand he clutches his shirt, right above his heart, and with his right hand he holds his head, which is tilted to the sky, his eyes closed in remorse. These gestures suggest that he could not help killing the other soldier in this brutal manner. Yet the "sky" in this postcard is not actually a sky. The upper part of the drawing is filled with three child soldiers, depicted in a way that imitates paper cuttings. All three are marching, wearing paper hats and either holding a weapon or a tin drum. These dark silhouettes match the first part of Friedrich's caption, "little causes" (49), while the

rest of the drawing shows the "great consequences" (49) of what these children will do as grown-ups in actual warfare. In addition to the reader being prompted to compare both sides of the double page due to their identical frame size, the captions also prompt one to make a comparison. The postcard on the right even asks the reader to compare *within* its drawing, between the background and the foreground. There is also another possible, and subtler, prompt for the readers to compare on this double-page: the sabre, tin drum, and paper helmets in the left postcard, which remain inaccessible to the boy, are all included in the silhouettes of the child soldiers in the right postcard. At the end of this functional montage all comes together: The readers learn to understand the effect of a child's education and what role their access to war toys plays. The vertical dimension of this functional montage, created by Friedrich by putting his implied readers in the position of parents and educators, asks them to evaluate war toys and even drawings by a 13-year-old child. They are prompted to compare what they see on the horizontal dimension of the montage, whose ruptures were mainly achieved by juxtapositions of images and their captions.

The following parts of my analysis will focus on this very meticulous way of seeing and comparing, introduced by this opening functional montage. Such a critical perspective will elucidate facets about the concept of the soldier either invisible at first sight, or even intentionally hidden so as to manipulate the view the public is supposed to have of soldiery.

Bringing the Soldier Home:
Re-contextualizing the Soldier as Father, Son, Animal Owner, and Wounded Body

With the exception of a few photographs that show soldiers at the frontline, Friedrich's goal in using functional montages that rely on the combinations of images and captions is

showing other facets of the soldier-figure. Most often the soldier is depicted dead, which my analysis will cover in the last part of this chapter. Aside from these depictions, however, Friedrich is invested in showing the soldier as part of the social context to which he originally belonged – which is *also* the context the readers and the public of post-war Weimar Germany share. These contexts include the soldier's family – even extending to the family's animals – and also the war's aftermath, when some soldiers returned to their families and to the public eye with injuries to face and body that would affect their lives long after the war was over.

Returning the Soldier to the Family

There is one type of photograph with which *Krieg dem Kriege!*'*s* readers were certainly familiar: portraits of soldiers in their full gear, taken for their families as a keepsake when they went off to war. Friedrich included one such portrait of a young soldier and captioned it: "The *pride* of the family" (94; my emphasis). The captions in four languages – two above and two underneath the photograph – constitute the only frame for the portrait, so that it takes up almost the entire page (fig. 8).

Fig. III. 8. Portrait of a soldier. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 94.

A professional photographer took the photo of this soldier in his studio, sometime in 1914 before the solider headed off to war. Not only is the portrait clearly staged; it is also taken against a wallpaper background. The wallpaper does not cover the photo studio's entire wall, leaving a gap between the tapestry and the ground. This gap is so prominent that readers will immediately recognize that the background, showing a tree-lined path, is artificial. The soldier stands at the center of the portrait. He faces the camera, wearing his full gear: uniform, coat, helmet, and boots. His stance is firm, and he holds his gun at the ready. Indeed, he aims it at the photographer and his camera, which establishes the vertical dimension of this functional montage. In addition to the artificial background, this arrangement is the second indicator that this is a photograph taken far from any real setting at a war's frontline.

While such portraits were very common at the time (Dewitz "Kriegsphotographie" 170), the pose of the soldier and the arrangement of the photograph are quite unusual. The soldier's gun barrel is almost aligned with the camera lens. Friedrich's caption even points this out in parentheses: "(An 'interesting' arranged photograph)" (94). There were probably many such portraits of soldiers available to Friedrich, because almost every soldier chose to have one taken for their families and loved ones. Yet, Friedrich chose this one, as he needed the arrangement of the photograph to directly address the reader. Aiming at the camera's lens means essentially aiming at the photographer's eye behind the lens. As this is a portrait, the photographer took the photo also at eye-level. Thus when readers view this portrait they share the eye-level of the photographer. This means, in this particular case, that they are looking like the photographer right into the soldier's gun barrel. For a moment, the locales of the readers and the soldier are switched. The reader, in the safety of his home, experiences a moment of danger and shock by being kept at gunpoint, while the soldier is in the safe environment of the photo studio, not at the

dangerous frontline.

At this point the photograph on the right side of the double page, opposite of the portrait, comes into play. This relationship forms the horizontal dimension of the functional montage, creating a juxtaposition between photos and captions. Now the roles are switched. The readers look at a gruesome scene. A photograph of the same size shows a dead soldier lying on the ground. Another soldier behind him is lifting up his jacket so as to elevate the upper body. The badly wounded face of the corpse becomes visible to the photographer's and thus the reader's eye. The one holding up the corpse also looks directly into the camera, locking eyes with the readers (see fig. 9).

Fig. III. 9. Portrait of a dead soldier. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 95.

There is no obvious visual connection between the two photographs, except for their compositions capturing the beholder's eye. It is Friedrich's caption that connects them, as the one of the second photo shares the same syntax and punctuation with the one of the first photo, but it also almost reads the same: "The *pride* of the family. (The other side of the picture, a few weeks later)" (95; my emphasis). To Friedrich, this second photo becomes the obverse the prideful soldier, showing it to the soldier's family and the broader public, who probably never

saw this side. Using the same formulation about the soldier as the "pride" (94; 95) of the family should not just unsettle readers. Narratives about the life and death of a soldier collide here: one is a narrative of heroism, causing the families to be proud, both before the war and after they hear of their son's or father's heroic death for his country. Yet, even though the corpse is not the same soldier as on the left – the facial features are quite different –the identical caption, yet with a different visual elaboration, changes the family's, the public's, and the reader's known first narrative. They are supposed to question their pride, as there is nothing to be proud of, when seeing one's son or father as a rotting corpse left behind on a field. Instead of a proud stance, he has to be held up so that his picture becomes identifiable.

In this functional montage the vertical dimension is based on a shock in both photos, while the horizontal vector combines the seemingly unconnected photos using the caption that bridges the gap. Friedrich manages to accomplish two things: he dismantles a familiar view of the soldiery and educates readers about the alleged soldier's heroism. At the same time, in not just contrasting dead and alive soldiers, but in also making the readers aware via the portrait that the soldier belonged to a family, he is removing the soldier from the battlefield and reinserts him in his original, familial context. Thus, Friedrich adds a facet to the soldier-figure that is necessary to reach out and connect with his readers. He achieves this textually, by adding captions that directly name the family context, and visually, by aligning two photographs that share a similar composition. The soldiers appear as if they are looking directly at the readers, addressing them this way and prompting them to compare both photos with each other. This re-contextualization of the soldier within his family occurs several times throughout *Krieg dem Kriege!*. One is the postcard I discussed in the context of the functional montage in the first section, showing a mother protecting her young son by preventing him from reaching for war toys (fig. 7). Just as in

the example with the soldier's portrait, the postcard on the opposite page showed the consequences (fig. 7).

While in these two cases the photographs show the soldier as a son, in other instances it is the father who goes to war. Friedrich's caption even calls him "Papa" (54), a term of endearment as used by children. Simply by just in using this noun, Friedrich establishes that the smiling, middle-aged man wearing his uniform and a spiked helmet while standing in an orchard is not just a lonesome fighter in the war, but belongs to a family as a husband and a father (see fig. 10).

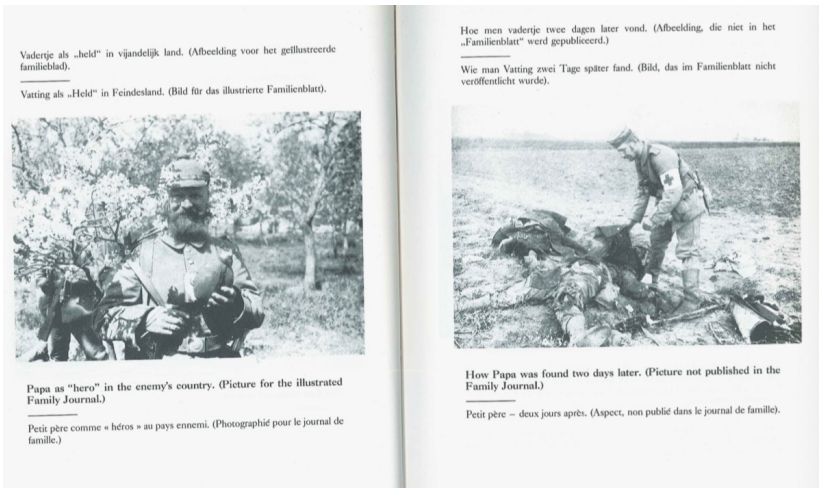


Fig. III. 10. Portrait of a father-soldier and corpses on the other side. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, pp. 54-55.

He emphasizes this connection by including the remark that this photograph was taken for the "Illustrated Family Journal" (54). Parallel to the juxtaposition of the soldier's portrait with "his" corpse on the following page (see figs. 8 and 9), Friedrich opposes the photograph of "Papa" with the one on the next page, showing barely recognizable corpses. Neither their heads nor faces are visible, not even when a medical orderly lifts the jackets of one of the corpses. Friedrich highlights not only the contrast of the alive and dead soldier, but also uses the caption to tie the soldier back to the familial context, writing: "Picture not published in the Family

Journal" (55).[10] This strategy of contrasting two photos in functional montages – one familiar and associated with the idea of the family and one unfamiliar and previously invisible to both readers and the soldiers' families – proves successful in debunking the myth of the soldier as hero, as often portrayed in photobooks of WWI.[11] At the same time this strategy of the functional montage uncovers an aspect of the soldier made invisible by the uniform: his role as a father and son. Friedrich is thereby able to achieve a shift in the soldier's representation by the media, creating an alternative image of the soldier.

Soldiers as Animals?

As much as Friedrich re-embeds soldiers into the structure of the family, he also uses the connections of soldiers and war to animals. He demonstrates how the very same animals are refunctioned from domestic to wartime labor. This once more reflects back on the idea of soldiery. In one sequence the connection of a dead soldier to his family is stated in the caption, the photograph connects him to the image of dead horses, creating an alignment of the family and the farm animal that supported the family's livelihood before the war (*KdK* 102-103). Similar to how Friedrich made use of juxtapositions and comparisons of various media in the functional montage at the beginning of *Krieg dem Kriege!,* he continues to use these strategies throughout both of his volumes. While his montages are not divided into sections, as was the case for Tucholsky's and Heartfield's photobook, he makes use of the method of the functional

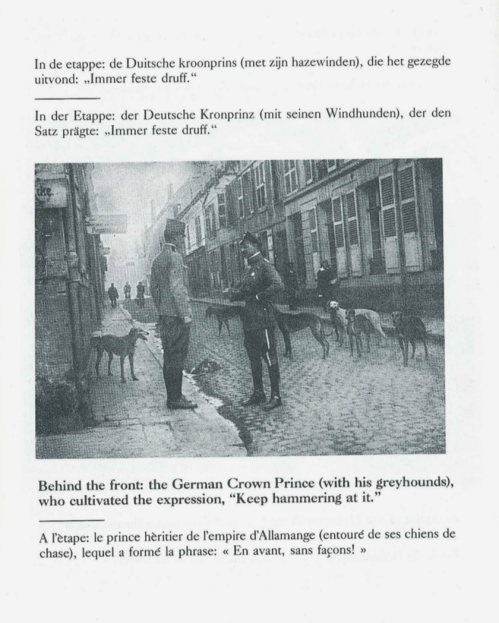
[10] In the second volume, Friedrich uses a very similar comparison, this time even a photograph that includes the mother (54-55) who is one of the main addressees of these comparisons among the readers of *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Looking at this example, it becomes obvious just how the second volume follows the structure and strategies of the first volume, yet also develops them further. While Friedrich places this comparison at the exact same point in the book, on pages 54 to 55, he chose a photo that included the mother-figure, functioning as a mediator for the reader.
[11] See, for instance, Jünger's *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges,* Rex's *Der Weltkrieg in seiner rauhen Wirklichkeit,* or Schauwecker's *So war der Krieg.*

montage. He is presenting familiar photographs or sequences of photos in a contrasting manner, only to de-familiarize them by continuously building on juxtaposition and tension. This means that Friedrich includes captions, texts and other elements that create juxtapositions within one page or double page, sometimes even *within* the same photograph. Or, conversely, he extends a juxtaposition and continues it over several pages. This is the case for his portrayal of animals in both volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!*. His goal is not only to show the effect of the war on the animals, but how these repercussions, in turn, reflect on the people, both soldiers in the field and family at home.

Dogs and horses are the two animal species featured frequently in *Krieg dem Kriege!*. While there are more photographs of horses and even whole sequences devoted to them, the depiction of dogs serves to shift the readers' view from seeing them as pets to being confronted with the idea that they had to take on the job of a working animal during the war – a role normally filled by the horse. Towards the beginning of both volumes Friedrich introduces the figure of the dog as a pet. In the first volume, Friedrich includes a photograph of the German Crown Prince Wilhelm, son of Kaiser Wilhelm II, talking to a soldier while standing in a side street (60). Wilhelm commanded pro forma the 5th Army, which was based in Koblenz, preparing to defend the Western Front.[12] While the photographer captured the conversation of the two men in the foreground of the photo, the background becomes equally of interest, as

[12] "Due to mobilization, Wilhelm took pro forma command of the 5th Army on 2 August 1914, while generals such as Konstantin Heinrich Schmidt von Knobelsdorf (1860-1936) and Walther Freiherr von Lüttwitz (1859-1942) carried the real responsibility for military success. The army was based in Koblenz at the time and was preparing to defend the Western Front. In 1915 the German army was restructured, leading to the formation of "Heeresgruppen." Wilhelm took command of Heeresgruppe Deutscher Kronprinz, which was based in France between Noyon and Verdun in 1916, a position he held until 1918. Wilhelm's actions during the Verdun Offensive and the arguments between his staff and Major General Schmidt von Knobelsdorf led him to be blamed for the offensive's failure" (Weinland "Wilhelm, Crown Prince of Germany.)

Wilhelm's greyhounds are also in the picture. It is not just one greyhound, but five of them, several of them looking at their owner patiently (see fig. 11).


In de etappe: de Duitsche kroonprins (met zijn hazewinden), die het gezegde uitvond: „Immer feste druff."

In der Etappe: der Deutsche Kronprinz (mit seinen Windhunden), der den Satz prägte: „Immer feste druff."

Behind the front: the German Crown Prince (with his greyhounds), who cultivated the expression, "Keep hammering at it."

A l'etape: le prince hèritier de l'empire d'Allamange (entouré de ses chiens de chase), lequel a formé la phrase: « En avant, sans façons! »

Fig. III. 11. Crown Prince Wilhelm and his greyhounds. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 60.

Just like Frederick the Great,[13] the Crown Prince was known for his love of greyhounds.[14] Although greyhounds were bred for battue and racing, Wilhelm kept them as pets, even having a favorite greyhound. This becomes clear in this photo, as the dogs are accompanying their owner on a walk through the city, rather than being kept and trained for their original purpose. In this picture, the five dogs are components that not only help identify Wilhelm as the Crown Prince, but also emphasize this domestic scene. Both the Crown Prince and the soldier might be in uniforms, but they are clearly not close to the front, when standing in the streets and Wilhelm's dogs calmly waiting for their owner to continue his stroll through the city. In an example from the second volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!*, it is also the dog that, as a pet, adds domesticity to an

[13] For further information on Frederick the Great's relationship to his dogs, see Timms.
[14] For further information on the Crown Prince's relationship to his dogs, see Seewald.

image, almost so as to counterbalance the uniforms, spiked helmets, musket, and saber in the picture. Yet, this picture is not a photograph, but a drawing in the "Schullesebuch ('Märkische Fibel')" (43) that depicts three boys in uniform and even a girl, who, while wearing only a paper helmet, still holds a musket next to medals pinned to her shirt (see fig. 12).

Fig. III. 12. Drawing taken from the Schullesebuch "Märkische Fibel." Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* vol. 2, Freie Jugend, 1926, p. 43.

The four children are standing in rank and file, including their dog, holding up his front paws, as if it is begging for a treat. The boy to the very left, however, is pointing his toy saber right at the dog, to the surprise of the other children, judging by their facial expressions. The boy's gesture and action, and the others' reactions, turn this scene of playing war into quite an intense one to the beholder's eye. Yet it is the dog's begging posture, paired with his excited and innocent facial expression, that relieves the tension of the scene. As much as the greyhounds in the photograph of the Crown Prince situated the photograph far away from actual warfare, the dog in this drawing turns, almost as a comic relief, the children's war play into a less serious scene.

Later in the second volume, however, this function of the pet dog is turned upside down.

At the end of the second volume there is a montage of photos that shows the effects of the war on the civilian population. The montage includes photos of destroyed houses in France and refugees in Romania. In one photograph, a family is shown leaving their town only with their last few belongings (see fig. 13).

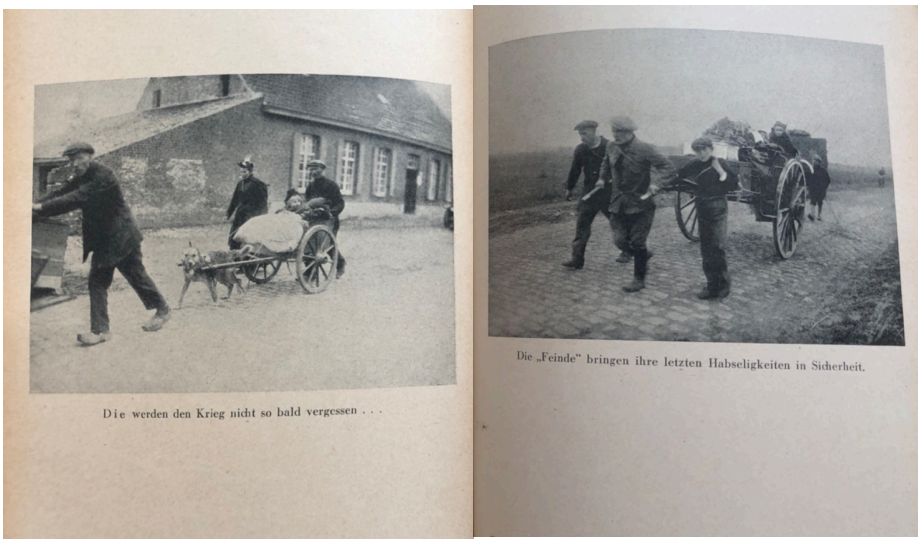


Fig. III. 13. Photos of families as refugees. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* vol. 2, Freie Jugend, 1926, pp. 177-178.

At the center of the image, the reader sees a small cart on top of which a young child sits among the family's possessions. The child's parents or grandparents are walking behind the cart, while not the family's horse, but the family's dog is pulling the cart. While the photo shows a family and thus prompts readers, who are also often parts of families, to identify with the shown family members, it is the dog that de-familiarizes this scene to the reader. In the previous examples, the dog functioned as family's pet. Now, just like a son or father becoming a soldier, going into war and having to leave their families, the dog becomes a farm animal helping its family to leave their home behind. This analogy becomes even clearer when taking the photo on the next page into account (see fig. 13). In this very similar visual composition of a family leaving town – children and belongings are also on top of a cart – it is not a dog or an animal

pulling the cart, but the family's father. When the reader flips the page, encountering a very similar scene and visual composition of a photograph, the dog pulling the cart becomes humanized and is aligned with the father figure on the previous page.

The analogy and alignment of three species – dog, horse, and man – becomes even clearer in a different instance in the first volume. Aiming to show that animals are as much markers of a family as the human family members shown in *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Friedrich demonstrates that the idea of the lonesome soldier at the front is a myth, and that the reader should rather see the soldier in the context of his family and animals, making him a personable and more omnipresent element of the public sphere. Curiously, though, on the page that brings all three species together, the photograph does not include the soldier himself. In landscape format, it shows the cadaver of a horse, its skin and meat already rotten so that just its ribcage is exposed (see fig. 14). Two dogs flank the cadaver to its left and right. The dog on the left is lying down, looking at the cadaver, while the dog on the right is standing, looking in the direction of the camera. His posture and his hanging tail let the dog appear to have empathy with the dead horse, not coming across at all as being interested in its meat.

Fig. III. 14. Corpse of a horse with dogs. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 157.

Friedrich's caption, ". . . to the last breath of man and horse" (157) marks this photograph as a

continuation of the previous one that showed "German troops in 'victorious' advance march through a burning village" (156). Yet while the previous photo includes soldiers, with one on a horse, the photo on the following page excludes the soldier – there is only the horse cadaver and the two dogs. This exemplifies this photobook's visual strategy of building on juxtapositions in functional montages, making strategic use of captions, and adding unexpected changes or additions *within* one of the montage's photographs. Although the first photograph in this montage emphasized the depicted troops, the dead soldier is absent and replaced with the horse in the second photo. In addition, and that is Friedrich's subversive change to the montage, those mourning the "dead-soldier-turned-horse" are not his comrades, but another animal species, added to the photograph, as dogs were not seen or mentioned on the previous page. Friedrich aligns animals with soldiers and vice versa, extending the idea of the soldier, moving him for the readers, like in the previous examples, away from the front and closer to parts of society at home: the family and their animals.[15]

Re-contextualizing the Soldier's Body

While the functional montages and sequences I have discussed so far in this section included photographs that also show corpses or dying soldiers, I have not yet addressed the issue of the soldier's corporeality, which is frequently the focal point of both volumes of *Krieg dem Kriege!*. When infantry soldiers go to war, they are reduced to the capabilities of their bodies.

[15] Another example in this regard is the montage of pages 102 and 103 in the first volume. In both cases, barbed wire seems to be the cause of death: for a horse in the picture on the left hand side, and for the soldiers in the following photograph. Not only the photos' composition but even the angle of both shots are very similar. By including in the caption above the second photo that addresses the "mothers" who have "tolerated" war and their sons going to war and dying so excruciatingly, Friedrich not only includes a reference to the soldier's family at home, and thus the readers' world, but via the visual alignment emphasizes that the horse is as much a member of the family as the soldier-son.

While they fight in groups and have protective uniforms and weapons, in the end, their bodies are still very vulnerable. While the first two parts of this section added facets to the readers' idea of soldiery by contextualizing soldiers within their functions as family members and animal owners, this part aims to show how in the first volume the focus on the soldier's body, in particular on his face, *failed* to add another facet to the readers' idea of the soldier-figure. Showing portraits of the soldiers' faces and their facial expressions, thereby making their identities and sometimes even emotions accessible, should be the easiest way to connect readers to soldiers, even if those faces are injured. However, in showing medical photographs of heavily wounded faces, Friedrich shocks his readers and is rather disconnecting the soldiers from them. Only in the second volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!* does he manage to establish a connection between his readers and such heavily wounded faces, shown in close-up, via portraits. Before covering this difference between the first and the second volume, this part will first briefly address another photobook, *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, edited by Ernst Jünger, and its presentation of the soldier's corporeality. This will frame Friedrich's take on the same issue in the introduction of the first volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!*. I will then continue to compare the ways Friedrich presented wounded faces in the first volume with the different presentation of faces and bodies in the second volume.

In Ernst Jünger's introduction to *Antlitz des Weltkrieges*, published in 1930, he aligns the process of battle with the process of work: "Für den aufmerksamen Betrachter stellt eine Sammlung von solchen optischen Dokumenten einen Zugang für die Wertung des Krieges sowohl in seiner Eigenschaft als Arbeits- wie als Kampfprozeß dar" (10). For Jünger, the worker became a soldier and vice versa. In his later work, *Der Arbeiter* (1932), he goes into more detail about this almost symbiotic relationship. The soldier's relationship to his weapons is as

existential as the worker's relationship to machines.[16] Jünger aligns these two functions of the soldier and the worker. In the same way a man is devoted to his work and machines, he will also use his weapons. The existential, emotionless relationship of the workers to machines prepares them to go into battle and "interact" with other soldiers as with machines. Jünger's rhetoric connects workers to their machines and soldiers to their weapons in order to focus on the same routine-like, emotionless use of both objects. Yet while the machine produces a product, the interaction of soldiers and weapons causes not only destruction, but also harms a third party that Jünger omits here: other soldiers and civilians. Jünger needs to exclude this part in his analogy so as to focus on the proposed lack of emotion and imagination of the worker-turned-soldier, imposing this as an ideology on his readers, and by extension on the public, in order to prepare them for the next war to come. Friedrich, on the other hand, has quite a different agenda – a pacifistic one – for which he has to fully contextualize the soldier not just as a worker, but as a family member and an individual before, during, and after the war. Moreover, stepping further outside of the dichotomy between soldier and worker, Friedrich focuses on the soldier's corporeality, portraying his vulnerability.

In his introduction to the second volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Friedrich, as in the first volume, criticizes the education of children, when they are still being taught rhymes and songs about war. However, in the second volume his attention shifts more towards an audience who is starting to forget the war. He labels them "machines of forgetfulness" (11), a phrase he borrows from Henri Barbusse's *Under Fire: The Story of a Squad* (469)*,* which was one of the first novels about WWI, published in 1916. Friedrich elaborates on this forgetfulness: "The war is forgotten . . .!! / Forgotten on the dancing-floor / Forgotten in the bar, / Forgotten in the picture-house, in

[16] For a further discussion of the worker figure in Jünger's work, see Gajek and Martus.

the garret, in the basement, in the factory, in the office, in the café . . .” (11). At first, this label “machines of forgetfulness” invokes a parallel to Jünger’s introduction to *Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges* that aligned workers with their machines, in the same way as soldiers are paired with their weapons. Yet in contrast to Jünger, Friedrich does not build on and further pursue this machine-metaphor, neither for grasping the soldier-figure, nor for addressing his readers. After the first page of his introduction, and later on in the second volume, he uses quite the opposite of this metaphor when framing the solider. He sets out to recall the bodily experience of former soldiers and showcases their corporeality. His aim is to both recall their war experiences and remind them of preventing such experiences from repeating themselves.

To this end, he compares the war to an illness that has been cured by using bad methods:

> “**For the bacilli** (the soldiers) **are still there**.[17] And if you falsely believe that no war can break out in the future, *why then do you not extirpate these bacilli?* A bad doctor that, who heals a desease [sic] for the moment, but allows the bacilli of that desease [sic] to remain in the body!!! The League of Nations? Day in, day out new poison gases are invented, new long distance aeroplanes are built, and inhuman bombs and granades [sic] filled with chimicals [sic], are manufactured.” (12; all emphases by Friedrich)

The “bad doctor” most likely refers to those who made the Treaty of Versailles. The “League of Nations” (12) refers to this treaty. While the treaty demanded disarmament of the German troops, this did not happen, as Friedrich points out. The comparison of “bacilli” to soldiers is quite clear. Opposed to viruses that only look for cells to attach themselves to in order to multiply and make their host ill, bacilli, which are a certain type of bacteria, are not always as harmful as viruses.

[17] Friedrich often uses bold face for emphasis, most noticeably in his introductions, but also for his captions.

Bacteria can be found everywhere in the human body and can both be bad and good. To Friedrich, the figure of the soldier is not a virus attacking the public sphere from the outside, but an idea within the public sphere that can be both good and bad for their surroundings, depending on how they use it. More importantly, though, following this analogy, these soldier-bacilli remain invisible and dormant within the body of the public sphere that is already fragile due to a politically and economically unstable republic. While Friedrich's comparison maybe unfair, as it puts all soldiers in one pot, the action he requires from his readers is quite clear and fair. They are supposed to exterminate those bacilli, which does not mean to get rid of all veterans, but to take a second look at them and ask whether they and their views of soldiery and of the war are a good or bad influence on society. Important here is that Friedrich views both the public sphere and soldiers through a corporeal lens, war becoming an illness to be cured. In this introduction, he moves away from an analogy of the members of the public to disembodied, emotionless "machines of forgetfulness."

Friedrich continues expanding this corporeal metaphor of the soldiers as "bacilli" in this introduction in two ways. First, he describes graphically how those "bacilli" acted and shows via a photo which tools they used. A full-page photograph of a sword, which is depicted in its entirety lying on top of a black background, focuses the viewer's attention on its features. Friedrich explains: "And this sword is used for piercing mens [sic] bodies and for hacking into mens [sic] brains! **The purpose of the long fullering [sic] is that after the sword is quickly drawn out, the wound in the breast which has been pierced remains open, so that the blood of the dying man may slowly trickle out"** (14; all emphases by Friedrich). The first sentence states the general use of the sword, and the last sentence refers to the photograph. It describes the blood groove with a choice of corporeal nouns ("breast" and "blood"), marking the most

vulnerable and essential parts of a body. Friedrich combines this with a choice of verbs that are only associated with the body in a harmful way ("pierced," "trickle out"). This description pictures essentially the act of stabbing someone and its consequence, in not just speaking of the result of a stab wound, but fully describing the actual act of one soldier killing another. While the soldiers as bacilli are quite invisible parts of the public body, this graphic description of one soldier killing another focalizes the bodily experience of war. By moving from imagining many soldiers and their anonymous deaths in the beginning of the introduction to one-on-one close combat scenes, the readers' imagination is also focalized, focuses on the action on the battlefield. Friedrich addresses both veterans and the general public and shows that these bodily experiences – recalled for the one group and made visible for the other – will be the connector between those who experienced and survived the war, and those who were not affected by it. Connecting these two parts of the public is necessary both to remember the war and warn against another one. Friedrich understands that not just metaphors or textual descriptions of war battles, but photographs of dead and wounded soldiers will connect the veterans and the broad public, as he writes at the end of his introduction: "See how you tore and mutilated the bodies of your fellow-men. Look at these photographs of the wounded soldiers, who even today (think of it, even today!) have to be operated on and sewn, and fed artificially, of whom many, many have been operated on already more than forty times" (16). While the photographs of the family members, be it humans or animals, served to frame the figure of the soldier *during* wartime, the photographs of the wounded faces and bodies show the lasting effects of war, which were visible *a long time* after the war ended.

The sequence of soldiers' portraits in the first volume that showcases their facial wounds comes only after the effects on the soldiers' immediate environment, such as his family, have

been featured in photographs and montages. This is also the case for the second volume. Both facial wounds and bodily injuries only appear at the end of the book. However, in the second volume Friedrich uses different framing and montage techniques in order to move away from the pure shock effect of the photos, making the facial injuries and the impact on the soldiers more accessible to his readers. Friedrich puts the sequence of twenty-four portraits of facial wounds, photographed for medical purposes, towards the end of his first volume.[18] They come right after juxtapositions of photographs of the German Crown Prince or King George of England enjoying leisure time with images of war-wounded, crippled men trying to work again for their livelihood (186-189). The array of facial wounds is followed by a sequence of photos of graveyards and tombstones closing the first volume. The twenty-four photographs are arranged by increased severity of the wounds. The series starts off with injuries to the nose, mouth, and eyes. While those injuries are without a doubt grave, either the entire face or at least one facial feature of the soldier, and thus his identity remain intact, i.e. he can still be recognized as the person he used to be. However, after two-thirds of the photographs, the wounds get so large that they not only affect one facial part, but the entire face. Injuries that affect nose, mouth and chin *at the same time* not only prevent seeing a soldier's entire face and make it hard to identify him; the photograph focuses on the wound alone, almost in a sensational sense. The framing of this long sequence of facial wounds underlines this interpretation. The first photo of the sequence is the only one that has a round frame, not a rectangular one like the others (see fig. 15). Paired with the short caption "The Visage of the War" – the four translations placed in the four corners around the portrait – the photo of a soldier with a surgically reassembled nose is, compared to the

[18] Scholarship has often focused exclusively on these twenty-four photographs when examining *Krieg dem Kriege!*, without taking the photographs of facial injuries in the second volume into account. See, for instance, Apel, Deilmann, Hagner, Ramsbrock, and Martini.

other images, quite comfortable to look at. The photo's frame and angle also let it appear as if this is the opening to a photo album. However, it quickly becomes clear that the photographs are of a medical nature, meant to document the outcome of many surgeries. In addition, while the last photograph of the sequence is also unique due because shot in profile (all other photographs were taken at a straight angle), it provides an end to the frame that the first photograph opened in that it shows the gravest wound. Only the soldiers' eyes are intact; nose, both cheeks, and mouth are missing. It looks like most of his face has turned into a big hole (see fig. 16).

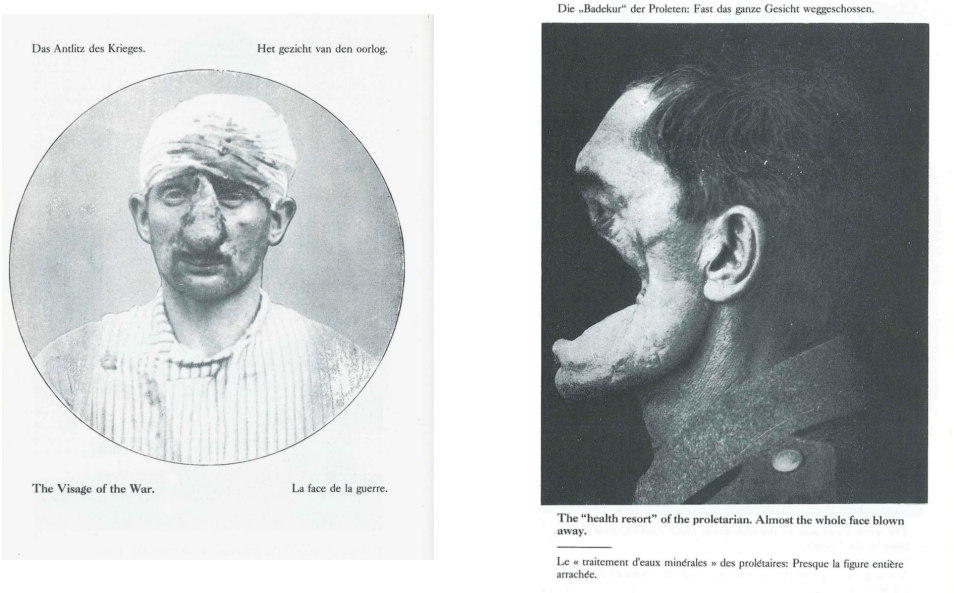


Fig. III. 15 and fig. III. 16. Portaits of wounded faces. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 194 and 217.

The first and the last photograph also become a frame since these are the only instances when Friedrich is not descriptive in his captions, providing details about the individuals or their treatments. The second to last picture's caption sets up the text for the last photo (see fig. 16). Friedrich quotes Hindenburg: "'War agrees with me like a stay at a health resort.' (Hindenburg)" (216). This caption becomes ironic when paired with the accompanying photo of a soldier whose

right jawbone is missing, and forceps are holding his mouth open for the camera. Its continuation then on the next page for the last picture of the soldier whose nose, cheeks and mouth are missing (see fig. 16), becomes sarcastic, especially when Friedrich comments: "The 'health resort' of the proletarian. Almost the whole face blown away" (217). However, the captions for the other photographs are not ironic. Instead, they are descriptive and neutral: Friedrich points out the soldier's age, rank in the military, his date of injury, or the number of surgeries; or he lists the actual surgical procedure and which parts of the head, breast, arms, or legs have been used to remodel the soldier's wounded facial parts. The majority of these captions follow a syntactical structure that resembles nominal clauses that doctors would use in medical charts: "Agricultural worker, 36 years of age. Wounded 1917. Nose and left cheek restored with flash [sic] from head, beast [sic] and arm. (20 operations.)" (200). Friedrich does not include other facts, ironic comments, or a background story about these soldiers, excluding how they sustained the wound, how they managed to survive, or how they feel. Only one caption points out further circumstances: "To the present day are lying in the hospitals gruesomely disfigured soldiers on whom operations are still being performed. Many of these unhappy war victims have undergone thirty, thirty-five, and in some cases more than forty operations. . ." (197). Yet these short descriptions actually fit the nature and purpose of the photographs. They were taken both to document the outcomes of the many surgeries and to be published in medical journals, such as in *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift.* Indeed, Jacques Joseph, head of the Department of Facial Plastic Surgery at the Charité in Berlin, published an article in this journal in 1918 that featured the last photograph in Friedrich's sequence. In the article, however, Joseph adds five more photographs of the same patient, describing in detail how he used skin from the buttocks to form a nose and cheeks, giving his patient a face again (465-466). While Friedrich includes in all other

cases photographs of soldiers who are either in between surgeries or in the recovery phase, he does *not* do this for this final photo, even though Joseph's photographs, published in 1918, were most likely available to him. In addition, the illustrated magazine *Freie Welt* published already in 1920 an article, titled "Das Antlitz des Krieges," including the same portraits Friedrich uses. Yet the article also features two group photos, each showing four soldiers from the hip or chest up, wearing hospital gowns, regular clothing, or still in their uniforms (see fig. 17).


Ein Gruppenbild der Kriegsbeschädigten in einem Berliner Lazarett
in dem auch die anderen Kriegsopfer, die wir in diesem Heft abbilden unter schweren körperlichen und seelischen Leiden ihre Heilung abwarten oder den Zeitpunkt, da sie sich wieder unter Menschen zu gehen getrauen. Hat Herr Ebert zwischen sein Festreisen und Filmbesuchen nicht zwei Stunden Zeit diese Opfer aufzusuchen und ihre materiellen Wünsche anzuhören?

Fig. III. 17. Group photo of soldiers whose facial wounds are shown in portraits in Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!, Freie Welt,* 1920, p. 3.

In addition, in the first photograph, used for the issue's cover, two soldiers have put their arms around their comrades. These are the same soldiers as in *Krieg dem Kriege!,* yet readers only saw their portraits. By showing them as a group, and by including their intact upper bodies and the supportive gesture of an arm around each other, these soldiers appear even as friends, and not just as an object, as it is the case for the medical portraits Friedrich's readers encounter. The article in the *Freie Welt* points out that single descriptions of each case are being *intentionally* left out so as to not shock its readers (2). While the article goes on to state that these patients wish to return home and to work, the author ends by denouncing the state for not taking care of these wounded soldiers. In contrast, in the series of photos in *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Friedrich includes descriptions for each of the portraits, but neither group photos, nor a bigger context

about the state's responsibility for its veterans. However, Friedrich copied and slightly changed a line from the article. Towards the beginning of the photo, Friedrich writes in a caption: "Some war cripples refused information, other wounded, particularly those gruesomely mutilated, did not allow themselves to be photographed, as they feared that their relatives who had not seen them again would either collapse at the sight of their misery or would turn away for ever [sic] from them in horror and disgust" (201). The middle part of the caption is the exact wording of a sentence in the *Freie Welt* article. The changes Friedrich made to the beginning and to the end of the sentence are, however, significant: While the article uses the word "disabled people" (2; my translation), who did not *want* to be photographed, Friedrich replaced "invalids" with "war cripples … particularly those gruesomely mutilated" and emphasized that they "*refused* information … and did not *allow* themselves to be photographed" (2; my emphases). While these soldiers are indeed very badly wounded – their faces marked for life – and their sentiments about being photographed might have been strong, Friedrich deliberately exaggerates both their label as "war cripples" and their refusal to portray their situations.

Friedrich later adapts another sentence from the article, this time changing its end. In the article, the author mentions that relatives often had to look away when meeting their sons and fathers again, while wives often collapsed when seeing their husbands again. The article does not insert *the manner* in which these relatives reacted; yet Friedrich does include this information: "turn away for ever [sic] from them *in horror and disgust*" (201; my emphasis). Knowing that Friedrich made this change intentionally, one can understand this modification as a direction for readers on *how* to encounter those photographs. Not that the portraits in themselves are not already shocking, the phrase "in horror and disgust" both serves as a warning and, at the same time, as an instruction for the reader about how to encounter this series of facial wounds. Taken

together with the distancing and neutral descriptions and the camera's focus on the wounds instead of on the entire person – group photographs as in the *Freie Welt* article would have altered this series' impact – Friedrich's aim with this sequence of photos is to shock and disgust his readers, when many of his readers probably literally turned away and turned the pages more quickly to get through this section. However, this is not the general purpose of this photobook, as many of Friedrich's intricate and juxtaposing functional montages, which required readers often to look twice, have shown so far, for instance about the war toys in the beginning. In contrast, the wounds and the data provided in the captions do not come together as a functional montage; instead, they shock, overemphasizing the vertical dimension of the montage. Do they then add to the readers' understanding of the soldier, re-contextualizing him as the previous montages did, showing him, for instance, as a family member? Can a soldier's corporeality be seen in a different, more contextualized way, so as to connect to readers and give them a chance to identify instead of turning away in shock? This can indeed be achieved, and Friedrich does so in the second volume of *Krieg dem Kriege!*.

Here, Friedrich establishes in three montages, which feature the soldier's face *and* body, an understanding of the soldier's corporeality so as to allow for his readers to connect with the idea of the soldier in a more intimate way. This corporeal connection is not only intimate, but also a very profound one, as it is showing the soldier's vulnerability as much as his mortality. It is the combination of these two ideas that connects a soldier in the trenches with a public at home – less in regard to vulnerability, as such grave injuries do not occur at home – but more in relating to the idea of mortality that every member of the public, including Friedrich's readers, will have to face at some point or has experienced via the death of a family member.

While family members who passed away are often laid on a bier to give their loved ones

a chance to say one final goodbye, soldiers in WWI who died on the field were often left behind, buried in mass graves and only sometimes brought back from the field on wooden pallets before being buried. One montage towards the end of the second volume shows such a procedure.

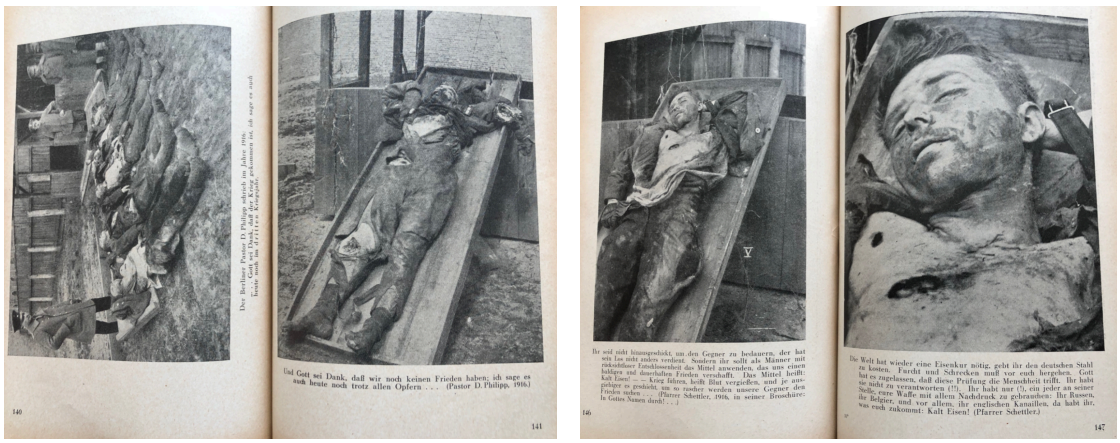


Fig. III. 18 and fig. III. 19. Montage of corpses propped up on pallets. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* vol. 2, Freie Jugend, 1926, pp. 140-41; 146-147.

The first photo shows five corpses, their lower bodies on the bare ground, their upper bodies being placed on a pallet, surrounded by three soldiers. The camera is too far away for the beholder to be able to recognize any of these fallen soldiers. However, it seems to be the purpose of the ensuing photographs that each of these corpses is identified. Roman numerals on the photographs indicate that they are catalogued for such a purpose. The next eight photos show each of these corpses one by one, alternating between a frame size that captures their bodies from the knees up, and photos of their faces and chests that show severe, probably deadly wounds. This alternating move on the montage's horizontal dimension puts the soldier's face, wounds, and body in a context for the reader. First, the reader engages with the entire body of the corpse that has been placed on an elevated pallet to provide a better view for the photographer. Though they are still wearing clothes, these have been partially pulled away to expose their severe wounds, including ripped off arms (142), open abdomens (144), and gunshot wounds to

the chest (146/148). Nonetheless, these corpses also appear peaceful, almost as if they were asleep. The placement of their arms emphasizes this impression, because they are either hanging loosely on each side of the pallet or they have been placed behind their necks, providing a "pillow" for their heads. The photos of their faces also contribute to this impression. Their eyes have been closed and their heads are either tilted or have slumped to the left or right. Particularly since none of these soldiers had sustained significant wounds to the face, they look like they have just closed their eyes to sleep. (The exception is the last corpse, but only because of its advanced stage of decomposition.) While corpses and wounds are definitely a hard sight to endure, the alternating movement between photos of their faces and their bodies, combined with the impression that these soldiers might be asleep, allows readers to engage with these photographs, without being as shocked as when they were confronted with a series of portraits of increasingly gaping wounds in the first volume (see figs. 15 and 16).

While the purpose of these photographs is to help identify these soldiers comes close in nature to the medical photography of their facial wounds in the first volume, excluding any details about these soldiers' age, rank, or cause of death removes their original purpose to some extent. Friedrich does not extend the photographs by providing additional information, as he did in the case of the medical portraits in the first volume. Instead, he returns to using the method of juxtapositions, contrasting what the reader sees with what he reads in the captions. Friedrich quotes sermons and speeches by various pastors, including their names and date when they made these statements. On various occasions they have praised the war, its necessity, and its educational worth for the youth. While this is already a stark juxtaposition to the photos, it becomes also a highly ironic comment, when, for instance, Pastor Philipp writes that *wounds* will soon be closed again (142). Friedrich even heightens this juxtaposition between photo and

caption by adding an exclamation mark in parenthesis at the end of the pastor's statement. He makes sure to exaggerate such ironic relationships even further when *two* exclamation marks point out the stark contrast between the face of a young dead soldier and a pastor's statement about soldiers not bearing any responsibility for the war – they only have to use their weapons accordingly (147). Friedrich's montage about the corporeality and mortality of the soldier, juxtaposing it with the church's pro-war statements, ends with the most ironic juxtaposition of the montage. In the last caption, Friedrich cites again Pastor Philipp: "Das Winseln und Heulen über den Jammer und Elend des Krieges kann ich schon lange nicht mehr hören" (150). The photograph above these lines, however, shows a soldier who can neither whine nor wail about the war. Not because he is dead, like those in the previous photos. He survived the war, but as the portrait shows, his nose and mouth have been so badly injured that most of his face has become a gaping wound (see fig. 20). While a doctor's hand holds a dentist's mirror pushing the wounded's lip further up, blood trickling down his cheek and throat, the photo is not like the ones in the first volume. The camera keeps a distance and includes the doctor's arm. While the last photograph in the first volume's series of facial wounds (see fig. 16) was also paired with an ironic caption, readers just saw the profile of a soldier and his gaping facial wound. This time, in the second volume, the reader is confronted with the wound at a straight angle. Plus, the soldier is also looking back into the camera (see fig. 20).

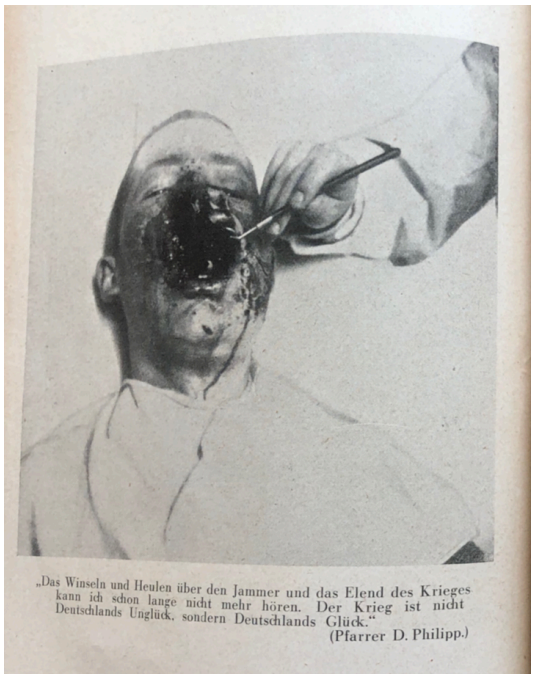


Fig. III. 20. Photo of a gaping facial wound. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* vol. 2, Freie Jugend, 1926, p. 150.

Since all of this happens at a distance (due to the more distant portrait, the inclusion of the doctor's hand, and the pastor's long statement causing an ironic comment on the photograph), readers have actually more time to engage with this and all the other photographs of this montage. They not only have more time, their eyes, through the alternation between frame sizes and long captions, have more space to explore the page. They also need longer to read the captions, which was not the case for the nominal clauses for the captions about the facial wounds in the first volume. The horizontal dimension of this montage slows down the vertical dimension, i.e., the reading and reception process of the readers. Slowing the reader down in this montage and contextualizing wounds and death with the soldiers' entire body allows Friedrich to present the ideas of vulnerability and mortality to readers, moving away from the shock effect of the facial wounds in the first volume. Readers can slowly engage with the wounded soldiers, connecting their own familiarity of seeing dead family members laid on biers like these soldiers have been laid on pallets for display.

A second sequence follows this montage method of slowly introducing and juxtaposing soldiers' injuries with each other and with Friedrich's captions. Moreover, the series of four photographs actually revisits the portraits of the soldiers with the facial wounds of the first volume. However, instead of including single portraits again, Friedrich chose a group photo of seven patients. The photo is the same one as the cover image of the previously discussed issue of the *Freie Welt* from 1920. This photo reveals that the cover image was just an excerpt. It excluded the three patients on the right, possibly due to their more severe facial injuries. The portraits of these individuals, one followed by another, made it hard to look at them. This group shot, however, as was the case already for the cover image, is less about the surgical procedure and the horror of the wound than about the camaraderie among these veterans, who often spend months or years on end in hospitals, removed from the public's eye. In the ensuing three photographs of this montage, Friedrich not only continues contextualizing the soldiers with the facial wounds; he also introduces a soldier whose face was spared, but whose right arm is decomposing due to bone caries (see fig. 21).

Fig. III. 21. Montage of a patient with bone caries. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* vol. 2, Freie Jugend, 1926, pp. 199-201.

By turning his strategy from the first volume that shocked readers now completely around, Friedrich leads with a photograph that shows the soldier and his arm injury while he is lying in bed. He is at the center of the photograph, which is another group photo, also depicting the soldier's superior, a nurse, and two friends or comrades in civilian clothing. The wound is clearly visible and is at first a sight of detachment, the readers almost prompted to turn away. Yet the soldier is framed by individuals who are not only *not* injured, they are also part of everyday life, visible to the public eye, unlike the soldier with the grave wound. Their inclusion in the photo and their act of looking at the camera allows the readers to connect on the montage's vertical dimension with *all* of the subjects in the photo, including the soldier with his terrible injury. On the following two pages Friedrich included two photographs that focus on the wound only: the first one in semi close-up, still showing the soldier's upper body and head, the second one a full close-up of the wound alone. While the last image is indeed grave and hard to look at, this time

Friedrich made sure to prepare his readers, contextualizing the wound, and by extension, this part of soldiery for them.

Towards the end of the second volume there is a third sequence of photos that focuses on the soldier's corporeality, using a montage technique that follows the other two sequences. Moreover, it extends the sequence of facial wounds in the first volume that only aimed at a shock effect. While the public was probably not familiar with these grave facial injuries shown in the first volume, mainly because they were kept from the public eye, the opposite is the case for this third montage of photos of veterans' bodies and body parts. While the public was familiar with the sight of handicapped veterans, even missing entire body parts, the photographs of their crippled, yet healed *nude* bodies make something visible to the readers they could not see beforehand. The photos depict in full-page frames nude soldiers with mutilated hands, legs or feet (see fig. 22).

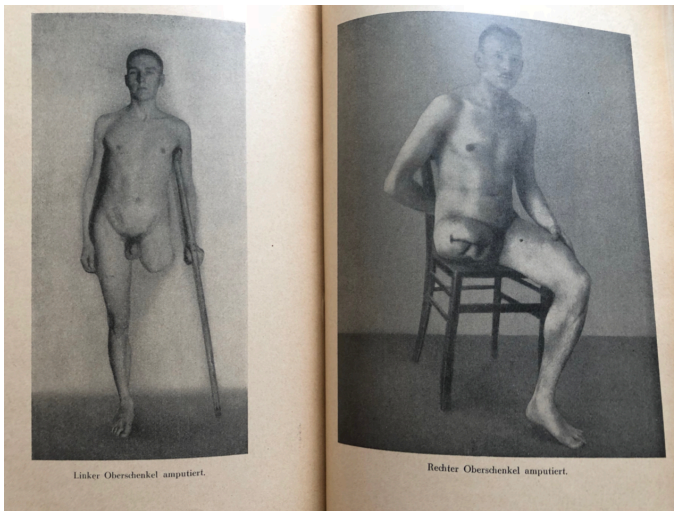


Fig. III. 22. Nude bodies with missing extremities. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* vol. 2, Freie Jugend, 1926, pp. 212-213.

These are again medical photographs, and the captions name the cause of the injury and include the amount of war reparation these veterans receive. It is important to point out that the readers

do not just see the *healed* body wounds, but also the *naked* body. Compared to the soldiers with the facial wounds, these soldiers with injuries to their bodies are able to walk and move around in public. Yet, the public does not ever see the real extent of these injuries. Right before the montage of these naked bodies, Friedrich includes two photos of fully dressed wounded war veterans, one trying to light a cigar, the other one trying to work with a hammer in a factory. These are sights the public and readers were familiar with, since the wound is hidden by everyday clothing and everyday work procedures. By making these invisible wounds visible through the nude body, Friedrich manages to de-familiarize readers from their own bodies. Establishing in this way the vertical dimension of this functional montage, they are prompted to compare their own intact bodies with the ones of the war-wounded veterans, which brings them and the idea of soldiery closer to the readers than in many other instances in *Krieg dem Kriege!*, including when readers were confronted with images of facial wounds or fallen soldiers in the fields or in mass graves. For the latter instance, though, Friedrich has chosen again a functional montage, which this time also focuses on elements *within* the photograph that help connect readers to the sight of dead, naked soldiers in mass graves. The last section of this chapter is devoted to this version of the functional montage.

Between Witnessing and Recognition – The Soldier, the Camera, and the Reader

All these methods of representing and contextualizing the soldier for his readers point at a larger theme in *Krieg dem Kriege!*: The dichotomy of visibility and invisibility of the soldier's representation to the public eye – be it visible to other soldiers or to the general public; be it during war time or periods of peace. The facial wound gained visibility by showing the readers

photographs of soldiers' faces, normally hidden behind hospital walls. The injured and crippled bodies were already visible to a certain extent to the public, but gained full visibility through the photographs of nude bodies. In both cases, Friedrich used functional montages of several photographs and juxtapositions between the images and captions to put the wound and the nude body in a context that would provide both space and time for readers to engage with these previously invisible, hidden sides of soldiery.

When it comes to the soldier's death, a similar dynamic is at work in *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Friedrich's readers and the general public did not have a chance to personally witness the dying soldier. They can only see how his death is commemorated when they visit his grave, if this is even possible, as many soldiers died in the field and were left behind or buried anonymously in mass graves. In addition, during the war strict censorship rules were in place, so that photographs of fallen soldiers being thrown into mass graves remained unseen. Yet looking at a tombstone, a symbol more of commemoration than of death, is different than looking at a photograph that captures either the moment of death or the short time period right after, when the body is being buried. In these moments, the beholder of the photograph becomes a witness to the dying soldier or his burial. However, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the act of witnessing is tied to being a "spectator or auditor" and "to experience by personal observation." The witness must be present at the site, because, as Paul Celan already wrote at the end of his poem *Aschenglorie*: "Niemand / zeugt für den / Zeugen" (198). Shoshana Felman underlines this situation of the witness: "Since testimony cannot simply be relayed, repeated or reported by another without losing its function as testimony, the burden of the witness – in spite of his or her alignment with other witnesses – is a radically unique, non-interchangeable and solitary burden" (3). Yet the medium of photography allows for the testimonial act to be preserved beyond the moment of

enunciation, and the reproducibility of the photographic medium permits a broad dissemination of the testimonial address. But since photography mediates through a temporal detachment and spatial displacement, photos dedicated to the act of bearing witness necessarily rely on techniques that enhance the impression of a witness's presence before the beholder's eye. In the case of *Krieg dem Kriege!,* these techniques very much rely on a strategy of relating death to Friedrich's readers by aiming to create a moment of recognition. As Wendy Kozol writes in her introduction to *Distant Wars Visible*, visual witnessing is "not a one-way mirror but a relational process between the photographer or the artist, the subjects of the image, viewers *and* the surrounding contexts" (12; my emphasis). Especially the surrounding context of the photos in *Krieg dem Kriege!* will become relevant in this process of recognition that, as Kozol writes, relies on relationality that "structures recognition as an *intersubjective* process" (12; my emphasis). In case of the photographs of fallen soldiers and mass graves in *Krieg dem Kriege!*, the process of recognition relies on a twofold relationality because the act of witnessing is doubled. Not only the readers bear witness to the dead soldiers, but also the surviving soldier is bears witness to his fallen comrade – both captured on camera.[19]

By the time Friedrich's readers get to a sequence of photographs of mass graves in the first volume, stretching over ten pages (108-118), the sight of fallen soldiers – be it images of a single body or several unrecognizable bodies – is not an unfamiliar one. Yet a four-page montage

[19] "By the early part of the twentieth century most dailies and older illustrated weeklies used photographs. The appearance of the commercial box camera in 1889 had made photography a more convenient and cheaper form for reporting. But for World War I (1914-1918), newspapers on both sides resorted to 'illustrating the news' because of the affective resonance of drawn images and the emotional visual languages they could produce. In the decade following the war, avant-garde aesthetics motivated by the crisis of World War I established the role of the artist in the context of a crucial new kind of visual journalism, allowing figures such as George Grosz and Otto Dix – both significant influences on contemporary cartoonists – to report on war and its aftermath in Europe in the 1920s" (Chute *Disaster Drawn* 65). Chute does not mention the strong censorship of photos being published, so drawings had to suffice.

of photographs within this sequence of photos, focusing on one particular mass grave (109-12), is different from the other photos in three ways. First, the photographs capture the *same* mass grave from four different angles. This opens up the opportunity to readers to examine the mass graves more closely. Intially, the sheer quantity of dead bodies stands out. The first image of the sequence is shot from above and at a tilted angle, looking down on putrid corpses (see fig. 23).

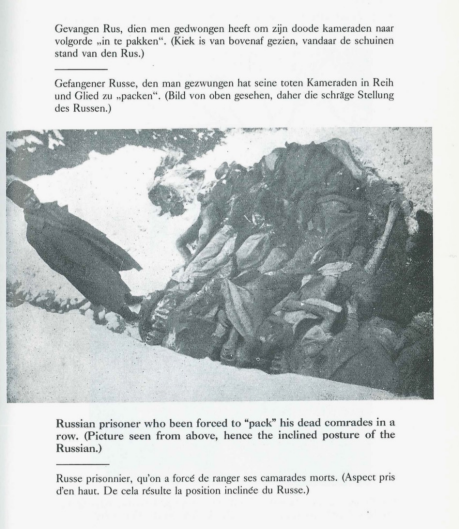


Fig. III. 23. First photo of the mass grave montage. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 109.

These bodies are partially naked or partially covered in blankets, letting them appear intertwined with each other. Only via their heads are readers able to estimate the number of corpses in this grave. Only in the third photograph of the sequence does the true scale of this mass grave become clear. The photographer positioned himself several feet away from the grave and he used a straight angle to capture the dead bodies piled on top of each other in a long row in this ditch. It is wintertime, so the grey color of the accumulated corpses and the white, snow-covered sides of the ditch stand out in this black-and-white photograph (see fig. 24).

Fig. III. 24. Third photo of the mass grave montage. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 109.

At the same time, due its composition and framing, another group of soldiers becomes visible. While the first focus lies on the corpses central in the photograph's composition, its portrait format also draws the reader's eye toward the upper half of the frame (see fig. 24). In the background, to each side of the grave are not only two leafless trees, but also a few soldiers, dressed in heavy winter coats. While those on the right are holding shovels, one of them bending down, shoveling soil into the ditch, one of the soldiers on the left is facing the camera. Yet while it is too far away for readers to discern his facial features, taking the other four photos of this sequence into account the reader is able to see the faces of those who bury these dead soldiers. In the second photograph of the sequence, the photographer's, and by extension the reader's, attention has shifted to the soldiers and their double act of bearing witness to their fellow soldiers' death, while burying their corpses. The actual grave is now out of frame, while five soldiers that were tasked to bury the bodies are in the center of the photo's composition (fig. 25).

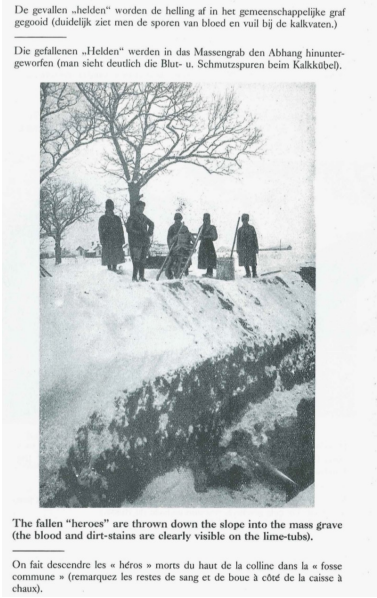


Fig. III. 25. Second photo of the mass grave montage. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 110.

One body is shown on a ladder held by one of the soldiers, ready to be slid down into the ditch. Yet the corpse, though at the very center of the photo, is very hard to discern. His grey outline blends into the soldier's grey body mass behind the corpse. With the dead soldier visually fading into the alive one behind him, framed by two other soldiers on each side, the photograph draws the reader's attention to the other soldiers. These are Russian prisoners, burying their comrades who were alive like them not long ago. The caption for the photograph, however, does not mention those soldiers-turned-undertakers. Friedrich rather points to the victims, still talking about them in the plural although only one of them is visible, and he emphasizes the irony of these dead soldiers being called "fallen 'heroes" (110), when in the end they are only "thrown down the slope into a mass grave" (110). Friedrich's use of the passive voice excludes the soldiers-turned-undertakers and, in the second part of the caption, points to the "blood and dirt stains" (110) that mark the sides of the ditch. Yet Friedrich does not entirely ignore these soldiers who were spared only to bury their comrades. When taking the entire sequence of photos and captions into account, it becomes clear that there is a clear trajectory in this horizontal dimension

of the functional montage. Friedrich makes sure to draw the reader's attention to the *other* soldier – the soldier who survived, who becomes both a shoveling worker and a witness in a double sense: a witness *of* the event, and in looking directly into the camera also a witness *for* the public eye, i.e. the readers.

In returning to the first photograph of the sequence (see fig. 23), there are more than simply corpses thrown on top of each other visible in the frame of this picture. To the left of them there is also a soldier, standing at the edge of the ditch. Friedrich identifies him as a "Russian prisoner" (109). He even draws his readers' attention to him: "Russian prisoner who has been forced to "pack" his dead comrades in a row. (Picture seen from above, hence the inclined posture of the Russian.)" (109). While the caption explains what the Russian prisoner is doing, including the unusual perspective, it is the composition of the picture that establishes a connection to the readers: The Russian is portrayed as a witness of the event taking place: the undignified burial of corpses in a mass grave. Yet instead of looking at the burial site, he is looking back at the camera and by extension at the readers, who take on the photographer's point of view. All of this makes the readers not only aware of the event taking place, but also turns them into witnesses *of* the witness *and* the mass grave. At the same time, the reader-turned-witness also recognizes that his ideas of soldiery need to be revised – yet again – in order to go beyond the ideas of a soldier's heroism, his glorified death, or his simple everyday life as it was often seen in other photobooks.[20] This Russian soldier incorporates the role of a witness, a state *in-between* the roles just mentioned. Even in the communication triangle, as John Peters explains, this role of the soldier takes on a special position. Peters writes that "the term [witness] involves all three points of a basic communication triangle: (1) the agent who bears witness, (2)

[20] See, for instance in photobooks by Rex, Jünger, or Schauwecker.

the utterance or text itself, (3) the audience who witnesses" (25). On a first level, the mass grave is the text, in this case a visual "text," and the agent who bears witness is the Russian soldier. However, since the text is a visual one, i.e. a photograph that prolongs the act that is being witnessed, the agent who bears witness is not just the soldier, but also the readers, who encounter this photograph. Yet, by looking directly into the camera lens, the Russian soldier also becomes a witness of the camera capturing this act. In this moment of recognition through the photographer's eye, the soldier becomes an intermediary, passing on his act of bearing witness to the readers.

This dual image of the soldier is reinforced when in the last image of the sequence it is not an alive soldier being singled out, but an individual corpse (see fig. 26).

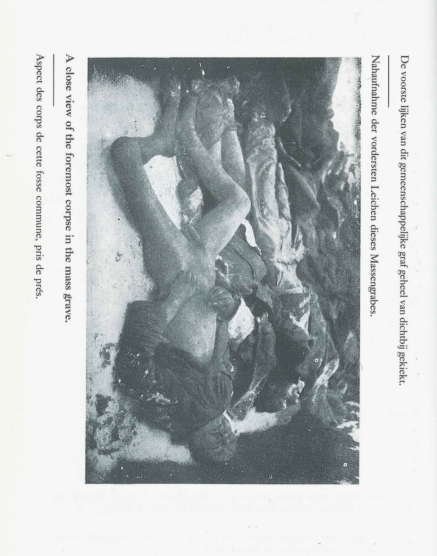


Fig. III. 26. Last photo of the mass grave montage. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 112.

The camera frames his naked, emaciated body in a portrait. By placing this picture, taken in a landscape format, in the page's layout as if it were in a portrait format – Friedrich chose to do the same for the captions – he prompts readers to tilt their heads to the right so they can see the photo and read the text. In the same way as the camera had to tilt to the left for the first photo of

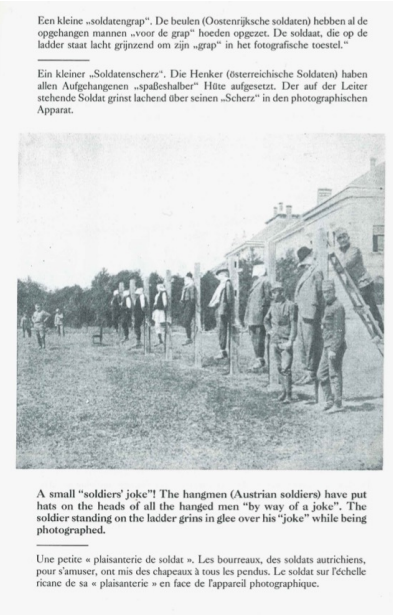
the sequence (see fig. 23) in order to also include the Russian soldier, the readers have to do the same now. This aligns them with the photographer of this photo series, turning them on this vertical axis of the montage into the same kind of witness as the photographer and his camera. As for the corpse, he appears in the final page layout to be upside down, thus almost facing the opposite direction of the Russian soldier in the first photo, and of the standing soldier-witnesses in the second and third photos of the sequence. This visual comparison marks the extreme oppositional views of the soldier in the postwar public eye: as "heroes," as fallen soldiers and what Friedrich seeks to make visible here: as witnesses.

Friedrich points to these views of the soldier as a witness at other points in *Krieg dem Kriege!*. However in these instances he does not only rely on a visual narrative based on a montage of photos. Using his captions, Friedrich points out very directly when the soldier becomes a witness; moreover: the soldier also becomes the one who, as a murderer, committed the act to which he and others surrounding him bear witness. After the montage sequence of the mass grave, described above, more photographs of wounded soldiers and gas victims follow. Then, suddenly, the reader is confronted with a series of photographs of hanged victims, including renegade soldiers, priests, civilians, and women, as well as with their perpetrators: soldiers functioning as hangmen. Up to this point, when the camera captured death or the act of dying during WWI, it never showed those who caused this death. For ten pages (148-159), Friedrich includes photographs of hangings, which are followed by several images of executions by gun. All photos show both victims and their executioners. Compared to the sequence of the mass grave, when only the caption of the first photograph directed the reader's gaze towards the witness, this time the entire sequence is framed by Friedrich's captions. The first two photographs, as well as the last one, show the "'hangman's work'" (148). In both cases,

Friedrich includes directions for the readers, asking them to pay more attention to the hangmen than to the dead:

> "(Observe the soldier who touches the hanged man, in order to show that he himself is the hangman and is proud of it)" (148). "The soldier standing on the ladder grins in glee over his 'joke' while being photographed" (149). "(The professional murderers, after having carried out their task, stand proudly to have themselves photographed)" (157).

The first caption even uses the very direct imperative form, "observe," and continues to describe a small detail in the photo that is hard to see and might otherwise be missed when just glancing at the photo and the hanged victim. The same is the case for the second photograph that shows an array of hanged men on the gallows (see fig. 27).



Een kleine „soldatengrap". De beulen (Oostenrijksche soldaten) hebben al de opgehangen mannen „voor de grap" hoeden opgezet. De soldaat, die op de ladder staat lacht grijnzend om zijn „grap" in het fotografische toestel."

Ein kleiner „Soldatenscherz". Die Henker (österreichische Soldaten) haben allen Aufgehangenen „spaßeshalber" Hüte aufgesetzt. Der auf der Leiter stehende Soldat grinst lacherd über seinen „Scherz" in den photographischen Apparat.

A small "soldiers' joke"! The hangmen (Austrian soldiers) have put hats on the heads of all the hanged men "by way of a joke". The soldier standing on the ladder grins in glee over his "joke" while being photographed.

Une petite « plaisanterie de soldat ». Les bourreaux, des soldats autrichiens, pour s'amuser, ont mis des chapeaux à tous les pendus. Le soldat sur l'échelle ricane de sa « plaisanterie » en face de l'appareil photographique.

Fig. III. 27. A soldier, proud of being a hangman. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 149.

The soldier standing at the ladder on the right-hand side might go unnoticed. In both cases, though, Friedrich makes sure not only to direct his readers to see these soldiers as witnesses, but

also as men who take pride in the act of murdering others. However, what comes across as even more important to Friedrich is that these soldiers who are so clearly murderers – "a soldier's trade is the murderer's trade" (141) – pause for the camera in order to be photographed, documenting their acts. Compared to the mass grave montage, when there was no causal link between the corpses and soldiers who were their witnesses, here the causality is clear and the soldier becomes a murderer and a witness of his own actions. While the readers are directed to see yet another facet of the soldier-figure – the murderer in addition to the heroic and the fallen soldiers – the common point is again a double act of witnessing, i.e. *of* the event (the hanging) and *for* the beholder of the photograph that documented the incident. This time not just the horizontal dimension of the montage directs readers visually to pay attention to the soldier-as-witness, becoming in that moment witnesses themselves; the captions also guide readers more overtly to become witnesses and, at this point, also judges of soldiers committing such heinous and immoral acts. From this point on, readers of *Krieg dem Kriege!* are encouraged and instructed by Friedrich to look for soldiers-as-witnesses.

To that end, even looking at the first half of *Krieg dem Kriege!,* re-examining examples I have already discussed in this chapter, the witnessing soldier-figure becomes even more visible. He moves from the background to the foreground, particularly when it becomes evident just how often the soldier-as-witness is included in *Krieg dem Kriege's* photographs. An early example addressed in this analysis showed the soldier as a father figure (54-55), connecting him back to his original function in society and at home. Looking again at the juxtaposition of the alive "Papa" (54) and the dead one (55) on the opposite page reveals that there are two additional people in the photographs (see fig. 10). The second photo shows an unrecognizable dead body on the ground, and also a medical orderly. The big Red Cross bandage on his left arm, almost in the

center of the frame, makes it easy to recognize him and take him into account as a witness. In this instance, it looks like he was forced to be a witness, because he actually does not have to fulfill his duty anymore, seeing that the corpse is more than severely wounded. The photographer probably asked him to carefully lift the corpse's jacket for the camera. In this instance, the medical orderly loses his original function to provide medical help, and turns, due to the photographer's intervention, into a witness.

There are other instances when witnessing soldiers are clearly visible. For instance, there is a soldier holding up a corpse for the camera, even looking into the camera lens (95) while doing so (see fig. 9). Other witnesses, however, are harder to discern, like a soldier who looks both at destroyed material and at corpses in a photo on page 68. The caption "War material" (68) has the reader focus on the destroyed material; he only discovers at a second glance the soldier-witness, standing with slumped shoulders in the background of the photo. Once discovered, his act of witnessing is one that might be mirrored by the readers. Yet not only individual soldiers become witnesses. Several instances show a group of soldiers being captured as witnesses on camera. Particularly in juxtaposing similar events, like dead war horses on opposite sides of a double page, witnessing soldiers looking at the dead horses stand out (see fig. 28).

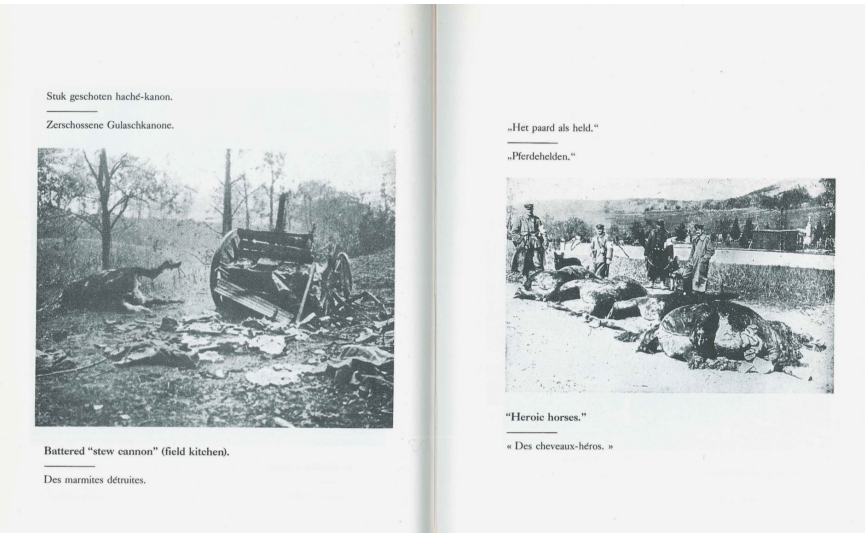


Fig. III. 28. Witnessing soldiers looking at the dead horses. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, pp. 100-101.

In the photo on the left, there is only one dead horse lying next to the battered "stew cannon," as the caption reads. There are no other soldiers or people, dead or alive, to be seen. Thus a group of four soldiers with their two dogs stand out in the following photo, standing behind a few dead horses lying on the ground. While readers already become witnesses in the first photo, here they are not only witnessing the dead animals, but also bearing witness to the soldiers witnessing these dead horses for the camera. This double of the act of witnessing reinforces not only the atrocity of the event, seeing it twice; it also makes readers aware of those who saw it long before them and that these witnesses are also soldiers, yet not proud or fighting ones; on the contrary, in the moment of witnessing, and the camera documenting it, they are exactly like the readers looking at them in the photo. Plus, they do not even have to look into the camera (as was the case in other photographs), as an example on page 105 shows (see fig. 29).

Fig. 29. Large group of soldiers looking at a burning village. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 121.

The idea of " readers are looking *with* them" is reinforced in this photo, showing a large group of soldiers looking at a burning village. While they are standing with their backs to the camera, their act of looking at the scene mirrors the exact position of the readers – the *group* of soldiers even reinforcing that more than one reader reads *Krieg dem Kriege!*. It is not just a single soldier looking, but a large group, suggesting the idea of "we, as soldiers, are seeing and witnessing," and transferring that idea to the readers as "we, as readers, are *also* seeing and witnessing" the same event.

Conclusion

Similar to Benjamin's use of the emblem, and Tucholsky's and Heartfield's use of the functional montage, Friedrich also used montage techniques that de- and re-contextualize the soldier for his readers. The functional montage managed to uncover a "timeless" idea of the

soldier, showing his omnipresence via war toys and games. Continually moving between a de- and re-contextualization, Friedrich uses functional montages to re-contextualize the soldier within his place at home, stripping away his uniform. The same was the case, quite literally, when Friedrich focused on the corporeality of the soldier, showing how injuries and wounds can be used not only for a shock effect, but also as a means to teach readers how to engage with those images, especially when Friedrich carefully balanced the horizontal and vertical dimension of the functional montage. This careful balance finally enabled Friedrich to move from the soldier's wound to his function as a witness, which, in turn, turned readers also into witnesses, developing in this way a critical and dynamic view of soldiers.

Coda
Refracting the "New Woman"? A Search for Weimar's Women

Fig. IV. 1. Benjamin's dedication to Asja Lacis. Benjamin, *Einbahnstraße,* Rowohlt, 1928, p. 5.

Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* begins with a dedication to his then-partner, the Latvian actress and theater director Asja Lacis (see fig.1). In naming the upcoming "one-way street" of his book after Lacis, Benjamin introduces his readers to a close figure from his personal life at the very beginning. This gesture prompts readers to have Lacis in mind whenever Benjamin includes a female figure in his book. In addition, in granting Lacis agency and influence on Benjamin as an author – after all, by becoming an "Ingenieur" (5) she breaks this street through him – the idea of the woman becomes one that is far from a simplistic: While neither Lacis nor any other woman becomes a fully acting subject in Benjamin's texts, taking on the role of a protagonist, she is also not a passive object being "engineered" by Benjamin. Instead, Benjamin seems to search for a representation of women that neither adheres to Weimar's image of the "New Woman" nor completely rejects it. Benjamin's emphasis seems to be on showing the *process* of his search, as he does not define explicitly what the idea of womanhood means to him, as yet another facet of the idea of the "New Woman."

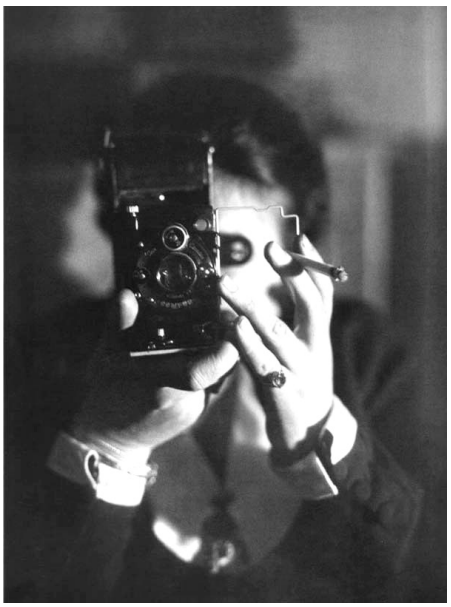


Fig. IV. 2. "Self-Portrait." Krull, 1925, Museum Folkwang, Essen.

The "New Woman"[1] is, as Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco write, a "construct [that] existed both as a set of abstract ideas and a compilation of individual behaviors and experiences" (1) in the Weimar Republic. Many of these compilations and facets of the "New Woman," which included "female athletes and adventurers, flappers, *garçonnes,* Modern Girls, *neue Frauen,* suffragettes" (Otto and Rocco 1), were present in the public sphere through visual images created by artists, photographers, actresses, and filmmakers, dispersed widely by films and illustrated magazines (Otto and Rocco 1).[2] Yet while film and photography determined the ways women were seen (viewers believing they are seeing authentic replications of the real

[1] For a brief history of this term that originated in England and America in the late 19th century and became a global phenomenon thereafter, see Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International* (5).

[2] See the collection of essays in Otto and Rocco, *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s* for further discussions of this female figure in various contexts. The authors of these essays examine the "terms of gendered representation as a process in which women were as much agents as allegories" (2) in both a national and international perspective. See also the collection of essays in *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization* that analyzes New Womanhood as a global phenomenon in the interwar period.

world due to photography's powerful indexicality),[3] female photographers also made use of this indexical power, subverting and playing with the viewers' expectations. Photographer Germaine Krull, for instance, places in her self-portrait the camera in front of her face, so that viewers do not see her face, contrary to expectations when looking at a self-portrait (see fig. 2). While the camera replaces her entire face, her hands, holding the camera, are still visible, balancing a lit cigarette casually between her fingers. Paired with a ring on her little finger, Krull becomes an example of the construct of the "New Woman:" the ring as a marker of femininity – yet *not* of marriage, as it is not worn on the ring finger – is paired with the cigarette as a marker of independence.[4] This apparent contradiction is continued when including the photograph's viewers: Looking at Krull turns her into an object; yet, by provoking viewers from seeing her face and replacing it with the camera "photographing" the viewers looking at her, she also becomes a maker. Otto and Rocco deduce that "she is overtly modern and in control of the camera but also shows herself as hybrid and technologized" (3). This aligns with Benjamin's hybrid and technological view of Lacis in his dedication, turning her into an object by integrating her name into a street name, while calling her at the same time an influential engineer.

This dedication to Lacis opens up Benjamin's search for a representation of his then partner, and by extension, of women. Throughout his work, Benjamin plays with facets of the "New Woman," but also with other ways of seeing women, ranging from their roles as mothers,

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[3] "The unique visual appeal of photography results from combining the basically iconic code (resemblance between image and referent) with indexicality. Photography is indexical insofar as the represented object is 'imprinted' by light and the chemical (or electronic) process on the image, creating a visual likeness that possesses a degree of accuracy and 'truthfulness' unattainable in purely iconic signs such as painting, drawing, or sculpture" (Sadowski 355).

[4] "Habits of modern life formerly associated with men of all classes and women of the lower and working classes – smoking most obviously, but also holding a job, drinking, going to clubs, and having sexual relationships outside of marriage – were experiences that now opened up to New Women of the middle and upper classes" (Otto and Rocco 8).

partners, or femme fatales. Placing Benjamin's search to represent women in relation to his practice of deconstructing and reconstructing his readers' reception process makes a further analysis of Benjamin's representation of women even more interesting, as the process of deconstruction and reconstruction also seems to be applicable to his search for representing women. Thus, two of the central questions of this coda are: Is Benjamin also deconstructing and reconstructing the image of women? And if so, what does this do to the image of the woman, and by extension, of the "New Woman"? These questions can also be posed for Ernst Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* and Kurt Tucholsky's and John Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, as they also perform this movement of deconstruction and reconstruction that affects their representation of women. While less playful and without a reference to women in these authors' personal lives, their representation of women in their montages of texts and images stands out, with women sometimes even becoming part of functional montages that I have identified in earlier chapters. Based on the processes of deconstructing the connections of text and images, as they are usually presented in mass media, *Deutschland* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* reconfigure in functional montages the relationships of images and texts to each other, reconstructing different connections in their photobooks by employing a principle of montage. While these authors tried to engage the public in general, they could use these specific montages to address certain groups of readers and teach them to deconstruct their familiar processes of reading and perceiving texts and images. At the same time, they aimed to reconstruct these processes via functional montages that are aimed at specific groups of readers – in the case of Tucholsky and Heartfield the working class reader and in Friedrich's case the soldier – with the goal of changing the way they read and view themselves and their surroundings. While women are not a social class like workers or soldiers (which are essentially workers in uniforms), focusing on their inclusion, or,

for that matter, exclusion in functional montages in *Deutschland* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* is of interest for this project because in all three works women and their representations are inserted at pivotal points, as, for instance, Asja Lacis in Benjamin's dedication of *Einbahnstraße*. Women, workers, and soldiers align for Tucholsky, Heartfield and Friedrich because mass media presented a certain image of all three groups that their works wanted to subvert or at least supplement. In the case of women, the facets of the "New Woman" in the media included the characteristics of the "bobbed hair, painted lips, provocative clothing, elongated body, and an open, easy smile" (Weinbaum 1-2). The questions posed earlier for Benjamin's work also become relevant here: How do Friedrich, Tucholsky, and Heartfield represent women? Are they deconstructing and reconstructing an image – and, if so, how does this relate to current representations of the woman, including the idea of the "New Woman"? In addition, I will also examine whether *Deutschland* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* counteract the representation of women in mainstream illustrated magazines in the same way as they did for the portrayal of workers and soldiers.

While in particular workers were certainly the target of mainstream mass media at the time – the *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung,* for instance, was mainly addressed to a working class audience – the largest and by far most targeted group of readers were women. "Along with workers and youth, however, women have been at the center of a debate about their roles as gendered consumers, and cultural mediators ever since the dawn of mass culture" (Barndt "Female Readers" 96). In Barndt's quote, it becomes clear that women were much more than just readers and consumers in the Weimar Republic: they were "cultural mediators." This role refers to the "Tag des Buches" ("Day of the Book") event (the third of its kind after its inauguration in

1929) and its 1931 theme of women and books.[5] Yet since this event occurred during a far-reaching crisis of the book, in terms of its status as a medium and issues of sales, this event was engulfed in a regressive rhetoric regarding female readership. Even though it was planned by an array of women's organizations and with prominent participants, including authors such as Clara Viebig, Ina Seidel, or Ricarda Huch, this "Tag des Buches" neither addressed women as authors nor as readers. The day framed women as cultural mediators, which, as Barndt shows, translates into women embodying the idea of the good mother, selecting their children's books so as to raise good citizens during the upheavals at the end of the Weimar Republic.

> Rather than adapting to change, the day of the book once again endowed women with the task of preserving culture amidst change. Clearly, this logic collided with Weimar's culture of the New Woman […]. It is telling in this respect that contemporary authors of popular New Woman novels such as Irmgard Keun, Vicki Baum, Marieluise Fleißer or Joe Lederer did not weigh in on the Day of the Book. (Barndt "Female Readers" 98)

It is almost as if the "New Woman," reinforced by reactionary and nationalistic tendencies, was forced to become the "New Mother" again (Barndt "Mittlerinnen" 89).

However, when *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* approached the paradigm of the "New Woman" in the Weimar Republic, the "New Woman" was still a new concept to be discussed, explored, and manifested, particularly in the visual media of the time. Mass media had quickly turned the newness of this modern idea of the woman into an optically established phenotype, as Katharina Sykora writes: "Und wahrhaftig ließ sich die massenhafte

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[5] See Barndt's essays "Mothers, Citizens, and Consumers: Female Readers in Weimar Germany" and "'Mittlerinnen zwischen Buch und Volk'? Die Leserin im Literarischen Feld der Weimarer Republik" for a further discussion of the "Tag des Buches" in 1931, the event's relationship to women and for connections to the views of Weimar's women as readers in general.

Existenz des Phänotyps mit Kurzhaarschnitt, Hängekleid und Zigarette gerade der Erscheinungsebene der Bildmedien nicht mehr leugnen" ("Die Neue Frau" 11). While the media's aggressive dissemination of this image of the "New Woman" seemed to create what Sykora calls an "Alltagsmythos" that banished the idea of female emancipation behind its visual form, the history and meaning behind this form did not completely disappear (Sykora "Die Neue Frau" 10-11.) The visual appearance of the "New Woman" might have lost some of its meaning, i.e., the goals of the women's movement in the decades prior to the 1920s. Yet some of the meaning is nonetheless still there – in the same way as other ideas of women still existed behind the image of the mother that the "Day of the Book" event propagated. In fact, Barndt calls the female reader "a vaganbundierendes Subjekt, das mehrere Subjektpositionen einnehmen kann" (Barndt "Mittlerinnen" 105) – a view which very much aligns with Asja Lacis' double position as a street name and an engineer in *Einbahnstraße* (see fig. 1), and Krull's double position as both an object and a maker in her self-portrait (see fig. 2). Thus, when Sykora calls to examine the media's motivations in portrayals such a phenotype, while *also* demanding one to look for the emancipatory parts behind those medial representations, it becomes necessary to analyze the woman as a constructed and continuously changing subject that combines several roles – be it of the mother, the sister, the comrade, or the lady, which are just a few types that Ilse Reicke lists in her 1928 work *Das Junge Mädchen*. Put differently, what other roles, aside from that of mother, are associated with the idea of the woman? What happens when these roles are superimposed on each other? What is the outcome when the mother role is combined with the idea of the "New Woman" that wears a flapper's wardrobe and red lipstick, while a cigarette is dangling from her mouth? The aim of revisiting all three primary works of this project is not only to show that there is more to the motherly cultural mediator and the "New Woman," but also that the female subject

is a constructed one, both autonomous and determined by other factors and forces, not visible in the images of the "New Woman."[6]

In this coda, I want to take up this ambivalence behind the representations of women and their place in the Weimar Republic and examine how Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße,* Tucholsky's and Heartfield's *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,* and Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* deal with this ambivalence. After a brief excursion on the works of female photographers at the time, I will use the representation of the "New Woman" in paintings to frame my discussion of Benjamin's representation of women and femininity. This will be followed by analyses of *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!* Both works take their starting points in representations of women as mothers, only to eventually refract this image, which, in turn, connects these works to Benjamin's representation of women.

Refracted Views in Photography and Painting

The high female readership and the extensive representation of the "New Woman" in illustrated magazines, aiming to manifest this new paradigm of the "New Woman" as a phenotype, prompts one also to look for photobooks created by female authors similar to those that have been analyzed in this project, i.e., photobooks that combine both images and text. While there is an array of female photographers known for using either photomontages or

[6] This dichotomy between autonomy and determination is also true for the female readers in the Weimar Republic: on the one hand, they are positioned as motherly mediators, political subjects, or as consumers of trash literature; and on the other hand they emerged as subjects that were able to actively look for new positions within a patriarchy-determined German book trade: "Autodidaktisch nimmt sie [die Leserin] ihre emotionale und kognitive Entwicklung in die eigene Hand. Bücher avancieren dabei zu einem privilegierten Medium der Sorge um sich selbst" (Barndt "Mittlerinnen" 105).

photographs to express their view of the world,[7] they did not, with the exception of Aenne Biermann and Germaine Krull, publish photobooks similar to those authored by Friedrich or Tucholsky and Heartfield. While Krull's *Métal* (1930) can be identified as a book-length portfolio,[8] Biermann's *Aenne Biermann: 60 Fotos* (1930) is indeed a bound photobook that was in its composition inspired and modeled on August Sander's *Antlitz der Zeit* (1929). As Mareike Stoll shows in *ABC der Photographie*, Biermann's work is a visual primer for its viewers, as its embedded pedagogical dimension, also guided by comparisons of photographs and captions, teaches viewers how to "read" photobooks. Yet due to a lack of textual elements that go beyond short captions, it does not align with the text-image combinations of the works included in this project.

While I do not analyze works by photographers Germaine Krull, Aenne Biermann, and others, such as Marianne Brandt, Marianne Breslauer, Alice Lex-Nerlinger, and Hannah Höch,

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[7] See the collection of essays in *Fotografieren hieß Teilnehmen* that discuss the works by female photographers in the interwar period, ranging from using the camera as a means of female co-determination (Eskildsen, "Die Kamera als Instrument der Selbstbestimmung" 13-25), as for instance the female photographers Yva (Beckers and Moorgart 239-249) and Marianne Breslauer (Sykora, "Geschichten in Bildern erzählen" 262-270) did via their photo stories and photo reportages. However (with possibly the exception of Marianne Breslauer), as Ulrike Herrmann points out in her contribution towards the end of the collection of essays, the women's photographs and stories did not question the patterns of female representation: "Die Fotografie der Avantgarde revolutionierte zwar die bildlichen Gestaltungs- und Wahrnehmungsformen; sie stellte die traditionellen Repräsentationsmuster der Geschlechter jedoch nicht in Frage" (294). The final contribution by Patrice Petro to this collection confirms Herrmann's assertion, as even the illustrated magazine *Die Dame* that in the 1920s played with the gender roles, started to emphasize the woman's role as a mother again, starting in 1931 (298).

[8] While Bernd Stiegler speaks of Krull's work as a book (270), aligning it with *Eisen und Stahl* (1931) by Albert Renger-Patzsch and works by Margaret Bourke-White and Eugen Diesel, Mareike Stoll points out that *Métal* is an unbound book: „Composed of 64 photographic plates, Krull's photobook is contained in a box and needs arrangement and assembly. It proposes, via the page-numbers, a sequence and the orientation of each plate, but the sequence can be presented in different ways, and it can easily be broken and substituted by a different way of arrangement. The individual plate can be held in the beholders' hands, over their heads, it can be laid flat on the table, or it can be inserted into a linear presentation on the wall, or in fact into a grid that could be presented in the vertical or the horizontal" (*Schools for Seeing* 230).

since they do not fit the form of the photobooks analyzed in this project, I want to point out that their goal in using photography overlaps with the representation of women in *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*. Influenced by the image of the "New Woman" and ideas of emancipation, these female authors and photographers tried to stimulate the capabilities of the modern woman and alter how she sees the world. For instance, Lex-Nerlinger's photomontage "Näherin" shows a close-up portrait of a seamstress, superimposed with two other images, one showing her at work, and the other showing a piece of fabric whose pattern becomes visible on the woman's right cheek (see fig. 3).

Fig. IV. 3. Lex-Nerlinger, *Näherin,* from the series *Arbeiten, Arbeiten, Arbeiten*. 1928-1930, Akademie der Künste, Berlin. *Fotografieren Hieß Teilnehmen,* by Ute Eskildsen, et al., Richter Verlag, p. 176.

Similar to Krull's self-portrait (see fig. 2), the seamstress becomes an object of the photographer Lex-Nerlinger, who constructed via montage an image of the seamstress, while she is also shown as a maker of the fabric that defines her life and that becomes engrained on her face. Benjamin, Friedrich, Tucholsky and Heartfield either include their also often constructed views of the modern woman, similar to Krull and Lex-Nerlinger, or they represent women by questioning the existing representations in illustrated magazines and other media. While they do not employ

functional montages specifically to deconstruct the public conception of womanhood, they aim either to refract this image or to show the process of its construction. This aim is similar to the way Lex-Nerlinger's photograph shows all three layers using a montage principle, rendering the dichotomy of the seamstress as an object and as an acting subject even more visible to viewers than Krull's self-portrait was able to do.

By analyzing the representation of women in *Einbahnstraße, Deutschland,* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*, I demonstrate that all authors did not create yet another interpretation of the "New Woman" or their own ideal woman. Instead, I will show that they deconstructed and refracted the public idea of the women, aiming to instill a change of view in their readers when seeing women in other visual media that tried to manifest a certain stereotype, be it the modern girl in magazines or the femme fatale in film. Such an attempt of refraction aligns with the way painters attempted to deconstruct the overly polished image of the "New Woman," as for instance painter Karl Hubbuch did in his 1929 portrait of his first wife Hilde Isai. His *two* paintings[9] break with the traditional portrait, which analyzes the character traits of a person in *a single* presentation (see fig. 4).

[9] See Gottdang for a further discussion of this painting, including the reasons why this painting is cut in half.

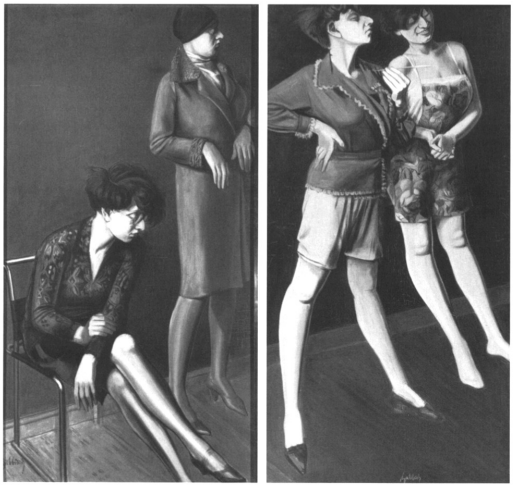

Fig. IV. 4. Hubbuch, *Zweimal Hilde*.1929, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (painting on the left) and Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich (painting on the right). *Viermal Hilde – Viermal Schwarzer Peter: Karl Hubbuch und die Krise des Porträts,* by Andrea Gottdang, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, vol. 66, p. 164.

Instead, an array of different postures and wardrobes characterize her: "Kein szenischer Kontext, sondern allein die sich gegenseitig ergänzende Aufeinanderfolge bestimmer Attribute, unterschiedlicher Kleidungsstücke und gegensätzlicher Körpersprache gibt Auskunft über Hilde" (Götz 156). Hubbuch painted her four times, either sitting or standing, on life-sized canvases. In all four poses she is wearing different clothing items and takes on different poses and gestures. In this way, as Bettina Götz writes: "Ein festgelegtes Bild von Hilde wird verweigert. So entsteht ein Gesamtkunstwerk einer komplexen Persönlichkeit." (156). All four versions of Hilde stand in for different types of the "New Woman." She is either wearing the wardrobe of an office worker or of an American flapper; she smokes in one version and wears red lipstick in another, becoming a symbol for sin, and by extension for the femme fatale (Götz 159). Hubbuch thereby captures the typical fashion styles of the "New Woman" at the end of the 1920s, emphasizing that the idea of the "New Woman" is mainly an optical one (Götz 162). Yet as Götz elaborates, Hubbuch is not portraying the clichés of the "New Woman." Instead, he breaks them, not only by painting her four times instead of once, but also by going against the "gängiges Schönheitsideal der 'Neuen Frau'… Er überzeichnet ihre Gesichtszüge bis zur Hässlichkeit"

(162). In the various renderings, she either has puffy cheeks, a hooked nose, or oversized ears. Beholders are thrown off, questioning if it is indeed the same woman in all iterations. Her changing wardrobe and body postures contribute to the beholders' confusion on how to understand who this woman is. Hubbuch *deconstructs* via these four renderings the visual image of the "New Woman." By breaking down and refracting Hilde and *not* aiming to reconstruct her in any way – he never uses the same posture, wardrobe, or facial features – the task lies with the beholders to develop a new way of seeing this woman. Yet the beholders' task is not to compile a new image, but to change their views of women when represented elsewhere. Such a change in their views of women would already be quite an achievement, considering how the media did everything to create a certain image of the "New Woman." This move of deconstructing the woman is also operative in the works by Benjamin, Friedrich, and Tucholsky and Heartfield. They also pick up on the idea of the "New Woman" and break it down, rendering this process as visible as Hubbuch did in his portrait. Tucholsky includes images of the woman as an object of desire and part of the entertainment industry, yet also focuses on the idea of the mother and the female worker, breaking away from fitting his views into an existing type of woman and instead combining these roles. Friedrich, in turn, breaks away from the motherly type – which is still important to him in relation to the soldier – and focuses on the violence against women during WWI, showing like Tucholsky and Heartfield, that the label the "New Woman" is neither just an optical one nor one to be easily grasped. Instead, the woman is part of an entire process of upheaval, as is also the case for Benjamin's representation of womanhood in *Einbahnstraße.*

Engineer, Mother and Femme Fatale – Walter Benjamin and Asja Lacis in *Einbahnstraße*

Walter Benjamin includes among *Einbahnstraße*'s texts representations of the woman at only a few points, but he covers the spectrum of the types usually related to the idea of the "New Woman:" the secretary in "Bürobedarf" (60), girls in "Si parla italiano" (66), ladies in "Coiffeur für penible Damen" (28), and the idea of the femme fatale – the concept of the dangerous, yet desirable female figure in "Madame Ariadne zweiter Hof links" (69). Prostitutes also appear, as in "Nr. 13" (36). Predominantly, however, his representations of women are specific references to his then-partner Asja Lacis. A Latvian actress and theater director with connections to the Russian Avantgarde,[10] she does not just receive a dedication by Benjamin; the entire book – a text as a street and vice versa – is named after her: "Asja-Lacis-Straße" (5). Yet naming the street after her is also not an end point for Benjamin, as the dedication continues: "nach der die [Asja Lacis] sie [die Straße] als Ingenieur im Autor durchgebrochen hat" (5). Asja Lacis becomes both a label for a street, and an engineer that achieved a breakthrough in the author helping him to think and write differently. She takes on a profession she did not have in real life, and one that frames and influences Benjamin's poetics for this work.[11] Benjamin's attribution of the role of engineer to his Latvian partner is no surprise, as he became familiar with the works of the Russian Avantgarde when he visited her in Moscow from December 1926 to February 1927

[10] For an in-depth view on the connection of Walter Benjamin and Asja Lacis, including her connections to Bernhard Reich and Bertolt Brecht, see Heinrich Kaulen's essay *Walter Benjamin und Asja Lacis. Eine biografische Konstellation und ihre Folgen* (1995).

[11] As Kaulen points out, it would be too shortsighted to attribute Benjamin's change of focus – from the „Exegese hermetischer Textzeugnisse zu einer Philosophie profaner und peripherer Oberflächenphänomene, wie sie in der Erfahrung urbaner Lebensräume begegnen" (106) to his connection to a woman. However, the relationship to Lacis definitely influenced his thinking and identity, as he writes in a diary entry in 1931: " 'Am gewaltigsten war diese Verwandlung ins Ähnliche … in meiner Verbindung mit Asja, so daß ich vieles in mir erstmals entdeckte …' " (Kaulen 104).

(Schöttker *KG* 351). The idea of the "Ingenieur" was central to their concepts, as, for instance, art historian Maria Gough emphasizes in her work on Russian Constructivism. Drawing on Russian art theoretician Nikolai Tarabukin, she writes: "Tarabukin goes on to theorize the role of the Constructivist in production not as a 'designer' of utilitarian objects … – but rather as the engineer of production itself" (Gough 148). Constructivist artists do not focus on the final product, but as engineers care about the entire production process. Lacis as an engineer neither gave ideas to Benjamin that he wrote down, nor was she just his inspiration. The emphasis lies on the exchange Benjamin and Lacis had about their experiences, including exploring Naples in 1924 together, which led to Benjamin publishing the text "Neapel" under his and Lacis' name in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in the following year (Kaulen 105). Two years later, in 1926, Benjamin travels with the finished manuscript of *Einbahnstraße* to Moscow, reads passages of it to Lacis, and also gifts her the famous cover image by Sasha Stone (Kaulen 112). In addition, and more importantly, Lacis was not just the book's first reader, but also its first addressee. Since *Einbahnstraße* differed significantly in content and nature from Benjamin's previous works, such as *Der Ursprung des Deutschen Trauerspiels* (1925; published 1928) and the essay on Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* (1925), the dedication to Asja Lacis signified "Aufbruch zu neuen Ufern, den die neue Publikation fraglos markiert, mit dem bestimmenden Einfluß dieser Frau auf sein Denken und Schreiben seit dem folgenreichen Zusammentreffen 1924" (Kaulen 112). By assigning her the idea of the engineer in the book's dedication, Benjamin marks a watershed moment in his thinking, but one not to be understood as a singular moment, but rather a process. In dedicating *Einbahnstraße* not to his "Freundin" or "Partnerin," but to Lacis as an "Ingenieur," he positions Lacis as a partner with continuous influence on his process of thinking, which is

transferred to *Einbahnstraße* by giving it Lacis's name and thus marking it as a work about process – the processes of thinking, writing, and reading.

Her significant impact is thematized when Benjamin writes about losing her in the emblem "Chinawaren" (16). As with the other texts in *Einbahnstraße*, the title does not bear a relationship to the four short texts it comprises. Yet while all four have widely different protagonists, themes, scenarios, and stories, they have in common that they all involve a protagonist's body, whether referring to a writer's hand or to a child that, while shy at first with visitors, presents itself to them naked later in the evening.[12] The last and longest of the four texts focuses on the significance of the hand. Using one's hand to copy a text turns the scribe into a better reader, according to Benjamin (16). Three of these short texts thus cover two of the five senses: the tactile sense of the scribe, whose act of copying reveals a text's meaning to him, and the visual sense, when the child's body is revealed to guests. A third sense, the aural one, appears in the second short text: "Ein Tor befindet sich am Anfang eines langen Weges, der bergab zu dem Hause von … [Benjamin's ellipsis] leitet, die ich allabendlich besuchte. Als sie ausgezogen war, lag die Öffnung des Torbogens von nun an wie eine Ohrmuschel vor mir, die das Gehör verloren hat" (*EB* 16). When the woman, identified by the personal and relative pronouns "die" and "sie," moved out of her house, the gate he used to pass to visit her turns into an auricle that has lost its hearing. Based on this imagery, her home – the "Haus" mentioned in the quote – would have been her mind, to which he no longer has access, because the ear as an access point has turned deaf. While it seems that the woman, presumably again referring to Asja Lacis, is reduced to a mere body part, upon further examination of this vignette it becomes clear that the rhetorical figure of the synecdoche is at work. The ear and its capability of listening stand in for

[12] Even this child is a reference to Asja Lacis, because the child was Lacis' daughter Daga (Lacis 56).

the woman that Benjamin regularly visited. The more abstract nature of Benjamin's dedication – the woman as an engineer that breaks through to him – is extended by the more concrete idea of Lacis as a listener.

Nonetheless, he does not fully embody her in this vignette. Benjamin addresses the parts relevant to him, in that he, like an engineer working in reverse, breaks his partner down to these parts, without attempting to put them back together to create a holistic image of her – not to speak of aligning her with a certain type of woman. She may have motherly traits, when Benjamin refers to her home and her daughter, but by emphasizing her ability to be a good listener, readers get to see Lacis both as a domestic and intellectual partner. The four parts of "Chinawaren" – two referring to Lacis, two to Benjamin's ideas of reading via transcribing – are thus reminiscent of Hubbuch refracting his wife into four different renderings. Benjamin "paints" Lacis twice, once with an emphasis on her ear, another time referring to her daughter. He both adds to and further refracts the portrait of her as an engineer, giving more weight to the process and the parts of the woman but still not framing her in a holistic finalized product.

While Benjamin also incorporates the figure of the secretary ("Bürobedarf" 60-61) and two whispering girls ("Si parla italiano" 66), his emphasis lies on representing women as both his intellectual partners and as embodied figures, elaborating on their senses or their body parts and essentially creating a construct of both a mother and a femme fatale. Even though the section called "Nr. 13" (36-37) includes "Dirnen" (36), Benjamin aligns prostitutes and their bodily actions with the status and reception of books. All thirteen parts of this section start with "Bücher und Dirnen […]" (36-37), decidedly putting books first in this pairing, before moving on to list their commonalities. For example: "I. Bücher und Dirnen kann man ins Bett nehmen" (36), or "II. Bücher und Dirnen verschränken die Zeit. Sie beherrschen die Nacht wie den Tag und den

Tag wie die Nacht" (36), or "IV. Bücher und Dirnen haben seit jeher eine unglückliche Liebe zueinander" (36). Connecting the act of reading to the act of prostitution might turn the former into an infamous act. Yet their more relevant connection is that both acts are bodily ones. In fact, the intellectual act of reading books moves the bodily act of the prostitute into an intellectual realm – similar to when the friend's, i.e., Lacis' ear in "Chinawaren" (16) stood in for her mind and her qualities as a listener.

This play with the bodily and sensual representation of women, relating either to the praxis of reading or to the author himself, continues in the section immediately following "Nr. 13," called "Waffen und Munition" (37), which becomes a play on the idea of the femme fatale. Mary Ann Doane writes in her introduction to *Femmes Fatales* (1991): "The femme fatale is a clear indication of the extent of the fears and anxieties prompted by shifts in the understanding of sexual difference in the late nineteenth century. As Buci-Glucksmann argues, this is the moment when the male seems to lose access to the body, which the woman then comes to *overrepresent*" (Doane's emphasis, 2). The woman's body, particularly how it is *seen*, encapsulates her threat to established structures and ideas: in a society so focused on production, she, as the femme fatale, does not reproduce and is the antithesis of the mother; yet in *overrepresenting* her body and her sexuality, she actually has no real power, but is just its carrier (Doane 2). In short, the femme fatale is "never really what she seems to be" (Doane 1), and a quintessentially ambivalent figure. As much as she is an instable figure herself, she also destabilizes her surroundings, including her male counterparts. This ambivalence plays out in "Waffen und Munition" (*EB* 37), when Lacis moves from being a mother and a partner to embodying the femme fatale. This section is informed by Benjamin's visit to Riga in 1925: "Ich war in Riga, um eine Freundin zu besuchen, angekommen. Ihr Haus, die Stadt, die Sprache waren mir unbekannt" (*EB* 37). However, Lacis

did not play the motherly host guiding him around the city, as she was not pleased with his surprise visit: "Er liebte zu überraschen, aber diesmal gefiel mir seine Überraschung nicht. Er kam von einem anderen Planeten – ich hatte keine Zeit für ihn. Er hatte viel Zeit, Riga kennenzulernen" (Lacis 56-57). It is not surprising when Benjamin writes in *Einbahnstraße*: "Kein Mensch erwartete mich, es kannte mich niemand. Ich ging zwei Stunden einsam durch die Straßen. So habe ich sie [Lacis / die Stadt] nie wiedergesehen" (37). If the section ended here, it would paint Lacis only as the uncaring and unpleasantly surprised host. However, the last sentence of this quote is already an indicator that his representation of her will turn into an ambiguous one. The pronoun "sie" in the last sentence can either refer to Lacis or "die Stadt," which he would never see and experience in the same way again, as he writes. In the second half of this section, his visual sense and the idea of seeing a conflated image of the city and the woman come into play:

> Aus jedem Haustor schlug eine Stichflamme, jeder Eckstein stob Funken und jede Tram kam wie die Feuerwehr dahergefahren. Sie konnte ja aus dem Tore treten, um die Ecke biegen und in der Tram sitzen. Von beiden aber mußte ich um jeden Preis, der erste werden, der den andern sieht. Denn hätte sie die Lunte ihres Blick an mich gelegt – ich hätte wie ein Munitionslager auffliegen müssen. (*EB* 37)

Like the femme fatale, Lacis turns from refusing to be the welcoming host into a dangerous, yet desirable threat, as he still wants to see her. Harmless street corners and gates produce threatening flames and slow trams turn into speeding fire engines. Benjamin locates Lacis right in the middle of these threatening dangers.[13] The biggest threat, however, is based on the visual

[13] Placing the woman like this on the streets of Riga is quite an emancipatory move on Benjamin's part as the street was a space predominantly reserved for men at the turn of the

sense and scopophilic male drive. While in the previous section, "Chinawaren" (16), Benjamin was powerless when Lacis's ear went deaf and communication ended, now he aims to regain this power – or, at least, take this power away from Lacis, because if she sees him first, she might literally blow him up like a "Munitionslager" (37). In short, Benjamin displays castration anxiety here, which in turn paints Lacis as a femme fatale figure. This move creates even more ambiguity of how to understand this woman, in that she now combines the figures of an engineer, a partner, a mother, and even a femme fatale, all at once.

In all three sections – "Chinawaren," "Nr. 13," and "Waffen und Munition" – women have a certain power over Benjamin. The relationship of men and women seems to become a trial of strength. Weimar's "New Woman" and her various qualities as femme fatale, an intellectual, or even a motherly companion, are taken up by Benjamin. Yet he does not simply perpetuate these manifestations of the "New Woman" in the form of Asja Lacis. By ascribing to her both physical and mental powers, he does not completely do away with these qualities that represent certain types of the "New Woman." Instead, he shows a spectrum of women's capabilities and is in this way deconstructing and refracting the image of the "New Woman" for his readers, particularly when the ideas of engineer, mother, intellectual partner and femme fatale come together. Instead of completely deconstructing the image of the "New Woman" or, for that matter, any set ideas about women, and suggesting yet another way of representing women in writing, Benjamin shifts the attention away from popular media's image. He refracts the current image and complicates the existing layers of the "New Woman" by focusing on various senses, on body parts that the media would not underline (such as the ear), and on the woman's ability simply to embody several roles at once – the femme fatale, the mother, the partner, and the

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century. See Dorgerloh, particularly, pp. 33-35, and Sykora, "Die 'Hure Babylon' " pp. 127-130, in particular.

engineer. All these layers are not supposed to add up, in the same way as Benjamin's double movement of deconstructing and reconstructing writing and reading processes in *Einbahnstraße* do not create fully elaborated new writing and reading practices. Instead, these layers of Benjamin's woman show that the image of the woman can be seen as a much more complex one than the media led their readers and viewers to believe.

From Mothers and Entertainers to Working and Violated Women: The Representation of Womanhood in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*

While the combination of the intellectual partner, the motherly companion, and the femme fatale are associated with the representation of the woman in all three works treated in this dissertation, the woman as a mother-figure seems, at first at least, to be dominant. For Friedrich, it is notably the direct address of mothers to educate their sons to become pacifists, placed right at the beginning of *Krieg dem Kriege!*: "Die Mutter, die dem Kind auf ihrem Schoß Soldatenlieder singt, bereitet den Krieg vor!" (10). Friedrich even goes so far as to transfer the mother's power to stop singing those songs to her ability as a wife to prevent her husband from becoming a soldier. Indeed, the men might be too weak to resist joining the war:

> Und Frauen Ihr: Wenn Eure Männer dann zu schwach sind, dann schafft Ihr's! Zeigt, daß das Band der Liebe zu dem Gatten stärker ist, als der Armeebefehl! […] Hängt auch den Männern an den Hals! Laßt sie nicht los, auch wenn das Abfahrtszeichen gellt! […] **Frauen, schafft Ihr's, wenn Eure Männer zu schwach sind! Mütter aller Länder vereinigt Euch!** (12; Friedrich's emphasis)

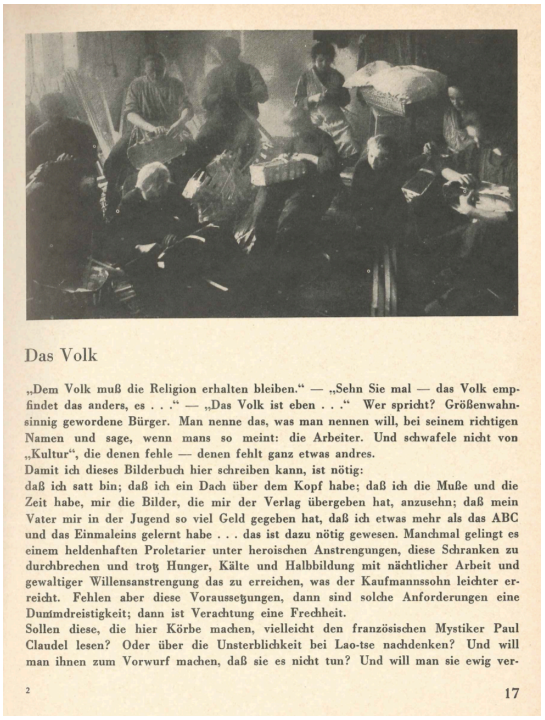
The wife is subsumed here by the mother. As mothers, women are supposed to unite their powers, steering their men away from war. This plea for women to use their function as mothers has a visual equivalent a few pages later (see fig. 5), which is reminiscent of the "Day of the Book" event in 1931 that emphasized the educational function of women as mothers.

Fig. IV. 5. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!*, Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 64.

It is the very specific task of women to prevent their sons from becoming soldiers, as seen in this Dutch postcard of the mother withholding war toys from her son.

Tucholsky and Heartfield also include the image of the mother in *Deutschland*, yet with a twist. While there are a few photos showing a mother with her children (*DD* 48, 49, 125), they are all embedded in functional montages: the sections "Statistik" (46-55) and "Nie allein" (124-131) aim mainly to portray the working class in general, rather than the woman or mother in particular. Yet in doing so, the idea of the mother shifts. She is no longer the nurturing type, caring for her children and her husband, as Friedrich writes and the postcard shows. She is a member of the working class in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*. Even the first time

workers are introduced and addressed in *Deutschland*, they are portrayed as women (see figs. 6 and 7).



Das Volk

„Dem Volk muß die Religion erhalten bleiben." — „Sehn Sie mal — das Volk empfindet das anders, es . . ." — „Das Volk ist eben . . ." Wer spricht? Größenwahnsinnig gewordene Bürger. Man nenne das, was man nennen will, bei seinem richtigen Namen und sage, wenn mans so meint: die Arbeiter. Und schwafele nicht von „Kultur", die denen fehle — denen fehlt ganz etwas andres.
Damit ich dieses Bilderbuch hier schreiben kann, ist nötig:
daß ich satt bin; daß ich ein Dach über dem Kopf habe; daß ich die Muße und die Zeit habe, mir die Bilder, die mir der Verlag übergeben hat, anzusehn; daß mein Vater mir in der Jugend so viel Geld gegeben hat, daß ich etwas mehr als das ABC und das Einmaleins gelernt habe . . . das ist dazu nötig gewesen. Manchmal gelingt es einem heldenhaften Proletarier unter heroischen Anstrengungen, diese Schranken zu durchbrechen und trotz Hunger, Kälte und Halbbildung mit nächtlicher Arbeit und gewaltiger Willensanstrengung das zu erreichen, was der Kaufmannssohn leichter erreicht. Fehlen aber diese Voraussetzungen, dann sind solche Anforderungen eine Dummdreistigkeit; dann ist Verachtung eine Frechheit.
Sollen diese, die hier Körbe machen, vielleicht den französischen Mystiker Paul Claudel lesen? Oder über die Unsterblichkeit bei Lao-tse nachdenken? Und will man ihnen zum Vorwurf machen, daß sie es nicht tun? Und will man sie ewig ver-

2 17

hindern, es zu tun? Milieu ist nicht alles, es gibt auch noch die Abstammung und jenes vielleicht nicht erklärliche X, das den Menschen formt. Aber warum sollen denn diese Arbeiter nicht dreierlei:

den ihnen wirklich zustehenden Lohn empfangen, den sie heute nicht bekommen;
ihre Arbeit unter hygienischen Verhältnissen tun, und nicht so — nicht zusammengepfercht in einer Stube, alle acht;
die Möglichkeit besitzen, an den wirklichen Gütern der Menschheit teilzuhaben, und sie nicht nur einmal im Leben, Sonntags im Museum, in Glaskästen zu bewundern —

warum sollen sie das nicht? Weil angeblich soviel für alle nicht da ist, was eine Lüge ist. Weil die Kapitalisten nur mit einem Verdienst arbeiten, der tausend und tausendmal über dem der Arbeiter steht; es wird uns aber kein Mensch erzählen, daß selbst der gewiegteste und beste Unternehmer soviel verdient, wie er verdient: nämlich soviel, wie fünfhundert seiner Arbeiter zusammen. Fünfhundert Leute . . . das sind in Wahrheit mindestens weitere siebenhundert, die von den Verdiensten der fünfhundert leben, mindestens. Und soviel schluckt ein einzelner: weil er — wie er sagt — doch soviel riskiert (der Arbeiter riskiert seine Gesundheit); weil er sich so herrliche Sachen ausdenkt . . . aber er tut doch nur auf seinem Felde das, was der Arbeiter auf dem seinen verrichtet, und es gibt einfallsreichere und tiefere Gedanken als die eines Börsenspekulanten, das könnt ihr glauben.
Da sitzen sie und flechten Körbe. Muß Arbeit ein Fluch sein —?

18

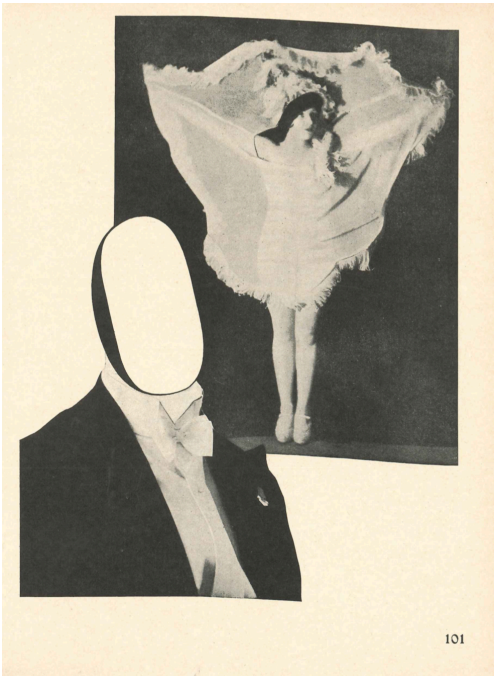
Fig. IV. 6. (left) and fig. IV. 7 (right). Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland*, Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 17-18.

The first photograph (fig. 6) from the beginning of the section "Das Volk" (*DD*, 17-18), shows several female basket weavers at work in a confined space. Due to the limited lighting, a horizontal axis divides the photo, creating a chiaroscuro effect. Despite the overly dark space, the weaving women in the upper half of the photo are still clearly visible. When turning the page, a portrait, presumably of one of the weavers seen on the previous page, takes up one third of the page. Similar to the first photo, a stark black and white contrast is at work. The top part of her clothing and her headscarf become one continuous piece of clothing, both completely black. This serves to emphasize the woman's well-lit face and her facial expression. She neither smiles nor frowns, but her thin, inexpressive lips match her sad eyes. In combination with Tucholsky's text

to the right of the photo, in which he pleas for appropriate workers' wages and hygienic working conditions, the woman's facial expression evokes pity in the readers' eyes. While a woman's facial expression might be capable of eliciting more sympathy from readers – Tucholsky and Heartfield use another portrait of a woman as a reaction to one of Tucholsky's essays later on (169) – it is still telling that Tucholsky does not specifically pity women, but workers in general. He uses the plural form "Arbeiter" that does not mark a specific gender, which, without the photographs of the female workers, might only evoke the idea of the male worker minds. From the very beginning, the image of the working class is associated with womanhood.

This association of women and workers prevails in Tucholsky's poem "Mutterns Hände" (171), which is accompanied by a photograph of a pair of wrinkly, worn hands, suggesting they belong to a person of old age. In this poem, which is an homage to a mother's care for her family over the years, these hands show years of work, be it scrubbing pots, making sandwiches, peeling potatoes, cleaning the house, or delivering newspapers (*DD* 171). While the third stanza mentions that this mother had eight children, only six of them still alive to thank her now for her work, this idea of work prevails throughout the poem – not one of nurturing love or play with the children. Again, the representation of the woman as mother is subsumed under the idea of work, particularly when she has to deliver newspapers on the side to support her family.

Similar to Benjamin, Tucholsky and Heartfield also do not just show women as representatives of the working class. At several points, women are also shown as part of the entertainment industry that mostly objectifies them. Two photomontages by Heartfield from the section "Die Zeit schreit nach Satire" (99-107) emphasize how women, particularly on stage, are subjected to a male gaze (see fig. 8) or are reduced to certain body parts (see fig. 9).

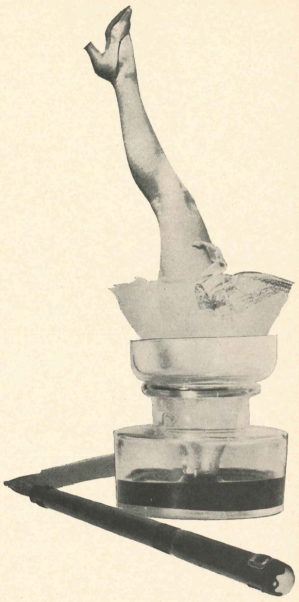


101

— „Sie sind entlassen! Sie ebmfalls! Ich werde hier mit eisernem Besen . . . ."
— „Sie mir auch! Diese Dreckbude von Theater — Mahlzeit!"
— „Raus hier! Hat einen Charakter wie ein Klosettdeckel —!"
— „Panter! Los! Ab!"
— „Sie hätten . . ." — „Ich habe . . ." — „Sie Riesenroß, wer hat gleich am ersten Tag . . . aber auf mich hört ja keiner, in meinem eigenen Betrieb . . . das wird mir von heute ab . . . ich bin ein alter Theaterhase, und diese Lausejungen . . . Ich verkaufe den Betrieb überhaupt, da könnt ihr sehen, wie ihr ohne mich fertig werdet! Ich geh ins Tonfilmsyndikat oder zurück zur Konfektion —!"

*

— „Ihr kommt runter? Ich geh rauf — mein Geld holen."
— „Da bemühen Sie sich gar nicht erst nach oben. Geld is nich. Aber Krach."
— „Um Gottes willen . . . was ist da oben los? Man möcht ja meinen, es wär Mord und Totschlag — wer schreit denn da so —?"
— „Das? Das ist die Zeit. Sie schreit nach Satire —!"



107

Fig. IV. 8. (left) and fig. IV. 9 (right). Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929, pp. 101; 107.

This section is a fictitious and highly satirical account of meetings and conversations between three authors (Erich Kästner, Walter Mehring, and Peter Panter, which was one of Tucholsky's pseudonyms) and the "Generaldirektor Bönheim" of the "Deutscher Literaturbetrieb G.M.B.H Abteilung Theater" (99). Bönheim meets with the authors to hear their pitches for the next big revue in Berlin. The dialogue mirrors the fast-paced theater world in Berlin, in which women appear in three different forms. Right at the beginning, Bönheim suggests various names of actors and actresses to be hired for the revue, including Rosa Valetti, Ilka Grüning, Fritzi Massary, and Lucia Höflich – all of which Tucholsky admired (Tucholsky *Gesamtausgabe* 340-41). At the end, "Frau Wendriner" (106) talks on the phone with a friend about seeing the finalized revue on stage at the *Majolika-Theater*, giving it a lukewarm rating, while she is more interested in talking about other things, including finding a new maid for her friend. The figure of "Frau Wendriner" only appears in two instances in Tucholsky's oeuvre (Tucholsky

Gesamtausgabe 348), as normally his sketches are monologues by her husband, Herr Wendriner, a cultural philistine and assimilated Jew mainly concerned with his finances and his business. By using "Frau Wendriner" instead of her husband, Tucholsky can ensure that the phone conversation does not focus on finances – as was the case in the section "Herr Wendriner kauft ein" (*DD* 86). Rather, Tucholsky can show the bourgeois female consumer of such revues, to whom these events are more relevant as social gatherings than as cultural events. These two instances demonstrate that Tucholsky reflects on how women are described as consumers of the entertainment industry, while those women participating in this industry are interchangeable actresses: either the Valetti, the Grüning, or the Massary (100) can be hired.

This interchangeability of women and their submission in a male-dominated entertainment industry comes even more to the fore in the two photomontages Heartfield created. The first photomontage shows a female dancer on stage performing expressive dance, while a male viewer in a tuxedo is placed at the lower frame, looking up at her. Even though his face is a blank, oval-shaped form, his tuxedo identifies this viewer as a man. While it seems at first like the dancer is gaining some power in being placed above the man, and shown with her face, the emphasis lies on the male theater visitor. The reader wonders more about why his face is missing than about the dancer's performance and identity. The missing face turns the attention towards the tuxedo with its pristine bow tie. Every man attending a theater performance at the time would wear such an outfit. Thus readers can easily imagine this male figure filling row after row, always wearing the same blank look when viewing female dancers, which, in turn, reflects on

their interchangeability: just as any male viewer[14] can be sitting there, any female performer can be on stage.

The second montage (see fig. 9) emphasizes this exchangeability of women and their objectification even more. A scythe at the bottom of the montage indicates that the female body has been decapitated and the rest of her body is dipped upside down into an ink jar. While her blood might be fueling the writer's quill, in the end what matters is what the readers now see in this montage: the woman's short skirt and her long bare legs. However, Tucholsky and Heartfield do not leave their readers with this bleak image of women, be it as members of the working class (disadvantaged as much as their male counterparts) or as parts of the entertainment industry, reduced to being an object. In the section "Ein Traum vom Neckarstrand" (120-121), Tucholsky's text relates directly to the full-page photograph preceding the essay (see fig. 10).

Fig. IV. 10. Tucholsky and Heartfield, *Deutschland,* Rowohlt, 1929, p. 120.

[14] At the time also, women like Marlene Dietrich, an actress herself, wore suits and tuxedos. In the case of the male viewer becoming a female viewer, the refracted view of the female stage performer would lie in the ambiguity of the look or perspective itself.

Three female musicians, two playing a trumpet, one a tuba, are captured in this photo. Tucholsky seems to make fun of the standing female trumpet player, calling her a "Trumm von einer Frau – eine Inselfestung in einem Meer von Bier" (121). Yet he immediately follows up on this statement, recognizing her for hard work as an entertainer, playing until 2 am: "[…] denn diese Sorte Musik ist eine Arbeit, schlimmer als Holzhacken" (121). Not only does Tucholsky associate women with hard work, pointing out how difficult it is for any entertainer to please a tough crowd of sailors, he also attributes the role of the mother to her: "Wahrscheinlich hat die dicke Frau nicht nur eine Trompete, sondern auch zwei Kinder, häusliche Sorgen und im übrigen ein Hamburger Publikum von Seeleuten …" (*DD* 121). Tucholsky brings both the roles of the female worker and the mother together, while also subverting the idea of the woman in the entertainment industry. This move deconstructs Heartfield's photomontages that already denounced the male gaze and the objectification of women. Tucholsky deconstructs this image, showing a woman whose body does not conform to the male expectations of the time. He portrays her as an entertainer, a worker and a mother, and refracts for a moment the image of the "New Woman," potentially instilling a change of perspective in his viewers about the representation of women in media.

This act of subverting the image of the woman as fostered by illustrated magazines, is also operative in Friedrich's *Krieg dem Kriege!* While the beginning of the book frames women as mothers who should help educate their sons to become pacifists, Friedrich later shows the direct impact of WWI on women. They were also subjected to violence, in that they were hanged (*KdK* 138, 148) or forced to work in German ammunition factories, as the caption reads for a group photo of Belgian women and children (*KdK* 161). Yet the more common acts of violence were of a sexual nature. Two examples stand out in this regard: the photograph of a violated

female corpse (see fig. 12), which is immediately followed by a group photo of prostitutes and their soldier-suitors, standing right behind them. The women's bare breasts are the focus of the image (see fig. 11).

Fig. IV. 11. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 164.

None of the women in the picture smiles; they look unsure as to why their image is being taken. The soldier at the center, wearing a spiked helmet, has a slight smile on his face. Even though the women are in the foreground of the photograph, and their breasts capture the readers' attention, the smiling soldier gains more attention than the women's faces, due to his position exactly in the middle of the photo. It almost looks as if the photo was taken so as to show off what a "German hero" (*KdK* 164), as the caption reads, could afford in a brothel: not just one, but four women. While the mother-figure earlier in *Krieg dem Kriege!* has agency, Friedrich shows that the mother role is the only role of a woman to have any power at all. Otherwise men and soldiers

will be the more powerful actors, dominant in the field and in relationships with women, even it if has to be achieved with brute force. In the photograph of the violated female Russian soldier on the previous page, the sight of the half-naked woman, her legs spread apart, is a repulsive sight (see fig. 12).

Fig. IV. 12. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 163.

The photographer chose an angle that looks down at the woman to achieve this effect. Moreover, his camera is placed on the ground, also capturing three soldiers standing in the distance, hands on their sides, observing the scene. The composition becomes reminiscent of an earlier one used in *Krieg dem Kriege!* that showed the consequences when a mother does not properly educate her son (see fig. 13).

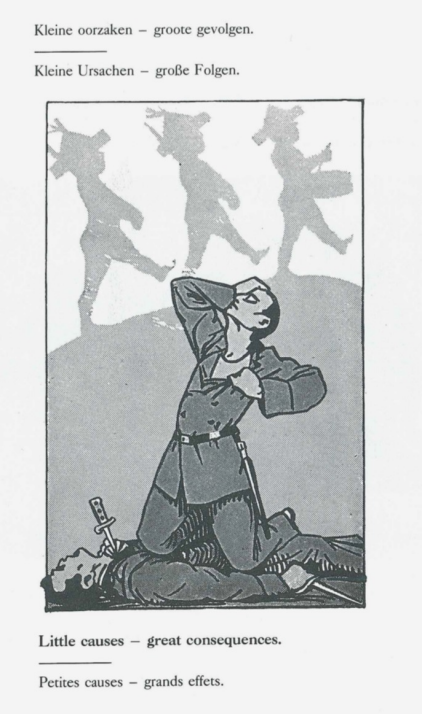


Fig. IV. 13. Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege!,* Ch. Links Verlag, 2016, p. 49.

This drawing immediately follows the postcard showing a mother withholding war toys, such as a paper helmet and a sword (see fig. 5), so as to prevent her son from becoming a soldier as an adult. The image of the soldier murdering his comrade on the opposite page (see fig. 13) is intended to show the direct consequence of what would happen if the mother does not fulfill her duty. The three boys shown as shadows in the background of the drawing, each figure holding an element he was not allowed play with according to the postcard, remind readers, particularly female readers and mothers, what will happen if they fail to educate their sons. The image of the Russian soldier, this time not a drawing (see fig. 13), but a photograph, actually depicts what those three boys might do in the field once they are not shadow drawings anymore, but real soldiers, like those shown in the background of figure 13. The mother does not just prevent her son from fighting other men, but she also helps prevent violent acts against fellow women. By including women framed as more than just mothers, Friedrich deconstructs an image his reader

might expect. By showing how women were actually affected by WWI, and how women have the same power to prevent these immoral acts, Friedrich manages, similar to Benjamin and Tucholsky, to subvert his readers' expectations and to further refract the public's idea about women and their representations in mass media. While women are not integrated in functional montages, as was the case for workers and readers in *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles* and *Krieg dem Kriege!*, the way Benjamin, Friedrich, and Tucholsky and Heartfield portray women – by deconstructing and refracting the manifestations of the "New Woman" – contributes in the end to a change of perspective that their readers and viewers were able to develop, potentially turning them into more critical recipients of mass media.

All three works discussed in this dissertation demonstrate writing and reading strategies that not only adapted to the modern readers of the 1920s, but actually pushed the boundaries of non-fiction writing and its use of photographs. The genre of the photobook was able to portray parts of society as they were not seen before (or disregarded in mass media) and to educate readers to develop a critical and dynamic view of their surroundings. While Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße* employed the modern emblem to both deconstruct and reconstruct writing and reading practices, the works by Tucholsky, Heartfield, and Friedrich enacted these practices. They use montage techniques that construct interactions between texts and images challenging readers to develop a dynamic view. This was not the goal of mass media, such as magazines, that saw their readers as passive consumers –particularly of images – and not as active recipients. This use of the genre of the photobook contributed to the visual literacy of readers, acknowledging that they are no longer just readers nor viewers of images, but active users of these new forms of media.

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