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THE PORTFOLIOS OF GEORGE GROSZ: SITES OF CENSORSHIP AND POLITICAL RESISTANCE IN THE WEIMAR ERA

BY

DEBORAH LEE RAYMOND

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

DEPARTMENT OF ART AND DESIGN

Edmonton, Alberta
1995

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26 July 1994

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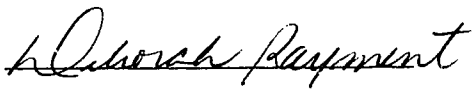

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Bridget Elliott

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December 20, 1994

To Alfred

ABSTRACT

George Grosz (1893-1959), the well-known satirist of Weimar Germany, published sixteen portfolios between 1917 and 1931. These books contained collections of Grosz's satirical graphics and watercolours. Generally the images in these works visually attacked the ruling classes and their institutions and were intended as a form of resistance to the Weimar establishment. In three instances, Grosz faced prosecution for creating, publishing and distributing his portfolios. In 1920, he was charged with slandering the military with his portfolio "Gott mit uns", while in 1923 the district attorney accused him of obscenity for Ecce Homo. Finally, between 1928 and 1931 Grosz faced a controversial legal battle for Hintergrund, which allegedly contained blasphemous imagery. The apparent inconsistencies in the censorship of only some of Grosz's satirical portfolios raise the question of why the authorities only selectively censored his work. Furthermore, by enforcing censorship the authorities showed that they recognized the power of Grosz's left-wing art, which was widely circulated.
Since the authorities clearly saw Grosz as a threat to their power, the first chapter examines the ways that Grosz secured his reputation and authority through his public persona and visual language. However, it also exposes the complexities of being a political artist and a member of society. Although Grosz was a left-wing artist, his political position shifted throughout the twenties. Furthermore, while Grosz's carefully cultivated self-image advanced his career as an artist, it was often at odds with his professed radicalism. The second chapter closely analyzes and compares Grosz's censored portfolios with a sampling of uncensored ones. The authorities' reactions to Grosz's work can partially be explained on the basis of subject matter and themes. This section also considers the artist's intent and intended audience as well as the reception of these portfolios by various constituencies of viewers. These factors not only shaped the final format of the portfolio but also partly determined their critical fate. The final

chapter examines the censorship practises of the Weimar authorities and the specific allegations against Grosz and the subsequent trials. To help contextualize the discussion of Grosz's case, the larger patterns of cultural censorship will be considered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am especially grateful to Dr. Bridget Elliott, who supervised this project. She not only carefully read through and critiqued earlier drafts, pointing out problems and offering solutions, but also provided guidance and enthusiasm. I would also like to thank the Department of Art and Design for the opportunity to participate in their graduate program. A special thanks to Peter M. Grosz and the Estate of George Grosz, Princeton, New Jersey for granting permission to reproduce George Grosz's illustrations. Above all, I am indebted to my husband and parents, whose patience, encouragement and assistance made the completion of this project possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

INTRODUCTION

In 1928 George Grosz (1893-1959), one of the best known satirical artists of Weimar society, was charged with blasphemy for the publication of his visual portfolio entitled Hintergrund. 17 Zeichnungen zur Aufführung des "Schewjk" in der Piscator-Bühne *(Backcloth: 17 Drawings from the Performance of "Schewjk" in the Piscator-Theatre)*. This charge led to the third and most controversial of the trials that Grosz's portfolio work had initiated over an eight year period. In 1920, Grosz was accused of insulting members of the military with his portfolio "Gott mit uns" *("God is with us")*, while in 1923 he was charged with obscenity for his portfolio Ecce Homo. In contrast, in 1921, copies of Grosz's portfolio Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse *(The Face of the Ruling Class)* were also confiscated for their crass portrayal of military personnel, but no charges were laid.[1]

Between 1917 and 1931, Grosz published another twelve portfolios that were never censored. Given the fact that the main body of Grosz's work satirized many aspects of various social and political institutions, it seems odd that only a few of his portfolios were censored while the majority were left alone. This administration of censorship by the government should be seen not only as an attempt to discourage subversive cultural phenomena but also as an acknowledgement of the power of a left-wing discourse which was mass produced and widely distributed to an urban public. The censorship of Grosz's work is even more curious considering the fact that the revised Constitution of 1919 had officially eliminated censorship. The case of the Hintergrund portfolio, a compilation of 17 drawings selected from the graphic works produced by Grosz for Erwin Piscator's theatrical adaptation of Jaroslav Hasek's episodic novel Die Abenteuer des braven Soldaten Schwejk *(The Adventures of the Good Soldier Schwejk)*, is especially odd. Surprisingly, although both the portfolio and the play had been criticized for their anti-militaristic and anti-religious themes, the

play was not censored, whereas the portfolio was.

Except for Beth Irwin Lewis and Rosa Neugebauer, the numerous scholars working on Grosz have paid little attention to the social, political and artistic implications surrounding the censorship of his portfolios.[2] Lewis was one of the first scholars to provide a detailed and critical examination of Grosz's portfolio work and trials in her book George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (1971),[3] which primarily analyzes the interrelations of Grosz's various artistic and political activities in Germany. Although Lewis offers valuable insights into the artist's character, attitudes, motivations, and position, she does not delve into all of the complexities that are connected with leftist art production. Instead, her study addresses the production, distribution and reception of Grosz's published material. Even though Lewis relates the events and issues of the trials, for the most part she fails to situate the charges and trials within the broader context of cultural censorship during the Weimar Republic. In the case of the Hintergrund portfolio, Lewis largely overlooks the fact that its drawings were originally produced and consumed as part of a larger theatrical project and only later published separately in a portfolio format. Thus, Lewis ignores the ways in which censorship operated differently in the original multi-media production and in Grosz's later prints. In a recently published book George Grosz. Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst. Die Graphikfolgen "Gott mit uns," Ecce homo und Hintergrund (1993), Rosamunde Neugebauer focuses on the three censored portfolios, situating them within the context of caricature and satire, documenting their censorship and examining the larger impact of this censorship.[4] Two other studies are worth mentioning briefly. Andrew DeShong's The Theatrical Designs by George Grosz and Herbert Knust's The Theatrical Drawings and Watercolors by George Grosz examine the artist's contribution to theatrical productions, but do not delve into his other artistic activities.[5] While these studies provide useful information

about the designs for Piscator's Schwejk performance, they do not discuss the subsequent publication of the related portfolio images in any detail.

In the following study, I will examine the censorship charges against Grosz and situate them within the context of Weimar Germany during the 1920s. The first chapter critiques the reductive constructions of the artist which are typical of the existing Grosz literature. Instead, it exposes the complexities of being a political artist by exploring the ways Grosz established himself as an authority through the cultivation of a certain public persona as well as through his particular visual language. Furthermore, I will take up the question of what it means to be a political artist working in the intersecting areas between high and low culture -- areas which are not as clearly defined as many scholars assume. Rather than concealing the inherent ambiguities of leftist art production, I want to recover them in order to offer a more complete picture. Grosz's shifting artistic and political positions will be re-examined in light of his activities and public statements. The second chapter examines the portfolios in general and the censored ones in particular and especially addresses their subject matter and themes. The chapter considers the artist's intent and intended audience, the ways in which various constituencies of viewers received these images and, finally, the reasons which determined the suppression of these portfolios. The final chapter examines censorship practises in the Weimar era in general and the specific trials of Grosz in particular. A closer analysis of the censor's differential treatment of Grosz's Hintergrund portfolio and Piscator's Schwejk production will help us better understand the reasons underlying the censorship of Grosz's work.

ENDNOTES

1. According to a report of the Berlin Chief of Police, Grosz's portfolio Mit Pinsel und Schere was confiscated on August 22, 1923 but later released, see Wolfgang Hütt, Hintergrund. Mit den Unzüchtigkeits- und Gotteslästerungsparagraphen des Strafgesetzbuches gegen Kunst und Künstler 1900-1933, edited and commentary by Wolfgang Hütt (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1990), p.219. This is the only reference to this portfolio being confiscated.

2. Wolfgang Hütt briefly examines the obscenity and blasphemy charges within the larger history of artistic censorship during this period, but completely ignores the "Gott mit uns" trial. Hütt's study is particularly resourceful due to its appended documentation from the trials, see Hintergrund. Mit den Unzüchtigkeits- und Gotteslästerungsparagraphen des Strafgesetzbuches gegen Kunst und Künstler 1900-1933. Edited and commentary by Wolfgang Hütt. (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1990). Studies published in the past two decades include Hans Hess, George Grosz (London: Studio Vista, 1974); Uwe M. Schneede, George Grosz: His Life and Work (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1975); M. Kay Flavell, George Grosz: A Biography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), and Serge Sabarsky, George Grosz: The Berlin Years (New York: Rizzoli International Publication Inc., 1985).

3.Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971). See in particular chapter 5 "Books and Portfolios," p.121-171 and chapter 7 "Critics and Trials" p.211-231. This book was reprinted in 1991, but except for an up-dated bibliography and preface, the text is essentially the same as the original with only minor changes.

4.See Rosamunde Neugebauer, George Grosz. Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst. Die Graphikfolgen "Gott mit uns," Ecce homo und Hintergrund (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1993). This is the published format of the author's Ph.D. Dissertation, Heidelberg Universität, 1990. Neugebauer had also published two earlier articles dealing with these portfolios. See R. Neugebauer, "George Grosz und sein Verhältnis zu Militarismus und Krieg" in Pazifismus zwischen den Weltkriegen. Deutsche Schriftsteller und Künstler gegen Krieg und Militarismus 1918-1933, edited by D. Harth, D. Schubert und R. M. Schmidt (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Verlagsanstalt und Drückerei GmbH 1984), p.147-162 and R. Neugebauer, *"Christus mit der Gasmaske* von George Grosz oder: Wieviel Satire konnten Kirche und Staat um 1930 in Deutschland ertragen" in Kunst und Kunstkritik der dreissiger Jahre. 29 Standpunkte zu Künstlerischen und ästhetischen Prozessen und Kontroversen (Dresden: M. Ruger, 1990), p.156-165, 322-325. This last article was not available to me.

5.See Andrew DeShong, The Theatrical Designs of George Grosz (Ann Arbor: UMP Research Press, 1982) and Herbert Knust, The Theatrical Drawings and Watercolors by George Grosz (Busch-Reisinger Museum and Harvard University, 1973).

CHAPTER 1:

CULTIVATING CREDIBILITY AND AUTHORITY: GEORGE GROSZ'S SELF-IMAGE AND PUBLIC PERSONA

In general, George Grosz (1893-1959) has been identified as a committed left-wing artist. His leftist credentials and his circle of acquaintances have supported this view. Being commonly compared with artists such as Goya and Daumier, Grosz has been situated within a respected lineage of social and political satirists. Such parallels have only strengthened Grosz's credibility, establishing him as one of the most outstanding modern-day moralists of the twentieth century in general and of Weimar society in particular. By the early 1920s, Grosz had gained a widely acclaimed reputation as a talented graphic artist and painter and had secured a relatively powerful position within German avant-garde artistic and intellectual circles. Over the years, his art had encompassed a wide range of modernist styles including Expressionism, Futurism, Dadaism, and Neue Sachlichkeit. By giving street-corner political speeches and by actively participating as a member of various political and artistic groups such as the Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands (KPD, *German Communist Party)* and the Rote Gruppe *(Red Group)*, Grosz's commitment to leftist politics extended beyond purely artistic concerns.[1] At this time, the appearance of his caricatures in numerous popular satirical magazines and left-wing journals, the successful publication of several portfolios, his various theatre designs, and his association with the controversial Berlin Dadaists reveals not only Grosz's artistic versatility, but also his profound commitment to art and politics.[2]

Grosz's production of politically charged imagery was also commercially successful. The suppression of his work indicated that the authorities considered him a powerful force, who was dangerous if left unregulated. Ironically, however, the publicity of the trials created a quasi-celebrity reputation for the artist which further enhanced his status and increased his audience. Although there was much opposition

towards Grosz's art, the left-wing press clearly backed Grosz during the trials.[3] Undoubtedly, this support confirmed Grosz's leftist affiliation in the minds of the opposition.[4] By the mid-1920s, his notoriety as a persuasive political artist extended beyond the national boundaries of Germany to countries such as Russia, France and America. In 1932 he accepted a temporary teaching assignment at the Arts League in New York. This appointment was a fortunate and timely offer, for soon after his departure from Germany, the Nazis gained control of the government. As part of their rigid ultra-conservative cultural policies, they labelled Grosz a "Cultural Bolshevik No.1", searched his studio, exhibited his work in the Entartete Kunst Ausstellung *(Degenerate Art Exhibition, 1937)* along with hundreds of other examples of "degenerate" modern art, and revoked his German citizenship.[5] Hence, while Hitler and the Nazis remained in power, Grosz and his family were exiled in America.[6]

Yet, Grosz's position was more complicated than this simple account suggests. Contradictions abound not only in his oral and written statements, but also in his actions and visual imagery. For instance, personal accounts by Grosz's contemporaries suggest that he often presented himself as a culturally elite dandy, a representation which was curiously at odds with his professed political radicalism. Although some Grosz scholars acknowledge these ambiguities, they tend to emphasize his leftist position when interpreting his artistic production. As a result, scholars have rarely come to terms with how these contradictions affected his art, politics and public image. For instance, in the introduction of her book Lewis offers an insightful discussion of Grosz's personality, providing a wealth of stories, memories, testimonies and biographical facts about the artist's life from a variety of reliable sources. Yet, in spite of the fact that she reveals many contradictory aspects of Grosz's character, she does not adequately consider how such contradictions affected the artist's

political position and reputation. Likewise, Thomas Craven argues that "It is necessary, in order to understand the man, to examine the various and contradictory facets of his character, but it is not necessary to reconcile them."[7] Although this is a position taken by many Grosz scholars, I believe that by failing to come to terms with the conflicting aspects of Grosz's character, artistic activities and political activism, we tend to see Grosz in a reductive way, which ultimately obscures our understanding of his art in general and his portfolios in particular. For instance what Grosz preached in theory and what he did in his own artistic production and business were often two very different things. Even though I will rely on many of the same sources as previous scholars, my approach will differ in its attempt to show how Grosz's carefully cultivated self-image (which as we have seen was often at odds with his leftist politics) helped to build and strengthen an influential position for him within the arts community. Recognizing that his prolific output of explicit political images was more or less explicitly committed to socialist ideals, this study does not propose to deny Grosz's leftist position. Instead, it will try to unravel the more subtle ambiguities and complexities of being a political artist and a member of Weimar society.

Sites of Political Resistance

With the outbreak of World War I, George Grosz along with other German artists and intellectuals such as John Heartfield, Wieland Herzfelde, Erwin Piscator, Otto Dix and Bertold Brecht, became politicized.[8] Some of these men volunteered to defend their country, and welcomed the war. Others, who were more skeptical, volunteered in hopes of receiving a better posting than those who were forced into service, while others waited to be involuntarily conscripted. Grosz, for instance, enlisted as a volunteer in November of 1914 but was temporarily discharged in January of 1915 due to medical problems. Two

years later, he was recalled but was immediately admitted to hospital, possibly because of sinus problems. He was then transferred to a mental hospital, where he remained until April when he was permanently released from service on the grounds that he was mentally unfit.[9] Yet, despite their widely varying responses to war, each of these men personally participated in and witnessed its brutality, devastation and futility, all of which exerted a profound and lasting impression on them. Many were physically wounded, psychologically scarred, or else lost loved ones.[10] Given such traumatic experiences, they developed a hatred for war and a disgust for the institutions that promoted it including the government, the military, the church and the ruling classes. While prior to the war many of these artists and intellectuals had been totally uninvolved, or at best, distantly interested in politics, the war acted as a catalyst for their new-found political commitment. Even during the final years of the war, these men began to meet informally, discussing the ways that art might help various peace efforts.

As early as 1915, the brothers Wieland Herzfelde and John Heartfield encouraged Grosz to direct his artistic attention towards revolutionary goals. At this time, Grosz had recently returned to Berlin after being released from his army duties. As a young unknown artist, he was trying to make ends meet in the tumultuous war years. Upon viewing Grosz's art for the first time, Herzfelde vowed to found a journal which would publish Grosz's satirical drawings as well as other examples of politically subversive art and literature. To establish a journal meant that Herzfelde needed to overcome several serious obstacles. During the war, all new publications required military authorization, but Herzfelde realized that he was unlikely to receive such approval, because he had been dishonourably discharged from military service on the grounds of insubordination. Besides, in the midst of war, any plans for a pacifist journal of the type he had in mind were sure to be denied. In 1917 Herzfelde circumvented this

particular obstacle by taking over the publishing rights of the defunct journal Neue Jugend *(New Youth)*, which had formerly been a vehicle for Expressionist literature (formerly edited by Heinz Barger and others). By taking this route, Herzfelde did not need to secure military approval.[11] Although Herzfelde took over the editorial duties of the journal, Barger remained editor in name only, which enabled them to evade suspicious inquiries from the military authorities.[12] While the new editorial staff retained the journal's original name, they changed its format and aim. In the first issue they clearly outlined their new policy:

> We are merely taking over the title of the *Neue Jugend* ... we do not intend to be a purely literary *avant-garde* journal: *the time has come for all intellectuals to unite against their sworn enemy!* At first, however, artistic matters will form the main body of our paper: we live in an age of manifestos....

The proclamation continued:

> All freedom-minded people... ... will find a platform in the *Neue Jugend*. The limits of our publications will be set only by the basic conception, the efficiency of the censor, the number of pages and our temporary incapacity to pay fees for contributions...[13]

When it came to expressing their pacifism, the editors exercised extreme caution, fearing to draw the military censors' attention to the journal. Hence, they never specified who their "sworn enemy" was. Eventually Herzfelde and Heartfield applied for and gained a separate publishing license under the name Malik Verlag *(Malik Press)*, and Neue Jugend ceased publication for the last time.[14]

As Herzfelde promised, Neue Jugend frequently featured Grosz's drawings and poems. Other regular contributors to this anti-war journal included Heartfield, Theodore Däubler, Else Lasker-Schüler, Albert Ehrenstein, and Richard Huelsenbeck to name just a few. Grosz's affiliation with Wieland Herzfelde and Malik Press furthered his political connections and increased his opportunities for political

commentary. It was through the influence of these new associates that Grosz first entered the political arena and began to think about the ways in which art could benefit society. As a young unknown artist, the Neue Jugend helped launch Grosz's career as a graphic artist, providing him with his first interested audience. Although Grosz received no payment for his contributions, the journal advertised his other projects such as the early portfolios (also published by Malik Press), the first of which appeared in 1917. Such advertising helped to spread Grosz's name within the arts community. Between 1916 and 1918 Theodore Däubler also advanced Grosz's career and helped secure a degree of notoriety for the artist by writing several articles on the artist that appeared in Die Weissen Blätter *(The White Press, 1916)*, Das Kunstblatt *(The Art Press, 1917)* and Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung *(New Press for Art and Poetry, 1918)*. Däubler also introduced Grosz to several collectors including Solly Falk, who eventually became one of Grosz's more regular patrons.[15]

To begin with, Grosz's art was inspired by general social injustices. Some of the themes and subjects dominating his work in the pre-war period included street scenes, social derelicts and misfits, and violent sex murders. At this time Grosz considered himself to be a misanthrope. Perhaps a line from Grosz's poem, "Gesang an die Welt," epitomizes Grosz's pessimism at this time: "Here comes Grosz, the saddest person in Europe, a phenomenon at mourning."[16] By the end of the war, his work became increasingly more satirical and politically directed which was hardly surprising given his association with Herzfelde, Heartfield and like-minded leftist artists. Soon Grosz was singling out the ruling classes and their institutions as the specific targets of his satire. In addition to his portfolios and prolific illustrative work for other journals and books published by Malik Press such as Jedermann sein eigner Fussball *(Everyman His Own Football)* and Der blutige Ernst *(Bloody Ernest)*, Grosz soon began to publish his

drawings in other leftist and popular journals including Die Aktion, Simplizissimus, Der Knuppel, Die Rote Fahne and Die Rosarote Brille.[17]

While Grosz briefly experimented with Expressionism, Futurism and Cubism, near the end of the war he became involved with Dadaism. Richard Huelsenbeck introduced Dadaism to Berlin artists and intellectuals. The Berlin Dada group, an offshoot of the earlier Zurich-based Dada circle, was much more openly political and revolutionary than their Swiss counterpart. Opposed to all established order including the government and the military, the Berlin Dadaists were both leftist and pacifist. Rather than promoting a particular style, the Dadaists declared themselves to be against all traditional forms of representation in art and rejected the current art system and all of its banal conventions. According to these ideals, they produced objects branded as "anti-art." Grosz, Herzfelde, Heartfield, Raoul Hausmann, and Johannes Baader became active members in the loosely organized Berlin Dada group. Other artists associated with them include Carl Einstein, Walter Mehring, Rudolf Schlichter, Otto Dix, Otto Schmalhausen, Hannah Höch and Franz Jung. Some of Dada's activities included volatile sketches, nonsensical performances and the publication of journals, most of which appeared under the imprint of the Malik Press.[18] In one performance on May 24th, 1919 at Meistersaal Grosz and Walter Mehring raced a typewriter and a sewing machine at a Dada event. On other occasions, the group verbally abused and insulted paying audiences. Some of its events even required police intervention to settle annoyed audiences. Given the deliberately provocative nature of its activities, the Dada group seemed to spark controversy wherever it went. A number of its publications were banned after several issues by the military censors.[19]

By the end of the war, the Kaiser had abdicated, making way for the formation of a new Weimar Republic in 1919. Most German citizens believed that this newly founded democracy would enable them to build a

better future. However, this optimism soon gave way to a disillusionment in the wake of various political, economic, social and cultural crises. The coalition government was insecure and promised little in the way of democratic reform.[20] Immediately following the war, the political situation was further complicated by both international diplomatic difficulties and by the domestic disruptions of the unsuccessful November Revolution. The peace negotiations under the Versailles Treaty forced Germany to assume both moral and financial responsibility for instigating the war. Huge reparation payments placed an additional burden on an already morally and financially bankrupt Germany. In economic terms the future seemed bleak with a devalued currency, rising inflation and food shortages. Only the industrialists and profiteers benefitted in the years immediately following the war, whereas the remainder of the population either lost or had already lost their former economic position. The situation reached unprecedented depths in the winter of 1923-1924 when a trillion German marks were equivalent to a single American dollar. Signs of recovery emerged in 1924, when the Americans finally stepped in and implemented a new plan to rehabilitate the German economy. Although the monarchy had been dissolved, the "new democratic" country continued to be governed by the same bourgeois political and military leaders, a fact which demoralized the working class.

The bleak circumstances of a failed revolution, a financially destitute country and a demoralized society reinforced the political convictions of those artists we have been discussing. Many artists and intellectuals, regardless of their own social status, eagerly sympathized with the proletarian masses and Communism, because they believed this alternative system offered a more democratic solution to the dismal social and political situation of Germany. For example, Grosz, Herzfelde and Heartfield all joined the Communist Party in 1918. With the belief that they could make a useful contribution to German

society by dismantling the ruling regime, they mounted an aggressive attack on the governing authorities. Drawing on Marxist ideology and using Communist Russia as their model, their ultimate aspirations were to establish a classless society. To help realize these goals, they openly committed themselves to propagandistic cultural production as a means of educating the masses about the class struggle and inciting them to revolutionary action.

Self-Image, Satire, and Shifting Politics in the 1920s

Following the First World War, Grosz's reputation as a caricaturist grew significantly and by the 1920s he had found a relatively secure position for himself within artistic and intellectual circles. In the early twenties two monographs on Grosz appeared, signalling that the artist had made a name for himself in the German artistic community.[21] Besides his painting and graphic work, Grosz also intermittently submitted poems and articles for publication and designed for the theatre.[22]

By 1920, Grosz had solidified many of his ideas about how art could serve leftist politics and these ideas began to appear in various publications. With the article "Statt einer Biographie" *(Instead of a Biography, 1920)*, which initially appeared in the journal Der Gegner *(The Enemy)*, Grosz formulated his first published statements on art.[23] In this article, Grosz expressed his perceptions, made judgements about the current state of the art market and politics, and laid out a programme of revisionary action for artists. At the heart of his argument was the notion that art should aid the class struggle of the proletariat. Throughout the article, Grosz criticized the art market as well as the entire system on the grounds that they were merely commercial products of bourgeois capitalist enterprise and served no other higher purpose. He argued that these systems were corrupt, because they operated only in the interest of the bourgeoisie, whom he

identified as the oppressors of the proletariat. Both academic and avant-garde artists participated in this corrupt system, either by turning art into a commodity or else by irresponsibly pursuing stylistic and personal experimentation. To rectify this troubled situation, Grosz called on artists to abandon their damaging preoccupation with bourgeois artistic production. Instead he urged them to defend the proletariat in their struggle. In speaking of his own art he identified the goal that he felt all artists should strive for: "The purpose of my work is to shake the belief, to show the oppressed the true face of their oppressor."[24] Using military terminology, he incited artists to use their art for propagandistic purposes wielding their pens and brushes as weapons. They were also urged to become involved in politics and attend workers' meetings. In effect, Grosz's programme promoted a collectivist society.

In this spirit of collectivism, Grosz collaborated with Heartfield and Herzfelde on several other publications that furthered his notions about the function of art and the role of the artist. These texts, including Der Kunstlump *(The Art Scab, 1920)*, Die Rote Gruppe *(The Red Group, 1924)* and Die Kunst ist in Gefahr! *(Art is in Danger!, 1925)*, similarly specified the direction art was to take and reaffirmed their commitment to Communism and the class struggle of the proletariat.[25] In many ways, these texts recapitulated the crucial arguments that Grosz made in "Statt einer Biographie", but they also reinforced them by providing additional material to support their arguments. As with "Statt einer Biographie," the language appropriately imitated the zeal of revolutionary slogans. It was enthusiastic, calling for nothing less than urgent and unrestrained action.

The text of Die Rote Gruppe was an official document that proclaimed the existence of a Communist art group by the same name which was organized by painters, draftsmen and activists and chaired by Grosz.[26] It also summarized the main tasks of this organization with a

ten-point programme for members to follow. As stated in the text, their main task involved "...increasing the effectiveness of communist propaganda through the media of writing, the graphic arts and theatre."[27] They outlined a number of ways this task could be carried out including "giving practical aid to revolutionary organizations," and "designing wall posters and placards for demonstrations."[28]

Der Kunstlump and Die Kunst ist in Gefahr give us an even better idea of how Grosz thought art and artists could work for the class struggle. Der Kunstlump tried to expose bourgeois art production and its producers as fradulent. In particular, they directly attacked Oskar Kokoschka and his recently published proposal denouncing the fighting which took place in front of the Zwinger Gallery in Dresden where a painting by Titian was damaged by a stray bullet. Kokoschka argued that Germans should take extra precautions so that museums and their cultural artifacts would be spared from gun-shot and bombs. In contrast, the authors welcomed these bullets as accelerating the downfall of a bourgeois culture, which they felt only oppressed the working classes. In Der Kunstlump the authors only briefly mention ways that artists can counter this oppressive bourgeois culture, while in Die Kunst ist in Gefahr the authors more explicitly offer guidelines. In this article they identified formalism and tendenzkunst as the two primary approaches to art, but defended tendenzkunst as the only strategy that had any merit. Tendenzkunst was defined as a committed political art that acted in the service of the revolutionary goals of the proletariat by consciously scrutinizing the everyday concerns of life. Formalism, on the other hand, was denounced as any art in which artists explored such bourgeois concerns as stylistic innovation or the expression of personal feelings without reference to everyday reality. "Zu meinen neuen Bildern" *(My New Pictures, 1920)* provided another seminal statement of Grosz's revolutionary commitment.[29] In this piece, Grosz described how his focus on content, line and form at the expense of colour helped to

achieve his goals. Once again, he urged other artists to abandon individualistic pursuits in favour of the collective utopian vision of eliminating all class inequities.

For the most part, Grosz complied with the guidelines that he advocated. It should be noted that Grosz was primarily occupied with producing small scale caricature drawings as well as watercolour paintings and made only a few, large scale, oil paintings such as his Germany ein Wintermärchen *(1917-1919)*. Generally speaking, caricatures were fairly straightforward to produce since the artist used simple forms and mobilized familiar images and current economic and social topics that were immediately accessible to the general public.[30] In terms of their visual format, caricatures make people, things or events grotesque by exaggerating their characteristic traits. Therefore, to some extent, caricatures are bound to everyday reality. Grosz either portrayed well-known political figures, such as General Noske or Adolf Hitler with exaggerated but still recognizable features or else created stereotypical representations of certain social classes such as the bourgeoisie by illustrating tangible symbols of their wealth or political affiliations. Grosz's graffiti style was reminiscent of children's drawings with its economic usage of line and colour which made his work simple, direct and easy-to-read. While these features enhanced the effectiveness of his message, it should be noted that Grosz was not simply a caricaturist, but at the same time experimented with modernist styles such as Futurism which may have seemed a trifle indulgent.[31] However, as far as subject matter was concerned, Grosz consistently tackled the realities of everyday life revealing what he felt was the true nature of the political, social, economic and cultural situation of the time. Therefore, in most respects, when it involved artistic form and content, Grosz adhered to the prescribed guidelines of tendenzkunst.

When it came to abandoning the art market, Grosz was less of a

purist. Evidently he was unable to secure alternative means of financial support, so he still found himself reliant on traditional forms of private and public patronage. Following his first solo exhibition opening at the Hans Goltz Gallery in 1920 (Munich) Grosz began to regularly exhibit and sell his work through conventional public and private galleries in solo and group exhibitions throughout Germany and abroad.[32] In 1923 Alfred Flechtheim, the well known Berlin dealer and gallery owner, became Grosz's exclusive art dealer. Grosz's reliance on the art market intensified throughout the 1920s as he increasingly distanced himself from publishing concerns. Partially explaining this shift was his eye-opening trip to Russia during which Grosz became more and more skeptical about Communism, the class struggle and the possibility of his efforts to change things. This skepticism was registered by Grosz's renunciation of his Communist membership and gradual shift away from radical publishers such as the Malik Press in favour of more traditional artistic production and exhibition.[33] Besides, Grosz had a family to raise, a task which was substantially aided by the reasonable (albeit fluctuating) income which the dealers and galleries provided. According to Lewis:

> From 1924 to 1931 his watercolors generally sold within a range of 300 to 500 marks; drawings, 150 to 300 marks; lithographs, 20 to 60 marks. The highest price he recorded in his ledger was 8,000 marks for the oil, ... His income from Flechtheim from mid-1926 to mid-1928 was usually 800 marks each month. It is not possible to tell from the ledger whether this was his total income. This figure may refer only to the works which Flechtheim sold in his gallery. ... A safe conclusion, however, is that Grosz had a substantial, if fluctuating income by the latter half of the twenties.[34]

Grosz' relationship with his patrons often exceeded the routine business parameters of selling and buying art. Count Harry Kessler, for example, was a supportive and wealthy patron, who on more than one occasion came to Grosz's aid in times of particular stress. He not only purchased a large number of Grosz's works, but also provided Grosz with

additional funds when he was hiding from the police. Solly Falk was another patron who paid Grosz a monthly allowance for his works. Furthermore, John Baur contends that Grosz admitted to playing a game ".. of servile flattery ... to the hilt" with Falk and others in return for their patronage.[35] One summer Grosz and his wife Eva even vacationed in Italy as guests of Falk. No doubt Grosz's flamboyant personality made him a compelling and fascinating companion. Grosz's reliance on wealthy patrons continued after his move to America. Felix Weil, for instance, subsidized Grosz's income with a monthly cheque from approximately 1933 to 1941, allowing him to maintain a middle-class standard of living. Other American patrons included the English collectors Edward James and Marc Sandler. Thus despite Grosz's condemnations of the art market, he depended on it as much as the artists he criticized. While Grosz's political drawings and speeches suggest a commitment to left-wing causes outside the art world, Grosz actually seems to have had little to do with the working classes. There is no documentation to suggest that Grosz regularly attended workers' meetings or socialized with the lower classes to any degree. In fact, Grosz tended to prefer the company of bohemian artists and intellectuals or wealthy patrons such as Count Kessler and Solly Falk.

Since the notion of class struggle is central to Grosz's ideas about the function of art, it is worthwhile examining his own somewhat ambiguous class status and attitudes in more detail. In any attempt to reconcile Grosz's beliefs, values and attitudes with his political position, one can not ignore the fact that Grosz himself was raised in a working-class environment. As the youngest of three children, Grosz was born in 1893.[36] At this time the family lived in Berlin, where his father, Karl Ehrenfried Gross, earned a respectable and relatively secure living as the owner of a restaurant and second-hand bookstore. In 1898, however, George's father lost his business and property and moved his family to Stolp in Pomerania where he found employment as a

caretaker of the Freemasons' Lodge. Most likely, the Gross family lived in relative financial security during this brief period in Stolp, but because Grosz was so young, it is unlikely that he remembered much from this early period of his childhood.[37] Upon his father's sudden death in 1900, the family's financial situation worsened. The family immediately returned to Berlin where they resided in the working class district of Wedding. By taking in lodgers and working as a seamstress, Grosz's widowed mother, Marie Wilhelmine Luise, managed to support her three children with considerable hardship, poverty and hunger on a low and fluctuating income.[38] Two years later, the family's lifestyle improved with their return to Stolp where Frau Gross found more permanent employment as a housekeeper for the Count Blücher Hussar Officers' Club.[39] In his autobiography, Grosz recalls years of idyllic bliss, adventure and few hardships during this period. Despite Grosz's sentimental memories of his childhood in Stolp which center on schoolboy adventures with playmates and a keen interest in American penny fiction novels by Karl May, Fenimore Cooper and Nick Carter, the family was never completely free of money worries.[40] Even as a young art student in Dresden at the Royal Academy (1909-11) and in Berlin at the School of Arts and Crafts (1911), Grosz lived in sparse accommodations which served both as living and studio space and survived on a thrifty allowance from his mother and sister that met only his basic daily living requirements and a few art supplies.[41] Even with the additional support of a scholarship from the School of Arts and Crafts in Berlin, he continued to live a fairly frugal lifestyle, especially compared to some of the other students, whose families were well-to-do. His financial situation remained precarious until he was an adult and became better known in the artistic community, selling his art work on a regular basis.

During the early years of his career in Germany, Grosz was hesitant about providing many biographical details claiming that 'self-

promotion was utterly beside the point.'[42] This reluctance was closely tied to his politics. For example, Grosz's article "Statt einer Biographie" (1920) was an anti-biographical statement, reflecting his celebration of the collective over the individual. In this article, Grosz described the conditions that led aspiring young artists into the bourgeois market-place:

> Most artists start out in proletarian circumstances,in shabby studios, yet have an amazing, if unconscious, adaptability when it comes to finding a way out. Before long the artist finds some influential bigwig to 'sponsor' him, which means: paving his way to the marketplace. Occasionally a patron comes along and gives him 100 marks a month in exchange for handling his entire artistic production; or he becomes the property of an art dealer whose job is to convince bourgeois collectors that they need these artworks.[43]

As we have already discussed, Grosz's own career strikingly resembled his description. It is possible that he used this indirect method of confession to resist being classified as either a member of the proletariat or bourgeoisie since he opposed both groups.

Interestingly, despite his earlier opposition to biography, in 1929 Grosz published a three-part series of articles called "Jugenderinnerungen" (Das Kunstblatt) which described his youth. Considering how strongly he had condemned self-promotion, the publication of the articles and book seems surprising, but can be explained in terms of Grosz's shifting views on art and politics. At the time of writing the articles, Grosz had become leery of party politics and had been actively selling his art work within the commercial art market. Even though Grosz divulged his proletarian origins in the articles, his confession is overwhelmed by sentimental reminiscences of the childhood adventures and dreams of a rural boy which tend to have the effect of distancing Grosz from his working class origins. Furthermore, the articles were published in an art journal, which was directed to artists and intellectuals rather than a working-class readership.

In 1946, after living and working in America for fourteen years and becoming an American citizen, Grosz published his autobiography entitled George Grosz: A Little Yes and a Big No (1946).[44] The most shocking aspect of this autobiography centers on complete denial of his earlier art practises and politics. In a book review for The Saturday Review (11 January 1947), H. W. Janson attempted to address reasons for Grosz's rejection of his artistic and political life in Germany. Janson wrote: "one gets the impression that the book grew out of his mounting despair with the modern World and with his own work, as a kind of negation of faith."[45] While I agree that Grosz downplayed his earlier involvement in revolutionary art and politics, I believe he did so hoping, above all, to increase his popularity with an American audience, which had not shown much interest in his work. While in America Grosz had moved away from social satire, partly because as a foreigner he was faced with an unfamiliar social system and language which made him less confident about criticizing American society. He was perhaps also reluctant to satirize a country which, since his childhood, he fantasized as a land of adventure. Instead, he began to produce large-scale paintings, concentrating on traditional subjects such as nudes, portraits, landscapes and genre scenes. The fact that, at one point, he even aspired to paint idyllic scenes like those of the American artist, Norman Rockwell, indicates the extent to which Grosz had abandoned his earlier artistic and political convictions. Grosz's admiration for Rockwell was partly based on Rockwell's huge commercial success. Speaking of Norman Rockwell, in one interview he seriously noted: "Now there's a really great artist, [....] How I envy him his money."[46]

In his autobiography Grosz stressed that he wanted to forget his German past:

> When I settled in America, and had turned my back on Germany for good, I resolved to cast off not only my German nationality, but also my German persona, as one might a threadbare suit. So bitter did I feel about the Fatherland that I resolved to forget it

> completely - to start a new, an "American" life.[47]

Such statements were perhaps intended to enhance the book's saleability. For some time, Grosz's artistic sales had been few and his financial situation precarious, which made it difficult for him to maintain a middle-class standard of living. According to his contract for the book, Grosz received an instalment of $225 prior to writing the book and a final payment of $720 after completion.[48] In a letter to his half-sister, Martha, of October 8th, 1946 Grosz admitted: "I am not a writer, and would never have written it if I did not need the money."[49] Grosz also admitted that: "I wrote and wrote like someone bewitched under the spell of a contract."[50]

Given Grosz's financial motives for writing his autobiography, we must also be cautious when analyzing its contents. In the postwar climate of MacCarthyism and the cold war, Grosz was aware that the strong socialist position of his earlier German works would have been unpopular with his largely pro-capitalist audiences. The interrogation of suspected Communists was a widespread practise during this period. In 1955 Grosz was subjected to such questioning which indicates his former political views continued to haunt him. Not surprisingly then, Grosz noted in the preface of his autobiography:

> This is an attempt at an autobiography - and the reader must appreciate that what I have not said I have chosen not to say ...

and

> I have forgotten a great deal, but that is not necessarily a sign of a poor memory: the veil drawn over the past is kind and well suited to the face of the times[51]

Returning to the period of his portfolio work in Germany, it seems odd that Grosz did not utilize his own working-class experiences to enhance the credibility of both his socialist position and artistic intentions since the knowledge that Grosz came from the working classes would have made his art more believable to the masses, who were largely

skeptical towards art forms which were typically produced and consumed by the more wealthy classes.[52] In other words, if Grosz had promoted his art as being produced by and for the working classes he may have been able to more easily reach the masses with his political messages. Instead, Grosz adopted the stance of bourgeois intellectuals or artists who typically distanced themselves from the masses.

While Grosz chose to side with the masses on a political level, he never entirely relinquished his earlier misanthropic tendency. His belief that "man is beast" continued to show up in his work, albeit, in less noticeable forms. Part of Grosz's misgivings about the masses were based upon what he perceived as their willingness to be dominated by the bourgeoisie. As a man of conviction, strength and action, Grosz found the weaknesses of the working-classes intolerable. In many ways, Grosz supported the proletarian cause because of his profound hatred and contempt for the bourgeoisie and their institutions, rather than because he had any true sympathy with the enslaved position of the proletarian masses. Later in his life, Grosz confessed: "Among the masses, ... I found scorn, mockery, fear, oppression, falsehood, betrayal, lies and filth ... I have never indulged in worshipping them, even when I pretended to believe in certain political theories."[53] Proof of his continuing misanthropy can be found in a large number of the drawings and paintings produced throughout the twenties such as Licht und Luft dem Proletariat *(The Workman's Holiday, 1919) (Figure 1)*, in which the masses, including various maimed soldiers, were not spared from Grosz's biting visual commentary, even though he increasingly concentrated his satirical efforts on the ruling classes. A pessimist at heart, Grosz never attempted to glorify, praise or favour the masses as did artists such as Käthe Kollwitz whose compassion for working people is revealed in her depictions of them. Grosz admitted to these essential differences during an interview with Dorothy Grafly:

> "I was different from Käthe Kollwitz after the first World War," he confided. "I was a

> man and afraid to lend my heart. I distrusted pity, itself - even my own pity for the poor, struggling people. I was cynical rather than sympathetic. I found the right line that could bite out my reactions. My work went well, but what I had to say was not really wanted."[54]

As his revolutionary aspirations gradually faded away, Grosz became increasingly skeptical towards politics in general. In 1922, after his disastrous trip to the Soviet Union with the writer, Martin Andersen-Nexö, Grosz became discouraged by the noticeable differences between the classes, and the poverty of the working classes in Communist Russia. Soon after his return, he denounced all official ties to any political party including the KPD, despite the fact that he continued to advocate social and political reform.[55] Evidently, Grosz and a number of his contemporaries were aware of his conflicting political sentiments. Speaking of his Communist position in 1949, Grosz admitted that: "... I always had doubts, ... and when I got plastered, I shocked my friends by middle-class misgivings."[56] According to Richard Huelsenbeck, one of Grosz's Dada comrades: "Grosz had the courage of a conviction, but none of us was clear in our minds about its definition."[57] He further wrote: "George Grosz, as long as I knew him, was a man of contradictions. Whenever he said yes, he would usually mean no. ... He was so tormented by the tug of war of his opinions that he had to benumb himself with alcohol to go on living."[58] Understandably, Grosz's associates were troubled by his "double-sided" satire, which they felt could easily be misunderstood in ways which could only weaken their political resistance to the ruling class.

If Grosz's opinions about the working class were contradictory, his attitudes towards the bourgeoisie were equally complicated. Throughout the twenties in both his art and writing, Grosz criticized the philistinism of bourgeois beliefs, values and attitudes. At the root of the problem was the fact that the bourgeoisie dominated the institutions that controlled all mechanisms of society, including the

government, the military, the church and the cultural system. To expose and criticize this state of affairs, Grosz employed several artistic strategies. One of these involved visually depicting and explicitly attacking the lifestyle of the ruling classes. For instance, his portfolio Ecce Homo (1919) is entirely devoted to mocking middle class longings, desires and vices. The watercolour Fern im Süd, das schöne Spanien *(Fair Spain, far away in the South, 1919) (Figure 2)*, for example, depicts a multiplicity of bourgeois leisure activities ranging from drinking and smoking to gourmet and sexual indulgence. Stereotypically the men wear sophisticated business suits and the women, who are either nude or clad in transparent dresses, sport fashionable hairstyles, makeup and jewellery. While these men and women are clearly wealthy, they are neither sophisticated nor refined, as Grosz depicts them with grimacing, ugly faces and exposed genitalia which reveals the morally-depraved nature of their private activities. Thus their public dignity is sorely undermined. Grosz not only exposes these activities but also severely judges them. As Uwe Schneede pointed out: "Death appears two times indicating the transitory nature of pomp, enjoyment and all earthly things."[59] Here, death, alluded to by the two skeletons, shrewdly evaluates these wicked pursuits and condemns the participants to their inevitable fatal end.

The portfolio Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse *(The Face of the Ruling Class, 1921)* also attempted to unmask what Grosz felt was the true nature of the bourgeoisie. Once again, Grosz focused on the vices of this group in drawings such as Um früh Uhr *(At 5 O'Clock in the Morning, Figure 3)*, by juxtaposing them with the typical early morning activities of the proletariat. The horizontal line that divides the drawing creates a clear division between the two worlds. Once again, the figures possess exaggerated features. In the upper section, Grosz depicts workers with tools solemnly walking to their factory jobs. In the bottom section, Grosz shows bourgeois men and women drinking,

smoking and vomiting as they pursue their sexual pleasures into the early morning hours. In effect, Grosz presents a modern cycle of virtues and vices which are connected to the two classes and their different economic status.

Yet, despite these frank depictions of the darker side of bourgeois life, Grosz himself, paradoxically, strove to attain an upper middle class standard of living for his family.[60] Grosz's continually fluctuating income which was dependent on the sale of his work was a constant source of anxiety. In later years Grosz admitted to Richard Boyer that: "he [Grosz] had a frank lust for money, insisting that he likes its feel and its smell, and an equally frank fear that he, his wife, and his two sons, both of whom attend private schools, may suffer from the lack of it."[61] When speaking of art dealers and their ability to swindle the artist, Grosz said: "They know I can't resist when I see money..."[62] Part of Grosz's desire for economic security stemmed from the deprivations of the war years. Given the food shortages and inflation in the post-war period, it is not surprising that scarce items such as food and drink would become important signifiers of affluence for Grosz. Grosz's passion for gourmet food and alcohol was well known amongst his acquaintances.[63] In later years, he was known to drink heavily during periods of depression and frustration. Ben Hecht, for example, described Grosz's prolonged alcoholic binges. Other status symbols such as clothes were also important to the artist. Grosz, unlike many of his contemporaries, was always dressed in meticulously fashionable clothes which led many to consider him a dandy. Perhaps Grosz's first inclinations towards dandyism can be seen just after he earned money for the first drawings he sold and purchased a pair of "... real American hook-nosed shoes."[64] The following year Grosz purchased an American-looking suit which he described as follows: "It had enormous padded shoulders, a leather belt, and airtight cuffs, .. It was a kind of zoot suit. I felt like a real Yankee."[65] Grosz summarized the

importance of dress for him in the following statement: "Man's individuality, the sum of those smaller or greater differences between us so valued today that it is often termed "personality," frequently reveals itself in the way we dress."[66] Describing his first impressions of Grosz, Erwin Piscator, for instance, paid special attention to the artist's clothes and his "cool" behaviour:

> ..., I made the acquaintance of a cool gentleman standing on some corner or other, an English bowler hat on his head, an umbrella hooked over his arm - a cool gentleman who, although he thanked me for the tea I had sent, did so in a way that was not very friendly but "English," that is to say reticent, cool, cooling. George Grosz was cool, but his drawings were not cool.[67]

In other words, what these stories tell us is that Grosz aspired to many aspects of the bourgeois lifestyle that he so often condemned in his drawings.

Grosz's denunciation of the "cult of genius" in the arts offers similar evidence of his contradictory attitudes. At this point, the question of whether Grosz conceived of himself as a "genius" figure and how he presented himself in public must be addressed. Generally speaking, a "Cult of genius" emerged in the nineteenth century when creativity came to be understood as a natural rather than educational phenomenon. Artists were believed to have been naturally creative, freely expressing their personal instincts and feelings through their art. Essentially, the "cult of genius" became equated with individuals who were different from others in the positive sense of being "unique" or "special". As a matter of course, this emphasis on individuality also led to the widespread popular belief that most artists were inherently predisposed to have a unique personality as well as eccentric behaviour and habits. Thus, peculiar or odd behaviour from artists was accepted if not expected by the rest of the population. Even today, the term "genius" still is defined as a "natural ability or tendency; special mental endowments; exalted intellectual power; instinctive and

extraordinary imaginative, creative or inventive capacity."[68]

Grosz's claims in "Statt einer Biographie" indicate that he defined the concept of "genius" along similar lines. Yet, at the same time Grosz also rejected this notion of genius, disapproving of the ways in which artists exploited it simply to sell their work. In Art is in Danger, he wrote:

> The cult of individuality and personality, which promotes painters and poets only to promote itself, is really a business. The greater the 'genius' of the personage, the greater the profit, How can an artist reach such heights among the bourgeoisie? Through swindle.[69]

For Grosz biography or any other form of self-promotion was merely a tool for encouraging the cult of individuality, personality and genius. Basically, he viewed this whole process of self-promotion as a corrupt business. Since the article commented on the current art market, we can safely surmise that Grosz was specifically accusing contemporary artists, especially more established ones such as the Expressionists who focused on individualistic explorations of personal feelings and instincts. In "Zu meiner neuen Bildern" Grosz made further grand statements such as: "Man is no longer an individual to be examined in subtle psychological terms, but a collective, almost mechanical concept. Individual destiny no longer matters."[70] While such statements reflect Grosz's Communist sympathies, they are hardly consistent with his personal conduct. Despite such grand assertions, Grosz was known to be an individualistic dandy and performer. Piscator, for example, described Grosz's commanding presence amongst the Dada artists: "As an onlooker in this circle, I realized that Grosz did not only draw, but produced himself as a more or less public performer.[71]

By appearing in various guises, Grosz fostered an air of mystery which obscured his true identity from the public. Many of his friends and fellow artists related stories about the diverse and unpredictable characters that Grosz played throughout the years. In 1943 Richard

Boyer interviewed Grosz and published excerpts of this interview in a three-part series of articles in the New Yorker. Boyer described how Grosz played different characters at the occasional party he attended: "He leaps from his chair and impersonates first one character and then another, changing his position whenever necessary, to indicate a change in role."[72] Boyer further explained: "Sometimes he is an officer with a monocle and pompous manner, sometimes he is a servile private saluting the officer, and often he is both as he jumps back and forth on the floor giving and receiving salutes."[73] As the honourary Dada Field Marshal, Grosz described to Boyer how he acted the role of a Prussian general, by cutting his clothes along military lines and by wearing an over-sized cardboard Iron Cross on his chest. When acting this role "now and then he would slap aristocrats across the face with a glove."[74] Grosz also described another of his costumes: "I was rather famous for a huge death's-head," he noted. "I was rather a dandy," he continued. "I cultivated a certain bad taste. I wore the death's-head on the street and my cane had a skull on it."[75] Baur also described this performance: "As 'Propagandadada' Grosz walked the streets of Berlin in a death's head, carried a calling card with an artificial eye on one side, 'How do you think tomorrow?'; and the other, and invented such slogans as 'Come to Dada if you like to be embraced and embarrassed [*sic*].'"[76] When Grosz made the United States his permanent place of residence, he took on an exaggerated form of "typical" American attire. Upon returning to German in 1953 for a visit, Grosz flaunted his "Americanness" by wearing loud ties, pastel coloured silk shirts and a panama hat with his beige linen suit. According to Ruth Berenson and Norbert Muhlen, Grosz: "looked exactly like a European caricature of .. a typical yankee."[77]

In his article "The Curious Merchant from Holland" published in Harper's Magazine in 1943, Wieland Herzfelde described his first few meetings with the young artist. His account discusses the great trouble that Grosz would take over playing a character and obscuring his true

identity. Herzfelde recalled a gathering of writers and artists at Ludwig Meidner's studio in 1915, where he encountered a strangely striking young gentleman fashionably attired in a conservative suit. He was meticulously clean cut with bold facial features. Herzfelde also mentioned that his appearance was noticeably different from that of the other artists and intellectuals, who tended to dress more casually. During a heated debate about the war and draft-dodgers, the stranger finally introduced himself as a Dutch businessman. After he made several crass statements about war, he proceeded to frankly discuss his business proposal which involved collecting used shells from the front lines and having war-cripples paint the symbol of the iron cross or other mottos on the shells which would then be sold as souvenirs to American citizens. Of course, this profiteering proposal offended and shocked the predominantly pacificist and left-wing members of the gathering who vehemently raised a number of protests.

After the meeting, Herzfelde found it difficult to forget about the peculiar businessman. So the next day he went to see Meidner in hopes of discovering the truth about this person. After much coaxing, Meidner disclosed that the man in question was a German artist, but he refused to reveal his true identity. Some time after this initial meeting, Herzfelde recognized the artist at a cafe, and introduced himself to George Grosz. He then pressed the seemingly annoyed artist to grant him a studio visit. At this studio visit, Grosz again greeted Herzfelde as an elegantly dressed and civilized gentleman. After much persistence, the artist reluctantly agreed to show Herzfelde some of his drawings which were hidden away in a trunk. Herzfelde reports that he immediately reacted very strongly to this work: "Not since then has the work of an artist made such an impression on me. At that time I couldn't explain what made me so enthusiastic about these pictures. And their creator could explain the reason for my enthusiasm even less."[78] At this point, the two men entered into an argument about the value of

Grosz's art. Grosz argued that his art was worthless, because many German art experts had repeatedly rejected it, while Herzfelde defended it with great urgency, deploring the art experts' low appraisals. This debate finally concluded with Herzfelde's proposal to establish an arts magazine which would publish his choice of Grosz's drawings. This meeting led to Herzfelde's take-over of the Neue Jugend, his establishment of the publishing house Malik Press and Grosz's lasting friendship and publishing partnership with Herzfelde and his brother John Heartfield.

Although Herzfelde offers an interesting portrait of Grosz as a young artist, we should approach it with caution given that the article provided a detailed, almost word-for-word description of events that occurred twenty-eight years earlier. Furthermore, the fact that the article appeared in Harper's Magazine, a popular magazine dealing with topical and other human interest stories, meant that it might have been sensationalized or manipulated to suit Harper's audience.[79] The ambiguious title "The Curious Merchant from Holland" which gave no hints about its content suggests that Herzfelde tried to attract a wider readership. Nevertheless, despite these considerations, it is evident that his first three encounters with Grosz made an enormous impact on Herzfelde leading to an enduring friendship and business relationship. Quite possibly, the fact that Grosz disguised himself as a Dutch businessman made Herzfelde even more curious than if he had simply met "Grosz the artist." Herzfelde's story exemplifies the intense curiosity that Grosz's mysterious demeanour and eccentric behaviour could spark in friends and strangers alike.

These personal reminiscences suggest that Grosz rarely exposed himself without a mask. Each mask seemed to disclose a particular idiosyncratic trait of his personality which together formed his persona. One moment Grosz was a materialistic middle class businessman, the next a Prussian officer or an American tourist. Grosz also used a

number of aliases, sometimes signing articles and works of art or conducting other business under names such as Lord Hatton Dixon, Dr. William King Thomas, Graf Ehrenfried, Ritter von Thorn, Edgar A. Hussler, and Graf Bessler-Orffyre.[80] In certain cases, the fictional or real names were meant as a hoax in the name of Dadaism and in other cases, the assumed names were meant to avoid confrontation with the authorities. Other writers and artists used similar tactics. Kurt Tucholsky frequently wrote under the names Peter Panter and Ignaz Wrobel. Marcel Duchamp also adopted similar strategies and was considered a dandy. Duchamp, for example, "... created a female alter ego, Rrose Selavy, who frequently signed his work and for whose photograph he posed in drag ..."[81]

Speaking of these different aspects of Grosz's personality, Thomas Craven, a historian and later Grosz's friend, noted:

> He [Grosz] will tell you, in his quiet way, that there are many Groszes; he will say this with a self-analysis containing no egoism.[82]

Grosz approached the subject of his disguises in a similarly straightforward way in his autobiography, observing:

> How many characters live inside each one of us? One on the top floor, one in the middle and one in the cellar? Perhaps another shut up somewhere in a cupboard. I mistrust psychology and psychoanalysis. They go on giving explanations and trying to get to the bottom of the mystery of the human heart and of man's instincts, but my view is that while you may be able to adumbrate the demon in man you cannot dissect him.[83]

He repeated these ideas in an interview with Richard Boyer:

> During such a time he [Grosz] once claimed that his personality was built in layers like a cake. "There is one person on top," he said, "one in the middle, and a fourth is chained in a dark closet for which there is no key."[84]

Later in his autobiography Grosz explained how the different characters in his art work were in fact himself:

> I made careful drawings of all these goings on, of all the people inside the restaurant and out, deluding myself that I was not so much a satirist as an objective student of nature. In fact, I was

> each one of the very characters I drew, the champagne-swilling glutton favoured by fate no less than the poor beggar standing with outstretched hands in the rain. I was split in two, just like society at large ...[85]

Here, the artist's description provides an explanation for the apparently contradictory nature of his personality and his ambivalent and shifting attitudes towards the masses and the bourgeoisie. Years later, Grosz admitted that: "I was proud of my personality, ... It was distinct and different."[86] Indeed, Grosz deliberately nurtured his eccentric personality, by paying special attention to the way he dressed and by perfecting his disguises possibly because he realized that a distinctive persona would attract attention. On other occasions, he would deliberately cultivate a dignified and sober appearance to defuse public criticism.

The three trials between 1920 and 1931 thrust Grosz into the public spotlight. In particular, the blasphemy trial of 1928-1931 erupted into a public controversy. During the trials Grosz appeared reserved, dignified and in control of the situation. A photograph at one of the trials shows him as a respectable citizen, attired in a suit and tie. In defending his works Grosz remained calm and, for the most part, unemotional. At times he evaded questions with vague responses but otherwise appeared cooperative. According to Kurt Tucholsky, during the "Gott mit uns" trial Grosz hardly made any effort to defend himself.[87] It is worth noting that Grosz used a similar strategy for defusing criticism in 1932 when a huge controversy arose over his appointment to teach classes at the Arts League in New York.[88] Prior to his arrival an internal debate over the hiring of this "Communist" artist had broken out amongst board members of the Arts League. Some members recommended that Grosz's appointment be withdrawn because his Communist sympathies would harm young impressionable students, while others defended the appointment. This controversy soon attracted the attention of the media who exacerbated the situation by focusing on the

threat that Grosz posed to society. Ironically, the media's intervention forced disapproving members to reluctantly accept Grosz's appointment as a means of evading further unwanted publicity. Again, Grosz seems to have deliberately countered such adverse publicity by assuming a soberly responsible public face. Despite the fact that according to Baur, "Time greeted him with the headline *Mild Monster Arrives*," many people were surprised and even disappointed by the artist's unexpectedly dignified disposition and refined physical appearance.[89] Furthermore, this controversy indicates that Grosz's satirical art had reached an audience outside of Germany and that he was internationally recognized as a menace and a threat.

Although Grosz was more or less committed to radical politics from the mid-teens through to the early thirties, he was challenged by numerous internal and external forces, which made him continually re-evaluate his position. As a young struggling artist, Grosz was a righteous misanthrope without any specific artistic goals other than a desire to be famous and commercially successful. However, under the influence of radicals such as Herzfelde and Heartfield, Grosz discovered a new sense of artistic direction by using his satirical talent for socialist goals. This new direction gave Grosz the opportunity to be recognized in artistic and intellectual circles, by means of publishing his poems, drawings and statements in various journals, portfolios and books. As his popularity and reputation grew, his options also increased. He was no longer restricted to graphic illustration, but was now offered the opportunity to sell and exhibit his works within regular channels. By the 1920s, Grosz's political aspirations began to fade. His political stance was periodically undermined by a deep-rooted misanthropy, a growing sense of pessimism, and a desire to be commercially successful, financially independent and something of a dandy. As we have seen, Grosz's commitment to the Communist Party and class struggle was motivated more by a profound hatred for the ruling

classes and their institutions than any faith in the working classes. In fact, one might assert that the power of Grosz's art rested on his ability to inject a general sense of anger and hatred into his work. In addition, he now had a family to raise. The difficult economic challenges of supporting his family on an irregular artistic income in post-war Germany during years of sky-rocketing inflation and mass starvation meant that Grosz ended up pursuing the more traditional course of securing private and public patrons. This course of action not only conflicted with his earlier condemnations of the art market, but also meant that he had less time to pursue his socialist agenda and publishing efforts. It was equally difficult for Grosz to suppress the strongly individualistic personality traits that made him such a popular figure amongst his friends, colleagues and patrons, many of whom belonged to the middle-classes. This fact created difficult contradictions between his bourgeois social tendencies and collectivist, left-wing politics. While these contradictions might have caused the artist personal anguish, they were actually an asset in terms of building a viable career. As we have seen, Grosz's eccentric behaviour attracted artists and intellectuals such as Herzfelde, whose friendships turned into profitable business partnerships which in turn helped establish his reputation within the artistic community and ensured his commercial success. Hence, what made him successful as an artist often undermined and contradicted his political beliefs. The government, however, seemed oblivious to these contradictions, considering the artist a danger if left unchallenged.

ENDNOTES

1. The KPD was founded on December 30, 1918.

2. Die Aktion (founded March 1911) was a literary magazine published by Franz Pfemfert. During WWI it began to oppose the war.

3. This press included Die Weltbühne and Das Tagebuch.

4. Those groups opposed to Grosz included the government, religious organizations, bourgeois citizens and the judicial system.

5. The Degenerate Art Exhibition was held in Munich in 1937. For further information about this exhibition and the cultural policies of the National Socialist Party, see H. Lehmann-Haupt, Art Under a Dictatorship (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), and Berthold Hinz, Art in the Third Reich, translated from German by Robert and Rita Kimber (New York: Pantheon Books, Random House, Inc., 1979).

6. Many art critics and art historians believe that Grosz's American produced art work lacked the social and political conviction of his earlier work, and that he was never able to achieve an equivalent degree of fame and fortune in America.

7. Thomas Craven, "George Grosz," Modern Art: The Men, the Movements, the Meaning (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934), p.204.

8. Brecht never officially joined the KPD party, although he was sympathetic to the working classes' struggle for equity.

9. According to M. Kay Flavell, Grosz enlisted as a volunteer in the Second Kaiser Franz Grenadier Guards First Company in Berlin, see George Grosz: A Biography (New Haven: Yale University Press), p.25. There is conflicting evidence regarding the details of Grosz's physical or mental illnesses and the exact circumstances of his discharge. Flavell, for example, suggests that Count Harry Kessler's intervention on Grosz's behalf was indispensable to the artist's release and that without it Grosz may have been court marshalled.

10. Some artists such as Franz Marc died in battle.

11. According to Timothy Benson, "As a tactic to gain a publication license, they had used the title of Else Lasker-Schüler's novella, Der Malik", see "The Text and the Coming of Age of the Avant-Garde in Germany," Visible Language (Summer/Autumn, 1987), p.379. For more information on the inception of Neue Jugend and Malik Press, see Wieland Herzfelde, "Wie der Malik-Verlag entstand," Sinn und Form 18 (1966), p.1925-1941; Wieland Herzfelde, Der Malik Verlag 1916-1947 (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Kunste zu Berlin, 1966), and Wieland Herzfelde, "How a Publishing House was Born," in The Era of German Expressionism, edited by Paul Raabe and translated by J. M. Ritchie (London: Calder & Boyars, 1974), p.220.

12. This tactic only enabled them to stave off the censors temporarily.

13. Herzfelde, "How a Publishing House was Born," p.220.

14. The move to gain complete control of their publishing was motivated by several disagreements with Barger over the content of the journal. Heartfield, who had taken charge of the journal while Herzfelde was at the front, took the matter into his hands.

15. George Grosz, The Hirschhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Collection. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), p.6.

16. German original: "Hier kommt Gross, der traurigste Mensch in Europa, ein Pha"nomen an Trauer" in Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung 1 (1918/1919), pp.154-155.

17. In a couple of issues of Der blutige Ernst Grosz was listed as a co-editor along with Carl Einstein.

18. The first Dada evening occurred on February 1918 at the I. B. Neumann Gallery.

19. For more information on Berlin Dada see John D. Erickson, Dada: Performance, Poetry and Art (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1984), p.32-45, and Hans J. Kleinschmidt, "Berlin Dada" in Dada Spectrum: The Dialectics of Revolt, edited by Stephen C. Foster and Rudolf e. Kuenzli (Iowa: University of Iowa, 1979), pp.145-174.

20. Within fifteen years, there were seventeen governments formed.

21. See Hi Simon, George Grosz. Twelve Reproductions From his Original Lithographs (Chicago: Musterbookhouse, 1921), and Mynona (Salomo Friedlander). George Grosz, Künstler der Gegenwart, Vol.3 (Dresden: Rudolf Kaemmerer Verlag, 1922).

22. His best known poems include Aus den Gesangen, Gesang der Goldgräber, New York, Kannst du radfahren?, Gesang an die Welt and Kaffeehaus. Grosz wrote all of these poems in the late teens.

23. George Grosz, "Statt einer Biographie," Der Gegner (1920). This article was reprinted in Junge Kunst 21 (Leipzig, 1921), p.15, and George Grosz, John Heartfield and Wieland Herzfelde, Die Kunst ist in Gefahr! (Berlin: Drei Aufsatze, 1925). All quotations from "Statt einer Biographie" have been taken from George Grosz, John Heartfield and Wieland Herzfelde, Art is in Danger!, translated by Paul Gorrell (Connecticut: Curbstone Press, 1987), pp.29-34.

24. George Grosz, John Heartfield and Wieland Herzfelde. Art is in Danger!, translated by Paul Gorrell (Willimantic: Curbstone Press, 1987), p.32-33.

25. Quotations have been taken from Paul Gorrell's English translation Art is in Danger! which contains all of these texts. It is difficult to determine which parts were written by each person, but we can assume that the texts on the whole describe the beliefs of all concerned, because their names are attached to these writings.

26. Grosz's name appears on "Red Group" manifesto where he is identified as the chairman of the organization.

27. "Red Group," Art is in Danger!, p.35.

28. Ibid., p.35.

29. "Zu meinen neuen Bildern" was originally published in Das Kunstblatt 5, no. 1 (January 1921), pp. 10-16. For a translation see George Grosz, "My New Pictures" in Twentieth Century Art Theory: Urbanism, Politics, and Mass Culture, edited by Richard Hertz and Norman M. Klein (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1990), pp.165-167.

30. For more information about Grosz's satire, see Folly and Vice: The Art of Satire and Social Criticism, exhibition catalogue (London: South Bank Centre, 1989), and Edward Lucie-Smith, The Art of Caricature (London: Orbis Publishing, 1981).

31. For example, he employed the Futurist technique of simultaneity.

32. For a list of exhibition catalogues see Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), pp.295-299.

33. Beth Irwin Lewis, in Grosz/Heartfield: The Artist as Social Critic, exhibition catalogue, October 1-November 8, 1980. Foreward by Melvin Waldfogel and contributions by Sidney Simon and Beth Irwin Lewis. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1980), p.47.

34. Lewis, George Grosz, p.214.

35. John I. H. Baur, George Grosz (New York: Macmillian Company for the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1954), p.15.

36. Grosz had an older sister (Cläre) and an older half-sister (Martha) from his father's earlier marriage. George Grosz is the anglicized version of Georg Gross.

37. Grosz supports this argument when he admitted that "I have the vaguest memories of my father, who died when I was six years old." George Grosz, George Grosz: A Small Yes and A Big No, translated by Arnold J. Pomerans (London: Allison and Busby, 1982), p.1. His autobiography was also translated by others, see George Grosz: Autobiography, trans. Nora Hodges (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1983, 1946).

38. According to Grosz, "True, living was cheap, and we had enough of the bare necessities, but were constantly beset by money worries now," in A Small Yes and A Big No, p.3.

39. In his A Small Yes and a Big No, Grosz recollected that through his daily encounters with the German officers at this time, he became aware of military authority and hierarchy and first experienced a clash with authoritarian figures, pp.28-29.

40. For Grosz's description of his childhood, see Grosz, A Small Yes and A Big No, pp.1-38, and his three part-series: "George Grosz: Jugenderinnerungen (Mit Photos und Zeichnungen aus der Jugendzeit)," Das Kunstblatt (June 1929), pp.166-174; "George Grosz: Jugenderinnerungen," Das Kunstblatt 3 (July 1929), pp.193-197, and "George Grosz: Jugenderinnerungen, Mit Abbildungen aus den Notizbuchern 1927-29," Das Kunstblatt 5 (August 1929), pp.238-242.

41. Grosz moved several times during his stay in Dresden and Berlin, but in all instances his lodgings were relatively the same. In his autobiography, Grosz gave several descriptions of these various accommodations. He described his first permanent living quarters in Dresden as "... a tiny furnished room on Dornbluth Strasse with a respectable craftsman printer and his family. Here I lived for better or worse but cheaply enough: my rent was a meagre fifteen marks a month, breakfast included ..."; see Grosz A Small Yes and a Big No, p.44. He further provided a detailed picture of one of his Berlin studios during the war, "My studio was on the top floor of a rooming house in Stephan Strasse. The furniture consisted of boxes which I had painted, covered with coarse linen, or domesticated in various other ways. Along the walls stood rows of empty bottles. Their labels were stuck up as wall decorations ....", p.81.

42. Grosz, "Statt einer Biographie", p.34.

43. Ibid., p.29.

44. Grosz wrote the initial draft in German which was then translated and first published in English. Later the book appeared in German under the title Ein kleines Ja und ein grosses Nein. It is also worth noting that Grosz wrote this book after two major World Wars which must have greatly altered his perspective on world politics.

45. H. W. Janson, "A Satirist's Dilemma: Review of *A Little Yes and A Big No*," Saturday Review (January 11, 1947), p.20.

46. Richard O. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 1, Demons in the Suburbs," The New Yorker (November 27, 1943), p.33. Grosz's statements about Rockwell were sincere. Grosz genuinely aspired to become an American magazine illustrator and over the years, collected hundreds of superb examples of illustrations.

47. Grosz, A Small Yes, A Big No, p.91.

48. Flavell, p.218. The contract was actually signed in 1941.

49. Ibid., p.219.

50. Ibid., p.219.

51. Grosz, A Small Yes and a Big No, preface, p. ix.

52. Regardless of whether Grosz was correct in his assertion that most artists begin in proletarian situations, the masses would have been totally unaware of this fact.

53. Ruth Berenson and Norbert Muhlen, "Introduction" in George Grosz, edited by Herbert Bittner (New York: Arts, 1960), p.16.

54. Dorothy Grafly, "George Grosz: Painter and Prophet," American Artist 13 (March, 1949), p.21.

55. In A Small Yes and a Big No, Grosz commented that his "hopes were never vested in the masses," p.70.

56. Richard O. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 3, The Yankee From Berlin," The New Yorker (December 11, 1943), p.40. Although, again it should be stressed that such "confessions" may have been intended to appeal to an American audience in much the same way as his autobiography did.

57. Richard Huelsenbeck, Memoirs of a Dada Drummer, edited by Hans J. Kleinschmidt, foreward by Rudolf E. Kuenzli and translated by Joachim Neugroschel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 117.

58. Ibid., p.117.

59. Uwe Schneede, George Grosz: His Life and Work, translated by Susanne Flatauer (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1975), p.88.

60. Flavell suggests that the loss of Grosz's own father and the family's shaky income in his youth partly explains Grosz's later determination to be financially independent, p.16. There must be some truth to this suggestion, since even as a child Grosz was inspired by the idea that artists could earn a living by submitting drawings to journals.

61. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 3, The Yankee from Berlin," p. 42.

62. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 1, Demons in the Suburbs," p.41.

63. In his autobiography, Grosz suggests that he acquired his love of food, alcohol and doodling from his father. See Grosz, A Small Yes and A Big No, pp.1-2.

64. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 3, The Yankee From Berlin," p.37.

65. Ibid., p.37.

66. Grosz, A Small Yes and a Big No, p.155.

67. Erwin Piscator, "Piscator of George Grosz," in Art and the Stage in the 20th Century: Painters and Sculptors Work for the Theater, documented by Wolfgang Storch and edited by Rischbieter Henning. For the German original see Bühne und bildende Kunst im XX.Jahrhundert, Rischbieter, Hennig, ed. (Greenwich Connecticut: New York Graphic Society Life, 1970), pp.172-177.

68. The Concise Oxford Dictionary, revised edition (1976), s.v. "genius."

69. Grosz, Heartfield, and Herzfelde, Art is in Danger, p.29.

70. George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern," Das Kunstblatt, Vol. V, no.1 (1921), pp.11-14.

71. Wolfgang Storch in Art and the Stage in the 20th Century: Painters and Sculptors Work for the Theater, documented by Wolfgang Storch and edited by Rischbieter Henning (Greenwich Connecticut: New York Graphic Society Life, 1970), p.172.

72. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 1, Demons in the Suburbs," p.34.

73. Richard O. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 2, The Saddest Man in All the World," The New Yorker (December 4, 1943), p.43.

74. Ibid., p.46.

75. Ibid., p.46. The mask was made of papier-mache and worn over his face.

76. Baur, p.16.

77. Berenson and Muhlen, p.12.

78. Wieland Herzfelde, "The Curious Merchant from Holland," Harper's Magazine 187 (November 1943), p.575.

79. At the time, the magazine featured a variety of articles on war-issues.

80. Flavell, p.30.

81. For more information on Duchamp and Dandyism see Moira Roth's "The Aesthetic of Indifference," Artforum (1977), pp.46-53, and Amelia Jones, Postmodernism and the En-gendering of Marcel Duchamp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.173-180. Roth argues that Duchamp, Cage, Cunningham, Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns shared an "Aesthetic of indifference" during the Cold War era, which accounted for changes in appearance, temperament and sexual mores. "For Segal and others, the new artist had a dandylike elegance of body build and a manner which delighted in cool and elegant plays of the mind: playfulness indeed was a key characteristic in most of this new kind of artist," p.49.

82. Craven, p.204. In his autobiography, Grosz admits that Thomas Craven and himself hit it off from their first meeting and that Craven became his advisor and friend. Therefore, we might assume that Grosz was probably very sincere and frank with Craven during their interviews for Craven's book Modern Art. See Grosz, A Small Yes and A Big No, p.230.

83. Grosz, A Small Yes and A Big No, p.10.

84. Boyer, "Profiles Artist: 2, The Saddest Man in All the World," p.39.

85. Grosz, A Small Yes and A Big No, p.97.

86. Boyer, "Profiles, Artist: 2, The Saddest Man in All the World," p.42.

87. Wieland Herzfelde, "Die beleidigte Reichswehr," Der Gegner 2, no.7 (1920-1921), p.271.

88. For an outline of this controversy see Marchal E. Langrem, Years of Art: The Story of the Arts League of New York, introduction by Walter Pach (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1940), p.102ff.

89. Baur, p.23.

CHAPTER 2:

AUDIENCE CREATION AND PORTFOLIOS

Given the fact that most of Grosz's graphic work was highly satirical and attacked the ruling institutions and classes, it seems odd that only four of his sixteen portfolios were censored. Such obvious inconsistencies raise the question of why the authorities reacted so selectively. The specific investigation of Grosz's case might uncover other trends within the overall pattern of censorship during this period.[1] This chapter will provide a detailed examination of the four suppressed portfolios which will be considered both individually as well as in relation to each other. Samples of the uncensored portfolios will also be compared with the censored ones in order to establish whether recurring subjects, iconography and themes appear only in the suppressed books. While this inquiry will not provide a detailed analysis of every portfolio, it will cover the broad scope of subject matter and themes in his satire produced between 1917 and 1930. In chronological order, the portfolios to be examined at length include: Erste George Grosz Mappe *(1917)*, Kleine Grosz Mappe *(1917)*, "Gott mit uns" *(1920)*, Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse *(1921)*, Im Schatten *(1922)*, Die Räuber *(1922)*, Ecce Homo *(1923)*, Hintergrund *(1928)* and Über alles die Liebe *(1930)*. The censored portfolios "Gott mit Uns", Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse, Ecce Homo and Hintergrund will be the focal point of this discussion.

In considering these portfolios and the question of censorship, it is also crucial to understand to whom Grosz directed his art work in general and his portfolios in particular. His intended public certainly played a role in shaping the final format of the portfolios and also, to some extent, determined their critical fate. Questions of intention and reception were particularly important, because during this period avant-garde artists were somewhat restricted by a limited market for modernist styles. To contextualize the discussion of Grosz's work, we will first

examine the larger context of the art market in Germany. Particular attention will be paid to Grosz's creative solutions to the problem of patronage, which among other things included creating an audience for his portfolios. In short, the objective is to determine how successful these portfolios were in terms of addressing, reaching and inspiring Grosz's intended audience.

Audience Creation and Reception

During the twenties, artists relied on public and private patronage for their livelihood. Public museums, funded through government agencies, purchased and displayed works of art, while private galleries and art dealers offered artists the opportunity to show their works with the ultimate intention of selling them to private collectors. According to Stephanie Barron: "Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, museums, art dealers, and periodicals in Germany were greatly attuned to avant-garde activities in Europe and were avid advocates for the most recent developments."[2] She suggests that many institutions and dealers in Germany were committed to the acquisition and display of modern art. However, given their restricted funds, public institutions could only purchase selectively which meant the support they offered to artists was also limited. Thus artists were largely dependent on private patrons to support their art. In this respect, modernist artists found themselves competing with more traditional artists. In general the private art market in Germany involved two main types of production. A conservative high culture was produced mainly for the elite, whereas a progressive avant-garde culture, which was sometimes produced from a left-wing perspective and in some instances intended for working class consumption, had less reliable means of patronage. Interestingly, within this polarized structure stylistically innovative avant-garde art was generally rejected by <u>both</u> the conservative elite <u>and</u> the working classes. Conservative patrons who often considered the

avant-garde threateningly subversive usually rejected its work in favour of more traditional academic art, while the masses were often unable and unwilling to support a stylistic experimentation which they found incomprehensible and elitist. In most cases, it was only the wealthy who invested in the arts, although a few more liberal bourgeois patrons supported the experimentation of modernist artists. Within such a divided market the avant-garde's position was hardly enviable given that, despite their particular political persuasion, they faced the economic reality of earning a living, which made them reliant upon socially elite audiences for their economic security. After the war the position of avant-garde artists worsened, as people became increasingly skeptical towards modernism. Barron contended: "In the wake of the war avant-garde German art came increasingly into conflict with the nationalistic realism that was easily understood by the average German. ... Movements such as Expressionism, Cubism, and Dada were often viewed as intellectual, elitist, and foreign by the demoralized nation and linked to the economic collapse, which was blamed on a supposed international conspiracy of Communists and Jews."[3] She further argued that the opposition to avant-gardism increased with the founding of the Deutsche Kunstgesellschaft *(German Art Association)*, which promoted a purely German art and attacked the "Kulturbolshevismus" of Max Beckmann and Grosz.[4] Officially the Communist Party also considered art to be elitist and was reluctant to defend any artistic endeavour in the name of Communism.[5] In this situation avant-grade artists had two options: they could either maintain their artistic, social and political integrity and forego economic security or they could abandon their values and produce conservative art for the bourgeoisie in a bid for financial security. It should be noted, however, that artists such as George Grosz and Oskar Kokoschka attempted to tackle this problem in creative new ways by developing different types of art which catered to these two different audiences: one type that was marketable and another

that was artistic and political. Kokoschka, for example, produced portraiture on a commission basis, but also taught art and produced work for the theater.

In Grosz's case the situation was further complicated by his political ambivalence. Even as a Communist supporter who defended the rights of the underprivileged, Grosz insisted that he had little tolerance for the masses. Yet, even when in 1923 he rejected all political affiliations, he continued to support Communist beliefs. As mentioned earlier, Grosz's political positions and artistic motivations were hardly straightforward since they appeared to shift around throughout the 1920s. Although such ambivalence might be considered problematic, it was probably an asset in terms of career-building, in that Grosz was able to offer something to everyone. Although Grosz criticized the art market, throughout the twenties he became increasingly dependent on it. This dependence is especially visible in the late 1920s. In a letter of 1927, Grosz explained how his business scheme would solve his artistic and financial problems:

> My plan (with Flechtheim's advice of course) is to paint a series of 'saleable' landscapes - in other words, because the offensive subjects are removed, I can sell them - while in winter I can return to the large pictures I like in the style of ... Pillars of Society and suchlike.[6]

With the encouragement of Alfred Flechtheim, Grosz's art dealer, the artist consciously chose to divide his time and energy between these two contradictory strategies of painting. By doing so he was able to finance his political paintings such as Stützen der Gesellschaft *(Pillar of Society, 1926)* and Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen *(Germany, A Winter's Tale, 1917-19)* with the funds raised from more commercial work. However, although this practical scheme provided support for his painting, it did not deal with his small-scale graphic and watercolour work which formed the main body of his production. Such strategies mark the beginning of Grosz's gradual, pessimistic shift away from purely

political art.

Grosz was equally innovative when it came to finding alternative clienteles for his graphic work. In general, this small-scale work involved social and political satire that was created for propagandistic purposes. For Grosz, his original drawings were not really significant unless they were made available to a large public through reproduction. With this goal in mind, Grosz not only published his graphic images in journals, books, pamphlets and portfolios, but also frequently republished them as many times as he could in order to reach as broad a viewership as possible.[7] All of the drawings from the portfolio Die Gezeichneten *(The Marked Men)*, for example, had been published in earlier portfolios, books and journals and seven of the nine drawings from Erste George Grosz Mappe were first printed in the journal, Die Weissen Blätter.[8] In addition, most of the drawings of Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse had first been published elsewhere (in journals, portfolios and book illustrations). Particularly noteworthy were the nine lithographs reprinted from the earlier "Gott mit uns" portfolio. This list by no means exhausts the many examples of how Grosz re-used images in different publications. In some instances, the titles of the images were changed to emphasize a new meaning or provide a different context for the imagery. Frequently, the titles or captions were supplied by John Heartfield, while others were extracted from literary works.

Grosz was particularly enterprising when it came to targeting an audience for his portfolio work. While Grosz intermittently produced less politically charged paintings for the more conservative sectors of the bourgeoisie, he also directed some of his openly political portfolios to what he hoped were the more progressive elements of that same class. A portfolio is a book containing visual images that are often linked by a common theme. Satirical graphic work has frequently been published in portfolios since it can be reproduced at affordable

prices especially if printed and bound with cheap materials and circulated to a large public. Typically the format, size and quality of these portfolios fluctuates depending on the artist, publisher, and audience. In the case of Grosz's portfolios the format, quality and size varied widely. It could even vary within a single portfolio edition as Grosz attempted to reach as many buyers as possible for financial and propagandistic purposes. Some editions, directed to bourgeois art collectors and bibliophiles, were expensive and of high quality, while others were of lower quality and less expensive. To some extent, Grosz's desire for financial security accounts for the publication of these expensive portfolios. While the inferior editions could be mass distributed to the working classes for educational and propagandistic purposes, they did not, as a rule, generate much income for the artist or publisher. Thus, the bourgeois buyer indirectly funded Grosz's propagandistic efforts and at the same time provided the artist with a comfortable living.

The surviving documentation indicates that Grosz's portfolios were very popular with the German public. Between 1917 and 1930, Malik Press published all of Grosz's portfolios, with the exceptions of Der Spiesser-Spiegel (Dresden: Carl Reissner Verlag, 1925) and Über alles die Liebe (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1930). According to Lewis, all of the portfolios published by Malik-Verlag sold out, with the exception of "Die Gezeichneten" *(1930)* and Das neue Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse *(1930)*.[9] It is not surprising that some of these portfolios remained unsold, given that both were released in the same year, in low quality and large editions which numbered 8,000 and 9,000 copies respectively. (Only Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse was also published on such a large scale with 25,000 copies in total.) In the cases of Die Gezeichneten und Das neue Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse, it is possible that the on-going and controversial Hintergrund trial may have stimulated buyers' curiosity and generated sales, but obviously not

enough to sell all 17,000 copies. As for the portfolios published by Carl Reissner and Bruno Cassirer, it is unknown how many copies of each were produced and sold. Regardless of this lack of information, the market successes of Malik's portfolio publications suggests that the wealthier classes did indeed purchase those expensive editions, which would have been too costly for the poorer working classes.

Why members of the bourgeoisie would have wanted to purchase portfolios which ultimately challenged their privileged social and political positions as well as their moral attitudes is another question. Although no members of this class recorded their opinions about Grosz's art work, several speculations can be offered. For art and book collectors, the expensive, high-quality and limited editions would have been viewed as valuable collector's items, regardless of their content. For others, particularly the less conservative sector of the bourgeois public, these portfolios may have been a novelty item. In terms of content, this group may have seen the humour of Grosz's satirical depictions, which mocked their social status, vices, foibles, just as we derive pleasure by reading the daily newspaper funnies, which poke fun at our own misfortunes and vices. In this respect, the elite tolerated and accepted Grosz's work as long as it was humorous.

Given the lack of documentation, it is an even more challenging task to ascertain whether Grosz's portfolios actually reached the masses, whether they approved of them and whether the portfolios inspired them to take action against their oppressors. Despite the fact that most of the portfolios sold out, we can not conclude that the masses purchased the cheaper editions, which could also have been acquired by bourgeois citizens or fellow leftist artists and intellectuals. To date, we only have two sources suggesting how the working classes might have viewed Grosz's art. The first is a worker's evaluation of Grosz's art, while the second is a more general study of working class attitudes to culture. Lewis discusses an article by

Alfred Durus, which included an evaluation of Grosz's art by a Ruhr coal miner, who apparently had been a leading member of a worker's council during the revolution:

> "There is the artist George Grosz; we would really stick up for him. In his caricatures he drew the face of the ruling classes: See, this is how your exploiters the "Masters," really look; this is the State, the "authority ordained by God!" we want his Tendenz: the most apathetic proletariat will be aroused when they see these drawings, in the dullest people hate will awake! [...] Only such artists mean anything to us.[10]

What the coal miner's statement suggests is that some members of the working class were familiar with Grosz's art and applauded his efforts. However, do we assume that this single voice stands for all working class members? Perhaps more useful in determining the possible range of working class responses to Grosz's art is an extensive survey of the working classes conducted in 1929. The aim of Erich Fromm's survey was "to gain an insight into the psychic structure of manual and white-collar workers", by questioning them about their political, social and cultural attitudes. The results of this survey were later published in The Working Class in Weimar Germany (1984, 1980).[11] Of special interest to us are the participants' responses to cultural questions which provide insights into their cultural sensibilities and limited knowledge and understanding of art. When asked what kind of pictures or photographs they had hanging on their walls, most responded with vague, nondescript answers such as pictures of flowers and photographs of family members or honoured political leaders. None of them named particular styles, artists, or the titles of art works and only a few offered detailed descriptions. Overall, the study reveals that the average working class person had little interest or knowledge of art. Based on these findings, it seems likely that the average working class person would not have been familiar with Grosz and his art, and hence would not have purchased his portfolios. Of course, the politically astute working class person such as the coal miner may have been

familiar with Grosz's art from worker's councils, but the miner was probably an exception to the rule.

Since Malik Press sometimes used unorthodox methods for distributing its journals, Grosz's work may have had an unexpectedly wide circulation. In one case, Herzfelde, Grosz and Heartfield sold copies of a Malik journal from a horse-drawn carriage in the street. Apparently it was a particularly popular commodity in the working class districts, and sold out before the police had a chance to censor it. However, it should be stressed that during the years of inflation and food shortages, even a cheap portfolio would have seemed a frivolous expense for the majority of workers who could barely afford the basic necessities of life.

Portfolios

Erste George Grosz-Mappe

Grosz's first portfolio, Erste George Grosz-Mappe *(First George Grosz Portfolio)*, was published in 1917 by Barger Press (later Malik Press) under the recommendation and guidance of Wieland Herzfelde. Seven of the nine images had been reproduced earlier in Die Weissen Blätter (1916). One-hundred and twenty copies, each numbered and signed, were printed in three slightly different formats and were priced accordingly. However, when compared with his other portfolios, the distinctions in the formats and prices of Erste George Grosz-Mappe were minimal (respectively twenty, thirty and forty marks apiece), suggesting that when Grosz and his publisher initially began to create and market these portfolios they did not intend to sell them to buyers from vastly differing income levels.[12]

The nine original lithographs in this series are typical of Grosz's artistic output during the war. Prior to the 1920s, Grosz's graphic satire was politically neutral but socially engaged. On the whole, during this early period, he was fascinated with urban life,

especially in his home Berlin. His drawings record the vitality, chaos, excitement and corruption of the urban center and its inhabitants. In terms of subject matter, this book focuses on the city's streets, cafes, and pubs. Most of the images, such as Vorstadt *(Suburb, 1915-16) (Figure 4)*, record the cityscape of Berlin by focusing on its buildings and streets, while others such as Erinnerung an New York *(Memory of New York, 1915-16) (Figure 5)* give imaginary views of New York's huge skyscrapers. Exceptionally, Menschen in der Strasse *(People in the Street, 1915-16) (Figure 6)* deals more explicitly with the psychological impact of urbanism and foreshadows the work of his next portfolio.[13] This lithograph depicts the chaos of an angry crowd of pedestrians on a Berlin street. Set against the street scene are disturbing images of sex and a murder which we view through the windows of a foreground building. In the top window, Grosz includes a frustrated, angry artist whose profile resembles his own indicating that it is most likely a self-portrait. In this case the self-portrait connects the artist to the depraved events of the entire scene as a participant or witness.[14] In the street below, a woman's naked body is revealed through transparent clothing. Here, Grosz uses the device of transparent clothing to show the ways in which some men mentally undress women. It was a motif he used repeatedly in later years. According to the artist's belief that "man is beast", the human faces also acquire bestial or animal characteristics. While the image explores the psychological, emotional and physical impact of the war on an already alienated urban population, it does not directly blame any person, social group or institution for the disruptive situation. Prior to the war, Grosz had sketched the cityscape and its inhabitants simply for practise, but as his graphic abilities improved, he began to look beyond the surface appearances of the city, keenly observing and chronicling its life. Grosz's fascination with the city was shared by other German and European modernists including the Expressionist and Futurist groups

who were influential sources for Grosz.[15] Given that he had grown up in a small provincial town, Grosz found the city an exciting albeit disturbing spectacle. He was particularly obsessed with exploring how the city became a breeding ground for drunks, prostitutes, criminals and other social misfits. It is this seedier side of urban life that Grosz captured in images such as Menschen in der Strasse. After the onset of war, these same subjects continued to dominate his images, but they became increasingly more satirical, disturbing and chaotic. Such images exemplify Grosz's scorn for society as well as his misanthropic tendencies. Unlike his later art, the early work clearly and unreservedly attacked every class of society, sparing no one. Later, he began to cautiously defend the working classes by focusing his satire upon their oppressors including the ruthless bourgeoisie, money-hungry capitalists, industrialists and profiteers, as well as the judicial system, the church, and the military, all of which constituted the established ruling order.

Kleine Grosz Mappe

The second of Grosz's portfolios Kleine Grosz Mappe *(Little Grosz Portfolio)*, was also published in 1917 by Herzfelde who was now operating the Malik Press. Although it was a larger publication, containing twenty original lithographs, like Erste Grosz Mappe this portfolio was released in three formats with one-hundred and twenty copies in total. Once again, there was little variation in format quality and price, although Kleine Grosz Mappe was more expensive than Erste Grosz Mappe (costing between sixty and thirty-five marks) and the lowest quality format was unsigned. In Kleine Grosz Mappe, the frantic, circus-like atmosphere of images such as Menschen in der Strasse is continued in works such as Kaffeehaus *(Coffee House, 1915-16)*, Krawall der Irren *(Riot of the Insane, 1915-16) (Figure 7)*, Strasse des Vergnügens *(Street of Pleasure, 1915-16) (Figure 8)*, Mord *(Murder, 1915-*

16) and Strassenbild *(Street Scene, 1915-16).*[16] Although these titles indicate the diversity of his subject matter, all the works focused on marginalized groups of people such as the insane, prostitutes, and criminals. What all of these figures have in common is the fact that they were viewed by the rest of society as psychologically and emotionally unstable. Strasse des Vernügens explores the theme of prostitution, whereas Krawall der Irren shows a group of insane people in the midst of a somewhat inexplicable riot. Even though the images of both portfolios belong to the same period of 1915-16, on the whole Kleine Grosz Mappe more explicitly explores the psychological impact of urbanism on city-dwellers. In contrast such issues are raised in Erste George Grosz Mappe only in the image of Menschen in der Strasse.

"Gott mit uns"

"Gott mit Uns" *("God is with us", 1920)* was the third portfolio to be published by Malik Press and the first to be suppressed by the censors. One hundred and twenty-five numbered copies were issued in three formats. The first two formats contained signed plates whereas the third one did not. In this instance there was a greater range of portfolio formats which were priced accordingly (two-thousand, one-thousand, and five hundred marks.) Copies of the portfolio along with 173 other Dada objects were displayed at the Dada-Messe (*First International Dada Fair*), which was held at the gallery of Dr. Otto Burchard in Berlin between July and August of 1920.[17] According to the exhibition's international mandate, artists from Germany and other European countries displayed their objects. For example, Francis Picabia (Paris), Otto Schmalhausen (Austria) and Hans Arp (Zürich) were featured. Artists who participated in this event included John Heartfield, Johannes Baader and Rudolf Schlichter. This event marked the climax of Berlin Dada as well as its end. Apparently, both the accompanying catalogue and advertising posters for this Dada exhibit

expressed strong anti-militaristic sentiments, which are also evident in the images of Grosz's portfolio. The poster for the exhibition, which also functioned as its catalogue carried the following statement by Raoul Hausmann: "Dada man is the radical enemy of exploitation, the sense of exploitation produces nothing by fools and Dada man hates folly and loves nonsense. So Dada man reveals himself as genuinely real as opposed to the striking sham of the family man and capitalist croaking in his armchair."[18] Throughout the exhibition, they hung banners with slogans such as "Dada sides on the side of the proletariat!" and "Down with bourgeois mentality."[19] Because "Gott mit uns" was not only distributed through regular publishing channels but also displayed at a large public exhibition that received much critical attention in the media, it was exposed to a much larger audience than the earlier portfolios. This public exposure and the portfolio's association with the controversial Dada movement played a major role in its suppression by the censors. Along with Grosz, three other Dadaists in this exhibition were also indicted for slandering the military.

For all of the images, Grosz provided captions in German, French and English, perhaps in an effort to bridge the gap between the foreign participants. In some instances, the French and English titles were a literal translation of the German, but in other cases, they emphasized a different meaning.[20] In "Gott mit uns" members of the military were featured in each of the nine images. Several of these pictures such as "Gott mit uns" *(Les boches sont vaincus. Le bochisme est vainqueur, God is with us, 1919)*, Für deutsches Recht und deutsche Sitte *(The Germans to the Front, 1919) (Figure 9)* and Zuhälter des Todes *(Les maquereaux de la mort, Pimps of Death, 1919)* depict members of the different military ranks dressed in their various uniforms.[21] These men are shown either patriotically marching or arrogantly loitering. With its mocking tone, Die Gesundbeter *(Le triomphe des sciences exactes, German doctors fighting the blockade)*, better known as K.V. *(Fit for Active Service,*

1918) (Figure 10), is one of the most forceful images in the portfolio.[22] During a routine military physical checkup, a doctor declares that even a skeleton is fit to serve his country. The doctor announces "K.V." or "Kriegs Verwendungsfähig" *(Fit for active Service)* while military men nonchalantly endorse the absurd event. By depicting such a ridiculous situation, Grosz mocks the entire military system. More somberly, the skeleton also foreshadows the fate of the recently enlisted young men who will soon die on the battle-grounds. Thus, the image also emphasizes the true savagery and futility of war. This message is reinforced by the other images which surround it such as Feierabend *(Angelus a Munich, "Ich dien", 1919)* and Die Kommunisten fallen -und die Devisen Steigen *(Ecrasez la famine, Blood is the Best Sauce, 1919) (Figure 11)*, which depict violent battle scenes and their gruesome aftermath. The viewer is left with no doubt that the military is to blame.[23] Die Kommunisten fallen-und die Devisen Steigen also makes a connection between capitalist interests and the violence of counter-revolutionary efforts. In the foreground two bourgeois men calmly sit dining totally oblivious to the violent bloodshed in the background where military men armed with bayonets, swords, knives and guns brutally butcher unarmed workers. Here, the workers are shown to be ruthlessly oppressed by a military whose efforts are sanctioned by capitalist greed.

Several other images such as Licht und Luft dem Proletariat *(Liberté, egalité, fraternité; The Workman's Holiday, 1919) (Figure 1)* deal more specifically with the military's exploitation of workers. The image shows a group of prisoners walking in a continuous circle confined by high walls and officers. The German title, literally translated as "The light and air of the proletariat," tells us that the light and air of this prison scene is the best the proletariat can expect. The circle, which has no beginning and no end, suggests that the proletariat are victims or prisoners of a failed social system that forces them to

live in a neverending cycle of exploitation and oppression.

By the time this portfolio was released, Grosz had already published some of his more political works in journals, but "Gott mit uns" was the first portfolio in which Grosz consciously defended the masses and forcefully attacked the military. Here, the military was shown to be the oppressive force behind the cruel and unjust murders of the revolution. The title of the portfolio also conveyed an anti-religious meaning. "Gott mit uns" *(God is with us)* was the inscription on the belt buckles of regulation military uniforms which implied that the church and even God sanctioned the efforts of the military.[24] By using this familiar inscription as the title of his portfolio Grosz managed to condemn the church for supporting the military establishment and the war without actually using any religious imagery in the lithographs.

Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse

Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse. 55 politische Zeichnungen *(Face of the Ruling Class: 55 Political Drawings, 1921)* appeared as volume 4 in a series of books published by Malik Verlag called the "Kleine revolutionäre Bibliothek" *(Small Revolutionary Library.)* The small format and low cost of books in this series meant it was intended for propaganda or educational purposes. Although a significantly larger number of cheap copies were printed for mass distribution, a small deluxe and more expensive portfolio was also designed for the elite consumer (priced at three, fifteen and one-hundred marks).[25] Das Gesicht must have been a popular item, since in 1921 this portfolio went through three separate printings of approximately twenty-five thousand copies in total.[26] The immediate success of this portfolio can be attributed to three factors. First of all, the economical price would have expanded Grosz's usual buying public. Secondly, as part of a series of revolutionary books, the portfolio may have attracted a larger

following. Finally, by this time Grosz himself had acquired a more established position within the arts community and was making a name for himself as a talented graphic satirist. The fact that Grosz was undergoing criminal investigation for "Gott mit uns" might also have drawn attention to this newer publication.

Intended to raise class consciousness, a large percentage of the drawings dealt with the exploitation that the proletariat had suffered at the hands of the ruling classes, the military and the church. The ruling classes, in particular, were singled out as their main adversary. As the title suggests, Das Gesicht records the faces of the ruling classes. However, Grosz goes beyond rendering the superficially fashionable attire and clean appearances of the bourgeoisie and exposes their hypocrisy and vices, as I have already discussed in Chapter I in the case of Um 5 Uhr *(Figure 3)*. Grosz presents various stereotypical members of the bourgeoisie whose features are exaggerated to underscore their arrogant, self-serving attitudes as well as their perverse nature. For example, the fat, balding bourgeois male repeatedly appears in these images. In most instances, this gluttonous character sits at a table puffing on a cigar with a drink in one hand and a fork in the other. Most of these drawings had been published earlier in other portfolios, journals or books. Another image, Come to Me, All Who Labor and Are - Heavy Laden! *(Figure 12)* blames both the church and military, for the troubled situation of the proletariat. Some of the images also attacked well-known individuals such as the businessman, Hugo Stinnes, as well as government leaders such as President Ebert and Generals Noske and Ludendorff.

It is surprising that although Das Gesicht included all of the drawings from the censored "Gott mit uns" portfolio as well as additional images of the military, the authorities did not subject it to as strict a form of censorship. Given the fact that Das Gesicht appeared the same year that Grosz and Herzfelde stood trial for "Gott

mit uns", the author and publisher seemed to be deliberately taunting the government and the military. Furthermore, since the majority of the other drawings had been printed elsewhere in journals and books, it was evident that Grosz wanted to disseminate his revolutionary ideas as widely as possible rather than promote new work. One wonders why the authorities chose to ignore this intentional provocation. Several speculations can be offered. In the case of "Gott mit uns", the police received a complaint from military authorities, after some of its members had attended the Dada exhibition where the portfolio had been displayed. Perhaps in the case of Das Gesicht no such grievance was registered. Besides, perhaps since Grosz and Herzfelde were currently under investigation, the authorities felt no need to introduce further charges.

Ecce Homo

Ecce Homo *(Ecce Homo, 1923)* was printed in five different formats - two deluxe editions and three regular ones. The largest and most lavish edition contained one hundred signed plates including eighty-four drawings and sixteen watercolours. This edition was the most expensive one, priced at six-hundred marks. The second deluxe edition was smaller, including only the sixteen signed watercolours and cost two hundred marks. Like the deluxe editions, the regular ones were also printed with variations in the number of plates. However, in contrast, the plates of the regular editions were all unsigned and printed on cheaper paper. The first regular edition contained all one hundred plates and sold for forty-five marks. The second regular one included sixteen watercolours in a portfolio format and cost thirty-two marks. The third and cheapest edition contained eighty-four lithographs and was priced at twenty marks

Unlike the other censored portfolios, Ecce Homo contains few explicit military or religious subjects although there are indirect

references to these institutions. Instead, these images focused on attacking the bourgeoisie by exposing their decadent leisure activities and their moral hypocrisy, in much the same way as Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse. However, in the Das Gesicht portfolio, the military and clergy occupy a more prominent place. In Ecce Homo the viewer enters a world of nightclubs, cafes, Berlin streets and the private boudoirs of the German elite. Pictures of drinking, smoking, gambling, violence, promenading and cheap sexual pleasures prevail. Rather than revealing the day-to-day world of capitalist business and politics, the portfolio documents the recreational entertainment and leisurely pursuits of hypocritical men and women. Throughout the portfolio, half-clad in diaphanous dresses, women with exposed breasts and genitalia are fondled by well-dressed men. By exposing the upper classes' erotic desires, corruption and violence, Grosz questions their basic values. Seen as a whole, the portfolio mirrors the perverse sexuality, barbarism and corruption of post-war Germany. Here, the bourgeoisie are represented in loveless sexual relationships. Brothel scenes such as in Aus der Jugendzeit *(Out of Childhood) (Figure 13)* are common place. In the foreground sits a fully clothed older gentleman, while a reclining woman dressed only in stockings and high-heel shoes dominates the background. The woman's breast and pubic hair are clearly revealed to the viewer. Other images show middle-aged uncles ogling their young topless nieces or else reveal the darker side of sex and violence such as Lustmord in der Ackerstrasse *(Sex Murder in Acker Street) (Figure 14)*, where deranged men murder women in violent acts of passion.[27]

If there is any truth to Ben Hecht's description of the sexual climate of Berlin at the time, then the images of Ecce Homo should be seen as a mirror of those times. Hecht recalled an evening he spent with Grosz in Berlin: "We toured among the Officer Clubs where the aristocrat perverts gathered to exchange data and addresses. ..., and

went to macabre parties where Lesbians beat up college boys and bemedaled colonels sat with painted children in their laps."[28] Thus, many of the scenes which Grosz depicted might have been inspired by his own eye-witness experiences of the night life and sexual climate of the 1920s.

While it might be argued that many of these drawings are misogynistic, Grosz seems to have used these sexual images for political and propagandistic purposes. In his book, The Erotic Arts (1983), Peter Webb argued that: "The political tone of Grosz's erotic drawings is all-important: they represent not an attempt at sophisticated titillation but a deliberate use of eroticism as a weapon against the oppressors of the proletariat, a technique that has been widely used since."[29] Considering the overall intent of his graphic work, this argument has some merits, although it does not diminish the fact that Grosz nearly always portrayed women as objects for male consumption. By stripping them bare, he also stripped away their decency and made them into the powerless objects of a male gaze both within and outside of the picture frame. From, this point of view, it could be argued that Grosz harboured certain suspect fantasies about women.

Ecce Homo did not exclusively examine sexual topics but also addressed business, politics and religion albeit often somewhat indirectly through the image's titles. Such titles include Hochfinanz *(High Finance, 1922) (Figure 15)*, Der absolute Monarchist *(The Absolute Monarchist, 1918)*, Kommerzienrats Tochterlein *(The Industrialist's Dear Little Daughter, 1921)*, Garisonsverwendungsfähig *(Fit for Garrison Duty, 1920)* and Das Vaterunser *(The Lord's Prayer, 1921) (Figure 16)*, all of which extend the meaning of the visual representations.[30] For instance, the caption of the last drawing in the portfolio, Das Vaterunser *(Figure 16)*, also has religious implications. In Christian religions, the Lord's Prayer has been memorized by faithful Christians and recited daily as a reminder of how to live a loving, kind and forgiving life

just as Christ did on earth, all of which will enable the faithful to enter the kingdom of Heaven upon death. Passages such as "forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us" and "lead us not into temptation" direct the devout and obedient believer into rightful action. The drawing depicts an execution. In the foreground, the condemned man kneels and simultaneously clasps his hands in fervent prayer while a potbellied man attired in a business suit and top hat menacingly holds a bayonet, waiting for the perfect moment to murder his victim. In the background, a priest dressed in clerical robes stands and also clasps his hands in prayer. From the title, the viewer knows for certain that the convicted man and the priest are reciting the Lord's Prayer. In this case, the passage "forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us" is particularly relevant. On the one hand, Grosz urges the bourgeois man to forgive the convicted man's crimes and on the other hand he invites the convicted man to forgive the bourgeois for his impending treachery, thus enabling the murdered martyr to enter heaven upon his death. As with a number of Grosz's images, the priest is a complacent witness. His lack of intervention is appalling given that, as a man of God, he has supposedly dedicated his life to maintaining peace, goodwill and harmony on earth.

Ironically, like <u>"Gott mit uns"</u>, the title of this portfolio carries religious connotations. "Ecce Homo" is a biblical term for the image of Christ wearing the crown of thorns.[31] By using this term as a title, Grosz refers to the salvation of humankind through Christ's suffering on the cross. Such a satirical title greatly enhances the interpretative possibilities of the portfolio's imagery. The overall condemnatory and derogatory tone of the portfolio implies that Grosz intended the viewer to understand that the bourgeoisie were responsible for Christ's sufferings and that in turn they would also suffer like the crucified Christ for their evil deeds and corruption.

In the case of <u>Ecce Homo</u> the obscenity charge was based upon the

supposedly offensive explicit nudity and erotic content of these images. It should also be noted that many of the images closely resemble those of Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse, of which some were confiscated. In the case of Das Gesicht, however, the sexual nature of the images was dismissed as inconsequential. Instead the portfolio was confiscated on the grounds of its unfavourable representations of the military. This leads one to conclude that it was the combination of subtle religious satire and sexual imagery which made the Ecce Homo images more volatile in the minds of the authorities.

Im Schatten

In the nine lithographs of Im Schatten *(In the Shadow, 1922)* which primarily focus on the dismal life of workers and war invalids following WWI, the bourgeois and military oppressors of the proletariat occupy an important role despite that fact that they are seldom depicted. As in the case of Grosz's other portfolios, the workers are not romanticized. Instead their existence is shown as pitiful, dreary and sober as they march to smoke-filled factories where they carry out laborious duties and earn meagre wages as seen in Ameisen *(Ants, 1920) (Figure 17)*. Evidently for Grosz, the life of workers is lived in the shadow of the immoral and corrupt upper classes. Yet even a sense of compassion is missing from these images as Grosz intentionally robs the workers of dignity, honour and decency in order to emphasize their dismal existence.

Hintergrund

The Hintergrund *(1928)* portfolio necessitates a more detailed analysis because the images were initially produced and used as projected backdrops and as parts of a film for Piscator's theatrical production, Die Abenteuer des braven Soldaten Schwejk *(The Adventures of the Good Soldier Schwejk, 1928)*, which was adapted from Hasek's novel of

the same name.[32] Even the full title of the portfolio Hintergrund. 17 Zeichnungen zur Aufführung des "Schwejk" in der Piscator-Bühne *(Background. 17 Drawings for the Performance of "Schwejk" in the Piscator-Theatre)* reminded viewers of how the drawings originally functioned as theatre designs.[33] Considering that Grosz himself chose a title which stressed the link between the portfolio images and Piscator's play, he must have wanted his audience to also read these images within the larger context of the play. He might also have hoped that by using this title, the popularity of the play and novel would boost the sale of the portfolio and perhaps even deflect criticism.

To fully understand how these images functioned within the play, we must first trace Piscator's notions of political theatre in general and then explore what he specifically hoped to accomplish with Schwejk. After establishing these points we will move on to analyze how Grosz's images functioned within the context of designs for Piscator's political theatre and novel. Finally, we will examine the drawings as they appeared within the context of the portfolio.

The German director, Erwin Piscator, is primarily known today for his innovative political theatre. Raised in a conservative and strongly Protestant middle class family, Piscator studied literature, art history and philosophy at Munich University. Despite resistance from his family, Piscator then followed his dream of pursuing a career in theatre. Like other aspiring artists at the time, his personal involvement in the First World War quickly changed the direction of what might have been a conventional career. Speaking of his conversion, Piscator wrote in a letter to Die Weltbühne in 1928:

> We came out of the filth of war, we saw a people that was half-starved and tormented to death. We saw how their leaders were ruthlessly murdered, we saw, wherever we looked, injustice, exploitation, torture, blood. Were we to go home and sit at our desks, drawing-boards or director's tables to dream about 'phantastic unrealities' or listen to the tinkle of sleigh bells? Our

> art was created from a knowledge of reality and inspired by the will to replace this reality. We founded political theatre.[34]

From this time onward, Piscator believed that traditional theatre, which aimed to entertain the bourgeoisie, contributed little to society as a whole and it was through his contact with Wieland Herzfelde, who introduced him to Dadaists such as Grosz and Heartfield, that his ideas about political theatre solidified.[35] Although other types of proletarian theatre such as the Volksbühne and the Proletarisches Theatre had already been established in Germany, these theatre companies still emphasized entertainment. After several years of working for these companies, Piscator soon concluded that proletarian theatre should function as a weapon in the class struggle and therefore should be educational rather than merely entertaining. By providing politically engaged productions that attempted to educate and inform the masses from a critical leftist perspective, Piscator believed he could significantly change society. Corresponding with his goal to unify the proletarian class, he based his productions on a collaboration which required the collective effort of the entire company.

Since few available scripts suited Piscator's political programme, he often adapted other types of written material for his theatrical productions, as was the case with Die Abenteuer des braven Soldaten Schwejk. This comic anti-war novel was written by the Czech author, Jaroslav Hasek, following WWI. Following its first publication in 1921, this book was immensely popular not only in Czechoslovakia, but also throughout Europe. According to Hana Arie Gaifman: "It [Schwejk] was translated into fifteen European languages within the first ten years of its publication, and into twenty before the Second World War."[36] Petr Pavel notes that before WWII German translations of Schwejk were published in 1926, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1934, and 1935.[37] The widespread popularity of this novel is understandable considering that the anti-war themes of the story paralleled widely held European anti-war sentiments

in the post-war era.

The narrative structure of Die Abenteuer des braven Soldaten Schwejk is based on short episodic sequences that trace the adventures and experiences of its central character, a soldier named Schwejk during the First World War. The story deals with the forces which Schwejk must confront, including the military, the church and the law, in order to enlist in the war. Essentially, Schwejk is an anti-hero. He is feeble-minded, an idiot and a passive trouble-maker. Schwejk constantly reminds the reader that he is not responsible for his actions with the statement, "Beg to report Sir, I'm an idiot."[38] Yet, there is more to the story than Schwejk's simplicity since his claim of idiocy is frequently loaded with irony. Although he openly and willingly endorses the army and war with great patriotism, his statements and actions always end up ridiculing various military, legal and religious institutions. Furthermore, he is perpetually in trouble with his superiors for his seemingly anti-militaristic actions. In short, the story is a comic satire on the absurdity of war. In the theatrical production, Piscator's Schwejk acts with slightly more intention than Hasek's Schwejk, and thus appears to be less of an idiot and more of a trouble-maker.

Although the narrative and themes of this novel suited Piscator's political agenda and also would have appealed to a broad audience, the director had to find a way to translate the message of the novel into a theatrical format without sacrificing the qualities which had made the novel so popular in the first place, that is, its episodic, comic, satiric and picaresque qualities.[39] Piscator faced a number of other problems in staging the novel. Hasek had passed away before completing the story, and Max Brod and Hans Reimann who had received the adaptation rights to the novel, had already written a script with an ending which Piscator found unsatisfactory because it transformed the work into a love story with a conventional plot. Thus, Piscator along with

Gasbarra, Brecht and Grosz took refuge in the country to collectively and anonymously write a more suitable script and ending for their performance of Schwejk. Fortunately for Piscator, this collective's efforts were not wasted. Even though Brod and Reimann had reservations about Piscator's adaptation, they granted the director permission to produce this anonymously written script under the adaptors' names.

Piscator's final script adhered to Hasek's novel, but many scenes were necessarily condensed or omitted in order to stage the play within three hours. As far as an ending was concerned, Piscator's group had come up with several different solutions, but none were completely satisfying. Another problem with staging this novel was its constant changes of locale. In order to smooth the transition between these different locations, Piscator resorted to technological innovation. By using two conveyor belts, the actors, scenery, props and cut-out figures were transported across the stage. These devices helped maintain a consistent flow of action and also showed the movement of time and place.[40] In addition, George Grosz was hired to produce drawings for projected backdrops, to design political cartoons for a film and to produce larger than life-size cut-out marionettes. Initially, Piscator envisioned a solo performance, which would have required only one actor to play the role of Schwejk who would interact with the cut-out marionettes. However, this plan was soon abandoned and, in the end, the cut-outs functioned as a supporting cast of types with which a small acting crew, including Max Pallenberg in the role of Schwejk, interacted, pretending they were real characters in the play.

For Piscator, Grosz must have seemed the most appropriate designer for several reasons. Since the late teens Piscator and Grosz had been acquaintances, after a mutual friend introduced them.[41] Grosz's set and costume design credentials were also impressive. Already Grosz had effectively worked on theatrical productions with various directors including Piscator.[42] Most importantly, however, Grosz was both a well-

known satirical caricaturist and a revolutionary artist whose political agenda paralleled Piscator's own.

In terms of both the projected backdrop drawings and the cartoon film, Grosz was given the artistic freedom to make his biting satirical commentaries on any aspects of the contemporary German political situation that related to the themes and narrative of the production. In fact, Piscator later claimed that: "Grosz's main achievement in the film was not simply his inspired delineation of the types. He managed in his film to extract Schwejk or rather Schwejk's world from its historical period and establish a link with the present. The medical officers, officers, public prosecutors were figures that are still alive today in Prussia/Germany. And so the play carried on the struggle on the political level of the day [*sic*]." [43] In a statement about his collaboration with Piscator, Grosz stressed that his two main objectives were to make satirical commentary in the play and to reach the masses. He explained:

> So for the graphic artist Erwin simply erected a huge drawing board covered with white paper at the back of the stage, and on this I accompany the action and underline malicious comments and asides. Erwin has in fact opened a vast new field for graphic art, a sort of draftsman's circus .... Here the 'Daumiers' of today can issue their warnings and paint terror on the walls. What a medium for any artist who wants to speak directly to the masses.[44]

This statement clearly indicates that both men wanted to use their art to educate the masses about political issues. While their artistic mediums differed, this production allowed them to join forces for the same goal.

Having viewed the production of the Hintergrund images within the context of Piscator's political theatre, it is now necessary to consider the placement and function of the three censored portfolio drawings within the production itself as well as within the portfolio. Since most of Grosz's cartoon film is missing, reconstructing the exact

placement and function of each of his drawings is a complicated task. Scholars have relied on Grosz's archival notes accompanying sketches for the play, on the script, on photographs of the production, and on contemporary descriptions of the play to reconstruct the placement of the images in the film, projections and cut-outs. It is unknown how many copies of the portfolio were actually printed, but surviving documentation suggests that Hinterg nd was printed in a lower quality format with seventeen hand-printed ose plates on heavy paper including title and cover pages. Given the f at and price (1.70 marks), it is safe to conclude that the portfolio was produced mainly for working-class consumption.[45] In terms of subject matter, the portfolio images focus their attack on the military, the church and the judiciary.

The drawing Seid untertan der Obrigkeit *(Be Submissive to the Authorities) (Figure 18)* appeared in the prologue of the cartoon-film, prior to any action on stage. John Willett described this opening film sequence:

> Grosz's wriggling line tracing a German and Austrian general, a death's-head judge and a priest juggling with a crucifix, symbolizing the forces with which Schweik has to contend.[46]

As Willet notes, the prologue foreshadowed the forces that Schwejk would face: the military, the law and the church. Yet, this image seems to comment more specifically on contemporary events. The Austrian general on the left and the German field marshal on the right join hands to symbolize their military alliance which seems to signify the continuing importance of the military in Weimar Germany.[47] Likewise, the corpse-like judge, who stands between the two military men in the background, represents a corrupt and dying judicial system that was dominated by conservative right-wing beliefs. During the trials, Grosz also explained that the judge symbolized human punishment.[48] Similarly, the clown-like clergyman on the far right, who balances a cross on his nose, symbolizes the ambivalent relations between the church and the military during and preceding the war. Just as the clergyman balances the cross,

the church balanced their beliefs in order to maintain their power.

The second drawing, entitled Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes *(Outpouring of the Holy Spirit) (Figure 19)* was used as a background projection, which directly related to the episode in which Schwejk had been sent to military prison where the physically abused prisoners were subjected to the pro-war sermon of a drunken chaplain.[49] While the other prisoners fidgeted, slept, played cards or scrounged for cigarette butts, Schwejk, in contrast, was moved to tears by this speech.[50] In the drawing of this sermon, Grosz literally depicted military artillery (e.g. bayonets, cannons and missiles) flowing out of the chaplain's open mouth. By directly rendering the Chaplain's hypocrisy, the prisoner's evident boredom and the drunken angle of the falling crucifix, Grosz convincingly suggests that the church was no longer sacred. The podium banner, displaying a lamb with a halo and a cross reinforces this message. In traditional Christian iconography, the lamb stands for the flock or followers of Christ who are guarded by the Good Shepherd from evil.[51] Traditionally the halo indicates holiness and goodness and is often shown above Christ, the Virgin Mary, saints or other equally holy persons. Here, the halo placed above the lamb indicates that it is the followers of Christ who are holy. In this image, the 'holy' flock is composed of prisoners whom society usually regards as "sinful" and "evil." Through such reversals, Grosz exposes the evils of a religious institution which supports the war, as well as the social follies of a society which condemns those who resist the church's evil preaching.

The last drawing is Maul halten und weiter dienen *(Shut Up and Soldier On) (Figure 20)*.[52] It is difficult to say whether or where this most "offensive" drawing appeared in the play.[53] If used, it most likely appeared as a backdrop projection. Although inspired by a scene from the novel, the image, itself, does not relate directly to any specific episode and instead might have functioned as an extraneous

commentary on the anti-militaristic and anti-religious themes of the story-line. In many ways this image conforms to conventional representations of the crucifixion scene.[54] This drawing depicts Christ who is identified by his long hair and beard, the loin cloth, the wound in his side, the nail holes in his hands and feet, the inscription INRI, and by the glowing halo above his head, on the cross. As Grosz's attorney correctly noted: "The picture is no caricature. The body is certainly excessively emaciated, but there is no exaggeration, disproportion nor coarsening of the figure by so much as a line. The only special features are the gas-mask, the boots and the little cross in the left hand."[55] According to Christian doctrine, the crucifixion relates to the salvation of man through Christ's sufferings which are borne for the sins of all humans. Yet, in this image man's salvation seems impossible with the intervention of the military, who overpower the person of Christ and God. Like Seid untertan der Obrigkeit and Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes, this drawing direct[illegible] religion and militarism by showing the church's involvement in the [illegible]ne destruction of the war. However, Maul halten und wei[illegible]nen takes Grosz's religious satire to more extreme lengths than the other two censored images. In the first two drawings, the church is linked to the military through its clergy, implying that earthly religious institutions have become corrupted by man. In contrast Maul halten und weiter dienen specifically links Christ (or God) to the military and thus seems to suggest that religious belief itself is deeply problematic.

It must be acknowledged that none of the other fourteen images of Hintergrund link these two powerful institutions together in such an explicit way. Instead, the remaining drawings focus on scenes and characters from the Schwejk story or else on more general topics such as the cruel injustices of the law and the military.[56] "Schwejk" 'Melde gehorsamst, dass ich blo"d bin *("Schwejk", Beg to Report, I'm an idiot)*

(Figure 21), for example, is simply a caricature of Max Pallenberg in the role of Schwejk. Der Lebensbaum *(The Tree of Life) (Figure 22)* and Rechtsordnung *(Order of the Law, 1927) (Figure 23)*, both of which appeared in the opening film sequence in Piscator's play, show how the law and judiciary entrap and kill "innocent" people. They make this point by employing the paragraph sign which symbolizes the German law.[57] The Hintergrund cover page *(Figure 24)* exposes the military's oppression of the average man, by showing an oversized member of the military holding a sword in one hand and chasing an ant-sized man with the other. The discrepancies in scale suggest that the soldier will crush the powerless miniature man with sheer brute force.

Like Hintergrund, the images of Grosz's other uncensored portfolios such as Die Räuber *(The Robbers, 1922)* and Abrechnung folgt! *(The Day of Reckoning is Coming, 1923)* also connected the church and the military. For example, the drawing ---and His Puppets *(Figure 25)* from Abrechnung Folgt! depicts a member of the clergy standing on a mound of dirt and preaching with his arms spread out to war cripples, the dead and various military personnel. Dressed in a long robe, clerical collar, and crucifix, the priest also prominently displays a military insignia on his robe. The combined symbols of the cross and the military symbolizes the church's support for the war. We might assume that the priest is preaching in the service of the military, perhaps telling the maimed soldiers that their loss has been for the good of all German citizens. Yet, despite its anti-militaristic and anti-religious content, this portfolio was neither confiscated nor censored. The main thrust of the rest of its images were directed towards a critique of capitalist adversaries of the workers. Although Die Räuber also makes similar associations between the church and the army, it generally targets the arrogant, self-serving and corrupt profiteers as well as industrialists and capitalists, who will go to any extremes to acquire power. The portfolio is based on Schiller's well-known tragic drama of

the same name, which deals with a young man's rebellion against society. The titles of the drawings have been extracted from the lines of the drama and add revolutionary meanings to the images.

Über alles die Liebe

In 1930, Über alles die Liebe *(Love Above All)* was released by Bruno Cassirer Press. In "The Artist's Preface" Grosz described his intentions as well as what the viewer might expect from the book:

> The title reveals that the subject here is personal relationships. Fine, but don't expect any common or garden idyllic love scenes in my drawings. Realist that I am, I use my pen and brush primarily to portray what I see and observe, and for the most part that is unromantic, sober and hardly dreamlike.[58]

True to his words, Grosz's visual observations are not romanticized, but when compared to those of Ecce Homo they impart a more subtle, yet no less convincing record of the decadent nature of the bourgeoisie. Although some might argue that Grosz has moderated his satire in this later work, it could be countered that Grosz wants to show two different types of bourgeois citizens, both of whom are equally to blame for the oppression and exploitation of the workers. On one hand, some scenes show self-satisfied figures going about their everyday activities. These images suggest that Grosz realized that not all members of the middle classes directly exploited the proletariat for their own gains, although he would have condemned such "inaction" and mindless complacency. On the other hand, several images appear more satirical, explicitly targeting the degenerate sexual desires of the bourgeoisie. The watercolour, Like Turtle Doves, depicts a couple embracing one another. The woman sits on the man's lap, while the man fondles the woman's genitals. In other images, women's nipples are revealed through transparent dresses. Although some of these images are as sexual as those found in Ecce Homo, the overall atmosphere of the portfolio lacks its predecessor's biting satirical wit. In general, many of these

pictures are reminiscent of his earlier student sketches recording the daily life he witnessed in the cafes, pubs and streets of Berlin.

Drawing Conclusions

To specify precisely why some portfolios were censored while others were not is a difficult, if not impossible task, given the many variables in each case and the inadequate documentation left behind by the authorities. However, several intriguing hypotheses can be offered. First of all, Grosz directed his openly political portfolios to the working classes and to what he hoped was a more progressive bourgeois buyer. Some editions were cheap and of low quality, and were intended to be widely distributed to working-class audiences. Others were expensive and of high quality, and were directed to the wealthier classes, who indirectly subsidized the portfolios for the working classes and provided Grosz with additional income. However, by making his portfolios available to a large public of different classes, Grosz was more suceptible to persecution. Furthermore, his propagandistic aims could not have been easily overlooked, because Grosz openly criticized the Weimar establishment, by visually attacking the military, government, church and ruling classes. With respect to subject matter, several features consistently reappear in all of the censored material. In all three cases anti-militaristic, anti-religious or anti-capitalist messages appear in some form, whether it be in the images themselves or in the accompanying titles. It must be acknowledged that the institutions of the church and the military were extremely influential and powerful during the Weimar period. Furthermore, members of the bourgeoisie, who held most of the more important administrative positions, were also frequently "victimized". While the socialist aims of these portfolios probably did not annoy the working classes or even the more progressive sector of the bourgeoisie, it is likely that they offended the more conservative elite who were involved with the ruling

institutions that Grosz attacked. Given the fact that Grosz's portfolios met all the requirements of "propaganda", in terms of being produced by leftist publishers and containing explicit criticisms of the ruling establishment, it is not surprising that these portfolios were carefully regulated.

It is not surprising that Grosz's two earliest portfolios, Erste Grosz-Mappe and Kleine Grosz Mappe went unnoticed by the censors for they are less specific in their attack and were published when Grosz was virtually unknown in either the German arts community or to the wider general public. In comparison with his later portfolios, his depictions of the urban life are generally less satirical. More difficult to explain is the fact that many of Grosz's other portfolios also incorporated social critiques that were similar to those in "Gott mit uns", Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse, Ecce Homo and Hintergrund but none of these were confiscated or censored . The question then remains, why were these four portfolios censored when the others were left alone?

"Gott mit uns" was censored because it openly attacked the military and was displayed in the controversial Dada exhibition, where a whole group of artists shared an ideology which opposed the dominant social order of German society. The fact that their provocative performances and publications had already attracted the attention of the police might have made this Dada exhibition an obvious target for suppression. But this does not explain why the censors were more lenient with Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse which contained all of the images of "Gott mit uns" along with other military images and was published only one year after the earlier portfolio. The case of Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse was even more complicated, since its propagandistic purpose could not have been easily overlooked given its large issue and low cost. It should be noted that in the case of any portfolio image, purchasers were able to scrutinize the imagery as often and for as long as they liked. Such access to the imagery was increased

in the case of "Gott mit uns" which through the Dada exhibition reached an even wider public. Although the exhibition was only temporary it probably attracted people other than those who would have normally purchased Grosz's work. Another justification for the discrepancies in the censorship between these two portfolios could be the fact that the military was not exclusively exposed as in "Gott mit uns" and that the ruling classes and the church were likewise unmasked. Still, this does not explain why images which had been judged as slanderous under the "Gott mit uns" title were later ignored in Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse. Since Das Gesicht appeared on the market while Grosz was being tried for "Gott mit uns", the authorities might have felt it unnecessary to lay additional charges. Likewise, Die Räuber also contained unfavourable representations of the military and the church but was also left alone. Possibly the authorities ignored Die Räuber because it used the title of Schiller's much loved play, perhaps leading them to mistake it for something else.

Ironically, although Ecce Homo was Grosz's grand moral statement, the images dealing with sexual themes were considered offensive to the morality and decency of the German folk and on this basis criminal charges were laid. Admittedly, many of the images dealt with sexual subject matter, but Grosz intended to use such imagery to expose the bourgeoisie's lack of morality, indecency and corruption. Furthermore, the combination of Grosz's religious and sexual critiques might have made this volume seem much worse than the other portfolios.[59] Since Ecce Homo was considered obscene, it is curious that the sexual images in Grosz's other portfolios such as Über alles die Liebe and Im Schatten were not censored for the same reason. Perhaps because the release of Über alles die Liebe, Die Gezeichneten and Das neue Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse coincided with the Hintergrund trial, the censors did not want to attract further media attention.

Although in the case of Hintergrund the nature of the charge was purely religious, inevitably the related political and military issues

were raised. In fact, it was the combined effect of the religious and military iconography in three images that seemed most disturbing to the prosecution. In the other portfolios, Grosz also linked the church and the military. However, in Hintergrund Grosz connected the person of Christ to the military, by using a popular religious representation - the crucifixion. Given that Maul halten und weiter dienen was the most offensive image of Hintergrund, it probably triggered the court action. In other words, if Grosz had left this image out of the portfolio, he might never have faced blasphemy charges.

Another important consideration is the fact that only Grosz's graphic work was censored. In contrast, his political paintings were ignored by the censors, despite the fact that they dealt with similarly controversial social and political ideas. This indifference to his paintings stems from the fact that published visual and written material is more typically feared as the most persuasive and provocative form of subversive discourse. Since graphic work is much easier to reproduce and circulate to a wider public, it was subject to stricter forms of censorship than more traditional forms of "high art" such as original paintings which are bought by individuals. Of course, when paintings were exhibited at venues such as the controversial Dada Fair of 1920 they were also at risk. It is important to realize that the chances of censorship increased when the graphic work was published by left-wing journals, magazines, newspapers and publishing companies.

Grosz's involvement with Wieland Herzfelde and Malik Press, the company that published most of Grosz's portfolio material and for which Grosz illustrated numerous books, could have instigated censorship charges. It was commonly known that Malik Press was a left-wing publishing company, which mainly restricted its publication to books with revolutionary and dissident content. All of the people connected with Malik had "Spartacus-Bolshevist" tendencies, including Herzfelde, Däubler and Grosz among others.[60] From the company's inception, its

publications were routinely banned and confiscated. For example, the journal, Neue Jugend was banned after five issues, whereas Jedermann sein eigner Fussball was prohibited further publication after the first issue.[61] The police even arrested Herzfelde for publishing Jedermann sein eigner Fussball, and imprisoned him for two weeks. Likewise, the police searched Grosz's studio for evidence of his involvement in the publication, and intended to arrest him too. However, they were thwarted by the fact that Grosz produced false identification papers. Although Grosz's quick thinking saved him from arrest, he was nevertheless forced to hide from the police.[62] Of the portfolios that we are concerned with in this discussion, only Der Spiesser-Spiegel (Dresden: Carl Reissner Verlag, 1925) and Über alles die Liebe (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1930) were published by companies other than Malik Press and neither of these portfolios was suppressed. It should also be emphasized that Herzfelde, as the publisher of Grosz's portfolios, also faced the same charges as Grosz and that upon sentencing he received more severe fines than Grosz. Thus, Grosz's association with Herzfelde and the left-wing Malik Press must have made him a more visible target.

ENDNOTES

1. This study will not cover in any detail Mit Pinsel and Schere. 7 Materialisation (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1922); Samfundet uden Slor: Prostitutionens, Profeter, Moralsatiriske, G-G-AETS- Tegninger (Berlin: Malik Verlag for I.F.A., Copenhagen, 1924); Der Spiesser-Spiegel Dresden: Carl Reissner Verlag, 1925); (Die Gezeichneten. 60 Blatter aus 15 Jahren (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1930); Das neue Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse (Berlin: Malik Verlag, 1930), and A Post-war Museum (London: Faber & Faber, 1931).

2. Stephanie Barron, "1937: Modern Art and Politics in Prewar Germany" in "Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany, edited by Stephanie Barron, exhibition catalogue for the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1988), p.14.

3. Ibid., p.11.

4. Ibid., p.11.

5. For example, Die Rote Fahne, an organ of the Communist Party, published an article which condemned Grosz and Herzfelde for their arguments against Kokoschka, see Gertrud Alexander, "Herrn John Heartfield und George Grosz," in Die rote Fahne. Kritik, Theorie, Feuilleton 1918-1933, edited by Manfred Brauneck (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), pp.63-65.

6. George Grosz, Love Above All, fascimile edition (London: Allison & Busby, 1985), p.9. It is also interesting that when Grosz emigrates to America he begins to pain more frequently taking up commercial painting (especially landscapes and genre scenes) producing little social satire.

7. Grosz also frequently contributed poems to these journals.

8. Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), pp.272, 276.

9. Lewis, p.272. For her information, she relies on Heinz Gittig and Wieland Herzfelde, "Bibliographie des Malik-Verlages" in Der Malik-Verlag 1916-1947, exhibition catalogue, December 1966-January 1967 (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Kunste zu Berlin, 1967) It is uncertain whether the two portfolios published by companies other than Malik were as successful, because this information is unavailable.

10. Lewis, pp.212-213.

11. Wolfgang Bonss, "Introduction" to Erich Fromm, The Working Class in Weimar Germany: A Psychological and Sociological Study, edited and introduction by Wolfgang Bonss, translated by Barbara Weinberger (Warwickshire: Berg Publishers, 1984), p.1.

12. Lewis, p.272. No.1-5 were printed on Imperial Japanese (40 marks), No.6-20, on the same (30 marks), No.21-120 on handmade paper (20 marks).

13. Erste George Grosz Mappe, plate no.5.

14. In his self-portraits from this period, Grosz frequently portrayed himself as an angry artist, usually in profile which emphasized his distinctive jaw-line. Sometimes he was equipped with brush and pen denoting his profession. Other self- portraits appear in Germany, A Winter's Tale (1917-1919) and Self- Portrait (for Charlie Chaplin) (1919). Grosz recognized his misanthropic ways and confronted them. Alexander Duckers noted in his article "Portfolios" in German Expressionist Prints and Drawings, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies: Volume 1 (Los Angeles: Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989): "He [Grosz] said of the print Menschen in der Strasse (People in the street; fig.132), from his first portfolio: "I drew ... a cross section through an apartment building: in one window a man is hitting his wife with a broom, in the second two people are making love, in the third someone is hanging from the transom with flies buzzing around him." There is a fourth motif as well, that of a social outcast who peers out of the barred window of the basement.", p.88. It is curius that Grosz neglects to mention the figure in the top window, which is probably a self-portrait.

15. Urban subject matter was also popular with other European artists such as the German Expressionist artist, E. L. Kirchner (1910-1914) and various members of the Futurists in Italy. Grosz was highly influenced by both groups. Futurist ideas were first introduced to the artist at the Italian Futurist art exhibition held in Berlin in April 1912. His exploration of simultaneity was derived from Futurist art. For a discussion on the use of urban subject matter in the arts see The Unreal City : Urban experience in Modern European Literature and Art, edited by Edward Timms and David Kelley (New York: Manchester University Press, 1985).

16. Kleine Grosz Mappe, respectively appeared as plate no.4, no.6, no.7, no.19 and no.3.

17. According to Marc Duchy, Grosz's portfolio was sold at the entrance and Grosz also displayed Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen (1917), see Marc Duchy, "First International Dada Fair of 1920" in The Dada Movement 1915-1923 (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1990), pp.110, 105.

18. Ibid., p.103.

19. Ibid., p.105.

20. For example, the literal translation of Die Communisten fallen- und die Devisen Steigen would be "The Communists are Dying and the Foreign Exchange Rate Goes Up", but Grosz gave this drawing the English title *Blood is the Best Sauce*.

21. "Gott mit uns", respectively numbered plate no. 1 and no.2.

22. "Gott mit uns", plate 5.

23. "Gott mit uns", respectively appeared as plate no.7 and no.3.

24. Lewis, p.127.

25. Lewis, p.273.

26. The first edition consisted of 6,000 copies printed and sold for either 3 or 15 marks. A deluxe edition also appeared with signed and numbered plates for 100 marks, but it is unknown how many copies entered the market. A third edition consisted of 13,000-25,000 copies. Therefore, the second edition would have numbered between 6,000-13,000 copies. As Lewis summarizes, there is a confusion over the exact number of editions of this portfolio, though it is certain that at least 25,000 copies were produced in total, p.273.

27. It is possible that these drawings seemed mild in comparison to those more pornographic and sexually graphic ones that Grosz painted but destroyed before anyone else had seen them. In later years, Grosz confessed to Ben Hecht that when he was feeling bad, he found it therapeutic to paint such pictures.

28. Ben Hecht, "About Grosz," in Letters from Bohemia (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964), p.134.

29. Peter Webb, The Erotic Arts, new edition (London: Secker and Warburg, 1983, 1978), p.224.

30. Ecce Homo, respectively plate no.33, no.35, no.48, no.55 and no.84.

31. John 19:5.

32. Grosz's Schwejk drawings differ from the illustrations by Josef Lada, a Czech artist and illustrator. Lada, was commissioned by his friend Hasek to produce a weekly design cover for instalments of his Schwejk story. Later, after Hasek's death, Lada was asked to draw 540 pictures for a daily Czech paper. Since then, these drawings have been published along with the novel in many different editions and language versions. These simple line drawings illustrate the various scenes of the novel, and tend to emphasis the more comical aspects of Schwejk's adventures. In contrast, Grosz's drawing are much more satirical and attempt to link ideas of the novel to contemporary life in Germany. For more information on Lada's illustrations see: Cecil Parrot, "Introduction" in The Good Soldier Svejk: And His Fortunes in the World War, written by Jaroslav Hasek, translation and introduction by Cecil Parrot and illustrations by Josef Lada (London: Penguin Books, 1973).

33. Schwejk has a number of spellings including Schweik, Schweyk and Svejk. I have choose to use the form "Schwejk", because both Grosz and Piscator used this form.

34. Michael Patterson, The Revolution in German Theatre 1900- 1933 (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p.113.

35. The friendship and collaboration between Grosz and Piscator started with the offer of tea. Although the two men had never met, Grosz had sent a letter to Piscator, who was then at the front, requesting some tea. Piscator responded to his request by sending the tea.

36. Hana Arie Gaifman, "Problems and Issues in Hasek's "The Adventures of the Good Soldier Schweik" in Jaroslav Hasek 1883- 1983: Proceeding of the International Hasek Symposium, Bamberg, June 24-27, 1983 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Reiter Lang, 1989), p.305. Gaifman also discusses the fact that Schwejk, despite its popular appeal, was dismissed by the respectable critics as being written in "low genre, which probably accounts for its popularity in the first place, pp.305-6.

37. Petr Pavel, Haseks *Schwejk* in Deutschland (Berlin: Rutten & Loening, 1963), p.5. His research also indicates that Schwejk was published fairly consistently again in German after WWII from 1947 onwards.

38. The first lithograph of this portfolio depicts the character of Schwejk. It is titled "Schwejk": 'melde gehorsamst, dass ich blo"d bin' translated *("Schwejk": 'Beg to report, Sir, I am an idiot')*.

39. Picaresque is a style of fiction dealing with the adventures of roguest. For more information on the specific adaptation, see John Willett, The Theatre of Erwin Piscator: Half a Century of Politics in Theatre (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1978), p.90, and Andrew DeShong, The Theatrical Designs of George Grosz (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), pp.73-9.

40. The use of conveyor belts in theatre was not particularly new, but the manner in which Piscator implemented them was innovative. For the advantages and disadvantages surrounding the usage of this technical equipment see Erwin Piscator, The Political Theatre (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980, 1963), p.260. Initially, the conveyor belts, for example, were so noisy and squeaky that they blocked out the actors' voices. After much manipulation, Piscator managed to run them with minimal interference to the action on stage.

41. They initially met within the context of the Berlin Dada group.

42. Prior to the Schwejk production, Grosz had collaborated with Piscator on Das Trunkene Schiff and Die Wandlung. Other theatrical productions that Grosz worked on include Der Kandidat, Methusalem, Caesar and Cleopatra, Andorocles and the Lion and Nebeneinander among others. See DeShong's The Theatrical Designs of George Grosz for a full analysis of Grosz's theatrical designs for these productions.

43. Piscator, p.265.

44. Ibid., p.266.

45. Lewis, p.276.

46. Willet, p.91. In addition, Mordecai Gorelik, "The Theatre as Tribunal: The Good Soldier" in New Theatre for Old (America: Samuel French, 1947) provides a more detailed description of this film sequence: "But now the backdrop springs into life, turning into a large motion picture screen as the projector strikes it from the back. A black dot jumps to the blank screen; it races over the white brilliance with fantastic speed, leaving behind it lines as jagged and scratchy as barbed wire. Rapidly it traces in the distinctive style of the artist George Grosz a mustachioed and puffy Austrian general. The hilt of a heavy sword appears in the general's right hand; his other hand clasps that of the neighbouring figure, who emerges as a German field marshal, his aristocratic scowl ---- hidden by his 'Pickelhaube' helmet. Between this bellicose pair the figure of the lawyer makes its appearance - severe, long-nosed, corpse-like, holding legal briefs in one hand, a knout in the other. Finally an ignoble preacher is sketched out, balancing a cross on his bulbous nose.", pp.382-3.

47. The actual identification of these two figures as an Austrian General and a German field marshal is based on Gorelik's descriptions. Ibid., pp.382-3.

48. "George Grosz wird vernommen. Aus dem stenographischen Protokoll des Gotteslästerungenprozesses," Das Tagebuch (December 22, 1928), p.2212.

49. See Herbert Knust in Theatrical Drawings and Watercolors by George Grosz, edited by Hedy B. Landmann (Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 1973) for plate 22 of Chaplain Preaching to Prisoners. This drawing exists in several similar versions that have the same iconographical scheme.

50. Grosz also produced a number of cut-outs of the various prisoner types for the performance.

51. The image of Christ the Shepherd carrying a lamb over his shoulders has been commonly used since the Early Christian period and derived from pagan imagery.

52. It should be mentioned that Grosz produced several other drawings of the crucifixion scene around the same time. The most well-known oune is Christus mit Gasmask *(Christ with gas mask, 1927)*, which was later published in Grosz's portfolio Interregum. He also made several other more traditional representations of the crucifixion scene.

53. The surviving documentation of the theatrical performance does not reveal this information and it is unlikely that all of Grosz's drawing were used in the production. However, the title of the portfolio suggests that all seventeen drawings did appear somewhere in the production.

54. This iconography has been regularly used since the Early Christian period and also has its roots in pagan imagery.

55. Alfred Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice: Reminiscences of a German Barrister 1882-1933 (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935), pp.123-124.

56. Plate no.1, Hintergrund. Plates no.5 and no.6 also are based on characters from the play.

57. Hintergrund, plate 4 and 15 respectively. Within the context of the seventeen images of the portfolio, the oppressiveness of the law is underscored with these two images. For drawings by other artists which use the paragraph sign see Rosamunde Neugebauer, George Grosz - Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst: Die Graphikfolgen "Gott mit uns", Ecce Homo und Hintergrund (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1993), p.255.

58. George Grosz, Über alles die Liebe: 60 neue Zeichnungen (Berlin: Bruno Cassier, 1930). I have consulted the English facsimile edition, Love Above All, introduction and notes by Frank Whitford (London: Allison and Busby Ltd.,1985).

59. To my knowledge, however, the issue of religious content was not raised in the trials.

60. Harry Graf Kessler, In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler, introduction by Otto Friedrich and translated by Charles Kessler (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd, 1971), p.60.

61. See Lewis, p.283. According to Lewis, Herzfelde was the publisher and editor of Neue Jugend vol.1, no.7-12. Jedermann sein eigner Fussball (vol.1, no.1) was released February 15, 1919. Furthermore, Grosz made contributions to all of these issues.

62. Count Harry Kessler aided both men in their troubled situations. By using his political influence, he had Herzfelde released from prison, and he provided Grosz with money when he was evading the police.

CHAPTER 3:

TRIALS

The newly elected Weimar Republic amended the Constitution and, in the process, officially abolished censorship.[1] However, the Weimar authorities continued to practise other forms of cultural intervention and suppressed Grosz's portfolios in particular. Two previous studies analyze the court proceedings against Grosz. Beth Lewis was the first to examine these trials and the critical response to them at any length in her book George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic. My approach differs from hers in two main respects. Although we both explore how the courts handled the specific allegations against Grosz, I also examine the prosecution of his portfolios within the larger context of the cultural repression and censorship of art, literature, theatre and film during the period.[2] Secondly, I explore why Piscator's Schwejk production was not prosecuted while Grosz's portfolio was. Rosamunde Neugebauer's more recent study, George Grosz: Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst (1993), focuses almost exclusively on Grosz's three censored portfolios and on the trials they prompted.[3] Neugebauer's research into the trials is extremely detailed, and she also outlines the reactions to these trials. Although she briefly discusses how Grosz's Hintergrund images were part of a larger theatrical project does not consider the authorities' differential treatment of these t media. Overall, she seems more interested in aesthetic analysis, fitting the portfolios into the genre of satire and tracing the possible iconographic sources of specific images. Accordingly, her research neglects many of the ideological and political pressures which lay behind the government's prosecutions.

"Gott mit uns": A Military Insulted

In 1920 Grosz and his publisher, Wieland Herzfelde, were indicted for insulting the German army with the satirical portfolio "Gott mit

uns". As cited above, Grosz exhibited "Gott mit uns" at the International Dada Fair in August of 1920. His troubles began the following month. On the 9th of September, acting upon the request of the military, the Berlin police confiscated copies of the portfolio from the Malik Press. The police, who may have had reasons of their own to pursue this grievance, referred the matter to District Court II. On October 15th, the Chief of Police seized Grosz's remaining portfolios at the request of the District Attorney.[4] According to Kurt Tucholsky, seven original drawings by Grosz were also illegally confiscated.[5] Soon after, the District Attorney filed charges against Grosz and Herzfelde.[6] Other participants of the Dada Fair were also charged and brought to trial for slandering the military. Besides Grosz and Herzfelde, Johannes Baader, the self-appointed leader of the Dada movement, and Dr. Otto Burchard, the gallery owner who staged the fair, were singled out.[7] Rudolf Schlichter stood trial for exhibiting an inflatable puppet of a German officer with a pig's head. He had hung the puppet from the ceiling with a placard around its head which read "Hanged by the Revolution."

As cited above, the Dada group deliberately stirred-up public controversy wherever it went and evidently the authorities kept a watchful eye on its activities. Earlier Dada events, such as the Great Art Festival, had ended in violent riots requiring police intervention to control audiences who had been annoyed by the group's mockery.[8] Ben Hecht, a friend of Grosz and a spectator at the Great Art Festival, described how the police took extreme measures, firing gun shots at the stage and unsuccessfully attempting to arrest the Dada performers.[9] Not surprisingly Grosz had been one of the main entertainers at this event but, like the others, he managed to slip away unharmed.[10] Given their failure to make arrests, the police might have wanted to end the disturbances by initiating court action against some of the group's members. It is also possible that the suppression of the Dada Fair was

connected to a periodic police programme of raids on bookstores, publishers and exhibitions. For instance, Lewis mentions that "following the seizure of the 'Gott mit uns' portfolio the police confiscated other books, some of which were illustrated by Lovis Corinth, Willi Geisger and Heinrich Zille."[11]

The trial stemming from the Dada Fair convened April 20, 1921 at the District Court II in Berlin.[12] Judge Oertel presided over the session and Public Prosecutor Ortmann and Attorney Fritz Grünspach represented the prosecution and defense respectively.[13] The central question in the charges against Grosz was whether his graphics attacked the defunct Wilhelmine army, the new German military or militarism in general. If the drawings attacked the German military, then the artist was guilty of the formal charges of slandering the military, and could be sentenced accordingly. The prosecution, whose case rested on two main points and on the testimony of a military captain, contended that the portfolio slandered the current military. Attorney Grünspach argued that the defendants should be acquitted because the drawings were meant only to attack the excesses of militarism in general and the military's responsibility for brutal and murderous deeds in the past.[14] During his testimony, Grosz offered a similar explanation and explicitly added that the images did not target the current German military. The prosecution demanded to know why, if Grosz was in fact attacking the idea of militarism in general, he depicted only contemporary German soldiers in the images. The prosecution drew attention to the subtle distortions of uniforms and accused Grosz of intentionally misrepresenting the German army. The defense objected to this accusation and pointed out that these subtle distortions were, in fact, minor flaws in depiction and were, in any case, trivial since they could only be picked out by an experienced military tailor. The defense's argument was disingenuous. After the trial concluded with a guilty verdict, Grosz claimed the army was most irked by his intentional distortions of uniforms which included

details such as the wrong number of buttons.[15] Hence Grosz's confession indicates that these misrepresentations were deliberate and consequently, the prosecution's accusations were reasonable.

Captain Mattäis, an attendant at the Dada Fair, was the prosecution's prime witness. According to Lewis, Mattäis "was confident that the whole exhibit was meant to be a systematic baiting of the officers and men of the Reichswehr. He [Mattäis] found the Grosz portfolio particularly offensive, especially since two foreigners who happened to be at the gallery at the same time were delighted with it. Though Captain Mattäis insisted at the trial that he visited the Fair unofficially, Kurt Tucholsky believed that he came from the intelligence apparatus of the Reichswehr [German army]."[16] As an expert witness for the defense, Dr. Redslob (curator and German art expert) avidly supported Grosz, but according to Tucholsky, he avoided the political issues of the trial.[17] Dr. Paul Ferdinand Schmidt (Director of the Dresden City Collection and an art collector) testified that Grosz was one of the most exceptional and meaningful draftsmen of the day both in Germany and in Europe.[18] But the court was not interested in evaluations of Grosz's skill.

In a journal article entitled "Die beleidigte Reichswehr," Herzfelde, one of the defendants, tried to expose the absurdity of the trial to the public.[19] Outside the courtroom, the accused had other supporters. Kurt Tucholsky, who had earlier been convicted of the same crime, also published an article which questioned the validity of this trial and censorship in general.[20] He argued that the judicial proceedings had nothing do with justice and sarcastically added that the results would have been the same if Grosz had entered the court room and said "My name is Grosz-felon" and the judge had consequently fined him 300 marks. Tucholsky was also irritated by the defense's plea that the exhibits were not meant to be taken seriously and disappointed with Grosz's defense, since the artist hardly spoke at all and made no effort

to defend himself.[21]

Despite the defense's argument about the intention of the drawings and Dr. Schmidt's identification of Grosz as a leading German artist, the court found Grosz and Herzfelde guilty of slandering the military. For the final sentencing, the prosecutor recommended a six week prison term but the judge reduced the sentence. He fined Grosz and Herzfelde three hundred marks and six hundred marks respectively, ordered that the plates be destroyed, and handed over the publishing rights of "Gott mit uns" to the German military. The judge dismissed all charges against the other three defendants.[22] The judge's milder sentence saved Grosz and Herzfelde from serving a prison term but it did not alter the effect of the guilty verdict. Grosz and Herzfelde's legal defeat represented a major loss for all left-wing artists and intellectuals.

Ecce Homo: Obscenity vs. Morality

In 1923 the District Attorney's Office of District Court III confiscated the unsold Ecce Homo portfolios and charged Grosz and his publishers Herzfelde and Julian Gumpert with obscenity. It was believed the portfolio offended the morality of German citizens. The obscenity charge was legally sanctioned by Paragraph 184-184a of the German Criminal Code (1871) and Article 118 of the Constitution, both of which forbade "indecent" material.[23] The trial took place February 16, 1924 at the District Court III in Berlin under Judge Ohnesorge.

Artistic freedom was the focal point of this trial. The arguments centred around the question of whether or not artists such as Grosz should be able to represent their artistic feelings without social and moral constraints. This argument rested on the assumption that such boundaries existed and that Grosz had overstepped them. Ohnesorge questioned Grosz at length about the meaning and intent of a handful of images selected by the prosecution and tried to coax Grosz into admitting that he had overstepped the limits of decency by openly

depicting nudity and human sexuality. Grosz, however, refused to make such a confession. Instead, he maintained that artists should express themselves freely and unconditionally. He also declared that he was a social and moral critic whose mission was to portray what he saw in the world around him and that he had done so in Ecce Homo. Grosz repeatedly identified himself as a moralist. Justifying his choice of title for the allegedly indecent watercolour of a brothel scene entitled Ecce Homo (IV) *(Figure 26)*, Grosz explained "A moralist, like myself, can choose ultimately no better word, than Ecce Homo! For Christ is the embodiment of the person and contrary to that, which is presented here."[24] After further probing, Grosz confirmed the judge's suggestion that he wanted to illustrate the degradation of Christ and of mankind by juxtaposing title and image.

Besides Ecce Homo (IV), Aus der Jugendzeit *(Out of Childhood, 1922) (Figure 13)* explored a similar theme and was also singled out as obscene because Grosz realistically rendered the nude female's genitals and breasts. When the judge asked Grosz what the drawing conveyed, the artist vaguely replied without specifying what he meant: "It is a kind (of) vision." Grosz was also questioned about Zu Hause *(At Home, 1922)*, which shows a middle-aged couple undressing in their private quarters.[25] Likewise Verzückung *(Rapture/ or Ecstasy, 1922)* was also examined closely.[26] This drawing shows a partially clothed woman spreading her legs and exposing her uncovered genitals. Other allegedly obscene drawings included Promenade, Bordellstrassen *(Bordell Street)*, Rudi S., Dr. S & Mrs., Kommerzienrats Tochterlein *(The Commisserat's Daughter)*, Eva, Richard Wagner, and Genreszene *(Avenue)* to name only a few. The most common feature of these drawings is the depiction of human sexual organs or allusions to sex.

The judge did not inquire about all of the images with sexual connotations and instead focused on those that typified the range of sexual subject matter in the portfolio. However, it seems odd that the

judge focused on some of the milder subjects, as seen in Aus der Jugendzeit, and did not challenge either the more violent sexual subjects, such as Lustmord in der Ackerstrasse *(Sex Murder in Ackerstrasse, 1916-1917) (Figure 14)*, or the more sexually explicit ones, such as Stänchen *(Seranade, 1922)*, in which sexual intercourse is fully depicted. Since the prosecution conceded that many of the drawings had nothing to do with sex, sexuality, or obscenity, the judge did not address these other images. In this respect, the judge failed to understand how the obscene images worked within the overall context of the portfolio.

Apart from the judge's questioning, the defence and prosecution called a host of expert witnesses to the stand. Prominent figures, including Max Liebermann, Dr. Erwin Redslob, Dr. Max Osborn and Maximilian Harden, strengthened the defense's case with their favourable opinions of Grosz's art. All of these witnesses denied the images were obscene. Dr. Osborn, for example, explained that Grosz was a serious draftsman with strong artistic talents, and that the drawings were not pornographic but cautionary. Although Harden testified that he was at first astonished by the display of genitalia in the pictures, after further consideration of the entire portfolio, he concluded that Grosz meant the pictures to be a warning of the times. In spite of this support, Grosz lost his second trial. In the judgement against Grosz and the publishers of Ecce Homo, the court ruled that the drawings, through their depiction of "shameless nakedness, genitals and breasts, indecent processes or sexual relationships," flouted the common morality, customs and decorum of the average German citizen. The court concluded that even if the defendant had pursued social criticism in these pictures, he had failed in his task by emphasizing sexuality in lewd ways.[27] The court fined Grosz 500 marks and the other defendants 1,000 marks each. In addition, the court confiscated twenty-two of the hundred plates from the unsold copies of the portfolio. Although the

court initially contemplated confiscating the entire portfolio, they decided that the portfolio was acceptable once these indecent pictures were removed. The seized plates included almost all of the images with explicit or implicit sexual connotations.[28]

Hintergrund: Blasphemy Trial

In 1928 Grosz and Herzfelde were accused of blasphemy for the publication of Hintergrund.[29] Drawing out over almost three years, the following court battle proved to be the most controversial of the artist's career. What initially seemed to be a simple religious issue quickly assumed artistic and political dimensions which were debated well beyond the confines of the courtroom. Various organs of the press thoroughly (albeit often one-sidedly) covered the story, captivating public interest, and infuriating church representatives, artists and the general public alike, all of whom were divided along political and religious lines.

After receiving a tip about the portfolio from an anonymous complainant, the police notified the district court about the matter. The District Attorney investigated the complaint and filed a charge against Grosz and Herzfelde on the basis of Paragraph 166 of the German Criminal Code (1871). In justifying the blasphemy allegations, the District Court called Hintergrund a "Communist portfolio" and used three of the seventeen portfolios drawings as evidence for their claims.[30] The blasphemy charge was serious given that a guilty verdict could be penalized with imprisonment. Throughout the legal battle, the prosecution singled out the three drawings Seid untertan der Obrigkeit *(Be Submissive to the Authorities) (Figure 18)*, Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes *(Outpouring of the Holy Spirit) (Figure 19)*, and Maul halten und weiter dienen *(Shut Up and Soldier On) (Figure 20)*. As mentioned earlier, the first two images established links between religious institutions and militarism, whereas the last and, according

to the authorities, the most exasperating image, connected God and the military. During the ensuing series of legal proceedings, the main question was whether any or all of the allegedly blasphemous images insulted the institution of the church or the person of God.

The first trial took place in December 1928 at the local court in Charlottenberg-Berlin. Judge Toelke presided over the session and was assisted by other judges and jurors. Dr. Alfred Apfel, an attorney of considerable renown, defended Grosz and Herzfelde. At the beginning of the cross-examination, Judge Toelke briefly questioned Grosz about his income, education and military service, in order to gain an impression of the artist's character.[31] Later in the examination, he also asked Grosz about his religious beliefs and practises. Within the context of a blasphemy trial, the judge's interest in Grosz's military service appears irrelevant. Toelke asked Grosz to describe his battalion, his length of service, time at the front and any war injuries. The judge's line of questioning suggests that he wanted to define, in very precise terms, the extent of Grosz's patriotic commitment to Germany during WWI. The only reason for the judge's inquiry was that the anti-military themes of the images were not ignored because they were closely tied to the religious ones. It should be mentioned that religious and military issues were highly sensitive at the time. Generally speaking, the church, having lost much of its power after the separation of church and state, was trying to maintain the appearance of being a powerful institution within German society despite its lessening hold over its dwindling members. The decreasing moral and ethical standards of the post-war period placed an additional burden on the Church. Similarly, the military, which had been down-sized according to the Versailles Peace Treaty, was equally sensitive to attacks. The "Gott mit uns" trial exemplified how the military took legal action against its opposition.

After the judge established Grosz's character, he moved on to

examine the images. To begin with Toelke invited Grosz to comment on the illustrations in general. Grosz politely replied that he could not express himself through words, further explaining that his language was that of an artist and the drawings alone expressed his thoughts, and with them he had already articulated everything he had to say. He declared that the pictures were actually a product of his thoughts, and his thoughts alone.[32] At this point the judge countered Grosz's statement, saying if he understood the title of the portfolio correctly, then the images were not completely his own thoughts, but they were based on a novel and a performance. Grosz, however, insisted that the images were the product of his impressions from the book, and more like free improvisations.

The remainder of the examination focused on the three "blasphemous" drawings. For the first of these images, Seid untertan der Obrigkeit *(Figure 18)*, the judge centered his attention on identifying the figures and pictorial elements and on uncovering their meaning. For example, he asked why the priest balances a cross on his nose and what the skeleton figure was meant to represent. In relation to this image, Judge Toelke also interrogated the artist about his personal religious convictions. Grosz testified that he did not belong to a specific congregation but was a formal member of the Protestant Church. In the case of Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes *(Figure 19)*, the judge again requested the artist to interpret the pictorial elements and the caption. Speaking about the meaning of the picture, Grosz explained it attacked priests who preach for the war because their words speak weapons, destruction and death. He added that his attack on religion and religious institutions was general, in that he did not target specific religious beliefs whether Catholic, Protestant or otherwise, but instead implicated all Christian institutions and individuals who condoned the war. In the image the preacher symbolized all preachers who urged German citizens to kill their "enemy," which to

Grosz seemed extremely hypocritical. He pointed out that on the one hand, Christian doctrine taught the faithful to "love your brother and your enemy" and "thou shalt not kill," yet on the other hand, the preachers advocated war and incited their congregations to fight for Germany. It is also worth noting that in his explanation of this drawing, Grosz did not suggest that the picture illustrated a particular scene from the Schwejk story.

The court regarded Maul halten und weiter dienen *(Figure 20)*, also more commonly referred to as "Christ with the Ga mask," as the most offensive image of the entire portfolio and carefully examined it. To begin with, they analyzed the various elements of the picture, particularly those which differed from the usual depictions of the crucified Christ such as the military boots and gasmask as well as the little cross in Christ's hand. They also paid particular attention to the question of how the inscribed caption related to the image. Judge Toelke asked Grosz:

> The cross is a little at a slant as though it is falling down, and written under it are the words: Shut up and Soldier On. What was that meant to convey? No one can deny that devout Christians are bound to be gravely offended by such an illustration.[33]

In response to the question, Grosz explained that the caption was taken from a line in the Schwejk story when two soldiers were describing their war experiences. At a particular point, the one tells the other to "Shut up and soldier on." Grosz further explained how his interpretation of this scene shaped the final image:

> As I read this account the drawing took shape in my imagination. I imagined that Christ might come down ... They would grab him, hand him a gas mask, put him into army boots, in short, they wouldn't understand him at all. So that, in fact, Jesus gets off very well here. He is being raped by another power.[34]

Obviously the abusive power to which Grosz alluded was the military. Furthermore, by emphasizing the minor detail of the slight slant of the cross, the judge revealed how closely the court studied these published

images. Above all, the main issue centered on whether the words of the inscription "Shut up and soldier on" were spoken by Christ or to Christ. If spoken by Christ, then the image was blasphemous because it implied that Christ advocated war. Although Grosz contended that the words were addressed to Christ, he did admit that some individuals might misunderstand the images. The artist also told the court he had wanted to show his great sympathy for cruelly murdered humans through the drawing.

Other than acknowledging that the drawings were initially conceived of within the larger context of theatre designs, Judge Toelke virtually ignored how the original theatrical intention of these drawings played a decisive role in the final portfolio product. Grosz's insistence that the novel and play were merely the impetus for the final drawings encouraged such indifference to the images' original purpose. As cited above, Grosz's greatest contribution to Piscator's production involved his extraordinary ability to transpose Schwejk from Austria to contemporary Germany, by freely drawing on his impressions from the story. However, the portfolio images still have strong ties to the story. For instance, some images illustrate specific episodes of the play, while others enhance certain aspects of the play's themes. Besides, Grosz selected a title that emphasized the relationship between the portfolio drawings and Piscator's Schwejk performance. Certainly, the images of the portfolio are much more meaningful when read with the Schwejk story in mind. For example "Schwejk", 'Melde gehorsamst, dass ich blöd bin' *(Figure 21)* carries little meaning outside the context of the Schwejk story. The drawing is simply a caricature of Pallenberg playing the role of Schwejk. It was meant to underscore Schwejk's simplicity by emphasizing his large bulbous nose, ears, over-sized uniform and silly grin. The caption, "Beg to report I'm an idiot", is a line that Schwejk uses often. It reminds the viewer of the irony of Schwejk's apparant feeble-mindedness and his seemingly unintentional

acts of insubordination. Considering these factors, it would seem that the court could not comprehend the intention of the artist, without understanding exactly how these drawings related to the play. Hence, Grosz's position on this matter seems curious, unless he wanted to minimize Piscator's involvement to guard him from any associated blame.

Despite the defense's insistence that Grosz had not intended to offend anybody's religious sensibility or to slander God, but instead had tried to expose the hypocritical Christian teachings of particular Church leaders, the court decided that the issue was one of interpretation and that viewers could easily mistake Grosz's intent, especially in the case of Maul halten und weiter dienen.[35] According to Dr. Apfel, "In his summing-up the judge let loose his rage against the picture [Maul halten und weiter dienen], which, he declared, could be interpreted in no other way than that Christ, crucified for His teachings, had no more consolation for mankind in war than the words: "Shut up and get on with the job!"[36] Agreeing that the images offended the church and the person of God, Judge Toelke and his judicial assistants convicted Grosz and Herzfelde of blasphemy, fined them two-thousand marks in lieu of a two month prison sentence and ruled that copies of Maul halten und weiter dienen be confiscated and the plates destroyed.

On behalf of the defendants, Dr. Apfel appealed the decision of the court, because he believed that the judge acted on an immediate repulsion for the images and decided a guilty verdict without properly weighing all of the evidence. However, Apfel was pessimistic about the chances for a reversed decision, because Judge Siegert, the presiding chairman in the impending appeal "... had the reputation of being of the sternest, and ultra-conservative in his views."[37] Judge Siegert, assisted by a group of counsellors and two jurors, heard the case on 10th April 1929 at District Court III in Berlin-Moabit. Both the prosecution and defense presented their arguments and called on expert

witnesses to reinforce their respective positions. Once more Dr. Redslob contributed valuable testimony for the defense by reassuring the court that Grosz was one of the most outstanding graphic artists of his time.[38]

After hearing the case Siegert reviewed the provisions of Paragraph 166, assessed the arguments presented to him and passed judgement. To begin with, Judge Siegert called attention to Paragraph 166 which dealt exclusively with written and verbal statements and did not mention visual representations. Considering this fact, he concluded that on the basis of this paragraph alone, the drawings could not be judged as blasphemous. He further admitted that the captions accompanying the graphic work, as written statements, could be tried under this paragraph, but since these captions were incomprehensible without the graphic work, a blasphemy conviction could not stand, especially in the case of Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes.[39] In addition, he explained that the captions under the individual pictures underscored the satirical power and one-sided urgency of the graphic work.

Siegert endorsed the bulk of Dr. Redslob's testimony and reiterated Redslob's opinion that Grosz was a master of the graphic medium, especially of satirical drawings. Siegert also accepted Grosz's general explanation for the drawings which was that Grosz's war experiences had incited him to oppose war and to show the German people its absurdity and brutal consequences. In particular, the drawings were meant to show the church as an agent of war. By the same token, Siegert admitted that some people may still be injured by the drawings, but that Grosz was not responsible for this injury, because he did not consciously intend to belittle religious feelings or ecclesiastical institutions. Instead, clouded by his own artistic sensibilities, Grosz was incapable of foreseeing how others might interpret or misinterpret the drawings.

Siegert demonstrated how the portfolio drawings themselves confirmed Grosz's stated intentions. Siegert pointed out that the three questionable drawings needed to be considered within the context of the entire portfolio, and that failing to view them as part of a larger project was an injustice to the artist. By comparing the content and themes of these three drawings to the other ones which emphasized military abuses, including In drei Tagen sind Sie felddienstfähig *(In three days you'll be fit for field duty) (Figure 27)*, Mit Herz und Hand für's Vaterland *(With heart and hand for the fatherland, 1927) (Figure 28)* and Wir sind zum Gehorchen geboren! *(We are born to obey!, 1927)*, he reasoned that the images should be understood as a condemnation of both the war and of the church's support of it.[40] According to Siegert, at the core, the content and meaning of Maul halten und weiter dienen was the same as Seid untertan der Obrigkeit and Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes, but it was expressed with greater urgency. By failing to examine the images within the portfolio, he concluded that the local court had misinterpreted the drawings. However, like Judge Toelke, Siegert seemed less willing to explore how the Schwejk production may have affected the meaning of images which were initially produced as designs for this play.[41]

Based on these conclusions, Judge Siegert generated considerable controversy by dismissing the charges against the defendants.[42] Certainly Grosz's supporters were ecstatic about the decision. However, not everyone felt this way. Having anticipated another guilty verdict, conservatives, church representatives and some government officials were especially infuriated with the decision. Apfel reported that the government disputed the controversial verdict,

> In the Prussian parliament the following question was asked: "Is the Ministry of Prussian Affairs prepared instantly to relieve Justice Siegert of his duties, as a result of the public indignation which his summing-up in the case against Georg Grosz has aroused?[43]

How the parliamentary members handled the issue is unknown, but Siegert

retained his position. Not surprisingly the district attorney's office was also dissatisfied with the acquittal, and immediately filed for an appeal. Meanwhile the Supreme Court revised Paragraph 166. According to Lewis:

> ... the Supreme Court *(Reichsgericht)* on February 27, 1930, reinterpreted Paragraph 166 to include drawings and stated that the crucial point was not whether Grosz intended to make a blasphemous drawing, but whether his drawings injured the religious perceptions of members of the church. The Supreme Court referring the case back to the district court also mentioned that art works fell under the emergency laws for the protection of the republic, which allowed limitation of the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of expression in those cases which endangered the republic.[44]

In effect the amendments closed the loopholes upon which Siegert had based his innocent verdict in the previous trial. No doubt the Supreme Court took these measures to ensure a conviction against Grosz and Herzfelde in the up-coming appeal.

Once the paragraph was revised, an appeal was granted and a court date was set. Again the legal proceedings were to be heard before District Court III, which was normally chaired by Siegert. However, in the meantime, Siegert took an extended holiday for unexplained reasons, though no doubt the negative response to his judgement in the Hintergrund case was a decisive factor. In his absence, another judge was called to hear the case, but Apfel refused to present the defence to anyone other than Siegert, contending that Siegert was their rightful judge. Thus the court date was postponed until Siegert came back. When Siegert returned, he asked to be dismissed from the case, because he felt he was no longer impartial when it came to deciphering the meaning of the images. Unfortunately for Siegert, his request was denied.[45] Chaired by Siegert, the trial convened on December 3rd and 4th of 1930 at the District Court III in Berlin. District Court Councillor Dr. Graske, Court Assessor Dr. Arndt and workers Alfred Thomas and Reinhold Herholz juried the trial.

By the time the hearing finally began, the courtroom was packed

with participants and curious spectators. Apfel sketched an insightful picture of the courtroom,

> A concourse of experts were called for the resumed hearings which were attended by many judges. The Moabit Court looked like a synod. Representatives of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, of the Youth Movement, the Quakers, the declared Pacifists, all fought out with us their conceptions of religion, of war and peace, of the nature of Christ. Some passionately defended the picture, declaring that artistic intuition had here brought forth a profound religious truth; others complained that it had as profoundly offended their religious feelings.[46]

The controversy over the Hintergrund case was something that Grosz had not experienced before and which was unprecedented in blasphemy proceedings against artists during the Weimar Era.

During the cross-examination, Grosz testified that he was essentially a religious person, but after the verdict in the first blasphemy trial, he left the church because it did not defend him. When asked about the circumstances surrounding the production of these pictures, he acknowledged that they were made for Piscator's Schwejk production, adding that "on stage nobody took offense to them."[47] As in the two earlier trials, the court focused its attention on the three drawings. Seven expert witnesses were called to the stand, many of whom represented different religious institutions. Dr. Helmuth Schreiner along with Privy councillors, Dr. Bald and Dr. Wagner, spoke on the behalf of the District Attorney, whereas Dr. Redslob, Count Kessler, Minister Dirks, and Dr. Albrecht all testified for the defendants. Dr. Albrecht, a leading Quaker, interpreted the drawing as a divine warning. For him, the slanted cross held by Christ symbolized hope. All of the witnesses, even Dr. Schreiner, a Protestant minister and one of the strongest opponents of Grosz, indicated that the drawing was not too pointedly blasphemous. For example, Dr. Bald was of the opinion that the drawings only injured individuals in political not religious terms.

In his closing remarks Siegert focused his attention on Maul halten und weiter dienen. It is worth citing part of this passage at

length, because in it, he judged the evidence of the images, weighed the various interpretations presented by the prosecution and defense, considered the judgement in the first trial and offered explanations for his final judgement,

> This meaning of the picture stands out so powerfully that it is the man in the street, unaccustomed to analysing his impressions, who will understand it best emotionally. And the impression made by the picture is sealed by the legend under it. The local court is mistaken in its view that these words are spoken by Christ, coming thereby to the conclusion that Christ is represented as driving mankind into war with only the consolation of: 'Shut up and get on with the job!' Here again, the plain man, taking the picture for what it is, would never assume that Christ was speaking through the gas-mask, or that He could, or was meant to do so. Not even the district court quite proceeds to the assumption that according to the drawing in question, Christ Himself has taken up arms. For it states expressly: Christ is dressed in the symbols of war. But if Christ Himself is here the victim of superior force, He cannot suddenly have become the convert of that force, unless an inexplicable contradiction is intended. For then the crucifixion would be devoid of meaning. Those who side with the mighty and fight on the side of those in power are not slain upon crosses. Therefore the simple and impartial man, to whom the cross means more that a lifeless form containing nothing, but to whom the crucifixion signifies the death upon the cross, realizes that Christ has been executed here, and cannot then conceivably be the evangelist of brute force.

And further,

> The words of the title are not directly addressed to Christ at all, far less spoken by Him. They are a formula for the spirit of brute power, upon whose conscience, according to the view of the artist as expressed in the picture, lies the death of Christ upon the cross. The picture says: even Christ would have been seized by the war-mongers and pressed into the army. And because of His gospel of peace He would have been crucified again as a conscientious objector. And if He had preached the love of man to man, He would have received the answer: 'Shut up and get on with the job.' But behold, even as He hangs on the cross He raises His bound hand, and still exhorts to love.'[48]

Judge Siegert also concluded that the picture, by representing Christ in military equipment, did not commit blasphemy against God.[49] Siegert's lengthy summation shows that he accepted many of the defence's arguments

about the interpretation of the drawing. For Siegert, the graphics and the captions spoke clearly of the war-mongering spirit of the military and the church. Furthermore, he maintained that the words "Shut up and Soldier On" could not be spoken by Christ. Once again, Siegert asserted that Grosz had not calculated that his drawings would be misinterpreted, but that this misunderstanding resulted from the diversity of persons who viewed the pictures, bringing their own personal thoughts and experiences to the drawings. Thus he surmised that if the drawings offended religious feelings, the injury was not a criminal activity. Before passing judgement, he reaffirmed that his task was not to distinguish between world views but to serve the law which did not require people to honour religious beliefs and practises but only forbade slanderous remarks about them.

Despite the Supreme Court's efforts to revise Paragraph 166 and to implement emergency laws as a means of ensuring a conviction, Siegert absolved both defendants for a second time. The District Attorney still was dissatisfied with Grosz's second acquittal and petitioned for another appeal. Although the Supreme Court denied the motion because it felt the grounds were not sufficiently convincing, it took other measures to partially offset Siegert's final verdict. Leaving Siegert's acquittal intact they used his remarks that Maul halten und weiter dienen could be misunderstood by some people, as a basis for ordering the drawing confiscated and all the blocks of it destroyed. Thus, even though Grosz and Herzfelde had been legally proven innocent, the portfolio was treated as if they had been guilty. While left-wing supporters celebrated the victory, Dr. Apfel was appalled by their jubilance over what he considered a "false" victory. By confiscating and destroying part of the portfolio, he believed that the judicial system had failed to guarantee the rights of the artist, all of which set a dangerous precedence for future cases.[50]

Besides questioning the Supreme Court's dubious final ruling,

Apfel also pointed to several suspicious trial procedures. Attempting to raise the consciousness of artists and art organizations about the implications of the trial, he advanced these issues in his article "Rechtspolitische Gedanken zum Prozess George Grosz" which was published in the art journal, Das Kunstblatt.[51] First, Apfel claimed that the officials deliberately ignored the usual arrangements to settle art cases out-of-court. Due to the increasing number of indictments against artists in the mid-twenties, especially for obscenity, art organizations and the justice system had established a practise of pre-trial negotiations in order to secure settlements before a court date was even set. However, in Grosz's case, the judges had immediately set a trial date, perhaps because they were eager to convict this well-known satirist who had frequently attacked the army. Apfel contended that an out-of-court settlement would have prevented the controversy from reaching such enormous proportions. Evidently, the prosecution had been confident that a guilty conviction was inevitable, mainly since Grosz was associated with left-wing and communist circles. However, once the process was underway and the stakes became increasingly more political than religious, all of which made a guilty conviction seem less certain, the District Attorney's Office could not abandon the case.

Secondly, Apfel questioned the police's right to refuse to disclose the name of the complainant and wondered why the complainant would not testify, if the portfolio images so deeply offended him/her. Apfel's grievance was well grounded. Certainly, the government was not worried that either Grosz or Herzfelde, professed pacifists, could pose a physical threat to any person or group. Neither man was known to be physically aggressive, nor were they being charged for violent crimes. Aside from publishing further satirical drawings, what were Grosz or Herzfelde likely to do? The whole question of this protection leads to some interesting speculations about the identify of the unnamed complainant. If not an individual citizen, could the grievance have

come from a religious institution or the military, given that they were the most severely attacked groups in the portfolio images?

Thirdly, Apfel asked why all of the related accusations were not heard simultaneously in the same court of law. Apparently an Upper-Silesian bookseller and his assistant faced separate charges at different hearings in Upper Silesia for selling and displaying Grosz's portfolio in their store. He questioned the validity of charging them, before the District Court in Berlin had rendered its verdict.

As mentioned earlier, the blasphemy trial was also something of a political event. Certainly, Dr. Apfel defended Grosz and Herzfelde in political terms:

> Because the freedom of artistic expression had begun to suffer molestation to an intolerable degree, and because I desired very much to see the public utterances on the subject of war versus pacifism forced on to a higher plane than that of the pettiest party squabbling, I undertook to fight this case through to the bitter end.

Thus, from the start Apfel recognized that the scope of the trial extended beyond religious issues to encompass war, pacifism and militarism. These issues were struggled over by the radical Left-wing (as represented by Grosz) and the conservative Right-wing (as represented by the prosecution and the law). Evaluating Siegert's first acquittal, Apfel remarked, "... even a political trial and the problem of freedom of artistic production can be dealt with by clean and correct legal methods."[52] Dr. Schreiner, who testified against Grosz and Herzfelde, also wrote an article "Hintergrunde des George-Grosz process" in which he argued that the court-room battle was more about communism and religion than about the blasphemy of individual images.[53] Given the fact that the District Attorney's Office partly justified the blasphemy charge by labelling Hintergrund a communist folder indicates that politics played a decisive role in the allegations.

As can be expected in the case of any public scandal, individuals and groups had divided opinions about Grosz and his art. The testimony

of well-respected individuals gave credibility to both the defense and the prosecution's arguments. As we have seen, Grosz's critics were as eager to condemn the artist as his supporters were to enthusiastically defend him. According to Lewis, some of the established institutions and organizations also took positions. Initially the Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte *(The German League for Human Rights)*, Kampfausschuss gegen die Zensur *(Committee for the Fight against Censorship)*, and Reichsverband bildender Künstler Deutschlands *(Berlin Chapter of the Federal Association of Artists in Germany)* actively supported Grosz, however, the last two mentioned organizations later rescinded their support.[54] Opposing organizations included *Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur (League Fighting for German Culture)* and the National Socialist Party. The trials also received considerable attention from the press. Die Weltbühne, a left-wing journal and Das Tagebuch, in particular, supported Grosz by reporting the events of the trials and by discussing any related issues. The latter also published partial transcripts from the trials.

The implications for all German artists were far-reaching. The trials called into question the whole issue of artistic freedom: should artists be restricted by political, social, moral and ethical constraints, or should they be allowed to express freely their internal thoughts, experiences and concerns about the world? If so, should the final artistic product be freely exhibited and distributed to an interested public? The verdicts passed in all three trials against Grosz stand as testimony to the legal extent of artistic freedom. While artists could freely produce any type of art they chose, if they wanted to exhibit or distribute their work to the public they risked possible confiscations and prosecutions. The Hintergrund trial demonstrates how the authorities could manipulate the law to serve their own interests.

Censorship Under a New Name

Under Article 118 of the new German Constitution of 1919 censorship was abolished. It read as follows:

> Within the limits of the general laws, every German has the right to express his opinion freely in words, writing, print, pictures, and in other ways. No relationship of labor or employment may interfere with this right, and no one may take action to injure him if he makes use of this right. There is to be no censorship, but the law may provide otherwise for motion pictures. Legal measures are also permitted to combat obscene and indecent literature and to protect the young in connection with public exhibitions and entertainments.[55]

In addition to eliminating censorship, the article outlined the individual rights of all German citizens to express themselves freely in a number of ways, but it also placed certain limitations on these "freedoms." The government reserved the right to legally prohibit films, obscene literature as well as exhibitions and other forms of entertainment which might endanger the German youth. Since these provisions named only general grounds for suppression, they were open to widely varying interpretations and applications. The German Criminal Code of 1871 provided additional guidelines for laying criminal charges against cultural producers. Hence the Weimar government did not eradicate censorship; it only changed the ways in which it was practised. In essence, the main differences between the censorship policies of the two regimes are explained by the fact that the monarchy and military implemented special committees to regulate and enforce censorship policies (especially during the war years), while the Weimar government dismantled censorship boards and policies, and instead referred controversial cultural matters to the judiciary. Henceforth censorship became a legal matter which was handled by the police and judges.

Until recently, scholars have neglected the general study of cultural censorship in the Weimar era. Instead they have focused on specific case studies and thus have failed to understand how these particular incidents of censorship relate to more general trends.[56]

Several recent studies have attempted to bridge this gap. Wolfgang Hütt documents a number of obscenity and blasphemy cases against art and artists between 1900 and 1933 in his book Hintergrund. Mit den Unzüchtigkeits- und Gotteslästerungs-paragraphen des Strafgesetzbuches gegen Kunst und Künstler 1900-1933.[57] Likewise, Dieter Breuer devotes a chapter of his book Geschichte der literarischen Zensur in Deutschland to examining literary and theatrical censorship during the Weimar era.[58] In the area of film, Bruce Murray analyzes the typical reasons for censorship cases.[59] Unfortunately, a comprehensive study of cultural censorship has not yet been written.[60] However, these previously cited texts indicate that the authorities adopted similar tactics to suppress literature, theater and film.[61]

The most typical grounds for prosecution included obscenity, blasphemy and insulting the military. Rather than routinely enforcing censorship, the police periodically confiscated cultural products and prosecuted their makers. For example, article 118 of the amended Constitution and Paragraph 166 of the German Criminal Code (1871) provided the legal means to prohibit obscene or pornographic literature. As cited above, art organizations arranged with the judiciary to settle obscenity cases outside the courtroom due to the increasing number of accusations in the mid-1920s.[62] However prior to this policy change, a number of artists, writers and stage-directors faced legal proceedings for obscenity. For instance Gertrud Eysolt and Maximilia Sladek, directors of a playhouse, were accused of obscenity under Paragraph 184 for staging Arthur Schnitzler's comedy Reigen (1896-97). The following trial of 1921 was a long and scandalous affair.[63] Besides Grosz, artists such Otto Dix, Erich Godal and George Kobbe were also prosecuted for indecency.[64] In 1922 Godal and Kobbe stood trial for exhibiting their drawings. One of Kobbe's drawings depicted a girl sitting on a man's lap, while the man grasps her genitals. The other drawing was simply described as sleeping girls. One of Godal's drawings showed the

naked backside of a female figure and the other showed a girl sitting with her legs apart revealing her unclothed lower body. Both of the defendants were found guilty and received heavy fines. In 1923, Otto Dix was indicted after exhibiting his oil painting of an aging prostitute, ironically called Mädchen am Spiegel *(Girl in Front of the Mirror)*. Dix who was found innocent by the court of law was luckier than Godal and Kobbe. Other artists to be prosecuted under Paragraph 184 included Georg Scholz, Eddy Smith and Frans Masereel. Not surprisingly, Grosz knew Dix, Scholz and Masereel.

The authorities justified blasphemy convictions with Paragraph 166 of the Criminal Code. Carl Einstein was the first person to be tried for blasphemy in the Weimar years. In 1922 his drama Die schlimme Botschaft was censored. Other cultural artifacts to be banned include Franz Masereel's Holzschnittfolge "Die Kirche", Werner Hegemann's Der gerettete Christus, Kurt Tucholsky's Der Gesang der englischen Chorknaben, Carmen Sacerdotale's Die Pfarrhauskömodie, Kurt Weill's opera Der Protagonist, Bertolt Brecht's "Mariä and Ernst Glaeser's Seelen über Bord.[65] It should also be mentioned that under monarchial rule various artists and writers had faced blasphemy accusations including Dr. Oskar Panizza, author of Das Liebeskonzil (1864), Wilhelm Busch for Heiligen Antonius von Padua (1864), James Ensor for exhibiting Entrance of Christ into Brussels (1888) and Max Liebermann for The Twelve-year Jesus in the Temple (1897).[66] Given the fact that the Weimar Constitution endorsed the separation of state and church and ensured the freedom of religious belief, the definition of "blasphemy" as criminal was curiously at odds with the constitutional rights of the individual. If religious beliefs of all kinds were tolerated, how could individuals be tried in courts for their particular beliefs or non-beliefs? Nonetheless, many artists were accused and convicted of this crime. Moreover these blasphemy cases exemplify the church's continuing influence in politics as well as the government's support of particular

religious institutions. Of course, the government could not prohibit all "indecent", "blasphemous" or "slanderous" works and reserved these charges for the most blatant cases. Thus the charge of blasphemy was used in instances where religious themes were central to the piece. There is less evidence concerning cases of insulting the military. However, it is known that Kurt Tucholsky was also convicted of this crime which demonstrates that the charges against Grosz and the other Dada artists were not isolated.

In contrast, film censorship was handled differently. This can be explained by film's status as a new mass media and a thriving industry.[67] When the government implemented the Motion Picture Law in 1920, it reintroduced a whole system to control the production and circulation of films by setting up official censorship boards and policies. From this point onward, all films required approval from the censors before they could be distributed and circulated in cinemas. Often films required editing before the committee would allow their release. Because these boards were authorized to pre-screen and censor films, once they were shown in German cinemas there was little need to suppress them through legal action.[68]

Bruce Murray in his book Film and the German Left in the Weimar Republic: From *Caligari* to *Kuhle Wampe* outlines the new guidelines of the Motion Picture Law and looks at the ways in which committees applied them to various types of films,

> In addition to prohibiting pornographic films, the law called for the censorship of films that endangered public order, Germany's reputation, or its relations with foreign countries. These broadly formulated guidelines enabled censors to mask political judgements as aesthetic judgements. Due to the generally conservative makeup of most Weimar censorship boards, the revolutionary left faced stiffer censorship than the radical right. Commercial films with subtle - and sometimes not so subtle - conservative and reactionary ideological orientation were overlooked. Some even enjoyed special tax exemption.[69]

For the most part, films prohibited from public screenings were

mainly those with overt sexual, pacifist or left-wing themes including Im Westen nichts Neues *(All Quiet on the Western Front)* based on the novel by Erich Maria Remarque and Sergei Eisenstein's Battleship Potemkin. And even in the case of Battleship Potemkin, the censors eventually bowed to public pressure and allowed a revised version of the film to be shown in German theaters. Other means were used to encourage suitable films as well as discourage unsuitable ones. For instance, special privileges such as tax exemptions were awarded to films of exceptional educational and artistic standards as well as those contributing to public edification, while at the same time these privileges were withheld from Soviet or German-produced leftist films.[70]

Upon considering the various practises of artistic, literary, theatrical, and film censorship between 1919 and 1933, several consistent patterns emerge. First of all, in spite of individual constitutional freedoms, the evidence clearly shows that censorship, as an act of prohibition and repression, occurred regularly. Furthermore, the charges of obscenity, blasphemy and insulting the military such as we have seen in the cases of Grosz's Hintergrund, Ecce Homo and Gott mit uns portfolios, were fairly typical. As we have seen, under the Weimar constitution, the government had to resort to the local and district courts where art was tried on the basis of certain laws and legalities of the Weimar constitution and German Criminal Code. Given the fact that censorship had been officially eliminated, the government could not censor everything. But as the above-mentioned censorship cases indicate, the government still believed it needed to exert some degree of control over certain activities and therefore sought new ways to legally suppress "undesirable" cultural products. In effect, the well-defined policies of pre-war Germany were replaced with other less obvious, though equally effective, means of prohibition. While the Weimar government looked liberal, in reality, its attitudes towards censorship were just as conservative and narrow-minded.

Hintergrund Portfolio Versus Schwejk Production

Since the practises for censoring art, literature and theater were similarly handled, the question of why Grosz's Hintergrund portfolio was targeted and Piscator's Schwejk production escaped merits further discussion. The most obvious explanation for the difference in treatment lies in the different public expectations surrounding the two media.

On the 23rd January of 1928 Piscator's Die Abenteuer des braven Soldaten Schwejk opened at the Piscator-Bühne at Nollendorfplatz in Berlin. Piscator's production of Hasek's Schwejk was the first to be staged.[71] The theatrical event which was performed to sold-out crowds of spectators, was a high point in Piscator's career and broke Piscator's earlier [illegible] records. Yet, despite its huge success, Piscator was forced to close the popular show in April of the same year.[72] Such a move was dictated by his contracts with the Volksbühne and his season-ticket holders, which obliged him to run at least five major productions a year. These agreements left him little flexibility for running a popular show longer than scheduled. Recognizing that this show could run for considerably longer, Piscator rented another theater to stage his new productions. In this way, he fulfilled the terms of his contracts, while at the same time keeping Schwejk on stage. However, the financial burden of these two theaters proved to be too much for Piscator who soon found himself ruined. In the meantime, Max Pallenberg had signed on with another theatrical company for a travelling production, leaving Piscator without an actor to play the leading role of Schwejk.[73] Thus poor business decisions, bankruptcy and Pallenberg's resignation forced Piscator to close Schwejk.

In terms of audience, both the portfolio and the play were available to people from various classes. In their respective fields, both Grosz and Piscator found similar solutions to their financial and patronage problems, while more or less realizing their political

objectives. The previous chapter explored the ways Grosz tackled this problem, and it is worth noting that Piscator was equally innovative. A theatre operation was an expensive venture involving rent, taxes and salaries for employees as well as expensive equipment which needed to be purchased and maintained. Since both the government and the Communist Party were unwilling to finance Piscator's proletarian theatre and since Piscator lacked the capital necessary to open and operate a theatre, he depended largely on funding from wealthy patrons, who could afford to donate generous sums of money or pay high prices for tickets.[74] The wealthy brewer, Ludwig Katzenellenbogen, (Schultheiss Brewery) partly financed Piscator's theatre and certain elite patrons paid as much as 100 marks per ticket. By making the wealthy pay more for their tickets, Piscator was able to offer subsidized tickets (approximately 1.5 marks) to the working classes.[75] Hence, as in the case of Grosz, this financial dependency on the capitalist bourgeoisie contradicted the director's vision of a political theater devoted exclusively to the proletarian classes. Although it was not an ideal solution, Piscator was momentarily satisfied with this sort of compromise which alleviated most of his financial worries without completely sacrificing his artistic and political ideals. At least this way, the wealthy patrons indirectly bought tickets for the proletarian classes enabling Piscator to stage educational productions for the working classes. Of course, Piscator's dependency on capitalist funding meant that he had to make some minor ideological compromises. For example, Katzenellenbogen asked Piscator to leave out the word "proletarian" in the name of his theatre. Thus, Piscator gave the theatre his own name, Piscator-Bühne *(Piscator Theatre)*.

Despite the difficulties of appealing to both workers and the social elite, Piscator's productions evidently enticed individuals from diverse class backgrounds. Indeed, there is more evidence of workers attending Piscator's theatre than of buying Grosz's portfolios.

Mordecai Gorelik, vividly described the audience that he saw at the Schwejk play of 1928:

> It was the almost paradoxical value of this form which explained the composition of the audience which sat before SCHWEIK. Not one assembly was there, but two: an audience in dress clothes, smart, worldly, aloof; and an audience of young radicals in *Schillerkragen* - sharp-witted, vociferous proletarians and lower middle class youngsters alert beyond their years to the signals of disaster which had already appeared in the Fatherland. Since the young people, most of them members of the Junge Volksbühne, were subscribers with the right to sit anywhere in the theatre at a uniform fee, there was an unaccustomed spectacle of dinner jackets mingling with ready-made suits. The elegant world was here because a Piscator production was a "must" event in art. The radicals considered it a political event. For both it was indispensable.[76]

Gorelik's recollection indicates that the young radicals viewed the production as a political event, while their social superiors viewed it as a theatrical and social event. It is conceivable that the unique opportunity of rubbing shoulders with other social groups itself drew these spectators to Piscator's productions. Speaking of the elite patrons who were intrigued by Piscator's production, Michael Patterson succinctly concluded, "And while it amused them, one was treated to the curious spectacle of the bourgeoisie applauding their own subversion."[77] And thus for both Grosz and Piscator the wealthier classes tolerated their abusive attacks as long as they were comical, entertaining and amusing.

Several factors contributed to the popularity of Piscator's Schwejk and explain why it was not suppressed. From the start, a dramatization of Hasek's popular novel was bound to attract people who had enjoyed the book and Piscator's play offered a close, though necessarily condensed adaptation, of the novel. Significantly Piscator retained many of the features which had made the novel so popular in the first place including is comic and episodic character. In effect, the play's heavy reliance on comical effects made the severe political

themes palatable. In contrast, Grosz's portfolio images were not comical. For instance, Schwejk's more whimsical adventures on stage added a humour to the story which was not illustrated in the portfolio. In one such episode Otto Katz loses Schwejk to Lieutenant Lukash during a poker game. In another episode Lukash asks Schwejk to find him a pet dog. Obliging his master, Schwejk steals a dog, whose original owner turns out to be the young lady who Lukash desires. Schwejk's mistake places Lukash in a whole series of unfortunate predicaments. In addition, the dialogue of the play was often witty and ironic. In the opening scene, Frau Müller announces to Schwejk that Archduke Ferdinand of Austria has been assassinated, but rather than speculating about the larger consequences of this murder including the impending war, Schwejk trivially wonders what the assassins might have worn when they murdered the Archduke. Such idle conversations, light-heartedly glossing over serious situations, were commonplace in both the play and novel.

Even when Grosz represents specific scenes from the play, his drawings lack the play's humour. In one episode Dr. Bautze, the evil chief military doctor, suspects Schwejk of trying to avoid field duty, because he complains of rheumatism in his knees. At the infirmary, Bautze orders a strict medical treatment of clyster, quinine, a stomach pump and starvation diet for Schwejk as the sure cure for all malingers. While in the infirmary a Baroness, who had earlier witnessed Schwejk's heroic wheel-chair journey to the recruitment office, visits Schwejk. Believing Schwejk is a brave, patriotic solider, she offers a hamper loaded with cigarettes and many appetizing delicacies. By offering these forbidden items, her visit infuriatingly mocks Bautze's efforts to treat the malingers. In staging the scene, Piscator used a background projection of Grosz's drawing In drei Tagen sind Sie Felddienstfähig *(In three days you'll be fit for field duty, 1927) (Figure 27)* to show the severity of these medical treatments, possibly because showing such torture on stage might have been too repulsive for the audience. The

drawing depicts the brutal savagery of this cruel torture from which the military doctors seem to derive demented enjoyment. The victim's pain is obvious. His rib cage protrudes, his body quivers and his outstretched arms show tightly clenched fists. When examining this image in the portfolio, the viewer is faced only with the satirical image. The humour of the doctor being undermined by Schwejk with the help of the Baroness is absent. Another scene further illustrates the differences between the play and the portfolio. When the doctors send Schwejk to the detention barracks where he and the other prisoners are treated harshly by the guards, the weekly sermon by the chaplain, Otto Katz is a welcome diversion from the guards cruel treatment, despite its predictable support for the war and the chaplain's drunken condition. In the production, Schwejk and Katz were the only two actors on stage, since the other prisoners were represented by large-cut out figures, attired in long underwear. They were shown scratching, picking lice and playing cards, while the chaplain delivered his speech to them. For the spectator, the sight of Katz preaching to these line drawn cut-outs must have appeared slightly ridiculous, far-fetched and humorous. Afterwards, Schwejk confesses to the priest that his tears were fake which, ironically, endears Schwejk to the chaplain. Katz uses his position to free Schwejk from the detention barracks and makes Schwejk his orderly. Grosz's drawing of this scene, Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes, shows only one moment of the scene and centers on Katz's distorted face and pro-war sermon. Grosz's drawing is much more satirical and lacks all comic of the previously described elements.

Other equally entertaining effects were the cartoon films, the puppet-marionettes and the grotesquely exaggerated masks and costumes which supporting actors wore to underscore their character types. One of the jailers, for example, wore an enormous fist. As far as the designs are concerned, Piscator claimed that they were created to enhance comic aspects of the play. He wrote, "It was equally imperative

to have the properties right for the style of Schwejk. The properties, too, had a comic function and were consequently to be exaggerated and caricatured."[78] For example, the interaction between actors and the cut-out marionettes was intended to be humorous. Similarly, although the treadmill was an effective device to show the movement of time and place, it also had comic side-effects. Referring to the conveyor belts Piscator wrote, "It seemed to me that this apparatus had a quality of its own; it was inherently comic. Every application of the machinery somehow made you want to laugh. There seemed to be absolute harmony between subject and machinery."[79] In this respect, the conveyor belts mechanized the movement of the actors, making their actions appear less natural.

By employing Max Pallenberg in the leading role, Piscator also greatly increased the chances of a successful show.[80] Pallenberg's reputation as a talented actor as well as his star-status inevitably attracted a large segment of Berlin's theatre-going public. Clearly Piscator recognized the capabilities of this actor when he wrote, "Pallenberg, who was in effect the ideal Schwejk, adapted himself admirably to the scenic and technical requirements of the play and of the company."[81] For many spectators and critics, Pallenberg's performance was the high point of the entire show.

What the critics had to say about Schwejk, to some extent, swayed public opinion about the production's merits and gives us an idea of how the play was interpreted. As a general rule, the Schwejk production enjoyed mixed (albeit mostly favourable) reviews from the critics. In his survey of the critical reaction to Piscator's Schwejk, Andrew DeShong emphasizes several recurring patterns. First of all, there was a general consensus that Max Pallenberg played a convincing Schwejk, and that his performance alone made the show worth seeing. Secondly, most critics realized that Schwejk brought a number of innovations to the theatre. Thirdly, with respect to the effectiveness of the technical

and design aspects, the critics were divided. Finally, although the critics were polarized along political lines and the issue of art versus propaganda was hinted at, it was not directly discussed.

A sampling of the critical commentary demonstrates the mixture of opinions. Franz Servals, a consistently hostile critic to Piscator's political theater, openly criticized the production asking; "What does this have to do with drama and theatre? The enormous experience of the world war is pulled to the lower level of cabaret style satire and therefore robbed of all dignity. For the stimulation of the howling masses."[82] Another critic by the name of Fritz Engel was equally reproachful: "Just experimentation without proper subject, without a goal to create a work of art from poetry and theatre, constantly puttering around and experimenting technically, isn't enough. In fact is nothing at all."[83] On the other hand, some reviewers were more impressed by the production's technical achievements. For example, Monty Jacobs wrote, "An experiment, not quite fully developed, but a promising one, courageous breaking of new ground. Theatre like this makes man the master and not the slave of machinery ...."[84] A few critics admitted that the treadmill posed some technical difficulties. For example, on the opening night, the treadmill was so loud that it drowned out the actor's voices and although this problem was alleviated with an application of graphite, soap and oil to lubricate the mechanisms of the conveyor belt, the actors still had to speak loudly in order to be heard.[85] Other critics such as Max Brod were disappointed with Piscator's ending. However, when reading Brod's objections we must keep in mind that Piscator had rejected Brod's earlier theatrical adaptation for his own script, a fact which must have biased the critic. It should be noted that Piscator was not completely satisfied with the ending for Schwejk either: "We were widely criticized in the press because our ending did not work. ... So we were faced with a dilemma, and we knew it. There were endless suggestions for the ending."[86]

Overall Piscator recognized many of the other flaws in the production, and considered Schwejk a work-in-progress, which would be improved by future generations.[87]

Regarding Grosz's designs and film, the reactions varied according to the politics of the critic. On one hand, Ernst Heilborn approved of the designs and their effectiveness. He was also moved by Grosz's artistic talent, "And the quick chalk artist is no ordinary variety show character, but a genuine artist, who due to the rapidity of film, becomes a comic magician."[88] What the critics did not say about Grosz's designs also tells us a lot about the way they were read in the context of the play. None of these critics commented on any specific images, but instead, perhaps because the images were shown in rapid succession, they focused on the larger issues of the design's overall appeal and effectiveness. Thus, it seems that even the theater critics, who were well-versed in theatrical matters, read the images in a very non-specific way.

Since both Grosz and Piscator addressed similar social constituencies, the different treatments of Grosz's portfolio and Piscator's production must have been motivated by other factors. One of these was the public expectations surrounding the different cultural genres. Theater has been considered a form of entertainment which amuses and diverts its audience during their recreational time. Even the more overtly political proletarian productions such as Schwejk frequently relied heavily on "entertainment" and "comedy" to make their political overtones seem less threatening. In contrast, as we have seen, Grosz's portfolio lacked such comical effects achieved in the dialogue and staging. This is not to say that as a director, Piscator was safe from persecution. While Piscator was not charged or tried in the court proceedings against Grosz and Herzfelde, he was harassed by the police about other matters.[89] In 1921 the police refused to renew Piscator's performing licenses to dissuade the director from further

proletarian productions. Furthermore, a libel suit was filed against him for his production of Rasputin.[90] A second factor in the different fates of Piscator and Grosz was the fact that in the play, the designs and films were only one small part of an entire production. Spectators and critics viewed the designs within the context of the entire production and did not single out certain images for scrutiny. Furthermore, the images changed quickly preventing the spectators from reading them closely. In contrast, the portfolio was conceived as a whole with fewer component parts. Moreover, its individual images could be carefully studied over an indefinite period of time. Hence, Hintergrund would have appeared to be more threatening than Piscator's Schwejk production, even though the content of both was extremely anti-militaristic and anti-religious. It is also possible that the police were leery about prosecuting a popular production starring a famous actor. Censoring the play may have been too risky, especially if it aroused public controversy over the very mechanisms of that censorship. Obviously, when the authorities set out to convict Grosz, they were unaware that the process itself might be called into question.

Closing of an Era

By eliminating the censorship clause of the Constitution and by turning over censorship processes to the judiciary, the Weimar government appeared to be extremely tolerant of all cultural activities. Censorship became strictly a legal matter for the police and the courts. The government dealt with the production of prohibited cultural production as a criminal activity and subjected its producers to criminal investigation. All of the cases of censorship cited here, in particular the censorship of Grosz's portfolios, confirm that cultural activities were frequently repressed. As a general rule, cultural products including art, literature, plays and films were most typically condemned on the grounds of blasphemy, obscenity and slandering the

military. Thus, behind this facade of tolerance, the government still practised censorship, though in less obvious ways.

Of course, it should be mentioned that the government could not suppress all undesirable work, especially in a situation where censorship had been officially abolished. If they had prosecuted everything, the situation might have appeared "out-of-control" and above-all, the authorities needed to maintain a semblance of power. Nevertheless, they still needed to prevent potentially damaging material from being disseminated to an already dissatisfied populace. Thus, they might have hoped that the carefully controlled suppression of targeted subversive work would be less risky than a policy of blanket censorship.

In general, it appears that the Weimar government practised a cautious balance between repressively censoring and tolerantly absorbing left-wing criticism in order to control revolutionary culture. Overall, the government was insecure and wanted to prohibit all forms of resistance. To do so was a difficult if not impossible task, especially at a time when resistance to the government and the ruling institutions of German society had reached unprecedented heights and left-wing cultural producers were publishing and exhibiting their new work daily. Therefore, with such a vast body of work to police, the government seems to have selectively targeted certain materials, whose censorship was intended to demonstrate the government's control. In this way, they hoped to carefully regulate the types of art produced, and to dissuade other artists and intellectuals from producing similarly subversive works by threatening them with the confiscation of their work, prosecution, huge fines and even prison terms. This type of regulation partially explains why some of Grosz's satirical portfolios were censored while others were not. Censoring all of his portfolios would have been too risky, because it might have called into question the very mechanisms of that censorship. In some cases, censorship processes resulted from the police's periodic raids on bookstores, publishing

houses and exhibitions. What exactly triggered the police to implement these raids at certain times is unknown. While such a disparate pattern of censorship suggests that specific political events may have triggered more suppression at certain periods, at this point there is no hard evidence to substantiate this claim. Two of Grosz's cases demonstrate that the police pursued legal action, after receiving specific complaints outside of the police department. In the case of "Gott mit uns", for example, the military registered an official complaint with the police, who consequently confiscated copies of the portfolio. While in the case of Hintergrund, an anonymous complainant notified the police about the allegedly blasphemous work which initiated criminal investigations.

The question of why Grosz was successfully prosecuted in the first two cases and not in the third is still open to discussion. First of all, the charges and timing were different in all three trials. "Gott mit uns" was a visible target for censorship, because it openly attacked the military and was displayed in an exhibition, which also expressed anti-militaristic sentiments. Given the provocative nature of the Dada group's activities and its open hostility to all authority, it is not surprising that the military complained to the police. In addition, the portfolio was made available to a larger public through the exhibition than if it had only been distributed through book-sellers and art dealers. Aside from these factors, the charge of insulting the military came in 1920, the year following the revolution. During this revolution, the Weimar government had enlisted the services of the Freikorps, an army made up of soldiers and officers of the monarchy's army to counter the revolutionaries with physical force. In carrying out these government orders, the Freikorps injured and murdered hundreds of workers, many of them unarmed. In addition, Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht, the leaders of the revolution, were murdered by the Freikorps. Since the image Die Kommunisten fallen-und die Devisen

Steigen *(Figure 11)* of "Gott mit uns" visually depicted the brutal murder by these counter-revolutionaries, Grosz left little doubt that he was criticizing the current regime Thus, the government and military might have seen Grosz's portfolio as a direct attack on the way they handled the revolution. The fact that after the First World War, the military itself was adjusting to its loss of power and new, down-sized role in the German democracy indicates the sensitivity of the situation. In 1921 Grosz and Herzfelde tried to provoke the authorities by republishing the nine military images of "Gott mit uns" in their newest portfolio, Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse. However, the authorities were reluctant to press charges and instead only seized copies of it, despite its apparent propagandistic purposes. Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse might have been left alone, because Grosz already undergoing criminal proceedings with "Gott mit uns".

With Ecce Homo, on the other hand, the allegations of obscenity, were brought forth at a time when German citizens seemed increasingly anxious about maintaining decency, morals and decorum. The economic uncertainties of post-war Germany had resulted in a gradual relaxing of sexual and moral constraints, which deeply offended many conservative German citizens. Given that the investigation took place in 1923, at the height of Germany's instability, the authorities might have been more anxious to convict artists such as Grosz. As we have discussed, obscenity charges were typical and easily prosecuted, because Article 118 of the constitution specifically allowed for the censorship of obscene material and laid out provisions for seeking and guaranteeing convictions of this crime. By 1926 the "Schmutz and Schund" bill ensured additional legal means to protect the German youth from obscene material. Not surprisingly, therefore, during this period, obscenity allegations against artists increased. Art organizations and the courts were forced to set up out-of-court proceedings to handle these charges and thus free up the courts. During these years other artists such as

Dix, Godal and Kobbe were also indicted for obscenity.

When the blasphemy trial began, the district attorney's office believed that they had a solid case against Grosz and that a guilty verdict was assured. Not only did they have the evidence of the pictures to prove their point, but Grosz was also a communist. While they successfully prosecuted the defendants in the first trial, to their surprise, in the next two proceedings the judge acquitted the defendants twice. Apparently, the judge, whose reputation as a conservative was widely known, could not help but see Grosz's side of the story despite the artist's socialist leanings. The judge's verdict was controversial, because during the Weimar era left-wing defendants were almost always convicted and received heavier sentences than right-wing defendants, whose crimes were much more severe. This was especially true in the case of political crimes following the First World War. However, the Supreme Court was determined to partially overrule the judge's final verdict, and thus they confiscated and destroyed all copies and plates of Maul halten weiter dienen. Due to the huge controversy that this trial prompted, it is possible that the Supreme Court felt extra pressure from the public and various religious and political organizations to offset the verdict. Thus Grosz's victory was sorely undermined by the legal system.

While such patterns of censorship might have succeeded in stopping some artists from creating politically and socially left-wing art, it did not prevent dedicated left-wing artists such as Grosz from continuing to produce highly satirical works. Why the authorities considered Grosz to be such a threat and a prime target for censorship can be explained by his artistic standing, his political radicalism, his public persona and his powerful imagery. Through his carefully cultivated public persona, Grosz had established himself as one of the most respected satirical artists of Weimar society. While he first made his reputation amongst circles of left-wing artists and intellectuals,

gradually he became known to a larger public for both his art and socialist politics. Of course, artists who regularly produced art that opposed social and political conventions were most often at risk, and Grosz was no exception. Given that Grosz worked closely with Malik Press whose communist ties were commonly known, he was clearly a likely target. Also given that his portfolios contained, anti-militaristic, anti-religious or anti-capitalist messages, the charges against him were hardly surprising.

However, acts of prohibition can produce unintended consequences. For instance, the widespread publicity Grosz and his art received through the trials, was a direct consequence of efforts to suppress it. Hence Grosz's art was viewed, discussed and assessed by a much larger audience than it would have had if the portfolios had been left to circulate through the regular channels of bookstores and art galleries. Ironically, the trial and suppression of Grosz's portfolios amounted to a hollow victory for the government. Rather than isolating Grosz and his portfolios, the censorship trials placed them in the public spotlight.

ENDNOTES

1. This new Constitution was signed on August 11, 1919.

2. Beth Irwin Lewis, George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971) mentions that the blasphemy charge was common and briefly cites several examples of such cases, although she does not examine the process of censorship at all. Furthermore, she does not comment on other incidents of obscenity or of slandering the military during this period, p.220.

3. Rosamunde Neugebauer, George Grosz - Macht und Ohnmacht satirischer Kunst: Die Graphikfolgen "Gott mit uns", Ecce Homo und Hintergrund (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1993).

4. For the incidents and dates of the confiscation see Ignaz Wrobel (Kurt Tucholsky), "Der kleine Gessler und der grosse Grosz," Freiheit 24 (October 1920) n.p.

5. Ibid., n.p. According to Tucholsky the act was illegal because the agents did not have proper documentation to seize the drawings. Tucholsky does not mention what happened to these drawings.

6. Due to a lack of documentation, it is difficult to determine the exact criminal basis for these charges.

7. Johannes Baader also exhibited his project Great Plasto Dio-Dada Drama, which included a mock architectural monument and plans. For a description of this project see J. D. Erickson, Dada, Performance, Poetry and Art (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1984), pp.41-42.

8. For a description of this event, which was advertised as the *First German Post-war Renaissance of the Arts,* see Ben Hecht "About Grosz," in Letters from Bohemia (London: Hammond, Hammond and Company, 1964), p.137.

9. Hecht was an American correspondent living in Berlin at the time.

10. Ibid., p.137. Erickson also noted a scandalous series of performances in German and Czech cities which made the Dadaists fear for their lives, p.41.

11. Lewis, p.218. She does not mention the reasons for these confiscations.

12. Available documentation is scarce, and therefore this review of the trials has been based on a few scattered sources.

13. Lewis, p.217.

14. Wieland Herzfelde, "Die beleidigte Reichswehr," Der Gegner 2, no.7 (1920-1921), p.271.

15. John I.H. Baur, George Grosz (New York: Macmillan Company for the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1954), pp.21-22.

16. Lewis, p.216.

17. Wrobel, n.p.

18. Ararat II (1921), p.181.

19. Herzfelde, "Die beleidigte Reichswehr, pp.271-273.

20. Wrobel, n.p.

21. Herzfelde, "Die beleidigte Reichswehr," p.271.

22. Lewis, pp.217-218. Given the fact that Schlichter's pig-headed officer was just as derogatory as the images of Gott mit uns, Schlichter's acquittal seems odd. Tucholsky suggested that Schlichter's effigy was regarded as a practical joke brought on by excessive beer drinking and thus dismissed, see Wrobel, n.p. It is likely that the case against Buchard was weak and unsubstantiated by any convincing evidence. The question of why Baader was let go is still unsettled. Some scholars have suggested that Baader was considered too mentally incompetent to be charged with criminal activities. Others such as Erickson, "Dada in Berlin: *Bedding down on a volcano*," chap. in Dada: Performance, Poetry and Art, pp.32-45. Erickson have argued that Baader was absolved, because the court could not prove that he played a major role in organizing the festival, see p.42.

23. Article 118 forbid only indecent literature, omitting visual art.

24. "Unterhaltungen zwischen Ohnesorge und George Grosz. Ein stenographiches Protokoll," Das Tagebuch 5, no.8, 26 (February 1924) pp.240-248.

25. Ecce Homo, plate 14.

26. Ecce Homo, plate 16.

27. Wolfgang Hütt, ed., Hintergrund. Mit den Unzüchtigkeits- und Gotteslästerungs-paragraphen des Strafgesetzbuches gegen Kunst und Künstler 1900-1933, commentary by Wolfgang (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1990), pp.222-223.

28. Ecce Homo IV was not confiscated. The plates to be removed from Ecce Homo included the drawings 9, 16, 28, 30, 38, 42, 44, 48, 57, 61, 64, 67, 70, 75, 78, 79, 82, and the watercolours V, VI, XI, XIII and XV.

29. Herzfelde had taken complete responsibility for the Malik Press' involvement in publishing this portfolio.

30. "Aus dem Bericht des Berliner Polizeipräsidenten (Abt.I A) vom 17. April 1828 an den preussischen Minister des Innern" in Hütt, p.230.

31. "George Grosz wird vernommen. Aus dem stenographischen Protokoll des Gottesla"sterungenprozesses," Das Tagebuch (December 22, 1928), pp.2210-2215.

32. Ibid., p.2211.

33. Uwe M. Schneede, George Grosz: His Life and Work, translation by Sussanne Flatauer (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1975), p.108.

34. Ibid., p.108.

35. Lewis, p.223.

36. Alfred Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice: Reminiscences of a German Barrister 1882-1933 (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935), p.125.

37. Ibid., p.125.

38. "Das Urteil im George Grosz-Prozess," Die Weltbühne (May 7,1929), p.709.

39. Ibid., p.709.

40. Hintergrund, respectively plate number 7, 13 and 14. Siegert also specifically referred to Ein bischen gut zureden *(Just a little persuasion, Hintergrund plate 8)* and Wofür? *(For what?, Hintergrund plate 16)*.

41. "Das Urteil im George Grosz-Prozess," p.711.

42. See Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice, pp.125-126.

43. Ibid., p.130-131.

44. Lewis, p.223.

45. Other judges did not want to become involved in this controversial trial.

46. Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice, pp.131-2.

47. Hütt, p.249.

48. Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice, pp.127-128.

49. Ibid., p.128.

50. See Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice, p.133.

51. During the series of hearings, Dr. Apfel made a point of keeping the debate publicly alive by publishing intelligible articles on the trial process, and guaranteeing that the defendants' side of the story was heard. Even after the trial was over, he recorded the events of the Hintergrund trial as well as his general impressions and thoughts about it in Behind the Scenes of German Justice. Also see Alfred Apfel, "Rechtspolitische Gedanken zum Prozess George Grosz," Das Kunstblatt 13, no.2 (February 1929), p.61, and Alfred Apfel, "Nachwort des Verteidigers," Die Weltbühne (March 31, 1931), p. 317.

52. Apfel, Behind the Scenes of German Justice, p.126.

53. Zeitwende 7, no.1 (1931): 193-206.

54. See Lewis, pp.225-226.

55. Louise W. Holborn, Gwendolen M. Carter and John H. Herz, German Constitutional Documents Since 1871: Selected Texts and Commentary (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p.156.

56. One problem lies in the fact that the documentation is scattered. By abolishing censorship and dismantling specialized committees and policies, the censorship processes became more obscure and thus harder to trace for evidence. Jane Clapp attempted to fill this gap in research with her book Art and Censorship: A Chronology of Proscribed and Prescribed Art (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press 1972). She compiled and arranged a lengthy chronological list of art censorship incidents and issues throughout the ages. Covering a broad range of censorship topics from the prehistoric period to modern day in short descriptive excerpts. The book is a useful guide for students and scholars of art censorship, but it does not analyze these issues and excludes numerous examples. For instance, with regard to censorship in the Weimar era, Clapp cites the three Grosz trials but reports very few of the other cases of censorship against German artists at this time. In addition, photography, film and theater have been omitted altogether. It should also be mentioned that Clapp has also confused some of her facts.

57. The Ecce Homo and Hintergrund trials are featured in Hütt's book.

58. Dieter Breuer, "Zensur auch in der Republik" in Geschichte der literarischen Zensur in Deutschland (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1982), pp.219-229.

59. Bruce Murray, Film and the German Left in the Weimar Republic: From *Caligari to Kuhle Wampe* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

60. Of course, because Hitler installed an official policy, clearly defining the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable art and systemically enforced these policies by organizing book and art burnings, staging Degenerate Art Exhibitions, and promoting Nationalist Socialism, the study of this period is much more straightforward and intriguing. To date the study of art censorship in Germany during the first half of the twentieth century has mostly centered on the extremist cultural policies of Hitler and Nazis, while the Weimar era has been neglected.

61. Although films were subjected to different censorial regulations, they were usually banned on similar grounds.

62. When in 1926 the "Schmutz und Schund" bill *(Trash and Smut bill)* was passed, incidents of censorship significantly increased.

63. Breuer, pp.220-222.

64. See Hütt, pp.51-55, 196-229.

65. Breuer, "Zensur auch in der Republik," p.226.

66. Ansgar Skriver, Gotteslästerung? (Hamburg: Rütten and Loening Verlag, 1962), p.61.

67. Given their mass distribution, many films were circulated to large publics and had the potential to be highly influential. No doubt the government was aware of this potential and wanted to ensure that it was used properly. Technological advances allowed film to develop at a rapid pace, and by the 1920s the film industry had become one of the largest industries in Germany. In this sense, film was organized and regulated like any other business. German filmmakers produced films to be circulated domestically and internationally, and film distributors imported many foreign films, especially Hollywood, and occasionally

Soviet films. As the role of film in German society was defined and debated, the entertainment, educational and propagandistic qualities of the medium were exploited. As the audiences increased in size, so did the number of cinemas. Overall, German cinemas were especially popular amongst the working classes because they offered entertainment at an affordable price. In contrast, the elite classes were more somewhat skeptical about film. To them, film was merely a cheap form of entertainment for the working classes which lacked all the inherent qualities of the more prestigious performing arts such as theater. No doubt, the fact that the government of the Wilhelmine era had successfully used film to propagate nationalistic effort, made the Weimar government anxious to exercise control over production and distribution of film. According to Dieter Langewiesche, "By the end of 1919, there were already 2,386 cinemas in Germany. In 1929, with more than 5,300 cinemas, Germany counted as the largest European market for the international film industry in Europe. In the middle of the 1920s, more than two million people went to the cinemas every day, and in 1924 in Berlin alone, over 40 million movie tickets were sold." See Dieter Langewiesche, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in the Weimar Republic" in Bernstein to Brandt: A Short History of German Social Democracy, edited by Roger Fletcher (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), p.110.

68. Some scholars such as Roters, have suggested that film censorship was fairly liberal, and that left-wing directors and producers seemed to enjoy a considerable amount of freedom except in several special instances. Eberhard Roters, Berlin 1910-33 (New York: Rizzoli International Publication Inc., 1985). On the surface, it does seem that films were treated with some leniency, because few films were entirely banned from public viewing.

69. Murray, p.29.

70. Ibid., p.67.

71. The Stadttheater of Düsseldorf staged a different Schwejk production based on the Brod-Reimann adaptation during the same month.

72. See Erwin Piscator, The Political Theatre (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980, 1963), p.270.

73. Since Pallenberg's performance had been so widely praised, it is doubtful that Piscator seriously considered bringing in another actor to replace Pallenberg. Besides, too much time would be wasted in rehearsal.

74. For more information see Patterson, p.118.

75. Patterson provides these prices, see p.120.

76. Mordecai Gorelik, "Theatre is a Tribunal" in New Theatres for Old, (America: Samuel French, 1947), p.379.

77. Patterson, p.120.

78. Piscator, p.265. In this passage Piscator admitted that not all of the collective's ideas were fully developed in the final staging.

79. Ibid., p.261.

80. Normally, Piscator employed amateur, working-class actors and only occasionally hired a professional star-actor.

81. Piscator, pp.268-269.

82. See Andrew DeShong, The Theatrical Designs of George Grosz (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), p.87.

83. See ibid., p.87.

84. See ibid., p.87.

85. For the specific details of these problems see Piscator, p.260.

86. Piscator, p.261.

87. Ibid., p.263.

88. See DeShong, p.87.

89. C. D. Innes in Erwin Piscator's Political Theatre: The Development of Modern German Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) stated that: "...he [Piscator] was prosecuted on a criminal charge of blasphemy for Grosz's satiric cartoons," but there is no evidence to substantiate this claim, p.6.

90. See Patterson, p.117.

Figure 1. Licht und Luft dem Proletariat (1919) in "Gott mit uns" (1920)

Figure 2. Fern im Süd, das schöne Spanien (1919) in Ecce Homo (1923)

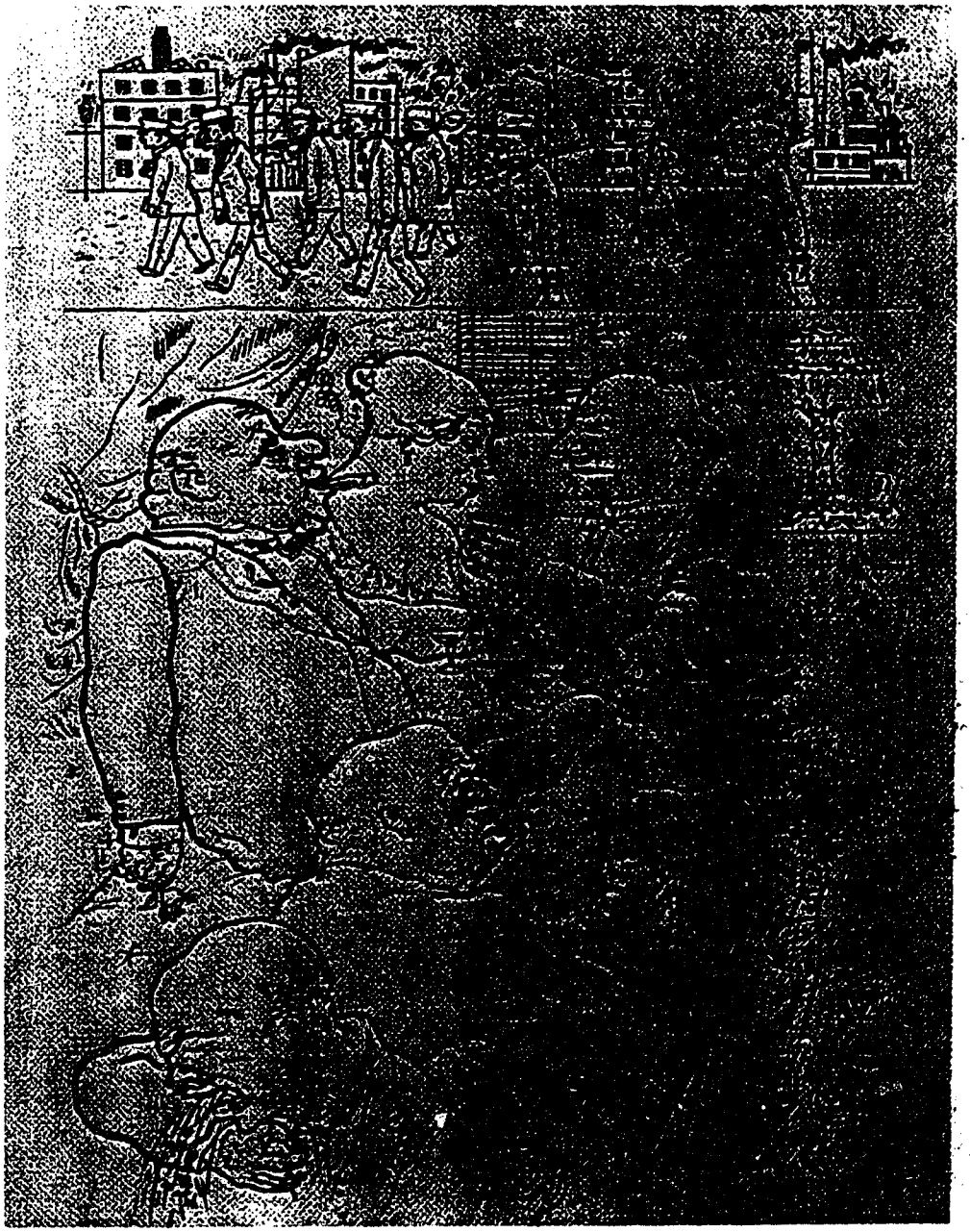

Figure 3. Um früh Uhr (1921)
in Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse (1921)

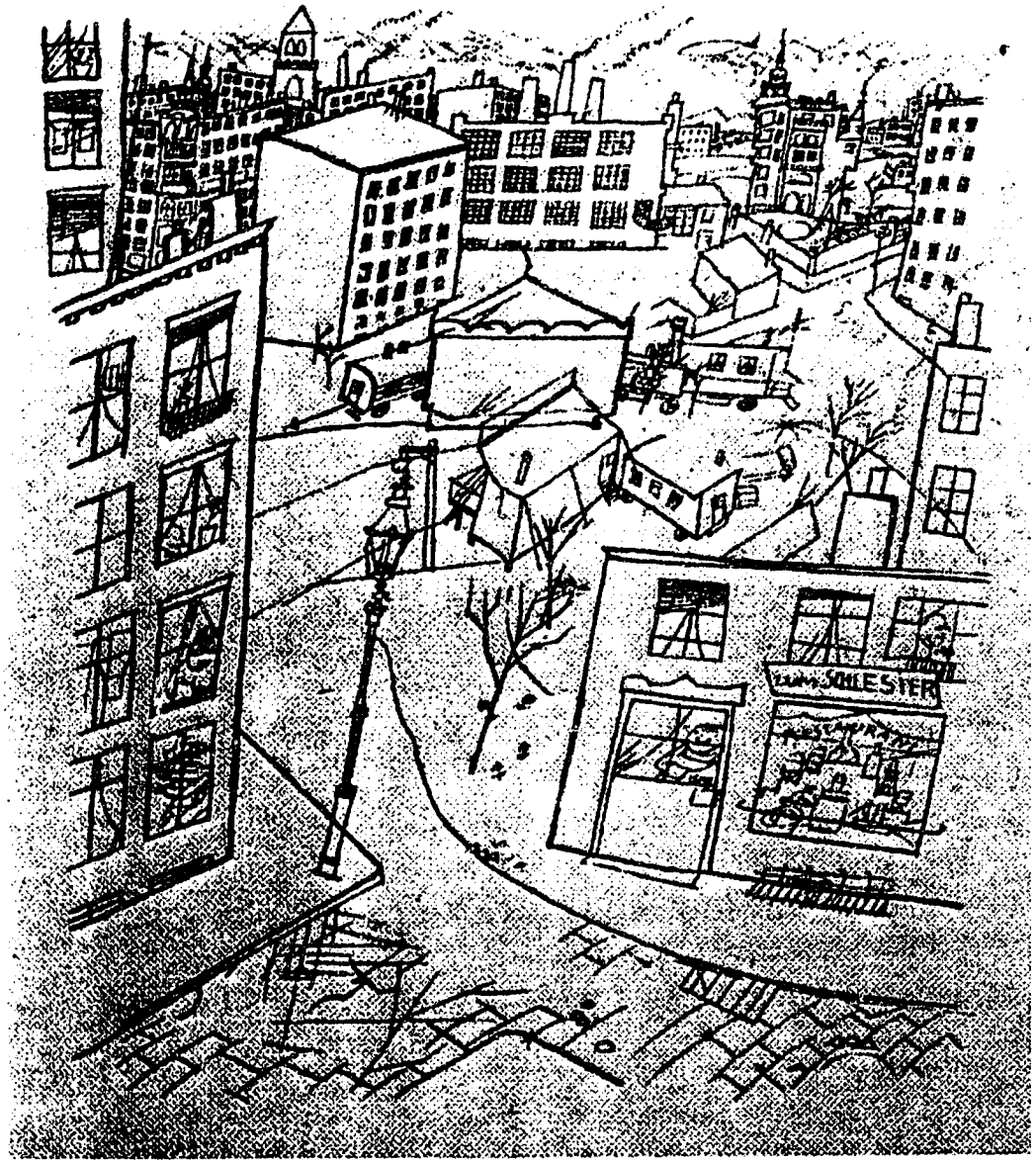

Figure 4. Vorstadt (1915-16)
in Erste George Grosz-Mappe (1917)

Figure 5. Errinnerung an New York (1915-16) in Erste George Grosz-Mappe (1917)

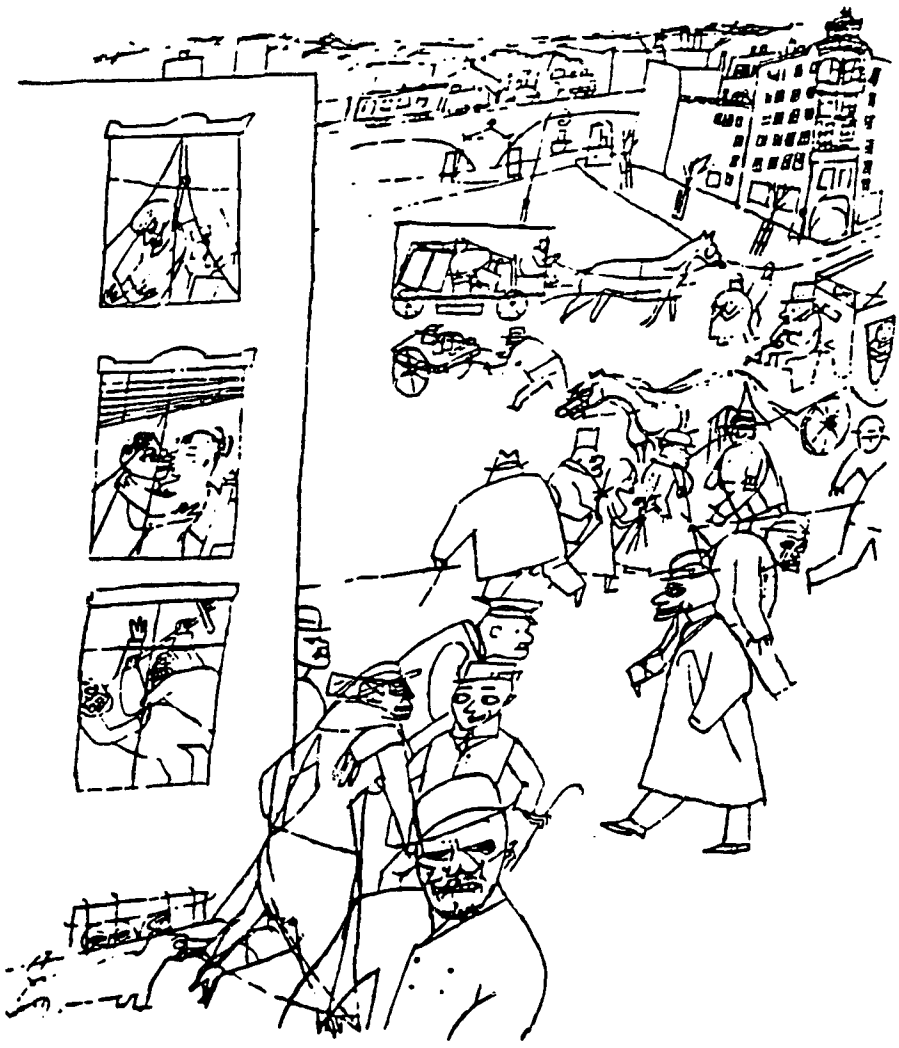

Figure 6. Menschen in der Strasse (1915-16)
in Erste George Grosz-Mappe (1917)

Figure 7. Krawall der Irren (1915-16)
in Kleine Grosz Mappe (1917)

Figure 8. Strasse des Vergnügens (1915-16)
in Kleine Grosz Mappe (1917)

Figure 9. Für deutsches Recht und deutsche Sitte (1919) in Gott mit uns" (1920)

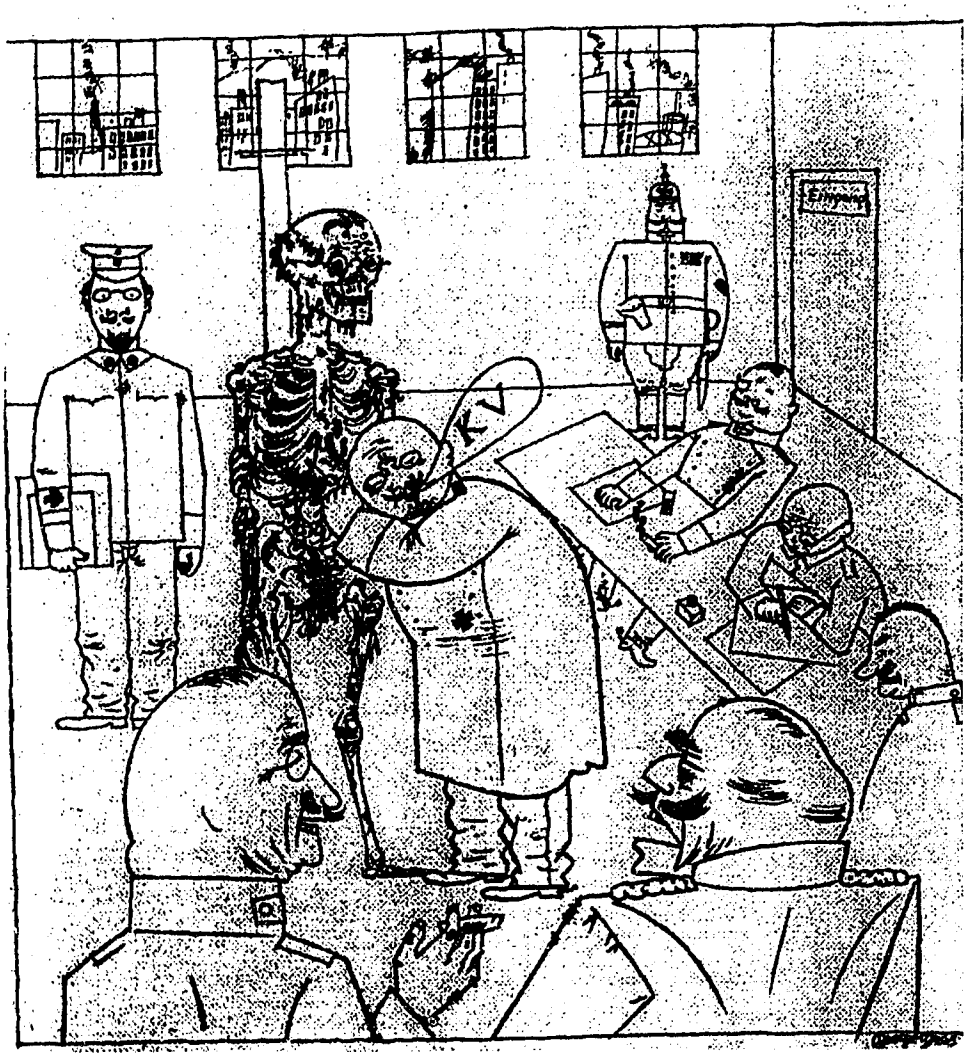

Figure 10. Die Gesundbeter (1918)
in "Gott mit uns" (1920)

Figure 11. Die Kommunisten fallen -und die Devisen Steigen (1919) in "Gott mit uns" (1920)

Figure 12. Come to Me, All Who Labor and Are - Heavy Laden! (1921) in Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse (1921)

Figure 13. Aus der Jugendzeit (1922)
in Ecce Homo (1923)

Figure 14. Lustmord in der Ackerstrasse (1916-17) in Ecce Homo (1923)

Figure 15. Hochfinanz (1922) in Ecce Homo (1923)

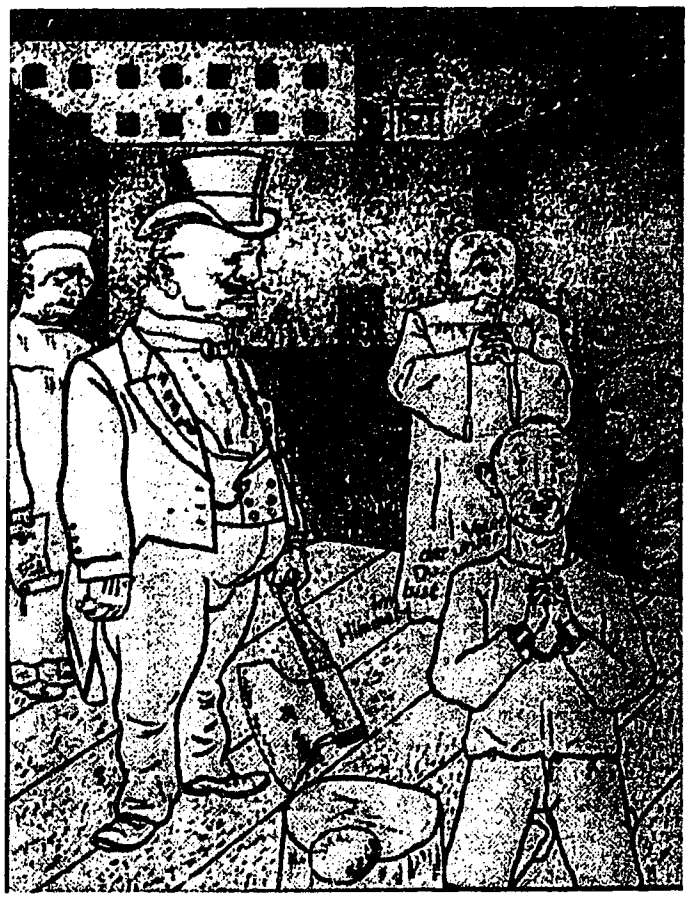

Figure 16. Das Vaterunser (1921)
in Ecce Homo (1923)

Figure 17. Ameisen (1920)
in Im Schatten (1922)

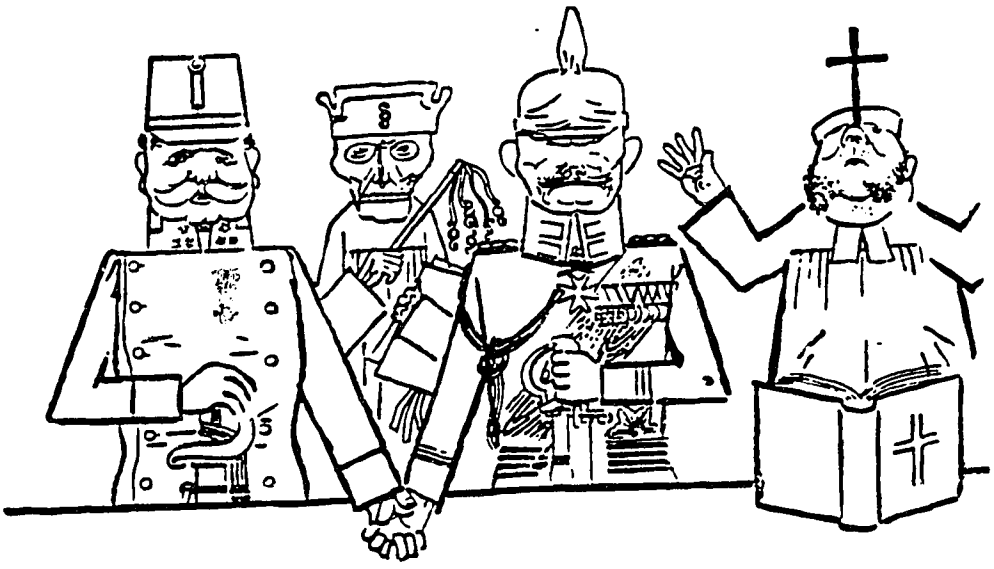

Figure 18. Seid untertan der Obrigkeit (1927)
in Hintergrund (1928)

Figure 19. Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes (1927) in Hintergrund (1928)

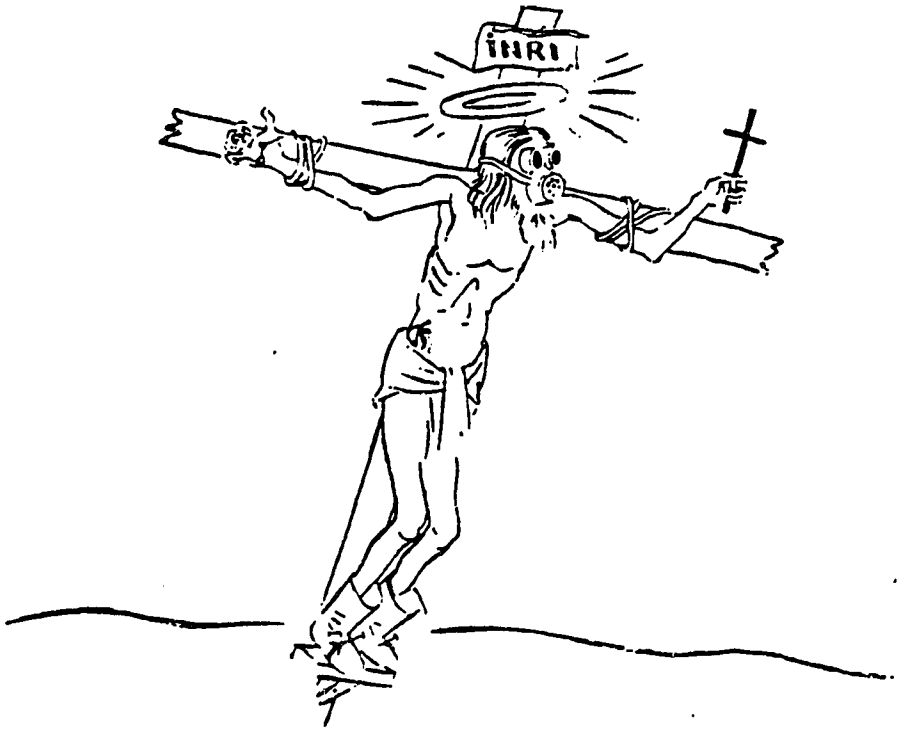

Figure 20. Maul halten und weiter deinen (1927) in Hintergrund (1928)

Figure 21. "Schwejk" 'Melde gehorsamt, dass ich blöd bin' (1927) in Hintergrund (1928)

Figure 22. Der Lebensbaum (1927)
in Hintergrund (1928)

Figure 23. Rechtsordnung (1927) in Hintergrund (1928)

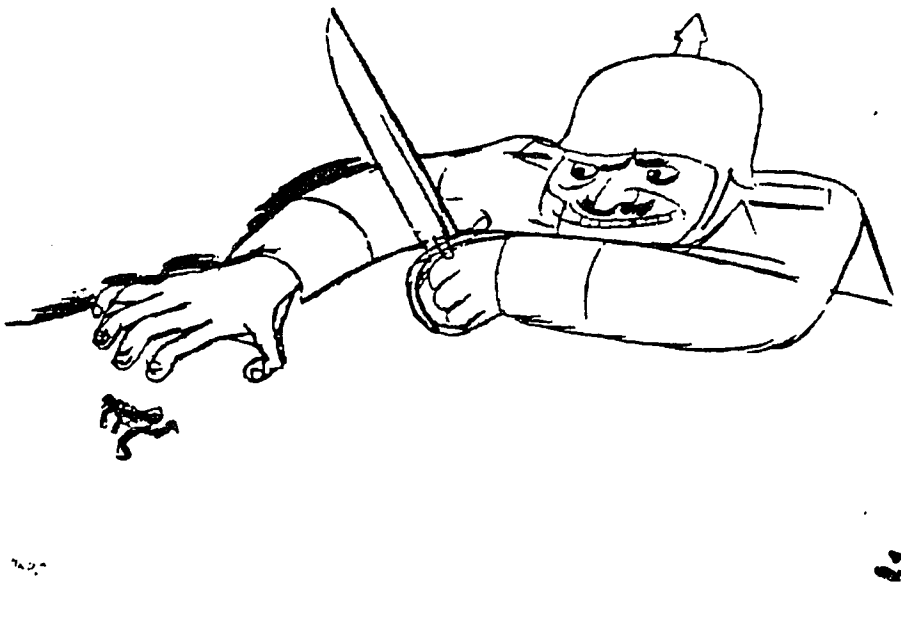

Figure 24. Cover page (1927) in Hintergrund

Figure 25. ---and His Puppets (1923)
in Abrechnung Folgt! (1923)

Figure 26. Ecce Homo (IV) (1922) in Ecce Homo (1923)

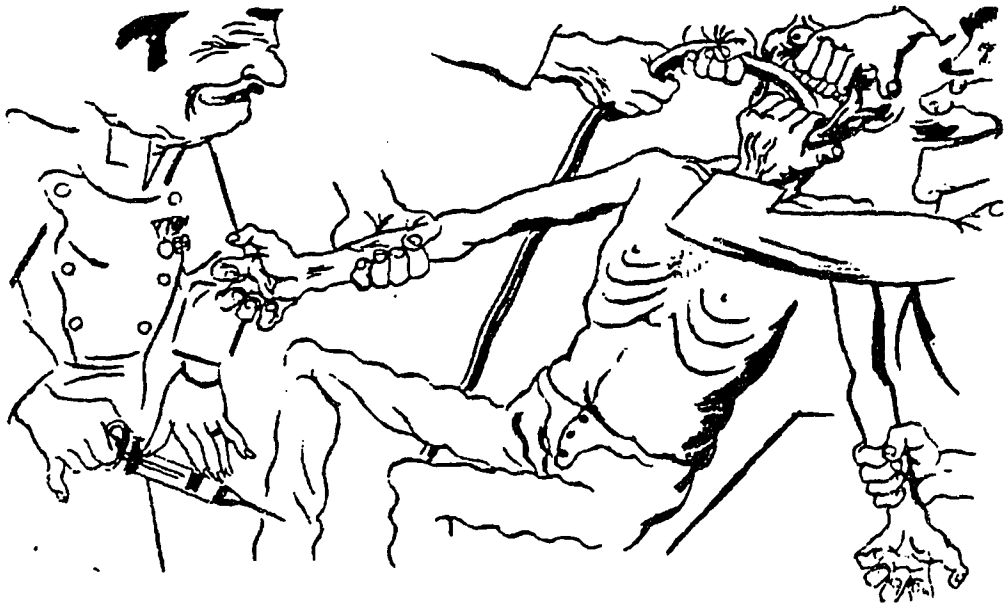

Figure 27. In drei Tagen sind Sie Felddienstfähig (1927) in Hintergrund (1928)

Figure 28. Mit Herz und Hand für's Vaterland (1927) in Hintergrund (1928)

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